

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**Institutional Transformation in the Post- Apartheid Era: AnEthnography of one High
School in KwaZulu-Natal**

By

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Philosophy in the School of Education, College of Humanities University of
KwaZulu-Natal**

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2013

DECLARATION

I, Yvonne Jane Bengover declare that

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis the mandate of the newly elected government in 1994 to transform the apartheid-based system of education provides the opportunity for examining institutional transformation in South African schools. The impetus is the transformative goals which foreground access to education, democracy in education, quality in education and equity and redress in education provision for all South Africans. One high school in KwaZulu-Natal provided the data and context for the study which focused on institutional transformation after the first democratic elections in 1994. The goal was to examine the institutional culture within the school to give meaning and insight into the process and progress of institutional transformation and how this aligned with the transformative goals articulated in educational policy under the direction of the new Constitution of South Africa.

A range of data collection methods were used as a means to examine questions regarding institutional culture and institutional transformation. Data was generated at one high school, previously classified as a 'Coloured' school by the apartheid government. Data generation methods comprised in-depth individual semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with nine participants, field notes taken during participant observations and school documents around institutional culture and institutional transformation.

Old apartheid ideologies of race and practices of power, segregation and discrimination caused participants to understand apartheid discourse as a link of race and power hierarchies. Remnants of such discourses continue within the institutional culture of the school, propagating the conjunction of race and power in particular, in spite of the mandate to transform from an apartheid-based education system. In the post-apartheid era new democratic discourses and practices within institutional culture have emerged that redesign institutional culture and social relations at the school alongside pre-1994 apartheid discourses and practices. Hence, this thesis concludes that these conflicting discourses and practices reflect a tension between stagnancy and change, and a discursive uncertainty as to whether institutional culture steeped in old, apartheid ideologies and practices or new, democratic ideologies and practices will be stronger in determining the process and progress of institutional transformation at the school going forward. Therefore, this study proposes a social role continuum with different points along the continuum in order to help identify where along the continuum schools are positioned as determined by their institutional culture.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Problem of Institutional Transformation within South African Public Schools

1.1 Introduction to the Study

How the education system in South Africa is negotiating change and social transformation has been the subject of many studies. Research (see Jansen & Taylor, 2003; Rembe, 2005 and Rakometski, 2008) reveals that many schools in post-apartheid South Africa carry the legacy of the apartheid system of education and that schools are struggling to navigate around the pervasive influences of that past. This study is about one high school caught up in that process and progress of change and institutional transformation.

After 1948 and prior to the 1994 elections, South Africa was ruled by an apartheid government, and in particular the South African education system was segregated along racial lines. The four main racial categories were: White which refers to a person whose appearance is obviously white or who is generally accepted as a white person, African which refers to a person of or accepted as a member of an African tribe or race, Indian which refers to a person of Indian descent and Coloured which refers to a person of mixed race, or a person who does not fit into any of the other three race categories (Morrow, 1990). Up until 1983, separate education departments were set up for the four main race groups. The *Coloured Persons Education Act* of 1963 provided for a separate education department for Coloured learners. The *Indian Education Act* of 1965 provided the same for Indian learners. All African schools in cities outside the homelands were controlled by the Department of Education and Training by virtue of The *National Education Policy Act* of 1967 which replaced the *Bantu Education Act* introduced in 1953. The creation of a tri-cameral parliament in 1984 led to the development of three separate chambers to run schools for non-African learners. Hence, schools for white learners were placed under the control of the House of Assembly (HOA) and schools for coloured learners were placed under the control of the House of Representatives (HOR).

Education of different standards based on a racial hierarchy was provided by different departments for the numerous different race and ethnic groupings. These different standards led to a discriminatory educational provision. For example, schools serving were

receiving twelve times the funding per learner than the schools serving black learners. This meant that white learners spent more years in better resourced schools, learnt in smaller classes with better qualified teachers. Such schools also reported lower failure and repetition rates, and performed better in the Senior (matriculation) Certificate examinations (Christie, 2005). In contrast, the majority of schools serving black learners were poorly equipped and barely functioning. As a result of an ineffective schooling system, there was high repetition and drop-out rates, and poor performance in the Senior Certificate examinations. The distortions in school funding of the apartheid government are shown in a bar graph (see figure 5.2 p.100) using 1989 figures. According to this data, white learners received the highest funding for schooling as compared to children from the Indian, Coloured and African population groups. According to The School Register of Needs (Department of Education, 1996), schools serving black learners were severely deprived in terms of the following: 24% did not have readily available water facilities; 13% lacked toilet facilities; 57% was without electricity; 69% lacked learning materials; 83% had no access to library facilities; 6% were in severe disrepair and were not suitable for teaching and learning and 11% were in dire need of repair (Bot, 1997). This resulted in disparities in relation to access, resource distribution and quality of education provision (Centre for Education Policy Development, Evaluation and Management, 2001). The white (minority) population group at the top of the hierarchy was privileged and enjoyed high quality education resources. The African (majority) population group at the bottom of the hierarchy was hugely disadvantaged and provided with poor quality education with minimal resources. The quality of education provision for the coloured population group, while below the quality of white education was higher than that of African education provision. The disparities in education resources for the various education authorities impacted on the quality of education provision in schools. Thus, white learners achieved good pass rates and progressed quickly through the schooling system, while African learners produced poor results and with high dropout and repetition rates (CEPD, 2001). Therefore, decades of the apartheid ideology created an education system steeped in inequalities along racial lines and created schools that had for decades been racially and geographically segregated and financially neglected. This neglect led to inadequate school infrastructure, a number of unsuitably qualified teachers, large learner: teacher ratios and a biased curriculum. The post-apartheid system had the mammoth task of completely restructuring and rebuilding

the education system in order to redress the inequities of the past (Christie, 2006). Therefore, the post-apartheid education system needed to integrate plans that catered for all learners in respect to economic growth, job creation, a better life for all and a better education system (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). In other words, an education system that no longer served the interests of only certain sections in society while relegating others to an inferior education system.

For the newly-elected government, the break from the apartheid system of education and formulating new policies and legislation frameworks after the first democratic elections in 1994 implies a shift towards a new education system. The shift is articulated in educational policy as five transformative goals viz. access to education, democracy in education, quality in education and equity and redress in education as outlined in the *South African Schools Act* (Republic of South Africa, 1996c). The goal was to transform schools into self-managing institutions with the capacity to instil and nurture democratic values within all stakeholders (Department of Education, 1996). This involved changing the hierarchical, bureaucratic and authoritarian schools of the past which were characterised by cultures of control, authority and dependency (Grant, 2005). The government sought to move schools towards a future where institutions of learning would be based on democracy, inclusion, participation and shared responsibility (Department of Education, 1995). This would afford all children the opportunity to develop their full potential, irrespective of their skin colour, ethnicity or geographical location. By illuminating the story and experiences of one school working through the decades of discrimination and apartheid and the change to democracy and greater equality, my purpose is to understand how education institutions embrace or resist institutional transformation, what they retain of the past, and what it means to be institutionally transformed in South Africa.

1.2 Rationale and Motivation for this Study

I began my teaching career nineteen years ago in 1994. It was in that year that South Africa embraced democracy. High on the national policy agenda of the newly elected democratic government was the transformation of social institutions such as schools. The intention was to redress the history of inequalities based on race, between urban and rural schools, between rich and poor schools, and between boys and girls in the provision of education

(Christie, 2008). Thus for almost twenty years I have participated as a teacher in that process of changes to the school system.

The South African government formulated educational policies and legislative frameworks such as the *National Education Policy Act, 27 of 1996* (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) and the *South African Schools Act 84 of 1996* (Republic of South Africa, 1996c). These initiatives were designed to align the education system with the values and governance arrangements as set out in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996* (Republic of South Africa, 1996a) which sought to address the inequalities of apartheid and ensure continued, sustainable social stability (Motala, 2000). The newly adopted role of the South African government was to ensure that the goals of social justice, human rights, equity and fairness became entrenched in everyday life. For school communities and their leaders these goals posed a challenge to align their institutions to realise these values in everyday practice.

Almost twenty years after the 1994 elections and South Africa's transition to democracy, sufficient time has lapsed to raise questions about the education system and how it has transformed. How have schools, in particular their school culture, transformed from being focused on order, discipline and obedience to embracing school cultures underpinned by relevance, problem solving, critical thinking and an abolition of corporal punishment. How have school leaders and managers transformed their practice from the old, authoritarian, bureaucratic and hierarchical leadership styles to build institutions of learning needed in a new democracy? How have schools changed from being segregated by race before 1994, to being open to all people? These are some of the questions that motivated me to embark on this enquiry about transformation in schools.

Jansen (2010, p. 9) asserts that the state must share responsibility for education. He says that the South African education system 'is in a parlous state, and our government does not have the capacity or courage to change its schools in vast parts of the country'. Taylor (2010, p.1) describes schools as being '(out) of control and dysfunctional'. These comments resonate with the findings of a national longitudinal study about transformation in the South African schooling system (Centre for Education Policy Development, 2002). The researchers found schools struggling to provide quality education for all. For example, learners in township

schools were learning under poor building conditions and a shortage of resources. These scholars' claims and findings are worrying because the transformation of South African society sought to go beyond making schooling accessible to all. It was also for restructuring systems and values that would sustain society (Department of Education, 1995). It was envisaged there would be a fundamental shift in attitudes, in the way people relate to each other in schools and their environment, and in the manner in which resources are used to achieve society's goals (Department of Education, 1995).

An in-depth focus on one particular institution is especially appropriate to understand the nature of institutional transformation within schooling institutions and how institutional cultures continue to be affected by the legacy of apartheid after 1994, considering many schools were characterised before 1994 by cultures of struggle, protest and a breakdown in the culture of teaching and learning (Badat, 1995). Thus, I have two reasons why an in-depth study of institutional transformation at one school is the rationale and motivation for this study to understand institutional transformation after 1994. Firstly, any questions, judgements or critique of transformation of an institution need to take into account the apartheid legacy as many schools struggle to shift to a culture of teaching and learning (Badat, 1995). Secondly, in monitoring the transformation of the South African schooling system, researchers in the *Education 2000 Plus* project, report stability was achieved regarding issues of discipline and improving environments for learning and teaching. However, they found major challenges still remain, even in areas showing improvements in comparison to the period before 1994, for example, improved quantitative access to education for the majority of South Africans and more equitable distribution of resources through funding. However, the Education 2000+ study only renders a surface understanding of change in the case study schools chosen (Coombe, Lubisi & Narsee, 2001).

My ethnographical approach to institutional transformation after 1994 goes beyond a surface understanding of institutional transformation within educational contexts. By using an ethnographical approach, I provide understanding and insight into the transformation process within one educational context by examining the daily cultural practices within the school amidst the changing education landscape in South Africa over a six month period together with historical data (i.e. from 1974-2011) generated from school document analysis and memory work of participants. Hence, the data required to sufficiently answer the four

research questions posed in this study is a combination of six months of active fieldwork which comprised of interviews, focus group discussions and participant observations and historical data obtained from school documents (i.e. school admission registers, school photographs, school policies, minutes of meetings and the principal's log). Locating the in-depth study in one school goes beneath the surface of everyday activities and structures of the school. This not only provides insights and understanding into the institution's culture from 1974-2011, but how institutional culture within this school after 1994 speaks to the goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education outlined by the Department of Education (1995), and the research questions underpinning this study.

1.3 Critical Research Questions in this Study

My study is underpinned by four research questions focusing on institutional transformation. I outline the questions below with a brief motivation underpinning each question and the aims of this study.

- **How are the institutional cultures of one high school changing from the characteristics of apartheid education to those of the transformative education policies in post-apartheid South Africa?** This question aims to examine the institutional culture of the school pre-and post- 1994. This examination ought to help define the school's culture and how it has/has not transformed after 1994.
- **How do institutional cultures cohere with post-apartheid policies formulated for:**
 - (a) School Leadership**
 - (b) Social Transformation in Schools?**

This question focuses on the match between the types and practices of school leadership in policy, and the impact of these post-apartheid policies on the process and progress of institutional transformation within the school. It is concerned with how leadership practices in schools are working towards creating learning institutions wherein the goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education are being realised.

- **What are the enabling and challenging conditions for institutional transformation in one high school?** Most South African schools carry an apartheid legacy of education. Hence, this question aims to identify and understand specific aspects

within the school's culture that are serving to promote or hinder transformation efforts.

- **What do the efforts and experiences of one school reveal about role of schools in socially transforming South African society?** Schools have been identified as key sites where democratic ideals can be realised and promoted. Therefore, the fourth question aims to theorise how schools can advance the broad social transformation agenda in South Africa.

1.4 Clarification of Concepts used in this Study

In order to facilitate a uniform understanding to the reader of the concepts I use in this study, I provide explanations of the following key terms/concepts: social transformation, access to education, quality in education, democracy in education, equity and redress in education, discourse and institutional culture. The explanations of the concepts are necessary to provide clarity as to which specific meanings are being attached to each concept in this study because these concepts are interpreted and used differently by different scholars in literature. The clarification of these concepts links up with the post-1994 government's mandate to transform schooling in South Africa outlining the five transformative goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education.

1.4.1 Social Transformation

Social transformation in this study must not be confused with social change or social reform. Social reform measures are seen as compromises, as a having a temporary existence and where the measures of the reform are provisional or conditional (Teeple, 2000). According to Keller (2004) educational reform initiatives aim to go back to the good state of something, while education transformation is defined as changing the essence of something and not just rearranging something. The implication in 'educational reform' is that education was once in a good condition, and that reform initiatives are meant to bring it back to that good state. In other words, the original form of the education system should remain. However, the notion of educational transformation is that there must be a fundamentally new education vision, designed by those who will be affected by and benefit from it. In the South African context and in the context of my study, the definition of school reform falls short of the government's agenda of transformation. The education

transformation agenda is about addressing the inequalities of an apartheid education based on race, class and gender discrimination, and to create a new system wherein all citizens have equal access to quality education. The definition of transformation which implies changing the form and function of education resonates with the transformation agenda of the post-apartheid government which is to create a new education system (Department of Education, 1995).

According to Shackleton (2007), to change something implies making it different in some way. This change can be small or large, but that which is changed essentially remains the same. At the heart of my study is the question of a school's transformation, and the meaning of social transformation goes beyond and deeper than the definitions of social change and social reform. I find that Shackleton's notion makes the change process appear superficial. It is inadequate for the South African government's ideas about social transformation education. Kimbrough and Burkett (1990) go deeper when they say that change is an effort to alter things by modifying the fundamental functions, structures and purpose of an organisation. However, Van Deventer *et al.*, (2003) assert that change and the change process can be understood as a fight between what is and what is desired. Their interpretation of change creates the impression of a much deeper and meaningful process. This understanding resonates with the transformation agenda of the South African government, and with what this study seeks to examine.

Whitaker (1995) says that change is usually experienced as a threat even when it is an opportunity for something new. For the purposes of this study, I look at the threats to the status quo as well as understandings in the school.

According to Makgoba (1997,p.181) transformation can be defined as either an act or a process where 'the form, shape or nature of something is completely changed or altered, a blueprint change'. Makgoba therefore makes a clear distinction between transformation and reformation. The latter being a 'process of modification without fundamental change, a cosmetic change.' However, Motala (2001) states that transformation cannot be conceived of as a single moment, but rather as a slow and cumulative process in which both the impulses of reform and reaction contest each other for recognition.

According to Delport (2005), transforming a society from one political dispensation to another as was the case in South Africa after the 1994 elections requires two clear, but inter-related types of modifications. This means that the way a society is organised on the outside and how it is managed should be altered so as to put into place operations to realise the fundamental principles on which the new envisaged society is to be built. Further, these external changes must be complemented by personal changes in people's attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and their future behaviour otherwise the external transformation will not be real and will lack substance. I use the term 'change' as a complement to the term 'transformation'. When I refer to social transformation I mean all the changes that take place and which need to take place over a period of time in order to bring about institutional transformation in relation to the transformative goals. Many of the government's changes were expressed in terms such as 'access to education' and 'quality in education', which were understood differently by different social actors and scholars. In the next few sub-sections I clarify these specific terms which are nested within the broad yet critical notion of social transformation.

1.4.2 Access to Education

The South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996) and *the National Education Policy Act* (Republic of South Africa, 1996) provide for the admission of eligible learners to all public schools. Msila (2009) argues that while the Constitution lays a solid foundation for a democratic system of education, transformation is not only about political change. For example, in terms of access, transformation means going further than increasing enrolments or physical access. It includes epistemological access where all learners enrolled at a school are able to cope in and benefit from the learning environment. It is when all learners have both physical and epistemological access that transformation will be sustainable and offer better, more efficient educational institutions.

In this study when I refer to access to education I mean quantitative access and epistemological access. Access also includes the nature of access, how it relates to transformation and whether the type of access granted to learners is helping to create a completely different political and social environment in the school, after 1994 (Sekoane, 2000). Quantitative access focuses on the number of learners that a school has the physical

and logistical capacity to enrol. In some cases, pre-1994 this meant the number of learners a particular school could admit from a race, religion or ethnic group different to its norm (Centre for Education Policy Development, 2001). Epistemological access refers to whether learners who are able to cope with the learning environment, benefit from it, and whether such learners are able to receive quality education from the environment (Centre for Education Policy Development, 2000; 2001).

1.4.3 Quality in Education

The meaning of the concept 'quality' in education has been debated by different South African scholars. Christie (2008) explains quality in education to mean the quality of academic achievement that schools attain measured against international standards, while van der Berg, Wood and Le Roux (2002) explain 'quality' in education as achieving educational outcomes such as increasing the levels at which subjects like mathematics are studied and passed and increasing the overall pass rate and quality in the school leaving certificate which arrest the legacies of the apartheid system of education. Heystek (2010) emphasises high literacy and mathematics levels, high pass rate levels and low learner repetition rates as defining 'quality' in education. Kruger (2003) argues that a culture of teaching and learning underpinned by low learner drop-out rates, facilities and resources, strong leadership, harmony between stakeholders and good academic results is what defines 'quality' education. Clarity on the meaning of an understanding of 'quality' in education is imperative for my study on institutional transformation because the goal of quality in education is one of the transformative goals in the post 1994 education policies.

Breaking away from an apartheid system of education and formulating new policies and legislation frameworks after 1994 implies a shift towards building an education system that aligns with the principles underpinning the country's constitution. This was a move towards creating a future built on an education system that would allow children the opportunity to develop their full potential, irrespective of colour, race, gender or geographical location. What this essentially means is creating a new culture of teaching and learning within South African schools. Schools and their leaders were tasked with the challenge of recreating a culture of teaching and learning with a focus on value, equity, equal opportunity and access.

The aim was for schools to begin to lay the foundation for transforming education along democratic lines.

After the 1994 elections, the government not only committed to provide schooling for all, but also to improving the quality of that education through an integrated approach to education and training. Therefore, in the South African context and the context of this study, I refer to quality in education to mean: what resources are made available to ensure basic conditions of learning and teaching; the culture of teaching and learning in schools; establishing quality assurance mechanisms; improving school management practices and continuous teacher development and support.

1.4.4 Democracy in Education

Democracy in education is one of the goals identified by the post-1994 government to help transform South African schooling, and this goal is therefore integral to my study of institutional transformation within schools after 1994. According to scholars, debates about the issue of 'democracy' revolve around a shift that needs to occur in the role that schools play in a democratic society like South Africa after 1994. Msila (2009) argues that schools can be significant sites for the establishment and practice of democratic values. According to Clayton and Tomlinson (2001), critical thinking is an integral part of democracy, and in democratic societies, schools become the platform whereby children are assisted in the roles they will assume as adults in such societies. Alston (2002) asserts that the key role played by schools in democratic societies is to motivate children to think critically and independently so that they are successfully integrated into and effectively participate in their societies. The concept of democracy is important in my study because it is one of the transformative goals in post-1994 education policy. For example, *the South African Schools Act* of 1996 is aimed at providing "a uniform system for the organisation, governance and funding of schools. It seeks to ensure that all learners have right of access to quality education without discrimination." In other words, the transformation and democratisation process and the education system after 1994 had to incorporate the values of human dignity, equality, human rights and freedom, non-racism and non-sexism which guarantee the right to basic education for all citizens of the country. In a post-apartheid South African context, there is the need for school leadership to be democratic and transformational in

order to be able to lead schools within a rapidly changing educational landscape (Christie and Potterton, 2007). According to Grant (2008) the inequities in a post-apartheid South Africa can be decreased by school leadership and management. Grant argues for a commitment from educational academia to go beyond talking about issues of diversity and social justice to embracing leadership approaches that prioritise issues of democracy and social justice. Astin and Astin (2000, p. 11) argue that the aim of effective school leadership ought to be “to enhance equity, social justice, and the quality of life, to expand access and opportunity, to encourage respect for difference and diversity, and to strengthen democracy.”

In this study, when I refer to democracy in education I mean what are the practices of tolerance and inclusivity where there is no negative discrimination, for example, in learner enrolment, in staff employment and opportunities for promotion and in religious practices **at the school.**

1.4.5 Equity and Redress

The concepts of equity and redress in education needs clarification because confusion exists around how these concepts are understood and used. For example, ‘equity’ in education does not mean the same as ‘equality’ in education where all people are now given the same educational opportunities. It is about providing educational opportunities to previously disadvantaged groups in order to bring these opportunities up to par with what previously advantaged groups of people were given. Redress in education is not as much about redistribution of educational opportunities as it is about retribution and providing educational opportunities to right the inequalities in educational provision before 1994 in South Africa.

According to the Department of Education (1997), equity in education implies that all learners, irrespective of racial classification, gender or any other difference must have the same opportunities to access and be successful within education institutions. In arguing for redressing the apartheid legacy of social exclusion, Badat (2009, p. 1) distinguishes between “equity of access and opportunity and outcomes” for previously disadvantaged groups of people. According to Badat (2009), redress in terms of access can be achieved through different mechanisms such as “supportive institutional environment and cultures,

curriculum innovation, appropriate teaching and learning strategies and techniques, appropriate induction and support and effective academic mentoring.” In my study of institutional transformation, equity and redress are among the transformative goals from the post 1994 education policies. When I refer to equity and redress in education in this study I mean what and how opportunities are offered to all learners and staff members irrespective of racial classification, gender, religious convictions or geographical location in order for them to be successful within the educational environment of the school.

1.4.6 Discourse

The concept ‘discourse’ needs clarification because the traditional perspective supports a narrow understanding and use of ‘discourse’ whereas other perspectives have a much wider understanding and in-depth use of the concept. I use the term analytically in this study and therefore I clarify here whether I use it in the narrow, wider or a hybrid way.

According to Howarth (2000, p.2), discourse, as used in the social sciences, has gone from being narrowly defined as “a single utterance”, or “a conversation between two people” to that which is “synonymous with the entire social system.” Laclau and Mouffe (1987) propose that discourse encompasses everything i.e. the practices and meanings occurring within a group of people and which shape the identity of that community. In explaining how people in a group, conceptualise and make sense and meaning out of their experiences, Lanksheare, Gee, Knobel and Searle (1997, p. 22), argue that meaning-making occurs through socio-cultural processes that have inducted them into “forms of life”, “domains of practice” or “discourses”. Gee (1997) explains that when people come together in a community, there are practices and symbols particular to their interactions which can be seen in the language they use to communicate, the meanings they attach to different forms of communication and the identity that is developed within the community. Howarth identifies who is involved in discourse. Laclau and Mouffe go beyond this to include the practices that shape the identity of who is involved in ‘discourse’. Lanksheare *et al*, (1997) and Alvermann *et al*, (1997) go further and take the position of defining the processes that shape a group’s identity. Therefore there is consensus and elaboration in the positions taken by the different scholars above in terms of how ‘discourse’ is understood. My study of institutional transformation concerns a group of people in one school from 1974-2011. The

collective understandings of the scholars above on the concept of discourse is a tool I use in this thesis to explain how groups at the school create meaning and identify themselves as a group, and how their discourse changes over time. I am using a combined explanation of discourse based on definitions from Howarth (2000), Laclau and Mouffe (1987), Lanksheare *et al.*, (1997), Alvermann *et al.*, (1997), Gee (1997) and Fairclough (2003). I have combined Howarth's focus on who the discourse involves with Laclau and Mouffe's emphasis on what practices within the group form part of the discourse and Lanksheare *et al.*'s, explanation of how a group's identity is shaped through practices. Together with Fairclough, they provide me with ways to understand how members within the school speak about social events, look for what they include or exclude, who the social actors are, how they relate to each other and so on.

1.4.7 Institutional Culture

According to Walter *et al.*, (2004), the concept of school culture has been a topic of much debate for more than two decades. They say that generally it refers to a set of commonly held values, attitudes, beliefs and norms which may be implicit and/or explicit, and describes a wide range of influences on how people behave within organisations. Hence, people within an organisation may not always be consciously aware of its influences or be able to verbalise what constitutes the organisation's culture.

According to Sarason (1982), there exists a range of sub-cultures within schools that are influential. Expressing similar sentiments, Stoll and Fink (1996) state that culture within a school cannot be defined as a single entity, but rather as a collection of varied sub-cultures being brought together within a single organisation. McLaughlin (1990) and Huberman (1992) explain what such sub-cultures may be and state that school culture is a collection of several sub-cultures for example, different cultures in a school may group themselves into those of teachers, learners or parents. These sub-cultures are formed based on similar interests and which have the potential to pull the organisation in different directions. However, there is also the danger of having a dominant culture within such sub-cultures which may not be aligned with the interests and beliefs of other cultures within the organisation. When such dis-junctures between dominant organisational cultures and sub-cultures, it creates divisions which can prove to be powerful challenges to whole-school communication and

collegiality amongst members in the organisation (Sisken, 1994). It is widely believed that improving schools is directly linked to changing school cultures and structures which are complicated. Hence, there is a link and interaction between the change process and organisational culture. According to Bate, Khan and Pye (2000), institutional culture is responsible for shaping and mediating the implementation and impact of change efforts that are introduced. In other words, the shared beliefs, values and assumptions within institutional culture determine how successful efforts to implement change are. For example, if a leader wants to implement changes regarding rituals and ceremonies that have been an established part of institutional culture, careful consideration must be given to the deeper cultural implications of such a strategy being used to introduce change into the institution (Bate et al., 2000). Therefore, this debate has been useful in providing understandings of school practices, and how this understandings of school culture links to wider national or societal issues. Although various scholars, for example, Hellreigelet al., (2004) and O' Reilly et al., (1994) say that conceptualising organisational culture is a difficult task. Other educational scholars (see Bush & Anderson, 2003) agree that, in order to analyse and manage organisational culture, it is important to have clarity on what is meant by organisational culture. I explore definitions offered by different scholars and clarify how I use it in this study. I use the terms 'school culture' and 'organisational/institutional culture' interchangeably in this study.

I take the Hellreigelet al., (2004) explanation that sees organisational culture as a clear pattern of the shared assumptions, values and norms that help shape the socialisation activities, language, symbols, rites and ceremonies of the group of people at the school in the study. I am also using Chen's (2004), Silverthorne's (2004) and Nazir's (2005) suggestions about the importance of understanding organisational culture in order to understand how it is responsible for improving an organisation's capabilities and its functioning. According to these scholars, this understanding can also determine how successful new employees are in terms of fitting in and becoming part of the organisation. According to Nazir (2005) and Silverthorne (2004), organisational culture impacts on employees' commitment within an organisation, and that the strength of this commitment is directly linked to the strength of organisational culture. And, because of consistently shared values and beliefs between all members of an organisation, it is assumed that this consistency builds strong

organisational culture. With strong organisational culture, employees are made aware of the organisation's goals and in working towards achieving these goals employees increase their commitment to the organisation (Deal & Kennedy, 1982). I aim to see if such behaviour is present within the organizational culture of the school in the study.

1.5 Research Design and Methodology

To generate in-depth data about the institutional culture at the selected school and how this culture speaks to the process and progress of institutional transformation, I chose ethnography as a research methodology because by looking closely at the institutional culture of one school from 1974-2011 through the lens of critical discourse analysis I have been able to explore institutional transformation in respect to the goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education. Further discussion of my research paradigm, research methodology, research methods, sampling and data analysis is done in chapter four.

1.6 Chapter Outline

In this first chapter I offered an introduction to my study by way of an outline of the rationale and motivation for the research, my four critical research questions and clarification of the concepts used in this thesis.

Chapter two focuses on a review of literature related to institutional transformation in schools. The aim of this chapter is to present a review of literature on key issues related to the main research problem, and which informs this study of available scholarship on institutional transformation. This includes research undertaken internationally and nationally with regards to the process and progress of institutional transformation in different educational contexts. My review finds that the process and progress of institutional transformation is fraught with challenges and more complicated than many envisaged.

Chapter three provides the theoretical and conceptual framework relevant to institutional transformation and South African schooling that I use to understand and analyse the ethnography of the school selected for this study. The four theories chosen for this study were the theory of change knowledge, theory of organisational culture, theory of leadership for institutional transformation and the theory of the role of schools in society.

In chapter four the methodology of ethnography for researching the institutional transformation of the selected school is outlined. In the chapter I explain my research paradigm as a critical stance, research design as ethnography, data collection methods and four techniques. My choice of sampling, data analysis, measures to ensure trustworthiness and ethical issues in regard to this study is also explained.

Chapter five's focus is on providing a socio-historical account about the school selected for this study. It is divided into four historical periods: "the good old days" which refers to when the school was considered to be the pride of the community; when the school administration was under 'Coloured Affairs' (1974-1984); when "the pressure cooker is switched on" (1984-1991); when "the lid is pulled off the pressure cooker": the transition period (1992-1996), and when "things fall apart": the time for democracy (1996-2011).

Chapter six explores the first of three discourses emanating from the data generated through interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document analysis. The chapter explains how the discourse of race reflects changing approaches, attitudes and practices in the change-over of political dispensations, and what these changes mean for the process and progress of institutional transformation within the school.

Chapter seven's focus is on the second discourse coming through in chapter five, i.e. power. The chapter outlines the changing and stagnating modes, attitudes and practices to the issue of power and school leadership, conditions for changing the practice of power, reasons in favor of a power shift and how these reflect transformation within the school.

Chapter eight deals with the third discourse which concerns performance. It explains the changing levels, attitudes and practices to the issue of performance, the enabling and challenging conditions that impact on performance, how this defines institutional culture and how it speaks to the transformation agenda.

Chapter nine is the concluding chapter of this thesis, and provides the research findings that answer the four research questions posed in chapter one, discusses the contributions of this study to theoretical knowledge of institutional transformation and possible avenues for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature about Institutional Transformation and Schooling

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an outline of the rationale and motivation for my study, the four research questions underpinning my research, explanations of key concepts I use in my study and a brief outline of my chosen research design. In this chapter I review national literature about institutional transformation and schooling.

My literature review revolves around the key issue of institutional transformation which includes a number of interacting themes. My review of South African literature focuses on the period after 1994. I focus on this time period because after 1994 the elected government mandated the transformation of educational institutions. Hence, literature focusing on institutional transformation after 1994 is written within the broad post-apartheid process of political and social change to establish social equality and democracy. My purpose is to review scholarly debates and key findings around institutional transformation after the formulation and introduction of new education policies and legislative frameworks aimed at transforming the education system. My aim is to deepen understanding of the transformation process in educational institutions. South Africa is a young democracy and is in the process of transforming institutions, like schools. Sparks (2003, p.23) comments that "... the process of transformation is slow, messy, fraught with continual setbacks, and much more complicated than anyone setting out to pursue it wanted to believe." This has consequences for the transformation process within the education system and for the goal of creating institutions of learning now needed in a democratic South Africa.

The focus of the South African literature review is on school leadership and management, democracy in education and creating a culture of teaching and learning. I have chosen these aspects of education and schooling because they permeated the literature reviewed and are key aspects identified by scholars in the transformation process.

2.2 South African School Leadership and Institutional Transformation

After 1994, the Department of Education's vision and direction for the South African education system aimed to transform and build a system that would align itself with the values in the country's Constitution (McLennan & Thurlow, 2003). The Department of Education formulated and introduced new policy and legislation to help achieve this aim. How transformation is managed is a key challenge to its achievement. School leadership and management play a key role in transforming "management systems, processes and structures" (Department of Education, 1996, p. 25) inherited from an apartheid system of education so that all stakeholders work democratically and collectively to secure delivery within an efficient and effective education system. Thus, in this section I review literature that illuminates debates and findings about the role of school leadership and management in South African schools in helping to realise the vision to build an education system for a democratic South Africa.

The Department of Education's Task Team on Education Management Development report in 1996 recognised the central role of human agency in bringing about transformation, and concluded that the key to transformation is education management development. According to the Task Team (p.25) "the task of transformation is greater than reconstructing the system and structures which sustain society. It requires a fundamental shift in attitudes, in the way people relate to each other, and their environment, and in the way resources are deployed to achieve society's goals." However, the Task Team on Education Management Development identified that for managers to have the capacity to work in democratic and participative ways they need to build relationships and ensure prompt and effective delivery (Department of Education, 1996, p.25). Research shows that the view held by the Task Team did not result in changing school leadership and management in many schools. For example, Singh (2002) found a deteriorating leadership quality in dysfunctional schools. Masitsa's (2005) research also shows that the quality of education and school management is deteriorating, especially in township and rural schools. Masitsa argues that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa lays a good foundation for democracy in education and, if these schools take advantage of such provisions, schools would be more productive and be able to face the challenge of transforming

to improve the quality of education and management in these schools. School principals are placed at the forefront of the transformation process in schools and by virtue of their position as heads of schools, are designated drivers of the transformation process. This contrasts with the apartheid era when school leaders were seen as holding an elevated position, status and authority (Grant, 2006; 2008).

Grant (2006) argues that leadership is a critical component in the transformation of South African schools, and that a different understanding of leadership is required. According to Grant, there needs to be a shift away from leadership as headship, which was prevalent during the apartheid era to a more distributed form of leadership. Grants view of school leaders during the apartheid era coheres with the argument raised by Blasé and Blasé (2001) that within the culture of schools, people have been socialized to respect position rather than person, and to defer to the positional authority and power associated with status. The scholars above posit that leadership is a collaborative effort between stakeholders and challenges principals to give up some of the power while it invites others to become empowered. However, these scholars do not address the issue that for principals letting go of power may be as difficult as it is for others to assume that power.

The challenge for improving school leadership and management to take forward the transformation process has received attention. There is evidence of attempts being made and support provided to address leadership development in South Africa. For example, the Mathew Goniwe School of Leadership and Governance is for school leaders wanting to improve their qualifications (Msila, 2009). There is also a national qualification aimed at principals in management (Bush, Thurlow & Coleman 2007). The underlying principle of these initiatives and structures is for school leaders to understand different models of leadership. The aim is to assist them in establishing democratic institutions. For that to occur, school leaders need to adopt leadership styles that are congruent to a democratic society (Msila & Moorosi, 2008). Without such training school leaders would struggle to change the highly authoritarian and hierarchical structures in schools prevailing during the apartheid era. Researchers such as Fleisch, (1993); Donohue, (1997) and Galloway, (2004) assert that training and development are

essential for school leaders who are facing challenges brought on by changes to the system of education governance. Otherwise, school leaders would struggle to bring about the changes needed for institutional transformation.

Fullan (2008) proposes that the role of the principal should be repositioned. He bases this on the argument that principal's jobs have become complex. By repositioning the principal's role as leader, Fullan believes that principals can become a force for school transformation and highlights the skills school leaders need to bring about long term transformation. He identifies five fundamentals of effective school leadership. These are: moral purpose towards making a difference in the entire social environment of the school, understanding the change process; improving relationships; creating and sharing knowledge and coherence-making. Fullan's identification of a repertoire of skills suggests a holistic approach to effective school leadership, and implies collective ownership and responsibility of all education stakeholders. Therefore, in my study, Fullan's suggestion on effective school leadership elucidates core aspects for examination within the school in respect to how effective is school leadership in bringing about long term transformation. Fullan asserts principals need to reposition themselves to create and lead learning communities. The implication is that schools, their leaders and other stakeholders in education need to rethink how leadership needs to be practiced in schools, if the goal is an education system that is competent to meet global challenges.

Fullan (2008, p.19) identifies what he believes to be at the core of the question of what should be the aim of principalship. It is for schools to create "deep cultures that work daily on purposeful, continuous learning" (p. 19). Fullan's view is that this is one of the significant ways principals can make a direct contribution to improving themselves as leaders and strengthening the system for the long term. While this may have the short term result of improving learning, Fullan argues that it can create perfect conditions for establishing legacies. Fullan's implication goes over and beyond a leadership style to a deeper level. Fullan bases this argument on the fact that when leaders leave an institution there remains a continuity of good direction that has been built into the culture of the organisation. Leithwood *et al.*, (2003) assert that when school leadership is distributed to other members in the organisation, it impacts on schools and

students. They also propose that learning can be improved indirectly by the influence that school leaders have on staff motivation, commitment and working conditions. In my study of institutional transformation at one school, Fullan's notion of legacies is relevant because I examine transformation in the selected school under different leaders over four historical periods from 1974-2011. The notion of distributed leadership put forward by Leithwood *et al*, (1999) is useful for examining which modes of leadership prevailed during the four historical periods of the school and the impact of these modes on effecting transformation.

There is research showing school leaders successfully negotiating transformation in schools. Lawrence and Moyo (2006) have written about such leaders in South Africa contexts. One of the major challenges facing the leaders at these schools was transforming their schools into learning organisations before the schools were ready for change. The lack of training for those tasked with the responsibility of transforming schools brought to the fore the need to prepare school leaders for the challenges of transformation. Despite such difficulties, Lawrence and Moyo state that such schools are successfully and sustainably working together to bring about a measure of transformation. Success is connected to the way principals and staff members manage their schools and the support they receive from other agencies and education authorities. Lawrence and Moyo (2006) point out school leaders can bring about huge changes in the ethos of the school culture, relations with the community and management style. Such change requires commitment from all stakeholders. For example, where all stakeholders commit themselves to creating and realising a vision for the school that aims to bring about transformation.

There are instances that when there is a re-conceptualisation of school leadership, some school leaders may discard traditionally authoritarian and bureaucratic ways of managing schools. For example, Galloway (2004) finds developing visionary leadership empowers school leaders to effect transformation in their schools. Galloway argues for a visionary leadership style which identifies principles of democracy to meet the challenges and constraints that educational leaders face in order to redress the education system. He makes the assumption that there exists the capacity for educational leaders to effect greater change and transformation in

schools. However, he contends that this depends on school leaders forming a vision around effective personal, organisational and professional strategies for transformation. This serves as an example of how school leaders can contribute to the transformation efforts in their particular institutions.

The next section focuses on the democratic structures in education that are essential for the process of institutional transformation.

2.3 Democratic Structures in Education for Institutional Transformation

2.3.1 School Governing Bodies

In tracing the struggle for democracy and participation in South African schools Sayed and Carrim (1997) identify two core issues. Firstly, all stakeholders should be part of school decision-making and school governance. Secondly, legitimacy, accountability and democracy are ensured when all stakeholders are equally represented. There is evidence from research that stakeholders, for example, teachers want to be part of decision-making at school level, for example, Poo and Hoyle (1995) and Mosage and van der Westhuizen (1997). Research by Steyn and Squelch (1997) find the majority of teachers willing to participate in school-related decisions and expressed desire for principals to be open and willing to create opportunities for such participation, empowerment and democratic practices. The research also cites the advantages of whole school improvement due to greater commitment to professional behaviour from teachers.

Research emanating from the Education 2000+ Study (CEPD, 2001) conducted to monitor education policy, implementation and change, reveals that out of twenty seven schools in the study one of the schools in the study failed to elect a governing body. The study reveals that some schools do not follow legislation in electing SGBs, and a common difficulty experienced across schools by SGBs is in developing school policies other than the learner code of conduct. The difficulty is especially evident in respect to developing admission policies and language policies (CEPD, 2001). The study also reveals that most of the SGBs members do not have the basic knowledge and skills they need to effect democratic governance in their schools despite

the provision made in the *South African Schools Act* (Department of Education 1996) for heads of provincial education departments to provide training for elected SGB members. This finding raises the concern that SGB members are failing to carry out their fundamental role of establishing democracy in schools because training does not occur.

Carrim and Tshoane (2000) point out that when strategies are put into place to hand over power to governance structures for example, SGBs, support structures must be provided to assist such structures to fulfill their roles and responsibilities. Woolman & Fleisch, (2008) point out that training must be provided for governing bodies which will provide the basis for increased parental involvement. This suggestion resonates with findings from the Education 2000+ Study which report on the need for school governing bodies to be trained in order to be effective in their role of school governance. The lack of training of SGB members revealed in the literature highlights the negative impacts that an untrained and poorly skilled SGB might have on the transformative goal of democracy in education. These findings around the need for training of SGB members and the impact of such training on their role in school governance is significant for my study as it speaks to how trained SGB members can play a role in creating democratic institutions.

2.3.2 School Performance

Democratising schools affects the performance of an institution. It involves a move towards an education system that affords all children the opportunity to develop their full potential, irrespective of colour, race, gender or geographical location. Southworth (2005) argues that school leaders have a responsibility to create and lead in an environment that enhances performance. Fullan (2004, p. 16) cautions, “only principals who are equipped to handle a complex, rapidly changing environment can implement the reform that leads to sustainable improvement in student achievement.” Therefore, principals need the necessary training to bring about and manage change efforts aimed at improving academic performance. Harris (2005, p. 11) notes that “the current focus on leadership stems from the need to cope with discontinuous and accelerating change.” This is relevant within the current South African milieu in which the virtues of democracy, transparency, openness, participation and consultation are

placed in high regard in the constitution. The challenge for school leaders is how to overcome years of apartheid ideology and an education system steeped in the ethos, cultures and practices of an apartheid system (Grant, 2006).

Southworth (2005) and Harris (2005) are relevant in my study because they illuminate the role of school leaders in enhancing and supporting performance in schools, which South African education policy has identified as a key role player in transforming the culture of teaching and learning. However, Southworth and Harris emphasise the role of school leaders and overlook the role of other stakeholders, for example teachers, in bringing about change in teaching and learning. Therefore, there is a weakness in this literature in terms of it having a narrow focus on the role of school leaders only in creating cultures for learning in schools.

Literature reviewed also focuses on the role of school culture in bringing about positive changes in performance. Dufour *et al.*, (2006) use the concept “professional learning communities” to define school cultures working collaboratively to improve performance. According to Dufour, there are six core components needed to create professional learning communities and improve performance. These include a focus on learning, a collaborative culture, collective enquiry, an action orientation, a commitment to continuous learning, and a concentration on results. They claim that with these six core components, a school’s culture can be permanently changed towards continuous improvement. Although Dufour *et al.*, are writing in an American context, the emphasis on and insight provided by Dufour into how collaborative culture can create professional learning communities to improve performance is relevant to increase my understanding of the role of school culture in improving performance. Collaboration between education stakeholders which forms part of a school’s culture is outlined in education policy, for example the *South African Schools Act* (Department of Education, 1999) and is part of the transformation agenda to recreate a culture of teaching and learning in South African schools and improve performance. However, Dufour overlooks the role of school leaders and the training needed as part of the six components to create professional learning communities by way of collaborative cultures. The training of school leaders is important within the South

African context where school leadership pre-1994 was characterised by authority, non-consultation and non-participation (Department of Education, 1996).

According to McLennan (2000) in the context of education management in South Africa the policies and legislative frameworks put into place by the government is just the first step in the change process. McLennan is convinced the key challenge will be how the change is going to be managed and argues for a profound change in the culture and practice of schools if this process is going to be successful. Similar sentiments are expressed by Fullan (1991). He says that reform goes beyond policy to being about changing cultures in classrooms, in schools and in districts. This links up with the need to recreate a culture of teaching and learning with the conviction that schools and classrooms are where this can be achieved. Therefore, in my study, examining school culture becomes one of the focal points to gain insights into for example, how teaching and learning is occurring and how this process speaks to transforming academic performance.

Malcolm *et al.*, (2000), and Christie *et al.*, (2007) report that schools that display a deep sense of responsibility and shared enterprise and a culture of hard work with high values, have teachers and leaders who perform well. The school principals focus on improving academic performance. The teachers are dedicated to teaching and the learners are motivated to improve their performance. These scholars find punctuality is observed throughout the day.

They find another notable feature of a democratic school culture is having strong internal accountability systems in place. Staff members understand and accept work that needs to be accomplished and there are support systems in place to make this happen and to monitor the work in progress. This democratic culture creates the environment in which teaching and learning thrives, and where all stakeholders can contribute to and experience improved practice and academic performance.

One of the aims in democratising school culture is to improve education quality. Barber and Mourshed (2007) believe that the quality of an education system is largely dependent on the quality of its teachers. However, Christie *et al.*, (2007) state that the teaching profession in South Africa is in crisis due to low teacher motivation. Therefore, Barber and Mourshed and

Christie *et.al*, agree that to improve teaching and learning, the education system needs motivated teachers taking responsibility for the performance of their learners.

Research on South African schools highlights other aspects that are important for education quality. The CEPD (2001) finds that many schools are not electrified and do not have access to clean water. Such schools experience huge challenges in teaching and learning and using time effectively for learning and teaching. To achieve quality teaching and learning, Heneveld and Craig (1996) emphasise the following: material resources, pedagogical support, medium of instruction and student health. However, Taylor, Muller & Vinjevold (2003) point out that although financial allocations to South African schools have increased since 1994, this is not sufficient to overcome the inequitable provisioning of the apartheid past. Taylor (2006) judges that the 20% of South Africa's schools which were the former well-resourced and previously advantaged schools were functioning adequately. In his view, the other 80%, which serve poor African communities, were essentially dysfunctional. Taylor concludes that most schools in South Africa do not have the institutional culture to provide young people with the necessary attitudes and intellectual skills needed to build a modern state. Reddy (2006), also notes that the majority of South African schools are performing below expectations.

To sum up, the literature above sheds light on the physical, financial and pedagogical resources that are needed to improve performance and quality in teaching and learning. In the next section, I review literature on the link between democratic school culture and school performance.

2.4 School Culture and Institutional Transformation

Schein (1992, p.12) defines organisational culture as a 'pattern of shared assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, which has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems. O'Reilly *et al.*, (1994) agree with the previous scholars, that organisational culture consists of fundamental assumptions, values, behavioural norms and expectations, but go on to state that it is also about a shared mindset or patterns of thinking, or as explained by O'Reilly, "a set of cognitions"

by members of a particular social context. Deal and Kennedy (1982, p. 4) share a similar perspective to O'Reilly *et al.*, and theorise organisational culture as the “integrated pattern of human behaviour that includes thought, speech, action and artifacts and depends on man’s capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations.”

Parker (2000,p.226) uses the term ‘organisational culture’ and describes this as “a continuing process of articulating contested versions of what the organisation should be doing, who it should be responsible to, and who does what work for what reward.” According to Parker, culture is continuously being negotiated and thus the surfacing of ‘silent voices’ to bring them into being is critical. Hargreaves and Hopkins (1993) state that school culture is difficult to define, but is best thought of as the procedures, values and expectations that guide people’s behaviour within an organisation, and it is the history, context and the people within an organisation that shape and influence school culture, notwithstanding the external political and economic forces and changes in national or local educational policies.

According to Bush, Coleman and Thurlow (2003), the school cultures dominant in South African schools reflect the wider social structure of the apartheid era. Attempts to replace decades of institutional racism and injustice have been replaced by an overt commitment to democracy in some aspects of school life, including education. Badat (1995) traces the nature of educational transition and its link to democracy since 1990, and he identifies the difficulty for historically black schools to shift from a culture of struggle and protest to a culture of learning. This study on institutional transformation in one high school, in examining the school’s culture, attempts to shed insight and understanding into how its daily reality speaks to the transformation agenda outlined by the Department of Education and followed through in educational policy after the 1994 elections.

The National Policy on Religion and Education (Department of Education, 2006) connects religion and education to promote values within the South African schooling system. The South African government post 1994 recognises and gives equal status, respect and freedom of expression to all religions and this is enshrined in the country’s constitution. Hence, the underlying principle of the new education system is inclusivity aiming to serve the needs of all

South Africans irrespective of race, gender, ethnic, cultural or religious convictions (Kagee, 2012). De Waal, Currie and Erasmus (2001, p. 311) define expression as “... every act by which a person attempts to express some emotion, belief or grievance”, and which these scholars believe “should qualify as a constitutionally protected expression.”

Van Vollenhoven, Beckmann, and Blignaut (2006) argue that the right to freedom of expression of all members within an institution is a key aspect in establishing a democratic institutional culture. According to these scholars, freedom of expression is defined in terms of for example, religious practices and expressions, which also includes the concept of speech, wearing of certain items of clothing and physical gestures. Van Vollenhoven *et al*, argue that the fundamental right to expression is not being equally fostered and respected in South African schools, and as a result, the democratisation of schools is being inhibited. These scholars further argue that South African school authorities are struggling to accept the freedom of expression of views that do not align with their own views which causes them to operate outside the South African legislation and be in contravention of unfair discrimination as outlined in, for example, section 9 of the Constitution. An authoritarian leadership style still characterises many South African schools. It is such a style of leadership that is standing in the way of respect for the right to freedom of expression and in managing this right in order to build democratic cultures in South African schools (Van Vollenhoven *et al.*, 2006).

Racial integration is closely linked to the goal of inclusive education as expressed in *White Paper 6: Special Needs Education-Building an Inclusive Education and Training System of 2001* (Department of Education, 2001). The underlying principles for an inclusive education include respect, support, overcoming barriers to learning and capacity building for educators to cope with all forms of learning. An inclusive practice includes the employment of teachers from all racial groups to promote racial integration in schools, and is seen as a contribution of a wide variety of cultures to contribute to the institutional makeup of institutions.

The Employment Equity Act of 1998 forbids discrimination on the basis of race, religion and gender in the workplace, and calls for equal representation of groups of people in, for example, educational institutions. The Act further stipulates that vacant educator posts in schools must

be filled within the principles of the Constitution and on the basis of equality and equity. *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996) mandates the education system to transform in respect to, for example, non-sexism and equality. According to Thurlow's (1997) review of principals in the KwaZulu-Natal province, 95.4 percent are male. The Task Team on Education Management Development (Department of Education, 1996) reports similar findings. According to the Task Team, women are viewed stereotypically as incapable of holding leadership positions within schools. Therefore, women have not enjoyed equal representation in the past South African education system in respect to occupying management positions in schools. The transformation agenda seeks to address this disparity.

According to Moletsane (2005) even when policies are liberal they can fall short of effectively intervening against issues like gender inequality. Moletsane asserts that gender inequality still persists and schools cultures have not changed enough to begin to address this issue. Such assertions shed light on cultural practices within schools which do not line up with educational policy formulated to address gender inequalities. Such practices undermine the transformative aim of equality in respect to gender.

Diko's (2006) study alerts me to examine certain indicators within school culture of attempts to address/not address gender inequalities in my study of institutional culture and transformation. She finds a lack of a school gender policy or a school interventionist programme to assist in gender equity initiatives and no evidence of financial support to ensure school programmes to address gender imbalances at school. My study aims to examine the institutional culture of one high school, and to establish, amongst others, how the issue of equality/inequality in terms of gender is understood within school culture and how these understandings align with the transformative goal of equity in terms of gender.

This section has reviewed scholarship on democracy in education and teaching and learning, and has crystallised some of the scholarly debates around the issues of democracy and teaching and learning. The review has served to enlighten my understanding into democracy in education and teaching and learning, and how these issues are relevant in South Africa to bring about transformation within the education system.

2.5 Conclusion

My review of literature focused on what scholars have written about educational transformation. I found that how an education system navigates change and transforms has been a subject of much research. However, it focuses mostly on systemic transformation and transforming the cultures and practices within institutions rather than on accounts about individual institutions. This review of literature about the mounting pressures abroad and in South Africa on the schooling sector to transform, provides valuable insights about the four areas relating to my research questions. These insights are:

- The characteristic, for example, of autocratic leadership within the institutional culture of schools challenges participation, collaboration, joint responsibility and commitment of all stakeholders. Further, such leadership is hampering the building of learning organisations, improvements in school performance and the realisation of transformation goals laid out in education policies in post-apartheid South Africa.
- The lack of training and capacity-building for school leaders to be positioned as effective leaders and managers and to be the catalysts for and managers of change efforts within their schools is failing to realise the ideals of post-apartheid school leadership policies.
- The lack of clear direction regarding transformation time frames and the goals to be achieved are creating challenging conditions for institutional transformation.
- The move to flatter school structures allows for the creation of collaborative and participative cultures within schools and helps create conditions for institutional transformation.
- Democratic school structures such as school governing bodies (SGB's) are in place in many schools. However, in many instances such structures are symbolic because the role and functioning of SGB's to assist in change efforts is being compromised by a lack of knowledge, skills and training of SGB members to help transform institutional cultures.

- That the quality of teachers who are willing to take on the responsibility to improve teaching and learning and where quality education can be realised contributes to transforming institutional culture in respect to improving school performance and improving the quality of education.
- That representivity in the race, religion and gender of employees is conducive to building democratic institutions.

In the next chapter, I explain the theoretical framework that I will use to make sense of institutional transformation in the South African context.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework for Institutional Transformation in the South African Schooling context

3.1 Introduction

After the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, high on the agenda of the newly-elected government was the restructuring and refocusing of schooling to align with the values and arrangements laid out in what was then a draft Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996a). Five transformative goals were identified by the government (Department of Education, 1995). The goals were access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education. This study questions how one school responded to these goals.

In this Chapter I provide a framework of four theories that I use as a lens to make sense of the data collected about the school, and how the data speaks to the issue of education transformation in respect of the goals mentioned above identified by the government. My motivation for using four different theories in my study is twofold. Firstly, it is taken from the statement by Sparks (2003, p.23) who states the transformation process “is complicated, messy, fraught with challenges and can take longer than most people anticipate.” Therefore, in my study, the four theories provide important and relevant definitions and explanations in respect to different aspects within the organisation and the issue of transformation. Secondly, organisations are made up of many different, yet interconnected aspects. To have as complete an understanding as is possible of how these aspects interconnect to form the organisational culture and how they inform the transformation process and progress as is possible, necessitates different perspectives, insight and understandings. I obtain these from four theories which I have chosen for the different insights that they bring to my study.

I am locating this study firstly within Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher’s (2009) theory of change knowledge, and secondly on Hellereigelet *al’s.*, (2004) and Schein’s (2010) theory of organisational culture. The theories about change and organisational culture work well together and are useful to illuminate changing cultural practices within educational institutions. I draw on thirdly the theory of leadership for change and transformation

because it provides a language to understand and describe leadership practices in schools. Lastly, I make use of the theory about the role of schools in society. On one side this theory follows Bowles and Gintis's (1976) notion of school as social reproduction and on the other side, Freire's (1972, 1974) and Apple's (1995, 2000) proposition that schooling is a mechanism for social transformation. These four theoretical fields have principles, terminologies and explanations which I use to understand the complex and multi-layered process of institutional transformation at the one school selected for this study. I now elaborate on each theory in the theoretical framework for the study.

3.2 Theory of Change Knowledge

Societies do not remain stagnant, because all societies have the ability to change, both internally and externally. According to Archer (1990), globalisation has prompted societies all over the world to engage in change in order to keep up with global demands. Sociologists have developed understandings and explanations about change in society, how change occurs and what is needed to make change successful. To this end Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009) propose the theory of change knowledge. They agree that while having knowledge about change does not guarantee success, in its absence, change cannot take place successfully. They theorise that understanding and insight about the change process are needed to create effective and lasting change.

Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher identify eight key drivers in the change process. These include engaging people's moral purpose, building capacity, understanding the process, developing cultures of evaluation, focusing on leadership for change, fostering coherence making and cultivating tri-level development. These theorists argue that through these drivers, system change is possible across the levels of school, community, district and the state. For the purposes of my study, I am using this theory, particularly the three key drivers of engaging people's moral purpose, building capacity and understanding the change process which speak to system change at school level to understand how South Africa's transformative goals of access, quality, democracy, equity and redress in education are being introduced at school level. I find this theory and the three key drivers mentioned appropriate because my study is focused on institutional transformation, and these key drivers help me identify areas

of my data to examine and question in order to deepen my understanding of the process and progress of change efforts within the school.

The driver of engaging people's moral purpose focuses on how school staff such as teachers can facilitate the learning of learners who are under-achieving and for whom the school system has not been as effective. This driver speaks to the goals of access to education and quality in education by ensuring that all learners benefit from the schooling environment. The driver extends beyond being a goal, to being a process whereby other stakeholders, such as teachers, community leaders and society as a collective become part of and contribute towards realising the moral purpose of change within the school by going beyond their pedagogical responsibilities in the schooling system.

The driver of building capacity involves policies, strategies, resources and actions designed to increase education stakeholder's collective power to move the system forward. This driver addresses the goal of quality and democracy in education in my study and highlights the role of school leadership together with other stakeholders in providing the necessary resources for effective teaching and learning. This means examining how, when and by whom new knowledge, skills and competencies are being developed within the school and who are working as a team for greater change.

To make change work requires understanding of the change process by all those who are involved in the process. This driver speaks to a collective ownership and effort by all stakeholders to be equipped with the knowledge of the requirements for change. It also speaks to the goal of democracy where responsibility for effecting change is shared among all stakeholders. While schools are part of the societies they are in, schools themselves are regarded as societies or organisations. The theory of change knowledge highlights the notion of groups of people engaging in different aspects within an organisation to bring about change. I use them to ask questions such as: How do institutional practices at the selected school engage staff members' moral purpose? How is capacity built to empower all stakeholders to move the change process forward? How do participants understand the change process and show they are committed to the change process? The workings of the three key drivers are illuminated in institutional culture. Hence, there is an

interaction between the theory of change knowledge and how it impacts on the culture of an institution. The concepts within the theories of change knowledge and institutional culture will be used to bring to the fore how they impact and help shape each other in this study. Therefore, in the next section, I discuss Schein's theory of organisational culture.

3.3 Theory of Organisational Culture

According to Schein (2009) the theory of organisational culture is fairly new. The term "organisational culture" originated out of the need to explain organisations, such as schools in respect of differences in the patterns of organisational behaviour and the varying degrees of stability in groups within organisations. Schein (2009) elaborates further on why it is important for organizational leaders to understand organizational culture and to know how to evaluate it in order to make improvements so that it is effective in realizing organizational aims. According to Barley (1983) and Van Maanen, (1988), in ethnographical studies, a focus on organisational culture can provide a rich understanding of phenomenon that might otherwise have been overlooked. Therefore, in my study, the theory of organisational culture is appropriate for examining the phenomenon of institutional transformation within a school and how it impacts on the change process, because according to Bate et al., (2000), there is an interaction between institutional culture and change knowledge and change efforts (see section 1.4.7)

According to Bush and Anderson (2003, p. 89), there are four features which help define an organisation's individual culture. These features are: values and beliefs; shared norms and meanings; rituals and ceremonies and heroes and heroines. These features of organisational culture are explained in the following sub-sections. They are used for making sense of the culture of the selected school in respect to whether and how it has changed over the years.

Values and Beliefs among members of an Organisation

According to Bush and Anderson (2003), the culture of an organisation emanates from the values and beliefs held by members in an organisation. Values may be implicit and underpin the behaviour and attitudes of individuals. Nias, Southworth and Yeomans (1989), argue that beliefs may be so deeply buried in organisational culture, that individuals within the organisation may not even know what they are. Morgan (1986) states that it is shared values

that provide the foundation for the ethos or culture of organisations such as schools. When there is collective knowledge and understanding of the organisation's culture, members of the organisation reinforce it through discussion and action. Schein maintains that organisational culture is below the surface and has a powerful influence on members within the organisation. According to Marshak (2008), culture has the ability to create within a group, mindsets and frames of reference that can be identified as one of a number of important covert processes. For example, members of a school may have a particular mindset about how the school should be managed and led. This mindset might be the result of members having been under such leadership over a period of time and which has built a particular framework as regards school leadership. Therefore, members within the school have this particular mindset and use this as a framework to understand and create meaning about school leadership.

The meaning of values and beliefs in an organisation is extended by other scholars. For example, in theorising organisational culture, Schermerhorn, Hunt and Osborn (2009, p. 398), argue that to understand multiple perspectives of culture involves going beyond an understanding of shared values and beliefs held by members to observing overt and covert behaviour of members. Schermerhorn *et al.*, (2009) says that behaviour links together expressions of organisational unity, difference and ambiguity. Schein (2010), and Schermerhorn *et al.*, (2009) and Marshak (2006) agree that because organisational culture is such an integral part of the running of an organisation, it begins to determine the values and belief system of the staff and subconsciously guides the way they think, behave and act. Therefore, the values, norms and meanings shared among a group reflect the culture of the organisation (Schein, 2010). On this basis, in my study I observe the behaviours of teachers, heads of departments and members of senior management and make the assumption that this reflects the school's organisational culture.

Shared Norms and Meanings among members of an Organisation

Shared norms and meanings are the result of interactions over time between members of a group. These continued interactions cause members to have, for example, certain behavioural norms and meanings that become part of the organisation's culture. Therefore, the essence of a culture is found in its social norms and customs and from shared meanings

and understandings. According to Morgan (1986, p. 128) these patterns of understanding also provide a basis for making one's own behaviour sensible and meaningful. Schein (2010) describes shared norms and meanings as that which guides and constrains the behaviour of members of a group through shared norms held within that particular group.

Schein's (2010) speaks to how shared norms and meanings can lead to structural stability within organisational culture. According to Schein, shared norms and meanings defines the group and when a group has achieved a sense of identity, this becomes a core aspect of culture which is not easily given up. Therefore, even if members of a group leave, the shared norms and meanings within the organisation's culture remain. This is because members who remain hold onto the stability and predictability in the organisation created by shared norms and meanings. Using the above explanations as a basis in my study, I observe the norms and customs that guide or limit the daily interactions between staff members and understand the school's identity as depicted through such interactions.

Rituals and Ceremonies of members of an organisation

Rituals and ceremonies are processes and events to express culture, and are used to symbolise and celebrate beliefs and norms (Bush & Anderson, 2003). In schools, rituals and symbols include school assemblies and prize giving ceremonies and can be thought of as celebrations of organisational culture that reinforce cultural values. Rites help to build the understanding of what is acceptable, for example, in terms of behaviour, in organisations and how change can be managed (Brown, 1995). Beare, Caldwell and Millikan (1992) claim organisational culture is symbolised in different ways. It could be through behaviour in ceremonies, rituals and patterns of social interaction and through visual or material sources which can be the facilities, equipment and uniforms in an organisation.

French, Rayner, Rees and Rumbles (2006), see rituals as systems of rites and explain that rituals function to establish parameters and relationships between people of an organisation. This is accomplished through the repetition of events, for example, staff meetings. Formal rituals and ceremonies are displayed in the ways groups celebrate key events that reflect important values or important "passages" by members, for example, when members are promoted, complete important projects, and achieve certain

milestones(Deal and Kennedy,1982;Trice and Beyer, 1993; and Deal and Peterson 1999). Rites and rituals may be unique to particular groups within organisations. Unique processes of rites and rituals of an organisation are seen as important in order to communicate the cultural assumptions of that organisation by how they are conducted, who conducts them and when they are conducted. Therefore, rites and rituals are symbolic ways to formalise particular assumptions, such as which rites and rituals are important to the organisation and need to be noted as they form part of the artifacts of the organisation (Deal & Peterson, 1999).

Schein (2010) states that rites and rituals of an organisation may not be easy to understand and they should not be seen as primary embedding mechanisms within an organisation. However, they might be thought of as important artifacts that help reinforce cultural assumptions of the organisation. Therefore, they form part of the range of assumptions making up the culture of an organisation. Schein therefore cautions against assigning too much emphasis on the study of rituals as they might not reveal what is going on within the organisation as a whole. The rituals and ceremonies are therefore used to reflect part of an organisation's culture to honour and acknowledge individuals within the organisation who embody the values and beliefs of the organisation. Therefore, there are individuals within organisations who stand out in respect to epitomising the value and belief system of the organisation and who are another part of the range of assumptions of an organisation. I use the observations of the rites and rituals at the school to create an understanding of what helps define the school's culture in this regard.

Heroes and Heroines in organisational culture

Heroes and heroines refer to those who are celebrated or acknowledged for embodying the values and beliefs of the organisation (Bush & Anderson, 2003). Campbell-Evans (1993, p.106) explains that the "choice and recognition of heroes occurs within the cultural boundaries identified through the value filter". It is only those members who display behaviours associated with the organisation, and whose successes match up with the organisation's culture who will receive the acknowledgement of being the organisation's hero or heroine. Bush and Anderson (2003) believe this concept of heroes and heroines has potential for school principals who wish to generate as well as support certain behaviours

while discouraging others. For example, a school principal could use the ritual of a school assembly or graduation event to celebrate and acknowledge learners achievements. At such rituals and events, for example learners can be publicly recognised for exemplary achievements, and held up as role models to other learners.

Beare, Caldwell and Millikan (1993,p.191), stress the importance of heroes and heroines within educational organisations. According to these scholars, “the heroes (and anti-heroes) around whom a saga is built personify the values, philosophy and ideology which the community wishes to sustain...the hero figure invites emulation and helps to sustain group unity and every school has its heroes and potential heroes”. Therefore, within organisational culture, the positive reinforcement of acceptable behaviour unifies an organisation in aspiring towards goals and begins to create an identity of excellence within the organisation.

In my study of institutional transformation, it is imperative to examine the role of school leadership and how the leadership is negotiating educational policy within the school culture to effect transformation. The focus is on the theory of democratic transformative leadership as this theory coheres with the underlying principles of the transformative goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress. These principles include that everyone has the right to equal access to quality education, to be protected from unfair discrimination and has the right to the language, culture and religion of their choice (The Education White Paper on Early Childhood Development, 2001). This theory of organisational culture links with the theory of the role of schools in society in that it illuminates the norms, values and beliefs of the school in the study. It helps point to the role played by the school in either reproducing inequalities or functioning as an agent to contest inequalities and bring about change. The theory also connects to the theory of change knowledge in that the organisational culture of the school points to whether or not there is evidence of the knowledge of change in the way things are done at the school, and whether or not this knowledge is helping to bring about change in terms of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education. These theories relate to my research questions in that, firstly, they help determine whether the characteristics of the institutional culture of the school is changing from apartheid education to those of the transformative education policies in

post-apartheid South Africa. Secondly, the theories assist in determining whether leadership styles and practices within the school's culture is/is not aligning with post-apartheid policies formulated around school leadership and transformation in schools. Thirdly, the theories provide a framework to help determine the enabling and disabling conditions for institutional transformation at the school.

In the next section I present scholarly explanations of democratic transformational leadership to address the educational needs and goals of a post-apartheid South Africa.

3.4 Theory of Leadership for Social Transformation

The notion of transformational leadership was first put forward by Burns in 1978, and then later expanded on by, amongst others, Bass and Avolio (1999) who were working in the arena of politics, the army and business (Liontos, 1992). However, Leithwood and Jantzi (1999) point to similarities in how transformational leadership is being described in these arenas and, for example, new leadership needed in a school setting. Hence, a different perception of leadership was beginning to emerge in the 1990's in America because of restructuring programmes around school reform. There was a call by supporters of reform programmes to change power relations within leadership (Liontos, 1992). In this section, I discuss different scholar's contributions on the following aspects of democratic transformational leadership: definitions, features, goals and outcomes.

Bass (1999) defines transformational leaders as leaders' who inspire, intellectually stimulate and who display consideration for each of their followers. According to Sagor (1992), transformational leaders go beyond making decisions. They have the ability to successfully collaborate with others to define the fundamental purpose of teaching and learning. They empower the whole school to become involved, focused and committed, and in this way the entire vision for the organisation becomes transformed. Leithwood, Jantzi and Steinback (1999) define a transformational leader as one who has charisma, who is able to inspire motivation, and provide intellectual stimulation and displays individualized consideration for followers in the organisation. According to these scholars, transformational leaders manage structure and impact on the culture of the organisation in order to change it.

Duigan and Macpherson (1992) see transformational leaders as leaders who have the potential to change the cultural context in which people work. Sergiovanni (2001) and Day, Harris and Hadfield (2000) also see transformational leaders as those who are able to alter the cultural context in which teachers teach and students learn. Hodgkinson (1991) states that implicit in the perspective of transformational leaders is a notion of shared or devolved leadership, where leadership activity is not only the responsibility of the principal. This reinforces Blasé and Anderson's (1995) argument that transformational leaders try to use power through other people, rather than exercising control over them. When leaders use power in this way it emphasises the role of the leader in creating a "community of learners". Such a leader has the capacity to make a difference through their ability to transform by focusing on the power of liberating and distributing leadership to others (Barth, 1990; Senge, 1990; Gronn, 2000).

Bass and Avolio (1994) identify four key behaviour traits of transformational leaders which I find appropriate for my study on the basis that these traits will serve to guide and inform my observation of school leadership practices at the school to examine to what extent these practices cohere/do not cohere with the behaviour traits of transformational leaders as outlined by these scholars. They outline four key features that transformational leaders would display in their behaviour. Their explanations will allow me to use these features as a lens to ask questions about school leadership behaviour in respect to the key behaviour traits outlined below.

The first trait is when transformational leaders display behaviour that earns them the respect, admiration and trust of their followers. In this way the leader becomes a role model who followers want to imitate. The leader's behaviour shows consideration for the needs of others in the organisation over his/her needs, displays high standards of ethical and moral conduct and does not use power for personal gain. A transformational leader is willing to take personal risks for the sake of a higher goal, and is thus concerned with processes that over time bring about social changes. Dantley and Tillman (2006) explain that a transformative leader is concerned about social change, and has a belief that transformation is a process that occurs over time. Tillman, Brown, Campbell-Jones and Gonzalez (2006) explain that transformational educational leaders instinctively choose to

take positions and pursue programs out of their need to leave the world a better place. In so doing, these leaders transform more than their schools and communities, they transform themselves. According to Starrat (2005, p.130), being a transformational leader “can be very messy, but the messes are used as learning opportunities.” The theory of transformational leadership offers new ways of thinking about leadership, and has merit for the South African context as it speaks to a leadership style that is both democratic and situational, and which has the potential to assist school leaders in aligning their leadership and management of schools with the principles of democracy in the country’s constitution (Coleman, 2003).

The second trait is when the leader behaves in a manner that motivates and inspires people around him/her to work together to develop a vision for the organisation. Msila (2009) defines transformational leaders as individuals who have a vision, individuals who are able to sustain this vision and be able to lead change by sharing leadership with others in the organisation. Hughes and Ginnet (1996) argue for leaders to be well-trained and experienced, and in this way are able to gain recognition and status for the organisation. They speak of transformational leaders as being individuals who possess a convincing vision of the potential of an organisation to bring about changes within a society. It is a collective vision driven by shared values within an organisation. According to Burns (1978), the end values embrace justice, liberty, freedom and equality which have the potential to address inequalities and bring about transformation within an organisation. Burns points to transformational leaders that work to raise the standards of how others behave with the goal of empowering others to become leaders within the organisation.

Hughes and Ginnet(1996), highlightbecoming a transformational leader is a process. Therefore, leaders must invest in time for leaders to formulate and articulate a vision of what they envision the organisation to become, and for all members to become emotionally attached to the vision to show personal commitment to meeting the goals of the vision. According to these scholars, those committed to transformational leadership must be aware and willing to make the sacrifice of self-interests for the interests of realising the vision of the organisation. Individuals must set aside individual interests and being unpopular because there may be individuals who may not be as enthusiastic and optimistic as others about the organisation’s vision.

The third trait is identified as “intellectual stimulation”. Leaders encourage followers to be innovative and creative, and not to accept the way things are in the organisation, and encourage followers to come up with new ways to deal with challenges in the organisation. The leader creates a positive and supportive environment where new ideas and approaches are not criticised because they are different from those of the leader. Servias and Sanders (2006) argue that the purpose of people working together and collectively coming up with ideas about how to realise the vision of an organisation and creating capacity for the organisation to grow and be transformed. Larson (2009) states a transformational leader works to form collaborative partnership with followers in the organisation to build an organisation where learning takes place for everyone. In a South African context, Bray (1996) argues for the need of democratic leadership where teachers play a key role. Teachers have the responsibility to work to cultivate democratic norms and values and to change mindsets that view leadership as only the responsibility of the principal and are not willing themselves to take leadership control.

The fourth trait is when a leader considers the needs of each individual in the organisation. If and when it becomes necessary, the leader takes on the role of mentor or coach to encourage others to take advantage of learning opportunities within a supportive environment in the organisation. The leader is visible and engages with others in the organisation and is aware of what is going on in the organisation. The leader displays discretion by knowing which followers need more encouragement than others and which need more responsibility, and follows up by monitoring and providing additional support to followers as needed. According to Ramsey (2008) when a leader shows that they care about others this behaviour causes others to emulate the caring behaviour to others within the organisation. Scholars, Hughes and Ginnet (1996, p. 289) point to the characteristic of ‘image and trust building’ shown by transformational leaders. In other words, these leaders build trust in the way they lead by displaying self-confidence, being a role model and making sacrifices for the vision and values of the organisation. Starrat (2005, p.130) describes a transformational leader as one who shows more “courageous humanity” and encourages others within the organisation to do the same.

Blasé and Blasé (2001) explain that, within the culture of schools, people have been socialised to respect position rather than person, and to defer to the positional authority and power associated with status. Therefore leadership as a collaborative effort challenges principals to give up some of the power of position while it invites others to become empowered, but for principals, letting go of power may be as difficult as it is for others to assume that power. Coleman (2005) speaks of leadership that focuses on sharing decision-making within educational institutions, and in this way there is collaboration and leadership is distributed amongst the group, and the organisation lends itself to a more democratic way of leadership and management.

I now discuss goals of transformational leaders which ties in with the aim of my study to examine how the institutional culture of the selected school coheres with the five transformative goals mentioned in chapter one and in the introduction of this chapter. According to Leithwood, there are fundamental goals that transformational leaders aim to achieve. I use three of the goals outlined by Leithwood provide a worthwhile lens and which I will use in my study to examine the goals pursued or being pursued by school leaders in the study. I will use data generated from the semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, observations and analysis of school documents to examine the goals of school leadership over different historical periods. My aim is to identify the goals of school leaders and whether the goals, especially after 1994, cohere with scholarly explanations of the goals of transformational leaders.

Firstly, transformational leaders help staff develop and maintain a collaborative, professional school culture. They do this by engaging all staff members in conversation, observation critique and collective planning regarding what is going on in the organisation. Norms of collective responsibility and continuous improvement encourage them to teach each other how to teach better. Transformational leaders involve staff in setting the goals for the organisation which gives all members a sense of belonging in terms of what the organisation has in mind for its future. Leaders make use of bureaucratic mechanisms to support cultural changes and share leadership with others by allowing other members to take on leadership roles and responsibilities to communicate the school's collective norms and beliefs.

Secondly, transformational leaders aim to foster teacher development by motivating teachers to internalise goals for their own development. Leaders accomplish this motivation by getting teachers to commit to the mission of the organisation.

Thirdly, transformational leaders aim to help teachers solve problems more effectively by showing members that they believe in their team efforts and collective abilities to effectively solve problems and motivate them to extend themselves. Teachers are motivated and encouraged to engage in new activities.

In the next sub-section I engage scholarly thought on some of the strategies used by transformational leaders to achieve the goals set out for the organisation.

According to Sagor (1992), Leithwood and Jantzi (1999) transformational leaders engage in daily classroom visits and encourage teachers to do the same and to offer assistance to other teachers as and when needed. All staff members are involved in deciding at the start of the school year what the goals, beliefs and vision of the organization will be. All staff members are encouraged in regular-held meetings that are recorded to work as a group to realise the aims of the organisation. Leaders share power with other members by asking members to get involved in either staff functions, as committee members or as part of school governance structures. Leaders find the positive things that are going on within the organisation and make the effort to acknowledge and show appreciation to members who are contributing to improving the organisation. Leaders show perception about member behaviour and what members need, make themselves available to members, and show members that they care about their personal lives. Leaders also allow members the latitude to try out new ideas. Leaders make the effort to get teachers involved in workshops and conferences and give members the opportunity to share their knowledge and skills with others. Leaders have high expectations of all new staff hired into the organisation are told that they will be part of decision-making within the organisation. They are given the opportunity to transfer to another organisation if they cannot commit to the goals of the organisation. Leaders make finances available and structure the school day so that teachers can work with other teachers to plan.

To conclude this section I revisit the significance of the insights and understandings of transformational leaders discussed in this section of this study. For example, how does the leadership at the selected school define itself and how does this definition align with the definitions discussed by various scholars? What traits do the leadership at the selected school display and how does this display cohere with suggested behaviour traits that help effect institutional change by different scholars and the five transformative goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education? The last section of my theoretical framework focuses on theories regarding the role of schools in society where schools function either to reproduce inequalities in society or where schools function as agents to transform society.

3.5 Theory about the Role of Schools in Society

The development of a relationship between schools and society is a fairly modern one (Christie, 2008). In the 19th and 20th century schools took on much responsibility from traditional structures like the family to pass on cultural norms and values to children. In this way schools became important structures in society to prepare young people with the necessary skills and knowledge to be part of modern society and build social cohesion between different groups of people in society. The role of schools in society has become a contested issue about whether they replicate society or change it. I use this debate to examine how the selected school in this study and the participants response over time to the political systems of apartheid and democracy. The questions of whether the selected school is merely reproducing the system endorsed by authorities in society, or whether the participants and school leadership use their agency to pursue an agenda of institutional transformation is used to guide my debate. In order to pursue this line of thought it is necessary to have a firm grasp of the different positions on the role of the school in society and I do this in the next two sub-sections.

3.5.1 Education as a Mechanism for Social Reproduction

According to twentieth century socio-cultural theorists, society perpetuates itself through its educational institutions. In other words, the values, norms, traditions and behaviours upheld and promoted by schools are consistent with those found in local communities (Hoffman, 1988; Levinson & Holland, 1996). Hoffman (1988) says that cultural transmission

is a fundamental purpose of education to teach the young generation how to organise and maintain society. Bates (1981) states a school is organised in such a way as to perform accepted behaviour that mirror society. In other words, the behaviours and actions of the younger generation are organised with the intent to reproduce specific goals and relations for society and its members. Katz (1964) points out that schools are not isolated communities, but rather they are specialised structures serving special social functions that tightly interlock with other social structures. Thus, Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Althuser (1972) whose analysis is specific to class reproduction in society, propose that education cannot be understood independently of its society. For them schooling is part of the problem of social inequality, and in this study, the notion of how a school can perpetuate inequality goes beyond class reproduction. The aim is to offer a wider and deeper understanding of the possible role of a school in perpetuating inequalities in society. An example of how schools contribute to social inequality could be when school structures invest and support more in scientific knowledge that has a socially higher value versus knowledge and skill in dance and art that has a socially lower value. Therefore, schools appear to offer equal opportunities to all by providing learners with opportunities to gain knowledge and skills in different learning areas and for different intelligences, but in practice, they do not. In this way schools reproduce inequalities by placing greater emphasis on, for example, academic performance and not artistic ability.

Christie (1989) recalls that in South Africa, cultural differences were used during apartheid to justify separate education systems. The advocates for apartheid argued that education should prepare young people only for the context into which they were born. Although this notion has been widely criticised, Diko (2006) finds some merit in schools working closely with local values, norms and traditions. Diko's concern is that instead of opening up to change and implementing policies to bring about change and transformation, schools should be able to choose to continue promoting local cultures. In this way education that conflicts with or is in tension with local ideas and customs, might reinforce and reproduce inequalities of society when education is not accessed according to ability, but rather according to race, class and gender, and in this way constrains social movement of individuals. Schooling is thus seen as part of the problem of inequality rather than a solution to it. Using this analysis, schooling functions to reproduce society, and this needs to change

as part of broader social change. Thus, these scholars theorise that education is about social reproduction. It constitutes a “hidden curriculum” in the school. This study, therefore aims at examining institutional transformation within a particular institution, and how this aligns with the agenda for broader social change.

According to Moore (2006) education systems can use the power they have been given to carry out certain functions to support the particular manner in which a society is structured. The school then functions to support the broader values within that society, and entrench the particular structure of that society. Therefore, as a socialising agency, the school positions itself between the family and wider institutions in society (Parsons, 1966). According to Moore (2006) schools that engage in academic screening and selection processes reproduce class divisions by subconsciously transmitting certain assumptions through a “hidden curriculum”. Such assumptions include, for example the foregone expectancy that certain learners will succeed while others will not without considering a learner’s background or gender.

The position of social reproduction speaks to what the education system in South Africa aimed at achieving before and after the first democratic elections in 1994. Under the apartheid system, schools were racially segregated to keep race groups apart and to support the unequal provision of education policies of the government. Education policies introduced after 1994, for example, the *South African Schools Act*, (Republic of South Africa, 1996) allows for school governing bodies to decide the language policy in a school which can serve to deny access to learners based on language. The theory is also relevant to the education agenda of the post 1994 government to effect wide-ranging social change both to deal with the inequalities of apartheid and to ensure continued social stability and sustainability. Thus, the democratic government together with social institutions like schools is working towards the goals of social justice, human rights, equity and fairness that are entrenched in the national Constitution.

In their theory of social reproduction Bowles and Gintis argue that for the individual there must be a “submission” to the requirements of social life. Society reproduces or maintains itself by way of ‘constraints’ imposed upon the freedom, spontaneity and autonomy of the

individual. For example, in South African public schools it is compulsory for a grade one learner to be seven years old. Therefore, families enroll their children to start twelve years of schooling at that age, even if they want their children to start school at an earlier or later age. The parents submit to this ruling of society. This repression of the individual is a form of preparation for a compliant life in the community. Schools like other social institutions, have an important part to play in this system. Therefore, they are viewed as an integral element in the reproduction of the prevailing structure of society. For example, when schools teach the skills, abilities and knowledge that structures within society decide are appropriate and necessary for economic success schools condone such structures and the inequalities that result. Schools prepare young people for the place they will occupy in capitalists societies divided according to class, knowledge, ability, gender, etc. According to Apple (1995) while it is debatable how educational institutions do this, nevertheless, it is important to investigate the link between schooling and the maintenance of unequal social relations.

Apple (1995) finds three basic elements in schooling that are important to social reproduction. The day to day interactions and regularities of the hidden curriculum that tacitly perpetuate common values and norms; the overt curriculum that is planned and seen in the different materials and texts used to teach this curriculum and the underlying perspectives used by teachers to plan, organise and evaluate this curriculum and how these elements serve to reproduce social inequalities. Apple therefore extends Bowles and Gintis's (1976) theory of reproduction that educational institutions reproduce knowledge. In other words, schools are arranged not only to reteach the knowledge of societies, but they also help in producing technical and administrative knowledge that meets the needs of society's interests.

The insights gathered from explanations by different scholars on how schools can be used as a mechanism for social reproduction leads me to analyse the data generated in my study to answer the following questions: Which principles are underpinning the education being provided at the school? What are the values, norms, beliefs and practices being perpetuated? Which structures in society are being supported by the school's education system? Is the education within the school serving as a mechanism to reproduce social inequalities, before and after 1994 or is the education within the school serving as a

mechanism to bring about transformation to align with the broader social transformation agenda of the post-1994 government?

A relevant position considers how conditions in schools or other learning sites offer resources or conditions through which learners can contest or change social inequalities especially after the previous one. Hence, how schools can play a role in transforming society is discussed next.

3.5.2 Education as a Mechanism for Social Transformation

In this section, I discuss the position that education can be used as a means for social transformation. In critical response to the social reproduction position, Freire (1972, 1974) and Apple (1995) argue that schools can provide a context where people can become conscious of social justice and respond by taking action against inequalities in society. Freire (1972) proposes that education should make people critically aware about what is taking place in society and they should be motivated to begin talking about this and to take action to bring about changes in their social circumstances. Freire was advocating for people to use education to change their mindset so that they do not passively accept a social injustice imposed on them by the past or by those in power and which is unacceptable to them. Freire's ideas that education cannot be neutral are compelling. Education can either be used to set people free or it can be used as a tool to dominate people. In arguing for education to be used as a mechanism to liberate people to take action to bring about social change, Freire makes three assertions. Firstly, to increase their knowledge and understanding of their social reality people need to question what education is being passed down to them and not be limited by what is taught to them. Secondly, people need to empower themselves to think independently so that they are able to craft their own futures by becoming aware of what they want changed in society and by taking action to bring about those changes. Thirdly, that attempts to bring about social change should be a collective effort initiated and taken forward by the people, and not individuals working on their own. Thus in analysing my data about the role of the selected school I look for whether the participants question the type of schooling they are offering, whether they encourage or discourage independent thinking and whether they collaborate for change or resist it.

Apple (1995, p. 23) takes a critical look at the function of schools and poses the following questions: “What is the relationship between education and the larger society? Who ultimately gains the most from the way our schools and the curriculum and teaching practices within them are organised?” These questions are aimed at creating a different awareness of the function of schools, and to go beyond the expectation that schools must function so that learners acquire and master particular sets of knowledge. According to Apple, education and the stakeholders of education must become critical of what is taught in schools, how this is taught and how socially just it is. In other words, for education to be used as a tool to contest inequalities in society, Apple proposes that the knowledge offered in schools should be interrogated on the basis of who has ownership of the knowledge, who legitimises it, what is the link between the knowledge and owners of the cultural, economic and social capital in the broader society, who benefits and who does not benefit from this knowledge? These questions aim to shed light on how education stakeholders can become critically aware and want to act to change inequalities that exist in education by having and teaching a school curriculum that helps to change inequalities in society by being socially just.

There is international consensus that education is the most effective means of fighting inequality in society (de Graaf, 2001; Fuller & Robinson, 1992, Nasson & Samuel, 1990; Malherbe, 1971). Malherbe states that education may be seen as the means by which a country can transform itself from what it is, into what it aspires to be. Although Malherbe was writing a history of education in South Africa in 1977, the notion still has significance. Apple (1995, p. 9) cautions against giving too much importance to schools and must not be viewed as being “the issue”, but rather be seen as part of a wider framework of social relations that do not advantage everyone.

The position that education is a means for social transformation has significance in a post-apartheid South Africa, especially in terms of developing goals for transforming the education landscape from an apartheid system to a system that gives all citizens equal economic and social opportunities. The *South African Schools Act* (SASA) of 1996 has a key role to play in transforming the educational landscape. Within this policy document resides the empowerment of parents to take responsibility for managing schools through school

governing bodies. In this way, parents have agency to put into place democratic structures and practices (Soudien&Sayed, 2008) and to work to promote the best interests of the schools. Bertram and Hugo (2008, p. 133) propose that education can be used “as a weapon of critical consciousness that makes people aware of their current state and empowers them to take active control” (p.133). They state that improved classroom practices allow learners greater access to knowledge, and argue for a variety of ways of teaching, assessing and combining knowledge to ensure that learning has far more meaning for learners. Therefore, pedagogy and curriculum play a role in the quest for social justice.

Taylor and Vinjevold (2003); Muthukrishna (2006); Fleisch (2007) and Balfour and Rafe (2006) state that education can be used as a mechanism to bring about change where conditions within schools can be used to contest or change inequalities. Sisulu (1986) uses the notion of ‘people’s education’ in South Africa to show how inequalities in education and society can be perpetuated. Mkatshwa (1985) agrees with Sisulu, and states that education as a mechanism for change is an education which prepares people for total human liberation, for full participation in all social, political or cultural aspects of society, helps people to be creative, to develop a critical mind and to be analytical. The relationship between education and the social system will be redefined from a system that dominates and disempowers people to a system that aims for social justice for all people. However, in Bernstein (1971) we are reminded that education alone cannot make up for inequalities in society, and more importantly, that schools need to be part of broader social programmes for addressing social inequalities. The theory of education as a mechanism for addressing inequalities to bring about transformation prompts questions of data generated in my study on the role of knowledge about change processes such as whose knowledge is used, who is responsible for using this knowledge and how is this knowledge used to address inequalities to effect wider social change?

3.6 Conclusion

To conclude,I use social transformation as a complex theoretical lens to examine institutional transformation at one high school. It comprises four theories that have distinct focuses. They are all significant to my research questions and provide relevant theoretical entry points to examine and understand institutional transformation at the school in the

study. In my discussion of the theory of the role of a school in society, I consider it as a means of reproduction or as a means of bringing about social change. I set this up as an either/or debate with particular reference to South Africa.

The theory of organisational culture provides different definitions, key features, processes of and fundamental levels of organisational culture which give a deep understanding of institutional culture. The theory will provide the framework for understanding the institutional culture of the selected school, and will help in determining whether the role of the school is functioning to reproduce inequalities in society, or whether the school is functioning as an agent to bring about transformation in terms of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education.

The theory of change knowledge identifies four key drivers of the change process within organisations. I use these drivers for an understanding of the knowledge needed by individuals involved in the change process. This theoretical insight will assist in enhancing my understanding of what knowledge and behaviours are informing the leadership practices and the institutional culture within the selected school and how these practices are working for or against institutional transformation at the school.

The theory of democratic transformational leadership gives insight into key behaviour traits, goals and strategies of transformational leaders. I use these to examine what is said about the school leadership at the selected school as the leaders changed over the decades (i.e. research question 2). This theory identifies the kind of leadership style that will be able to complement democratic institutional culture for change (i.e. research question 1), who needs to be equipped with the change knowledge in order to turn the role of schools from reproduction to roles of being agents for change in a democratic country (i.e. research question 3 and 4).

In the next chapter my research methodology is discussed. I provide discussion on my research design and methodology in respect to my research paradigm, research design, research site, research participants, data collection procedures and techniques, sampling, data analysis, and ethical issues of my study.

CHAPTER FOUR

A Methodology for Researching Institutional Transformation

4.1 Introduction

In my previous chapter, I discussed the theoretical framework that I chose to work with for my study of institutional transformation. For this chapter, my research paradigm, design, methods and instruments are given prominence. I further explain my approach to the analysis of data, the measures taken to ensure trustworthiness and the ethical considerations pertinent to this study.

4.2 Research Paradigm

A paradigm is “a perspective or frame of reference for viewing the social world, consisting of a set of concepts and assumptions” (Bailey, 1994, p.23). In other words, it is the researcher’s way of viewing her field of enquiry (Mouton & Marais, 1990). For this study I position myself within the critical paradigm. The critical paradigm allows the researcher to ask questions about the fundamentals of social policies and practices (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). According to these scholars, in the critical paradigm the researcher delves into the nature of social structures and discourses that support them in order to understand and transform the policies, beliefs and practices that are unjust. In my study, the critical paradigm enables me to go beyond describing the culture of the group of people working in one school. I am able to understand the discourse underpinning the shifting beliefs, values, attitudes and practices of the group of people at the school and how since 1994 the school as a social structure is, or is not functioning to realise the goals to transform the school as mandated in the educational policies of a democratic South Africa.

According to Gitlin (1993), being positioned within the critical paradigm means the researcher goes further and contests the traditional assumption that research is aimed at gathering data and facts in order to increase knowledge. It extends to addressing social issues in and through research as well. Therefore, the critical paradigm is suitable to answer my research questions about shifts in institutional culture, compliance with educational policies around school leadership, conditions that enable or challenge institutional transformation and the role of the school in socially transforming South African society. It allows me to go deeper into the data and ask more complex questions to make sense of the

data in terms of institutional transformation, and to identify and understand power imbalances that exist within the school which serve to perpetuate inequalities and injustices and which obstruct the school from performing the role of change agent in society.

As a critical researcher, my epistemological assumptions were that institutional transformation was being challenged at the school because of particular beliefs, values, attitudes and practices within the culture of the school of which as an insider researcher, I was part of and not outside of what constituted the institution's culture. My ontological assumption was that education and schooling are not objective, but involve how the different participants in the study perceive, understand and experience education and schooling in the selected school.

4.3 Research Design

In this section, I explain the design for my study. I also explain how I chose the research site for this study as well as the participants of the study.

4.3.1 Ethnography: a Critical Perspective

For my study of institutional transformation within a particular school context, ethnography was an appropriate methodology because it offered possibilities to observe the daily activities, practices, norms and attitudes of the group of people at the school. Hence, ethnography takes a longer time than other methodologies such as a case study. Ethnography also provided the opportunity for the participants to voice their experiences and understandings of institutional transformation during the interviews and focus group discussions (Henning, et al, 2004). Ethnographic studies are many-layered, and try to capture the wholeness of a particular group of people and their way of life or culture. Therefore, my data collection methods included participant observation. I did not choose a case study methodology which is an in-depth account of a particular individual, event or a group, and which takes an external perspective as opposed to the internal perspectives, understandings and experiences that are characteristic of ethnography. Further, in a case study methodology, participant observation is generally not used as a data collection method. In my study of institutional transformation, the focus was on the school's culture and its impact on institutional transformation after 1994. On the other hand, a narrative

enquiry is a much narrower enquiry in terms of participants, and therefore narrative enquiry cannot be replicated and generalised.

For this study I used critical ethnography as a methodology or strategy to examine institutional transformation in a high school before and after the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994. As a research methodology, ethnography emphasises the social organisation of everyday life of a group (Smith, 1987). Ethnography involves prolonged observations of a selected group in a social setting and recording their experiences and events. The aim is to understand the typical activities of the group, the particular ways of communication among members of the group and how the group makes meaning within their social setting (Henning, Rensburg & Smith, 2005). In doing this the rituals and actions that bind the group of people, the signs and symbols they use to present and represent themselves and the language or variations of language the group uses are recorded. In other words, ethnography is an enquiry into the culture or the way of life of a group of people. In this study the group is a school comprising of teachers, learners, managers and parents.

As an ethnographer I needed to be aware of my own social class, racial category and gender orientation and how these characteristics affected my studying social transformation in a school. This awareness of who I am as the researcher is important in the critical paradigm because as a critical researcher I need to have the skill of thinking critically. I need this skill to show my ability to weigh up the influences of participants motives and biases as well as be able to recognise my own biases, prejudices, points of view and assumptions regarding institutional transformation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). As a Coloured female and a teacher and former learner at the school in the study, I had to alternate between my role as a researcher and my role as a member of the school. Hence, I allocated specific time and opportunity to interview and have focus group discussions with participants, to observe school assemblies, staff and school governing body meetings and school spaces where I took on the role of researcher. Outside of such time allocations I assumed the role of employee and teacher. This strategy allowed me to step out of my role as researcher and provided me with the opportunity to reflect on my study and its progress. Ethnography records the values, beliefs, assumptions evident in participants' behaviours and voiced perspectives and what the institutional culture of the school reveals about the role of the school in society and institutional transformation after 1994.

Using ethnography has challenges and Henning *et al*, (2005) point to two challenges. Firstly, it is difficult for the researcher's personal views, biases, methods and experiences not to cloud the ethnography. This can happen when the researcher shares in the experiences, roles and characteristics of what is being studied with the participants. To overcome this challenge I spent six months in deep, personal and committed study of the culture of the selected school in order to discern the habits, behaviour, thoughts and the social structure that holds the group together in their social setting. This prolonged period of time spent at the school allowed me to use a range of data collection methods which included interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis to complement and extend the data generated from participant observations.

Secondly, Henning *et al*, (2005, p. 43) say that ethnographies cannot be completed quickly because the researcher's intention must be a "thick description" of that which is being studied. This means that the researcher must spend adequate "everyday" time at the research site observing and recording in detail the group as they go about their daily tasks and interact with others in the group. It means that the researcher needs to capture the everyday practices that the group engages in, including the symbols, rituals signs and the language used that is unique to the group.

Being a staff member at this school, undertaking a critical ethnography, I had to negotiate my multiple identities. I entered the research site having already established relationships with the participants as a colleague and a friend. Hence, as a researcher I had the advantage of having established a measure of trust between myself and the participants and this benefitted the data generation in this study. I share the same gender, age, ethnicity, culture and profession with some of the participants. Therefore, as a researcher I had more than one role. Reed-Danahay (1997, p.3) discusses the notion of the researcher having multiple identities, and describes the ethnographer as a 'boundary crosser' where the researcher's role is characterised as having a dual identity. For me this meant that I had two identities during the fieldwork. I had the identity of being a participant because besides being a teacher at the school, I was also the researcher of this study. I used my personal memories of when I was a learner at this school (i.e. from 1983-1986) to provide autobiographical data that formed part of the historical data of the school (see chapter 5). According to Brewer (1986) autobiographical data is data that contains information about the self and its use is

often motivated by the questions the researcher is asking. My aim was to, firstly supplement the historical data provided by participants memory work. Secondly, to help create a deeper understanding of the history of the school and to address the research questions about institutional transformation within the school. According to Tanni, Smyth and Boucher (2003), ethnography as a research method is characterised by the use of autobiographical data. I chose to write about my experiences which were based on how I understood the world, its practices and myself. Therefore, whilst I was not fearful or anxious about divulging my personal memories, the data I provided was laden with assumptions I had about what was significant. This is significant because the varying accounts provided by me and the participants, a nuanced understanding of the historical context was created. This also had the potential to increase insights about the school's historical context. Holding this dual position allowed me to provide an insider's or 'emic' perspective in data collection and analysis thereof as opposed to presenting an 'etic' perspective i.e. the analysis of an outsider (Headland, Pike & Harris, 1990).

In an ethnographical approach, theory is established from the data (Lather, 1986). Lather refers to this approach in ethnography as 'research as praxis', where the researcher is required to make known to the reader that he/she has a personal influence on the theoretical basis of the research. In this study I used a critical ethnographic approach and I informed the reader that the ethnography focused particularly on institutional transformation within the school, and was not about generating data about institutional culture per se. I revealed my research aims for this study in chapter one and this is contained in the four research questions.

Lather (1986, p. 208) outlines four principles of critical inquiry that 'research as praxis' must fulfil, and which I attempted in this study. Firstly, a researcher must keep in mind that they need to understand the groups' existence from the participants' perspective. Further, as a researcher in the critical paradigm, one data source is not sufficient to render a critical account of the data. Therefore, I used the data generated in the focus group discussions and data generated from school documents to satisfy the requirement by the critical paradigm for multiple data sources as well as a way to obtain a deeper understanding of the group existence.

Secondly, that a researcher aims to create a dialogic space where participants would be encouraged to share their understandings and experiences of institutional transformation with the researcher. I agree with this principle because it was the participants' experiences and understandings of institutional transformation that was needed to answer the research questions. I fulfilled this principle by creating interview and focus group discussion opportunities for participants to anonymously (i.e. by using pseudonyms) speak of their experiences and understandings of institutional transformation within the school. Further, interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis with the aim of creating a safe dialogic space for participants to speak freely and openly.

Thirdly, a researcher needs to create an environment where participants are encouraged to critically engage with the issue of institutional transformation. I agree with Lather that such an environment needs to be created given that I have located this study within the critical paradigm. However, Lather does not specify whether this must be done with individual participants or participants in a group. In order to encourage maximum participation from the participants I gave participants the opportunity to engage with the issue of institutional transformation as individuals in interviews, and with other participants in the focus group discussions. Participants in the focus group discussions were grouped according to the post-level they occupied at the school. In this way teachers occupying a post level one position (i.e. members not in school management positions) were grouped together, and teachers occupying post-level two and three positions (i.e. members of school management) were grouped together. The rationale for using this strategy was to make participants feel secure and confident to share their experiences and understandings of institutional transformation with colleagues occupying the same or similar post levels without feeling intimidated by colleagues of a lower or higher post level. In other words, this strategy served to reduce the likelihood of power relations coming to the fore and negatively impacting on the data generation process.

Fourthly, a researcher encourages participants to self-reflect on the research process to positively impact on the institution's development. My research topic, interview schedule and focus group topic guides were used to cause participants to reflect on institutional transformation within the school. This was done during and after the data generation through extended activities and questions in preparation for follow-up interviews and focus

group discussions with the aim that participants become sensitised to the issue of institutional transformation and become encouraged to positively impact on development in this respect.

Spradley (1979) suggests that ethnographic research has the potential to result in social change of some kind, and has the potential to go beyond a search for knowledge and understanding to serving the needs of the culture being studied. Spradley calls this 'strategic research'. This study aimed to be 'strategic research' by gaining understanding and knowledge about institutional transformation in one school in terms of 'access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education' (Department of Education, 1995).

4.3.2 Research Site and Research Participants

I chose one school for my study. The choice of the school had to fulfil certain criteria to be considered an ethnographical study.

- Ethnographical studies are time-consuming because the researcher has to observe the daily attitudes, beliefs, values and practices within the culture of the group. Therefore the researcher has to spend an extended period of time at the research site. Because I am a member at the selected school, extended access to the research site and to participants was made possible. This school as a research site was convenient because as a teacher at the school, I had pre-existing relationships within the school, with colleagues who assisted in me to gain access to school spaces, events and school documents during my non-teaching time. The access to what is going on at the school and what has been recorded about the school in documents is important in researching institutional transformation because it gives me valuable insights and a deeper understanding of school's past and present daily realities. Such access is integral to ethnographical research.
- The school was administered by the Department of Coloured Affairs (1974 to 1983) and the House of Representatives (i.e. from 1983-1994). The school has a history of almost forty years, and therefore illustrates features relevant for a study of institutional transformation in an education context (Silverman, 2000). For example, the school was opened in 1974, and although classified along racial lines as a school

for Coloured learners, the records dating back to 1974 show learners from other race groups were admitted. The admission policy of the school during the apartheid era is significant for examining access to education when enrolment access to education was largely determined by racial grouping. The admission policy of the school is also significant after 1994 which new education policy outlined.

The staff complement of the selected school includes teachers who have worked at the school since its opening in 1974. This feature was significant because it allowed me to obtain insights from these participants into the school culture as it evolved over several decades of political change.

- In qualitative research sampling has to do with the selection of participants who can assist the researcher in gaining knowledge about the research topic (Henning, 2002). In this study, some of the participants (i.e. three participants) were chosen on the basis of them being members of staff prior to the first democratic elections in 1994. Collectively they had knowledge and experience of the culture within the school from the 1970's, and how the cultural practices within the school had/had not changed after 1994 in respect of the transformative goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education introduced by the post-1994 government in its bid to transform education. The participants do not represent the staff population, and the findings emanating from the research cannot be generalised to all school staff and South African school cultures. My selection procedure was therefore purposive (Merriam, 1998 and Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Participants were chosen on my judgement that they were most likely to have the knowledge, experiences and understandings of cultural practices within the school, and would be able to contribute to my understanding institutional transformation within the school. I did not include parents and learners as participants because of the huge logistical challenges in obtaining permission from such a large sample of participants. Further to this, I did not include parents and learners as potential participants in the ethical clearance application of this study. Where possible, the participants for the study needed to fulfil the following criteria to be part of the study:

- Employed at the school for at least ten years. This criterion aimed to obtain data relevant to institutional transformation in response to educational policy changes by the democratic government in 1994. The criterion also sought participants who could reflect on the institutional culture of the school over a ten year period.
- Different post levels, for example teachers and heads of departments. This criterion sought to yield diverse experiences and understandings about institutional transformation from participants occupying different levels within the school system.
- Variety of age, gender and racial groupings. Since this study focuses on institutional transformation within a complex and heterogenous society this criterion sought participants who differ in terms of race, age, gender and cultural background in order to generate diverse perspectives and understandings of institutional transformation.

Using these three criteria nine participants were initially selected and agreed to participate in the study (see appendix v, pp. 240-241 and appendix vii, pp. 246-247). Table 4.1 provides a summary of the demographic characteristics of nine participants who took part in the study (i.e. this includes the participant who later withdrew) leaving eight participants who were part of the whole study.

Table 4.1 Demographic profile of the nine selected participants

Participant	Gender	Age (approximate)	Racial grouping	Year of employment	Position and Post level
Ms Govender	Female	30-40 years	Indian	2001	Teacher (post level 1)
Ms Adams	Female	50-60 years	Coloured	1974	Teacher (post level 1)
Mr Mokoena	Male	30-35years	African	2001	Teacher (post level 1)
Ms Croutz	Female	40-50 years	Coloured	1999	Teacher(post level 1)
Ms Lotz	Female (participant who later withdrew from study)	40-50 years	Coloured	1989	Teacher (post level 1)
Mr Lyons	Male	30-40	Coloured	1998	Head of Department (post level 2)
Ms Jones	Female	40-50years	Coloured	1998	Head of Department (post level 2)
Mr Uys	Male	40-50years	Coloured	1999	Head of Department (post level 2)
Ms Gertz	Female	40-50years	Coloured	1989	Deputy Principal (post level 3)

In terms of gender, five of the eight participants were female and three of the participants were male. As a result participants from both genders were represented in the participant profile. Three of the participants were under forty years hence the majority of participants were over forty years of age. This meant that the profile consisted of participants, not only from different age categories, but also participants who may or may not share the same perspectives, experiences and understandings of institutional transformation at the school. The racial identification of participants was that six were Coloured, one was Indian and one was African. Hence, the possibility of generating data about institutional transformation from three different racial perspectives was made possible. The post-level identification of three participants was that one was a Coloured female occupying a senior management position (i.e. deputy principal), and two were Coloured males occupying formal management positions. Therefore, participants occupying different post-levels within the school allowed for different perspectives regarding institutional transformation to come to the fore during data generation.

At the beginning of the study, I asked staff members to volunteer to be part of the study. However, after no-one volunteered, I approached the participants listed above to be a part of the study and they agreed. One teacher agreed to be part of the study and initially took part in the individual interviews. However, after the participant found out that the focus group discussions were scheduled after school hours she withdrew. Her withdrawal did not significantly impact on the design or findings of the study. The remaining eight participants continued for the duration of my fieldwork.

The next section of the chapter details the data collection procedures and techniques of the study.

4.4 Data Generation: Procedures and Techniques

Ethnographical studies usually use interviews, observations and group discussions to generate data. Researchers generally spend prolonged periods of time observing the daily reality of a group of people in a particular social setting in order to get to know the group and their practices as they occur on a daily basis (Henning *et al.*, 2005).

I collected data from April-October 2011, which amounted to six months of data generation in addition to the historical data collected from school documents such as school photographs and memory work. The photographs were primarily used as historical artifacts to cross-check data generated through interviews, focus group discussions, participant observations and document analysis. Therefore, the generation of data spanned almost forty years, i.e. from 1974-2011. LeCompte and Schensul (1999) point out that ethnographies focusing on a particular aspect or dimension of culture allow for shorter periods of time that ethnographers need to spend in a research site. The purpose of my study was to make sense of social transformation as experienced and understood by the participants. I used semi-structured interviews, participant observation, document analysis and focus group discussions to generate data. In this section I define each method and justify why I chose these methods for this study. I also outline the possible advantages and limitations of each method. These shortcomings provided the motivation for why I chose more than one data generating technique. The variety allowed me to generate different types of data and produce a more comprehensive and consistent picture of the culture of the group of people at the school which is a requirement of ethnography (Cresswell, 2012).

4.4.1 Observation

In a general sense, observation includes not only seeing, but observing using other senses such as listening. The method is used to gather information over a short period of time (Henning *et al.*, 2005). However, ethnography requires that the researcher spends a prolonged period of time as part of the research site in order to participate and get to know and understand a particular group's way of life. This kind of observation is referred to as participant observation (Henning, 2004). Therefore, I designed a schedule (see appendix iv, pp. 240-241) to use as an instrument to generate data. The design of the instrument incorporated columns to record the date/s of event/s, participants involved in the event/s, actions observed and a column to record my reflections on the details of event/s. I also decided on specific events to be observed, and in this way I limited and focused on generating in depth data from my observations. These events were morning announcements, staffroom interactions, school assemblies, staff meetings, governing body meetings, parent meetings and subject meetings. The design of the observation instrument was piloted, and was found to be an adequate instrument to generate data. In this

ethnography I used participant observation because as a member of the school staff group, I was able to, for example, be less obtrusive. In this way I reduced the likelihood that my presence would influence participant behaviour.

Using participant observation as a method to generate data is characteristic of ethnography (Cresswell, 2012). Participant observation provides a tool for collecting data about a group's way of doing things without the researcher having to directly ask members questions. According to Sarantakos (2000), there are advantages for using participant observation as a research method. These advantages include:

- The researcher becomes part of the research site. Therefore, as a researcher, I did not stand out as an outsider during the data generation phase which allowed me to generate data without being conspicuous to members of the group. I became part of the research site.
- The researcher is able to collect data directly as the data is being generated within the research site. Therefore, in my study, I did not have to generate data retrospectively, but immediately as the data was being generated with the advantage of my being present which allowed for a fuller record of the data.
- The researcher has first-hand experience of the daily, living experiences of the group being studied. This allowed me to generate data on a larger scale from the whole group within the school, as compared to the data I would have generated from scheduled data generation time frames with participants in the interviews and focus group discussions.

DeWalt and DeWalt (2010) and Fine (2003) warn that the researcher's presence may hinder the activities of members of the group and members within the group may not act as naturally as they would have if a researcher was not in their midst. To guard against this happening, I observed activities in an unobtrusive manner. For example, I tried not to be seen to be constantly taking field notes thereby reminding people of my role as a researcher. Rather I participated in activities and events and as soon as was possible, thereafter, I recorded my observations.

Another disadvantage of participant observations is that changes in the setting of the research may also occur. Such changes create challenges for the researcher to remain

within the boundaries of the problem statement. In this study there were no changes to the research site that impacted on the data generation.

Another limitation of participant observation is that even when permission has been given to study a particular community, some participants may not be willing to be part of the group being observed. Such a situation did not arise, and I was able to complete the research within the April-November 2011 time frame I had allocated for the data generation phase of the study.

The participant observations involve observations and the taking of field notes by recording the date, the kind of event or situation, the people involved in the event or situation and a reflection by the researcher of the recorded data. Following the advice of DeWalt and DeWalt (2010), initially this is a detailed account of the participants, the events taking place, actual discussions and communications. It also includes the observer's attitudes, perceptions and feelings. In other words, beginning with the widest possible range of phenomena, and gradually limiting attention to particular phenomena. In this study, the focus was on institutional transformation which determined what was significant and what was not. For example, in observing staff /subject/school governing body meetings I focused on how meetings were held, and whether issues were being discussed before decisions were taken. In other words, as articulated by Fine (2003), to observe and take detailed field notes about the culture as it occurred which spoke to, for example, issues of democracy in respect of leadership and management, and whether such practices showed evidence of transformation during the school meetings mentioned.

Taking field notes while observing might be ideal, but important observations could be missed in this way, but it does prevent the possibility of inhibiting participants or events that may be unfolding. For example, during my observations of the morning announcements and discussions around school issues, I was vigilant to record who made the announcements, how and where members were seated, who raised issues and who did not, who responded and how they responded. If I concentrated on both observing and recording my observations, I ran the risk of missing important observations. Therefore, I observed different events and school spaces, and endeavoured to include observations of individual's verbal and non-verbal behaviour, including body language and voice intonations as well as

interactions between staff members. For example, I observed staff meetings to see how decisions affecting and relating to the institution were taken, how issues involving staff members and learners were handled, who were the individuals that spoke in meetings, and in what order, and the tone of voice that was used when individuals addressed others. As soon as was possible, I converted my observations into detailed field reports (Silverman, 2000).

4.4.2 Semi- Structured Interviews

Harrell and Bradley (2009) define interviews generally as discussions that usually take place between an interviewer and one person. Such interviews can be conducted in person or telephonically. The aim is to generate data from individuals about their beliefs, experiences and understandings around a particular issue or topic. There are different types of interviews, namely, unstructured, semi-structured or structured depending on how much control the interviewer wants to have over the interview. In unstructured interviews, while the interviewer has a clear plan, he/she does not have control over the participant's responses. As a result, the interview can go in different directions with the interviewer having little control over the direction taken in the interview. Such interviews can be time consuming. Semi-structured interviews are guided by questions around a specific topic that that the interviewer wants to cover during the interview. The interviewer decides on the order of the questions which are standardised if there is more than one interview. The interviewer makes use of probes to ensure that the topic is discussed in detail and that he/she has a clear understanding of the participant's responses. The interview style is conversational. In structured interviews, the questions are fixed and are asked in a specific order. There is no deviation in the interview format and all participants are asked the same questions. The interviewer does not use probes to obtain more information, and there is no opportunity for the interviewee to ask for clarity on the questions. Such interviews are generally used in large samples and where the findings can be generalised to a large population.

In this study, I sought a detailed picture of individual beliefs, perceptions and experiences of the culture within one organisation, and in particular in respect to institutional transformation in the selected school. Semi-structured individual interviews assisted me in

obtaining such data, and I was able to do this in a relatively short space of time. Using this technique allowed me flexibility in the interview regarding questions and answers. For example, I made use of probes during the interviews to obtain clarity and depth around issues being discussed. I did follow-ups to any interesting avenues of information that emerged during the interviews that related to institutional transformation (Harrell & Bradley, 2009). For example, Mr Lyons stated that the school leadership in 2011 needed to be more autocratic than democratic in order to ensure that all stakeholders were aware of their roles and responsibilities to create a culture of teaching and learning. The individual interviews also helped strengthen emerging themes from data generated from other research methods, for example, the participant observations.

Hardon, Hodgkin and Fresle (2004) identify the following limitations of semi-structured interviews:

- They can be time-consuming. In order to prevent the interview from going on for too long, I limited the number of probes I used for the different questions.
- It is difficult to compare and analyse different participants responses and generalise findings. To increase the comparability of responses from the seven participants, I used the same or similar probes for the different questions. In this way I was able to identify similar/dissimilar patterns in the data generated and draw inferences from the patterns. The aim in my study was to understand institutional transformation. I did not aim to generalise the findings in this study beyond the context of the selected school.

I designed an interview schedule (see appendix vi, pp. 244-248) that was, firstly divided into two sessions. The rationale for doing this arose out of the piloting of this instrument. The time taken to go through all the questions in the initial instrument went beyond the allocated one and half hours. I then decided to separate the individual interview schedule into two sessions of one and a half hours each. Secondly, the sequence and framing of the questions needed to be considered, as well as the words and language used to form the questions. Normal, everyday, colloquial language and words were used in place of 'academic jargon' (Patton, 1980, p.225) in order to generate in-depth and authentic data. Each session was divided into sub-sections. In the first sub-section I focused briefly on

asking participants background questions. The reason for beginning this way was to put participants at ease by asking non-threatening questions. In other words, the 'what' questions dominated this sub-section, followed by the more in-depth and challenging 'how' and 'why' questions in subsequent sub-sections (Patton, 1980, p. 210-211). The aim was to generate data around specific areas of institutional culture. Therefore, I used pre-determined, brief, straightforward, open-ended questions as a guide, and not as a means to dictate the direction and content of the interview (Kvale, 1996). This allowed the participants to share in the direction the interview took, and gave them the opportunity and flexibility to introduce issues that I might have overlooked. Permission was sought from participants to record the interviews. This allowed a much fuller record of information of what was said than notes written during interviews, and it enables the researcher to be free to concentrate on the interview and how it is proceeding. The interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after the interview to ensure a written account of participants' non-verbal communication, such as body language displayed during the interview (Field & Morse, 1994).

4.4.3 Focus Group Discussions

Harrell and Bradley (2009, p.6) define focus group discussions as 'dynamic group discussions used to collect information'. Focus group discussions are used to provide multiple viewpoints on a topic (Henning *et al.*, 2005). In this study, the topic is institutional transformation. Using focus groups as a data collection method has the advantage that allowed me to collect data in a shorter period of time than, for example, individual interviews with several people. It also allowed cross-checking or validating data collected in the individual interviews by looking for patterns that either confirmed or challenged emerging themes in the data.

I used the description of focus groups provided by Morgan and Krueger (1998), who define this "as a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researchers." This definition encapsulated my intention of having group discussions with staff members around the topic of institutional transformation. I used focus group discussions to supplement my other methods. I aimed to generate data about how the group members perceive cultural practices of the institution before and after 1994. For the discussions I obtained four teachers occupying level one posts, three teachers who are Heads of Departments (i.e. occupying level two posts) and one member from senior

management (i.e occupying a level three post). The focus group discussions were useful in providing multiple viewpoints or responses on the topic of institutional transformation in a shorter period of time than individual interviews (Krueger & Casey, 2000, p.7). My motivation for the focus group discussions was the desire to listen and learn from the participants.

The focus group discussions were divided into three sessions with each session focusing on different aspects of institutional transformation (see appendix viii, pp. 250-254). The focus group discussions were aimed at eliciting participants' voices on the issue of institutional transformation. I used the questioning strategy of a topic guide (Morgan & Krueger, 1998). In developing the questions to use in the topic guide, I took the advice of Morgan and Krueger (1998) and focussed on drawing up opening, introductory, transition, key and ending questions to use in the discussions. For example, in the first focus group discussion, the issue of access to education was discussed. The opening and introductory questions of the discussion aimed at obtaining participants' understanding of the concept 'access' and how this concept related to education. I also used the open-ended question technique to get participants to think back and reflect on individual experiences, and experiences of the institution in terms of access. Participants answered specific questions around cultural practices of this institution. Discussions were recorded with participants agreeing to this in writing (see appendix vii, pp.249-250).

4.4.4 Document Analysis

For this study, I examined official school documents such as school learner registers, school photographs, a principal's log book, school policies and school staff lists. These documents, according to Bailey (1994) are compiled and maintained on an on-going basis by the institution. They have a more formal structure than personal documents because they are not written for personal reasons, but for the continued functioning of an organisation (Strydom & Delport, 2000). The time period of these documents had to be pre and post 1994 so as to gain insight into cultural practices in this institution before and after the 1994 democratic elections. Henning (2002) advises that documents should be used for their content value, in terms of what they reveal regarding a specific issue. For example, in this study, the school registers were examined in terms of what were the criteria to admit

learners to the school, did the criteria change over time, and if so, how did they change? The documents were also used to corroborate patterns/trends found in the data from the participant observations, individual interviews and the focus group discussions.

Document analysis had the advantage of being inexpensive to the researcher as the documents were available at the research site. The documents selected provided valuable information and insight into the cultural practices of this institution over time, and insights into the agenda for transformation as outlined in education policy after 1994.

As a data generation method, document analysis has limitations. Bailey (1994) and Monette, Sullivan and De Jong (1998) point out that reports, records and historical documents may never have been kept, may be inaccessible, been lost, become illegible over time or be incomplete. These limitations may hinder research or even rendered it impossible. For documents that were non-existent, illegible or incomplete, I attempted to locate replacement documents from participants or staff members who had left the school and who were willing to be part of the research. For example, I obtained school photographs of school events such as a matric graduation ceremony, school awards function and school sports event from an ex-teacher of the school. Robson (2002) points out that documents may not have been written for the same reasons as the aims of a research study. Therefore, conclusions cannot be made exclusively from document analysis. Hence, data generated in the interviews and focus group discussions were also used to complement and cross-check data obtained from the documents in terms of institutional transformation.

As a data generation method, document analysis has advantages. Documents are unnoticeable and can be used without imposing on participants (Robson, 2002). In my study, I had school documents at my disposal for as long as I needed them for analysis. Documents, for example, the school registers could be checked and rechecked for reliability.

The next section focuses on how the data generated in the interviews, focus group discussions, observations and documents were analysed using critical discourse analysis (CDA).

4.5 Data Analysis

In my study, the plan for analysing and interpreting data was directed by the purpose of examining institutional transformation within an educational setting (De Vos, Fouche & Venter, 2002). The amount of data generated from the interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis was a factor in deciding how I would describe, analyse and interpret the data to answer the research questions and draw conclusions (Kerlinger, 1986). I generated eight individual, semi-structured interviews, six focus group discussions, several observations and used six school documents from the school archives. I used critical discourse analysis (CDA) and a thematic method to analyse the data.

Fairclough (1993) says that CDA is useful in highlighting connections between discourse practices, social practices and social structures that may not be clear to the ordinary person. Discourse is a form of social practice linked to specific historical contexts, and is the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested to serve different interests (Janks, 1997). It was questions relating to interests that connect discourse to relations of race, power and performance in terms of institutional culture that was the focus in the three data chapters. In relation to the three discourses of race, power and performance, I looked at how the different texts were positioned, whose interests were being advanced by this positioning, whose interests were being set aside, and what were the consequences of the positions evident in the texts? For example, in the admission registers, the school took the position of admitting learners who were not classified as Coloured into the school even though this practice contravened apartheid education policy of that time.

The discourses in the texts are also produced in particular social conditions. The changing role of how schools should operate after 1994 to build democratic structures, are important social conditions within which texts are produced. However, past apartheid ideologies aimed at developing education to perpetuate existing social structures of inequality and discrimination among different race groups, might still be evident. It is within these social contexts that the semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, school photographs and school documents have been produced.

The interpretation is carried out in particular social conditions. Firstly, these include past apartheid ideologies of authority, hierarchy, bureaucracy, and the construction of schools as

institutions that perpetuate existing social structures. Secondly, it is within new ideologies of physical and epistemological access, quality in education, democracy and equity and redress in education and the construction of schools as agents to bring about change in existing social structures.

I examined photographs of school settings and events as far as was possible and how they spoke to race, looked for patterns, the conditions or the socio-historical conditions influencing those processes. For example, school photographs from 1995-1999, show a recurring pattern of school staff as being Coloured. I worked from the text to the discourse. I then tried to confirm, challenge or extend the patterns and trends found in the photographs by looking at the trans-scripted interviews, focus group discussions and school documents, wall hangings and portraits. For example, in the interviews, five participants mentioned the predominantly Coloured staff at the school since the school opened in 1974. An honours board in the school foyer reflects the names of staff members. The majority of names reflected from 1974 to 2008 showed individuals with English-or-Afrikaans-sounding names and surnames. This enabled me to uncover answers about the discourse of race within the school context. This is one example of a recurring pattern reflected in the photographs, observations and in interviews with participants.

In this study, CDA assisted in me answering my research questions about institutional transformation at the school. I used what Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) state can be gained from using CDA and how I used this to go beyond generating data. CDA allowed me to use my research questions to be sceptical about the data and to take an active approach in asking questions and applying tactics and strategies to reveal meaning and understandings in the data regarding institutional transformation at the school. Therefore, using CDA firstly gave the opportunity to consider and evaluate what participants said about the institutional cultures of the school and in what ways, what they said was relevant to institutional transformation. Secondly, I used CDA to assist in identifying the power relations that existed within the institutional culture and whether hegemonic practices prevailed in terms of school leadership, and how such practices cohered with post-apartheid policies around school leadership. Thirdly, I used CDA to be open-minded, rational, honest and non-judgemental when evaluating participants' perspectives and data generated from school documents to garner insights and understandings regarding the conditions for institutional

transformation at the school. Lastly, using CDA helped me to interpret, analyse, reason and evaluate the data generated in order to build an argument as the process and progress of institutional transformation at the school and what this revealed about the role of schools in socially transforming South African society (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000).

I now move to discuss the second approach I used in my data analysis. The data generated from the interviews and focus group discussions were analysed using a thematic method. I used an inductive approach in the analysis where themes emerged from the data as suggested by Tere (2006). I analysed the data making use of concepts that linked up with the aims of the research and the research questions being used to achieve this aim. The concepts were access to education, quality in education, democracy in education, equity and redress in education encapsulated in education policy and legislation of the government to socially transform education. The aims align with the theoretical framework of social transformation that I chose to work within for this study.

After the data has been generated and transcribed, Spradley (1979) suggests the first step involves looking for patterns of experience that can be listed. These patterns can come from direct quotes or from paraphrasing common ideas expressed by the participants. In this study, I was looking for patterns of experience and understandings around the issue of institutional transformation in terms of access, quality, democracy, equity and redress in the institution within the themes of race, power and performance. For example, was there consensus or disagreements over different periods of the school's history in how admissions were carried out?

In the second step all data that relate to the patterns around access, quality, democracy, equity and redress is placed with the corresponding emergent themes of race, power and performance. For example, all data that showed admission practices, staff employment, promotion opportunities were included and analysed under the broad theme of access.

The third step involves combining and cataloguing related patterns into sub-themes (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). In my study, I have under the main theme of race, several sub-themes such as access to knowledge and access to resources. The sub-themes emerged from the data. According to Leininger (1985), themes are identified by bringing together components of ideas or experiences that may not amount to much on their own, but which collectively

provide a comprehensive picture of the understanding of participants. For example, participants in the interviews consistently referred to Surprise High School as a school for Coloured learners and teachers, and collectively their statements reinforce their exclusive racial understanding of the school. Leininger (1985) states that gathering sub-themes together provides a comprehensive view of the data, and allows a pattern to emerge.

The final step in this method of thematic analysis involves building a valid argument around the patterns. This is done using the related literature to make inferences and interpret the patterns as a story line. In this study the story line concerns institutional transformation within a particular institution after 1994 in respect of who has access to the school, how is quality in education being pursued, are democratic practices evident in the institution's culture, and are these practices working towards achieving the goals of equity and redress in education at the institution?

To conclude I used two methods for data analysis. The thematic approach allowed me to identify three main themes namely race, power and performance with some corresponding sub-themes. The critical discourse analysis approach allowed me to pose deeper, more complex questions in order to attach meaning to the data in respect to institutional transformation.

Using CDA in this study allowed me to probe deeper into the three themes to uncover what discourse/s participants use when they speak, how they make sense of their reality, what determines how the discourse/s is/are produced and maintained within the social context of the school. CDA also allowed me to establish the ideological assumptions of the participants, as well as other past and present staff members through school documents. Using CDA, the study highlights what power relations exist within the institution, whether hegemonic practices prevail and how this institution is socially transforming as part of a democratic South Africa.

4.6 Measures to ensure Trustworthiness

According to Henning, van Rensburg and Smit (2005) research in a South African context ought to be used as a basis for social redress through the way the research is designed or the findings that emanate from it. In other words, the findings emanating from qualitative

research must be trustworthy so that, where applicable, such findings can be used to bring about social justice or redress. Therefore, to assure the value, quality and trustworthiness of my research project, I argue for and justify it against established criteria of research trustworthiness.

In this study I used the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and reiterated by Shenton (2003). To ensure credibility in research, there must be an attempt to show that a true reflection is presented of the phenomenon that was under investigation or 'how congruent the findings are with reality' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 p. 6). In this study the phenomenon under investigation was institutional transformation at one school. I ensured credibility of my research in the following ways. Firstly, I used ethnography which is a well-established research methodology for studying the cultural practices of a group of people together. My data generation methods (namely, interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and document analysis) as well as my data analysis methods (namely a thematic method and critical discourse analysis) were derived from methods that have been successfully used in ethnographic studies (Smith, 1987). Secondly, my use of four different data collection methods allowed me to triangulate data from these four sources. In other words, I was able to verify the data generated in both the interviews and focus group discussion against each source. I also used school documents to obtain background data which assisted in verifying data given by participants and helped explain the values, attitudes and beliefs of the participants. Triangulation of data was also obtained through the use of a wide range of participants (namely, different genders, age groups, racial classification and post levels) which allowed for a greater variety in terms of participant perspectives and experiences which could be verified against other participants and which helped create a rich description of values, attitudes, beliefs, understandings and experiences regarding institutional transformation. Thirdly, together with the relationship of friendship and trust that was already established due to my being a member of the group for over ten years, I undertook a 'prolonged engagement' (i.e. six months) with the research site and the participants in order to obtain a good understanding of the institutional culture of the selected school. Fourthly, I employed the tactic to ensure that participants were honest in the data that they provided. Each participant was given the opportunity to refuse to be part

of the study and to withdraw from the study at any time without being obligated to provide an explanation. In this way, only participants who freely committed to being part of the research and to freely provide data were involved. Fifthly, I provided a thick description of the phenomenon under investigation, namely institutional transformation as well as a detailed description of the context within which the phenomenon was being investigated in terms of the research setting, the participants involved in the research and the social reality of the institution. This description was done without violating the principles of anonymity, confidentiality and autonomy that had been agreed with the participants and the research site. Lastly, I undertook 'member checks' to verify the accuracy of the data generated during all the individual interviews and the focus group discussions undertaken as well as the analysis thereof (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 p. 33). This took place after the interviews and focus group discussions where each participant was given back the transcribed interview and discussion they had been part of, and asked to read them and to check that this was an accurate record (i.e. through the use of a tape recorder) of what they had said and intended in the interview and focus group discussions. Participants viewed the transcriptions of the data generated and the analysis of data during the study. In this way, participants were able to confirm that the data, the findings and the implications thereof emerged from the data and not from my personal predispositions.

For a study to be trustworthy in terms of transferability, the researcher must provide enough detail of the context of fieldwork to allow a reader to decide whether the research context can be likened to other situations, and whether the research findings can justifiably be applied to other settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The issue of transferability in my study was addressed in the following ways. I provided sufficient contextual data about the research site and the fieldwork undertaken during my research (see section 4.3.2) to allow a reader to make such a transfer. Further, I provided a sufficient thick description of institutional transformation to give a reader a clear understanding of how I am explaining and using the phenomenon of institutional transformation in my study. Hence, a reader would be able to make comparisons between the instances of institutional transformation in my study with instances they have experienced in their situations. In my study, these instances were in respect of the following: the number of participants, data generation

methods, the number and length of the interview and focus group discussions, the time period for data generation (Cole & Gardner, 1979).

The issue of dependability in research speaks to the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that future investigators are able to repeat the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In addressing the issue of reliability in research, Lincoln and Guba identify a close link between the issues of credibility and dependability, and argue that in ensuring credibility a researcher also addresses the issue of dependability. Credibility in research can be achieved through using data generation methods that overlap with each other. For example, in my study the participants took part in both individual interviews and focus group discussions. To address the issue of dependability in my study, I provided in-depth descriptions of how the research unfolded enabling any future researcher the opportunity to assess research practices followed in the study and to repeat the study. My research study includes sections which describe the following; the research design and how this design was planned and implemented, detailed descriptions of the rationale for choosing the four data generation methods and the instruments as well as the advantages and limitations of each method and instrument and details about what transpired during the fieldwork.

Confirmability in research is addressed through steps taken by the researcher to show that the research findings emerge from the research data and not from the researcher's own predispositions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In other words, the research findings of this study regarding institutional transformation must emanate from the understandings and experiences of the eight participants and from data generated through observations and analysis of school documents. As researcher, my personal characteristics and preferences must not influence the research findings. Therefore, the steps I took in respect to triangulation promote such confirmability and serves to reduce the impacts of researcher bias. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), key criterion for confirmability is the degree to which the researcher has revealed his/her own predispositions. To this end, I revealed my insider status or what Adler and Adler (1987, p. 50) refer to as an 'active membership role' as a researcher in relation to the research site and the group of people being investigated. I further provided details as to my rationale for choosing ethnography as my research design and the advantages of this design in investigating institutional transformation. I provided

details of my chosen research methodology which enables a reader to determine to what extent the research data and the research findings may be accepted.

Whitbeck (1995) argues that it is not enough to only include a discussion of trust and trustworthiness of a research study, but there must be an extended discussion that includes aspects of ethical standards and trustworthy behaviour as well. Therefore, there is a connection between trustworthiness in research and ethical considerations in research. I discuss the ethical issues of my study in the next section.

4.7 Ethical Issues

Ethics are important and necessary because they make research both scientifically and socially acceptable by ensuring that the study does not harm the people involved in it (Durrheim, 2002). Therefore, a researcher must request access from the relevant authorities before embarking on the proposed research. However, under this section I first discuss my role as insider researcher in this study and then discuss the issue of access to the research site and the people involved in the study. I discuss my role as an insider researcher in order to make known to the reader my familiarity with the research site and with the participants so that the ethical principle of confirmability is not compromised in terms of my characteristics and preferences influencing the research findings. My position as an insider researcher arose from the fact that I am employed at the school and my subjectivity and bias are challenges. For example, I have been employed at the school for over ten years, I am racially classified as 'Coloured', I am a female and I follow the Christian faith. Therefore, I needed to examine my personal position and give examples of some of the situations that arose and what choices I made during the data generation phase of my study. As an insider researcher, I had a better understanding of the social context of the school which had been gained over ten years of being an employee at the school. I was familiar with the daily routine and institutional culture of the school, and had established relationships over a ten year period with participants and other members of staff. Therefore, the chances of participants being more open and honest about their experiences at the school in terms of institutional transformation were enhanced by my position as an 'insider'. I built a rapport with participants in terms of my research. I address and discuss my role as researcher in the school in terms of 'access, intrusiveness, familiarity and rapport' (Mercer, 2007, p.1).

My access to the school site as an 'insider' proved to be both an open and a closed door. It was an open door in that my position and status as a staff member granted me daily access to the research site during and far beyond the official data generation stage of this study. I had access to participants, although on an informal basis, school spaces and school documents, in the event I needed these for whatever reason. Therefore, data generation of school documents and other school records was able to continue long after the official data generation stage. Insider access granted me opportunities which might not have been afforded to me had I been an 'outsider' researcher, and thereby it increased the depth of data generated around the issue of social transformation. However, it was a closed door in that during individual interviews and focus group discussions, my access to information of for example, school events or social relations was compromised by my 'insider' position. Participants often made reference to people, dates and school events with the knowledge that I, as a staff member, would be privy to, and they lost sight of the fact that they were speaking to me as a researcher and not as a colleague, and thus left out significant details of whatever they were relating to me. Hence, my presence negatively influenced the data that I was trying to generate and measure. My resolution of my dual identity is explained in chapter four where I write about the challenges in data generation. I focused on collecting this data during the data collection of the study.

A further limitation of my 'insider' research position was the frustrations and delays in generating data through interviews scheduled during a common 'non-teaching period'. Often a participant or I was unavailable because of school duties or responsibilities that arose, and as staff members, those duties took precedence over my data generation agenda. Very often, interviews had to be rescheduled which put pressure on the time frame I had allocated for this stage of the research. This created a fair amount of anxiety for me as a researcher. Therefore, I embarked on a second data collection phase. However, this was done more informally, where I merely asked different staff members whenever I was able and when they were available, for example, when we met in the staffroom during breaks or during common non-teaching periods. I approached teachers I knew were teaching at the school during this time to provide insights into this period of the school's history. I was fortunate in that staff members were willing to share what they knew and had experienced, and in this way I was able to create a much deeper and richer understanding of this

historical period, and how the school was affected. I had to constantly remind myself of my role as an outsider when I was involved in data generation in order to suspend my personal biases, point of view and experiences and not allow my insider status to influence data generation. This dual role proved challenging, and when it did appear that I had merged my two roles, upon transcribing and reflection of the data generated, I tried to identify and exclude such data.

The position of an insider researcher determined my selection of the school as my research site, and granted me easy access to the site and to the participants. My daily presence at the school, participants often spoke to me outside of the scheduled venue and time-slot of the interviews and focus group discussions about issues raised in our discussions. Mercer (2007) refers to this as 'incidental data'. When this happened, and I believed the data was significant to the study, I made a mental note of the information and took the decision to add the information to that participant's contribution in the interview or focus group discussion. However, I did not initiate this kind of engagement with participants to generate data in this manner. I was mindful of the fact that the research site was my place of employment and I had the responsibility to carry out my duties as an employee.

As an insider researcher, my familiarity with the institutional culture sometimes caused participants to forget my role as researcher in search of data, and spoke with the assumption that I knew what they were referring to without providing all the necessary details. For example, participants often referred to me and used the phrase 'you remember when...' or 'you know what I'm talking about'. To avoid the non-sharing of prior experiences and shared assumptions because participants had slipped in terms of blurring my role as researcher and participant, I was mindful to delay my response so that the participant would be encouraged to provide the details themselves or make use of probes to elicit the data from participants and not be tempted to do so myself. However, I was not always successful in doing this, and not to interrupt the flow of discussion, I took the decision to make my contribution. According to Logan (1984), when insider researchers share their experiences and attitudes with participants, it helps to build trust between the researcher and participants. Griffiths (1985) sees such situations as examples of the reciprocal nature of research. Cresswell (2012) cautions that such situations may minimise the 'bracketing' that is required and which is important for building meaning around data provided by participants.

I did try to limit my contributions to my role of researcher in respect to issues being discussed and encouraged participants, for example, by using probes, to finish what they were saying without my having to supply any information.

4.7.1 Access

According to Fawcett, Suarez-Balcazar, Balcazar, White, Paine, Blanchard & Embree, 1994, permission to conduct research is necessary in order to obtain the cooperation and support necessary to conduct the research. I obtained access to the research site, firstly, through an application to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education to conduct the proposed research. Permission was granted for my research study on institutional transformation at the selected school (see appendix ii, p.238). Secondly, I wrote a letter to the principal and chairperson of the school's governing body requesting permission to conduct my research (see appendix iii p.239). Permission was granted by the school principal and the chairperson of the school's governing body to conduct my research on institutional transformation. I did not request permission from parents because learners were not directly involved as participants in my study.

As a researcher, I was also challenged by the issues of autonomy and informed consent, non-maleficence and beneficence. The principles of these challenges are discussed below together with how I dealt with these challenges.

4.7.2 Autonomy and Informed Consent

Obtaining informed consent to conduct the research is necessary to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of the research site and the participants in the study (Kvale, 1996). I made use of pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants in the study so that they did not run the risk of being seen as disloyal to the institution for taking part in the research and revealing information about the institution's culture. I used a pseudonym for the school to protect the school in the event of research findings that might not put the school in a fair light in terms of institutional transformation. I took the decision to fully disclose to participants the aim of my research, why I needed them as participants and what was expected of them as participants in my study (see appendices v, vii, pp. 242-243 and 249-250). According to Powney and Watts (1987) there are benefits for research when

participants are fully informed regarding the purposes of the research. Such disclosure helps to build a common understanding and commitment to what the research seeks to establish.

4.7.3 Non-maleficence

Researchers need to be sensitive to potential harm that may befall participants in a study because there is the potential for there to be far-reaching consequences for participants taking part in research (Williams, Tutty, & Grinnell, 1995). In my study I endeavoured to work within the parameters of the research problem and the research aim which all participants were informed about. I minimised my intrusion on participants as they went about their daily duties as employees at the school. I restricted my intrusion into their daily routine only when it became necessary to negotiate and confirm venues and time to conduct the interviews and focus group discussions. In this way I stayed within the boundaries of the venues and time frames negotiated with participants for data generation. I had debriefing sessions with participants after the individual interviews and the focus group conversations to address issues that participants felt may be harmful to them or the institution. For example, after the interviews were transcribed, I gave them back to participants to read. This gave participants the opportunity to read through and reflect on what they said during the discussions and the opportunity to change or delete information they felt would jeopardise their position or status at the school. In this study, none of the participants requested that any information in the interviews and focus group discussions be removed or changed.

4.7.4 Beneficence

Research needs to be of social benefit even though the participant may not directly benefit from participating (Williams, Tutty & Grinnell, 1995). The benefit lies in the potential research has to provide insight into how social meaning is created through discourse, and how such discourse/s is/are maintained in particular social settings (Henning *et al.*, 2005). In my study, I informed participants about the value of my study, and that it had the potential to develop insights, deepen their understanding of the institution in respect of institutional transformation, and encourage educational stakeholders to take action in respect of the research findings. I did this at the beginning of each individual interview and before the start of the focus group discussions. Participants responded positively to the aims of my study

and displayed interest, enthusiasm and commitment in engaging with the phenomenon of institutional transformation at the school.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed and motivated my rationale for situating myself in the critical paradigm, why ethnography was my choice for a research design and my choice of research methodology to answer the four research questions posed in chapter one. In this chapter, I also provided the rationale behind choosing a critical approach regarding the analysis of data generated through interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document analysis. The important issue of trustworthiness in research is inextricably linked to the ethical considerations. I elaborated on this connection and explained how these issues were addressed in my study. In chapter five, I present a historical account of the research site in an attempt to create a socio-historical context of the school in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE:

The Story of Surprise High School over Four Historical Periods

5.1 Introduction

Once upon a hill stood a school, its name revered and its academic and sporting reputation for excellence known far and wide but alas, it now stands as a shadow of its former self. So, join me as we journey back in time and trace the evolution of 'Surprise High' from a school described by Ms Gertz as one 'which once stood out proudly on a hill' to Ms Adams description of a school now often called a 'circus', and the principal's articulation of a school where 'things fall apart'.

In order to understand present day educational institutions, like the high school in this study, it is fundamental to know and understand the history of education in South Africa. It is an undeniable fact that an unequal education system prevailed in South Africa before 1994, within an unequal social system. This manifested itself in unequal job opportunities, salaries, housing provision, and social services, for example, health and welfare (Christie, 2006). A historical perspective of the school in the study is important as it clarifies how this school came to be what it is in 2011, and is significant for examining the transformation process as it is unfolding in this school. Providing the historical perspective is my motivation to present an historical account of the school in this chapter. The historical account is specific to this school and is divided into four time periods that highlight the broader educational changes regarding school administration from the time the school opened in 1974 to 2011, and to examine how these changes impacted and influenced the school's environment. The four periods are:

- School Administration under the Department of Coloured Affairs (1974-1980) and the Department of Internal Affairs: Directorate of Coloured Education (1980-1984)
- School Administration under 'House of Representatives (HOR) (1984-1991),
- School Administration under the Department of Education (KwaZulu-Natal): The Transition Period (1992-1996)
- School Administration under the Department of Education (KwaZulu-Natal): The Democratic era (1997 to 2011)

School culture is multi-faceted, and in keeping with this notion, I divided each time period into different aspects of school culture that arise from the data, for example, around school leadership and management, school events and settings, and data that spoke to the school's values and policies, such as, admission policies. My aim was to understand and gain insight into the ethos and culture of the school during each specific time period. However, the aspects of school culture identified under each time period are different for each period, and I adopt a fluid approach to what aspects are discussed under each time frame, in the sense that, depending on what the data is about or what school documents reveal, those aspects are portrayed under each time period. Further, I use metaphors and phrases to reflect each of the four time periods. My rationale for doing this is to capture creatively the essence of institutional culture at the school through the four periods, the changes that the school underwent as a result of the conflicts, tensions, successes, frustrations and growing pains that arose from this and from the broader social context and how all this became enmeshed and contained in the daily life of the school. In describing the school as it is in 2011, one participant commented that the transition period namely, 1992-1996, was like "pulling the lid off a pressure cooker while it's still on, and everything that has been in this pot for so long just flying out in different directions, with some trying to salvage something of what was once in the pot, others scrambling to get out of the way and others just standing there in the mess." On reflection, there was a beginning to the cooking in the second period. I tagged the first and second period using the 'pressure cooker' metaphor. For the first period I used the image of 'the good old days' to depict the discipline, dedication and commitment of the school to academic and sporting success. For the fourth period I used the image of 'things fall apart' to reflect the slow but steady unravelling of a school culture known for its pride, dedication and commitment to achievement and success.

I was a learner at this school. Thus, I relate part of this historical account namely, the time period when the school was administered by the House of Representatives (HOR), as a journey within the school. During the last time period, specifically after 2002 to 2011, I returned to this school as a teacher, as the second part of a journey. It is my journey through life at this school, firstly as a fourteen year old girl in standard seven in 1983 to a seventeen year old in matric in 1986, and then, sixteen years later, going back to the school as a teacher. In addition to my contributions to the data to help compile the historical

perspective, seven participants contributed their understandings about institutional culture and experiences within the school, as well as data taken from observations and official school documents was taken to support my historical account. I also tapped the memories of staff members, other than the participants, who provided additional, important information about the history of this school. This was information that participants had not mentioned in interviews and focus group discussions. Hence, this ethnographical study spans a time period of almost four decades (i.e. from 1974-2011).

5.2 “the good old days”: School administration under ‘Coloured Affairs’(1974-1984)

Participants used the term ‘the good old days’ to characterise the period 1974-1980 in the history of Surprise High School, based on the discipline, control, teaching and learning and how the school was managed from 1974-1984. Surprise High School opened in 1974, and fell under the administration of the Department of Coloured Affairs’, the Department of Education and Culture i.e. the education authoritative body responsible for administering the school. This administration was as a result of the *Coloured Person’s Education Act, 47 of 1963* which meant that ‘Coloured’ schools were to be registered with the government, and ‘Coloured’ education was made compulsory for all Coloured children. Prior to the opening of Surprise High School in its present location, it was known under a different name. However, Surprise High School was opened in 1974 and the official opening took place a year later in 1975. Officials from the Department of Coloured Affairs visited the school for the official opening ceremony. I had access to admission registers from 1974-1997, and in addition to these documents, some of the participants who took part in the interviews and group discussions had been part of this school since 1974, and were able to support or refute data in the registers.

When Surprise High School opened in 1974 the school was classified as a ‘Coloured’ school. This meant that only learners belonging to this race group were allowed admittance to the school. Being classified ‘Coloured’ meant that a learner had a ‘Coloured’ surname, and did not necessarily mean having features such as a certain skin colour, or strand of hair. As someone with mixed-race parents, I was officially classified as Coloured, and hence my parents enrolled me in standard seven at the school in 1983, and I attended the school for four years. Surprise High School was not my local school, and I travelled to school using

the bus provided by the Department. My four years spent at Surprise High School were not happy because I did not 'look' Coloured and other learners teased and called me names. My experiences at Surprise High School made me acutely aware that, irrespective of my official racial classification as a Coloured person, other learners did not consider me as belonging to that race group. It was my physical appearance they looked at and used that as the criterion to decide that I did not belong at the school which helped create an identity for me as a social misfit. I became aware of the importance of having certain physical features in order to be an accepted member of a particular race group. My experiences took place during a period in South African schooling where an individual's racial classification determined which school one had to attend, and which group in society you were part of (Woods & Bostock, 1986).

5.2.1 School Policies

I recall my first day of enrolment at high school. All the new learners were made to sit on benches and wait for their name to be called from a list and be sent to a classroom. Sitting on the bench, I recall feeling overwhelmed; firstly I had to travel to the school, so my parents did not accompany me, and secondly, I was thrust into a situation where I was surrounded by mostly strangers. My only comfort was in seeing a few familiar faces from my primary school days. However, I felt isolated and disconnected because the majority of learners already knew each other. They were sitting next to each other and chatting, and I was trapped in-between them on the bench with no-one to talk to. I remember anxiously waiting for my name to be called out so that I could get out of the awkward situation. I was eventually sent to a classroom where a teacher was waiting to record my name, surname, date of birth, postal address, telephone number and home language into what looked like a school register.

As a researcher, I returned to the school register to understand the school's approach to the admissions policy in 1974-1984. On the inside cover of the admission registers the instructions for admissions were clearly laid out. Under requirements for admission, the rules were written both in English and Afrikaans, and instruction number 6a dealt with race:

6 (a) Race: No child other than a Coloured may be admitted to a school without the approval of the Department of Coloured Affairs.

Admission concerns access to education and provides insights into learner admissions. Figure 5.1 below represents the enrolment of learners in all grades over the period 1974-1980. In the figure, the numbers of learners (converted to percentages) enrolled showed the following: an increase in 1975 from five hundred and sixty six to six hundred and ninety five for the period 1976-1977, and a decrease to six hundred and twenty two for the next year.

Figure 5.1: Home Language of new admission learners, 1974-1984

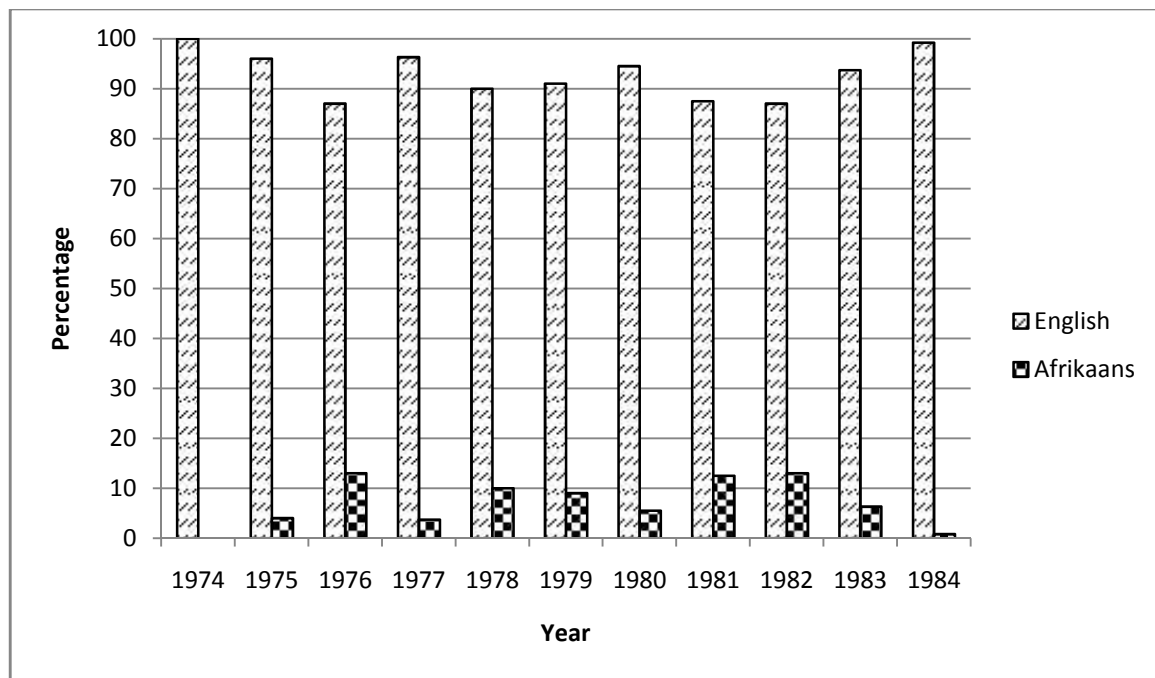


Figure 5.1 shows that only learners speaking English and Afrikaans as a home language were enrolled at the school, and ostensibly isiZulu-speaking learners were not enrolled at the school during this period. The data reflects compliance with the education policy of this period in that only learners whose home language was English and/or Afrikaans were enrolled in a school officially for Coloured learners. The percentage of English as a home language ranged from 81%-99%, and Afrikaans up to approximately 18%, which reflects a higher percentage of English-speaking Coloured learners being enrolled at the school during this period. Therefore, at this school English-speaking learners were in the majority, and Afrikaans-speaking learners were in the minority.

In interviews and focus group discussions participants spoke about the link between enrolment and home language. Their memories reflect how the school handled the learner

admissions during a period when language was used as a proxy for an exclusionary race classification and was the main criterion for enrolling learners at school.

This school pre-1994 was predominantly English, I'm not saying that there were no Zulu-speaking children in this school, but somehow or the other, those Zulu-speaking children would never dare speak Zulu in this English environment(Ms.Adams).

Ms Adams comment above reiterates the fact that Surprise High School was a school for mostly English-speaking learners, and supports instruction 6(a) of the admission register in this regard. Ms. Jones recallsthat the school always enrolled learners of other races, and that the school maintained an 'open door' policy in spite of what educational policy dictated in terms of not admitting learners of other races. Ms Jones indicates how learners of other races gained access to the school by tinkering with their ethnic identification markers.

It was a Coloured school with a sprinkling of Blacks, people who changed their names from Mkize to Mackenzie and those kinds of Coloureds, 'Ngubobecame 'Blanket' and an 'Ndlovu' became an 'Olifant' so that they were allowed into the school.They never came in with an African name. They always came in with that Afrikaans or English-speaking name that sounded Coloured.

This memory shows that despite the instruction in the admission register regarding race, not only Coloured learners were admitted to the school, but learners of other races as well. It appeared that this extended to the teaching staff as well.Racial exclusivity was extended to the teacher staff as well as to learner enrolment. However, this practice of exclusivity was not without contention as revealed by the data. According to Mr. Lyons, White teachers were employed at the school prior to 1994. However, in interviews, participants comment that employment of teachers did not extend equally to other racial groups and when the school attempted to bring in, for example, Indian teachers, to fill vacancies, the Department vetoed those appointments. However, Ms Jones said that White people who were not qualified teachers were employed and given 'danger pay' for teaching in a school located where they were not permitted to frequent.

I examined school records about learners in standard ten (i.e. grade 12) sitting for the school-leaving Senior Certificate (SC) examination under the Department of Coloured Affairs. These records speak to the academic performance of learners at Surprise High School during the school's first decade in existence.

Table 5.1 Standard 10 learners registered for the school-leaving examination, 1974-1984

Year	No. of Std. 10 learners	No Passed	No. Failed	Exemption passes ¹	% pass rate
1974	13	6	7	Not recorded	46
1975	12	8	4	Not recorded	66.6
1976	23	12	11	Not recorded	52.2
1977	51	28	23	Not recorded	54.9
1978	100	75	25	Not recorded	75
1979	154	154	0	Not recorded	100
1980	124	55	69	Not recorded	44.4
1981	118	73	45	Not recorded	61.9
1982	107	71	36	15	66.4
1983	147	118	29	26	80.3
1984	196	135	61	31	68.9

Table 5.1 shows a steady increase in Standard 10 enrolment for the school-leaving examination from 1974-1979. There is a decrease for the next three years and an increase over the last two years. The number of learners failing the examinations increases from 1974-1978 and then is erratic until 1984. The number of learners passing the examination steadily increases from 1974-1979, decreases in 1980, then increases from 1981-1984. The overall % pass rate varies from the low of 44% (in 1980) to 100% (in 1979). The number of passes with exemption from 15 (in 1982) more than doubled to 31 (in 1984). The overall patterns show that an increasing number of learners enrolled for and passed the school-leaving examination. A 100 % overall pass rate is achieved in 1979, and the number of learners with exemption passes also increases. These patterns reflect positively on the

¹'passed with exemption', i.e. they had passed four subjects on the higher grade, i.e. subjects out of 400, with a mark above 40%, and were then able to enrol to study at a university.

school's teaching culture, and coheres with participants memories of learners high academic performance during this period.

The school had kept what teachers knew as the 'green book', which is a mark book record of Standard ten learners end-of-year results, the symbols they attained, and whether they obtained an exemption pass. These books were kept in the deputy principal's office. These records, eight books in total, were a full record of learners' results from 1971 to 1999. I present the Standard ten (i.e grade twelve) records for the years 1974-1984, in Table 5.1, for the years 1985-1991 in Table 5.2 (see p.102), and for 1992 to 1996 in Table 5.3 (see p. 107) and in Table 5.4 (see p. 116) for the years 1997-2011.

In interviews participants mentioned the high quality of academic education offered to learners at this school from 1984-1991 and that ex-learners of the school became well established in their careers. In other words, these learners were seen as heroes and heroines due to their academic achievements. This is confirmed in the green book when next to two learners names are written either 'professor', 'doctor' or 'dentist'. Ms Gertz's recalls that during the years 1984-1991, learners at the school excelled academically, and later attended tertiary institutions. She recalled:

There was a time we produced, particularly the physics class; we've produced five doctors from one class. We've produced lawyers, prominent people now in society.

Photographs provide insight into school events or rituals that acknowledged learners who excelled in different aspects of school curricular. My field notes on: October 2011 records:

A photograph shows a matric (standard ten then) graduation with the principal (male) in formal dress, leading the procession, followed by the deputy principal (male) also in formal dress and the learners (in full school uniform), each holding a lit candle walking into the school hall. There are other members at the function seated behind the learners.

Other school photographs show learners going up on stage and being congratulated by the principal and teachers. Photographs of other school occasions show the principal and teachers handing out trophies and certificates to learners dressed in tracksuits i.e. sport

heroes and heroines. There are two photographs showing a female learner playing a piano. There are also three photographs of female learners on stage who were casually dressed. According to the note alongside these photographs, these learners were modelling garments made by them in their needlework class. The school documents used for analysis in this section revealed an institutional culture that strove for excellence in different aspects of learner performance. Further, that learner performance was acknowledged and celebrated by way of graduation and award events which are examples of the rituals and ceremonies forming part of the school's culture.

5.2.2 School Leadership and Management

From my years as a learner at Surprise High School, I recall there was strict control over learners and discipline measures were meted out accordingly and timeously. For example, when learners misbehaved, the principal called parents in to discuss problems and resolve them. There was also emphasis and encouragement from teachers (i.e in the classrooms) and the principal (i.e in the weekly-held assemblies) for learners to work towards achieving their best. For example, I recall school awards functions being held every year that I was a learner at the school. Also learners were awarded during the year for sporting and cultural achievements. In other words, learners were recognised as heroes and heroines through their achievements. Hence, there was an ethos of aspiring towards achieving your best within the school that was created and nurtured by teachers and school leadership. Therefore, the shared norm of supporting learners to reach their potential was evident. A participant (Ms. Adams) commented on how the school was led and managed during this period by one of the first principals, and stated that the principal managed the school in an interactive manner by making sure that all teachers did their work, took ownership of the responsibility of teaching, and that discipline of learners was maintained by involving all stakeholders in the education process. Towards the end of this period (i.e 1983), Ms Adams recalls another principal being employed at the school. She recalls that the school ethos of high academic, sporting and cultural achievements was maintained, but the new principal made certain that the school was led and managed by him.

The next section of this historical chapter focuses on the school's administration under this principal and under the House of Representatives from 1984 to 1991.

5.3 The pressurecooker is switched on: School Administration under The House of Representatives (1984 to 1991).

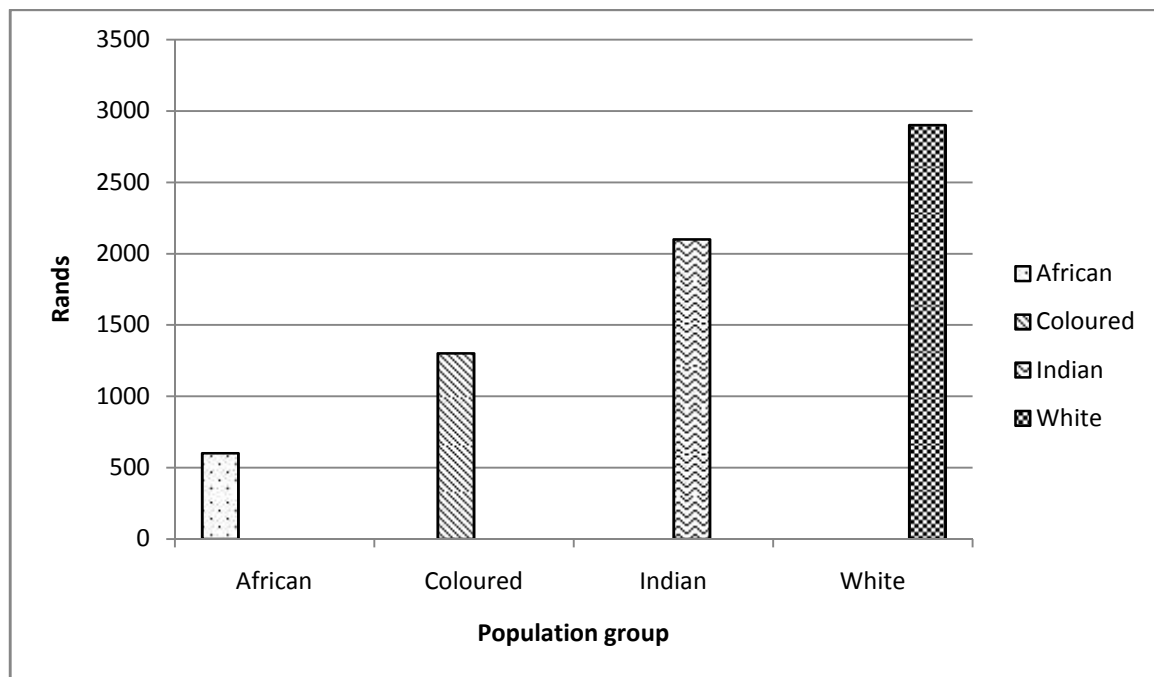
I separated the next section into different aspects of school culture that were determined and strictly controlled by the principal. I labelled this section of the historical account 'the pressure cooker is switched on' to reflect how the principal's strict and controlling leadership style during this period created a tightly contained and suppressive school environment with the emphasis on teaching and learning achievement.

The years 1894-1986 signalled my last two years at Surprise High School as a learner. At the end of 1986, I sat for the Senior Certificate examination, and thereafter exited the school system to pursue tertiary study. Therefore, I provide part of the data for this section of the historical account. The rest of the information is generated from participants' recollections of the school's history, and what I found in school documents. This section of the historical account shifts from a nostalgic memory of the 'good old days' to a school environment where teachers were controlled and dictated to about their teaching and learning which was carefully monitored by the principal. Hence, my argument revolves around the high levels of teaching and learning that was achieved at the school under the leadership of the principal. However, high levels of teaching and learning were achieved under conditions of strict control and discipline, fear and reprisals. In this section I examine how the principal realised his vision for teaching and learning excellence by making sure that all aspects of the school's culture were aligned to his vision of achieving maximum success in teaching and learning through what is revealed by participants and school documents.

In 1983, a significant shift occurred in terms of national politics in South Africa, and political scientists, for example, Natrass and Seekings (1998), characterise the period after 1983 as 'late apartheid'. The *National Policy for General Education Affairs Act, 76 of 1984* (called the *National Policy for General Education Affairs Act*) was passed to bring education structures in line with the *Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 110 of 1983*. A 'general affairs' education department was set up to take control of aspects such as financing, teacher salaries and registration and of school curricula. Although separate education departments were set up for Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans, all the departments fell under a general education department. There were separate education departments for each of what was classified as the 'homelands'. This put 'Coloured' education, and this high school,

under the House of Representatives referred to as “the HOR”. However, schools remained unequal in terms of funding, resources and teacher training (Christie, 1993). The per capita expenditure in 1989 is shown in figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2 Per capita expenditure on education by race (1989)



The estimated population of the total population in South Africa in 1989 for the four main groups comprised over 90% African; under 20% White; under 10% Coloured and less than 5% Indian. However, Figure 5.2 shows a distortion or skewing towards the minorities in the per capita spend on education for the four race groups. Allocation for the White group was approximately R2800; for the Indian group it was approximately R2200; for the Coloured group it was approximately R1300 and for the African group it was approximately R600. This skewed pattern of spending supports my statement made in section 1.1 regarding unequal funding for education in South Africa along racial lines. Although I was a learner at Surprise High school during the first two years of this period, at that time I did not know enough about significant events that occurred during this period, notably the school boycotts, that had a major impact on South African schools (Vally, 1998). The school boycotts are discussed next because it reveals the complex and different ways in which people responded to the challenges.

5.3.1 School Boycotts

The school boycotts had an impact in terms of schooling at Surprise High and in how the boycotts were managed by the school leadership of that time. I have included the school boycotts as part of this period because it was during this period that the existing school culture of order, rules, strict control and discipline was being challenged by the protest action by teachers and learners. It was also the period when school leadership exerted its authority and power to squash the protest action at school level by denying teachers and learners at Surprise High School the opportunity to lend their support to the national school boycott. Therefore, the boycotts created tension between teachers and learners who wanted to support the school boycotts by staying out of the classroom and school leadership who wanted to maintain order and control over teaching and learning at the school. This tension created pressure within the schooling environment as school leadership tried to quell learner protest action and get learners back into their classrooms, and learners who were uniting against and challenging school leadership's power and authority.

Various staff members recall and confirm that in 1980, at the height of the school boycotts, Surprise High School had to close for a school term. Although I do not remember as a learner all the details around this time, I recall coming to school in 1983, during boycotts and protests that began in early 1980 in the Eastern Cape Province and near Pretoria, the capital of South Africa. The boycotts spread to other parts of the country over the next few years and to Surprise High School and were more low-key than the first round of boycotts. Yet the return of learners to classrooms and whether scheduled term tests and examinations would proceed as normal were still very uncertain. It was general protest against the education system, but in particular, against issues such as 'poorly elected SRC's, poor matric results and the unpopular age limit restrictions' (Christie, 1998, p. 251). As a learner I remember feeling very insecure and unsure about what to do, whether to go to school, and whether to stay in class with the few others who, I think, were just as confused as me or to go out and sit on the grounds with the majority of learners who were protesting. It all seemed exciting, but also very scary, especially when there were either rumours of the police coming to school or when police vehicles actually came to the school. I recall some of the words of a Pink Floyd song made popular at that time: "hey teacher, leave them kids

alone, all, all we know you are just another brick in the wall”, and the feeling of ‘goose-bumps when hearing the words being sung. I also recall one of my teachers being in support of the protest action and the learners who took part in it. One day this teacher came to me in class and asked why I was not protesting. I did not know how to respond. I felt conflicted about being in class because that was where I was were supposed to be, and yet feeling scared and intimidated by what was going on. I remember the deputy principal coming to the class and calling the teacher to the door. I could hear the deputy principal chastising the teacher. The deputy principal’s action was to put a lid on the teacher’s intention to express and show his support with the learner body for the boycotts by exerting his authority and power as deputy principal.

During my fieldwork, I had a conversation with staff members in the staffroom about the school boycotts. One of the senior staff members joined in and mentioned that he was the vice president of the Student Representative council (SRC) during the period 1983-1984. He agreed to speak to me about his role as vice president of the SRC, and shed light on the daily reality of the school during that period, how this school was affected, how learners and teachers were involved, and how the situation was managed by the school management. He clarified that the school boycott at Surprise High School was in sympathy with what was happening generally in the country at the time, and more so, what was happening at schools and against white army personnel that was sent in to schools as additional staff. He saw the deployment of white soldiers at Coloured schools as a way out for White males to avoid combat on the country’s border. These White males, dressed in their army uniforms were allegedly there to intimidate and suppress any protest action. The former SRC vice-president asserted that the majority of the learner body who were involved in the protest action, as well as teachers regarded the army personnel as ‘spies’ of the government. Teachers who were active in the political struggle were victimised by being denied promotion opportunities or arrested. In this way, their efforts to use the school for political struggles were squashed. There were also teachers at the school who supported a political party known as ‘the commando’s’, who allegedly were the ‘eyes and ears’ of the apartheid government. Such teachers were allegedly given privileges or perks, such as being promoted over others who were more deserving.

The former SRC vice-president remembers being called to secret meetings at a teacher's home in the evenings about twice a week, and thereafter the SRC would incite other learners to commit acts of defiance. He stated that because teachers were at risk of losing their jobs and being victimised by school management, learners were used as a front to address teachers' concerns. He also remembered that as learners they were threatened by their own parents, who he said came from an older school of thought that was indoctrinated into a certain way of thinking that tolerated the apartheid government. Parents used the argument that learners were damaging their futures when the school threatened to withhold testimonials and thwart their admissions to university and college. Many learners took these threats seriously and returned to classes. The boycott lasted almost the entire year. The former SRC vice president told me about a teacher who had supported the learners and the boycott, and who left the school at the end of that year. He believed that the school management was instrumental in him leaving. The tensions, fears, uncertainties, intimidation and victimisation experienced by learners and teachers at Surprise High School during the boycotts created a divide between them and school leadership. School leadership used their influence, authority and power to end the boycott at Surprise High School and deny teachers and learners the opportunity to voice and display their support for the boycott. In this way, teachers and learners voices were shut off, and allowed no outlet.

In mid-1985, the government declared a national state of emergency. Protest leaders issued a call for learners to return to class (Wolpe, 1988). Life at Surprise High School returned to a semblance of normality, and learning continued under the strict control and authority of the school leadership. In the next sections about this period, I look at school culture in learner admissions, employment of teaching staff, school leadership and management, school events and settings, and quality in education. These aspects of school culture were controlled and managed according to the rules decided by school leadership.

5.3.2 School Admissions

At the school surnames were used as a proxy for race. However, from my racially mixed family, although I have a 'Coloured' surname, I have Indian physical features. Thus, my racial

classification determined that I had to attend a school for Coloured learners. From my recollections there were other learners who looked like me and with names like mine at the school. Therefore, the 'face' of this school, especially after 1980, was learners with 'Coloured' surnames, yet who did not necessarily look like they were of mixed race parentage. People who had Coloured surnames were generally English- and/or Afrikaans-speaking. I include Figure 5.3 to compare the learner enrolment percentages and learners home languages for the period 1984 to 1991 to show that during this period, English-speaking learners were in the majority from 1984-1987, and from 1988-1991, only English-speaking learners were enrolled at Surprise High School. The data shown in the figures tells me that during this period of the school's history no learner with a home language other than English and/ or Afrikaans, was enrolled at Surprise High School.

Figure 5.3 Home Language of newly enrolled learners, 1984-1991

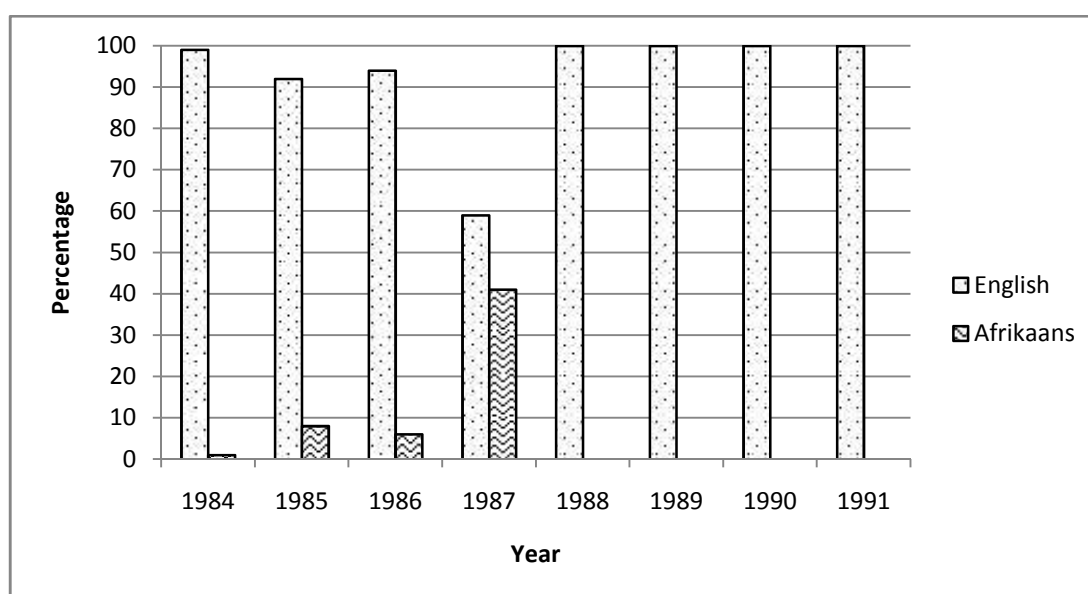


Figure 5.3 shows that the enrolment of English-speaking learners to Surprise High School was consistently high from 1984-1991 (i.e enrolment figures range between 95%-100%) compared to enrolment figures for Afrikaans-speaking learners which range from approximately 3% to 22% from 1984-1987. Thereafter, no enrolment figures were recorded for Afrikaans-speaking learners. Therefore, Figure 5.3 shows that Surprise High School from 1984-1991 was not open to learners whose home language was neither English nor Afrikaans. Therefore, the data recorded in figure 5.3 shows that access to Surprise High

School was denied to such learners and supports the apartheid system of segregated education during this period.

5.3.3 Staff Employment

The employment of staff members to the school during this period (i.e. 1984-1991) included staff members from other race groups. Staff photographs and individual class photographs taken from 1984 to 1992 show evidence of a partly integrated staff. While the majority were Coloured teachers, there were Indian and White teachers at the school. I do not recall there being any Black teachers at the school, and none are seen in school photographs from this period.

From my own experience I recall in Standard eight, being taught the subject of English by a White female teacher, as well as having a White female Mathematics teacher. There were times when I thought 'wow! we have a White teacher.' For the most part, however, White teachers were accepted as a norm. I remember having an Indian teacher as my register teacher in Standard seven, an Indian teacher for English, and another Indian teacher for Mathematics in Standard ten. While this might have made things easier for learners who looked Indian, it actually did not. I remember trying not to stand out in the class. If the Indian teacher complimented me on my work, I feared it would be seen as favouritism from an Indian teacher towards an 'Indian' looking learner, so I tried not to be noticed. I used this as a mechanism in class to cope with my ambiguous identity. Nevertheless, I felt somewhat comforted by the fact that I was not the only learner who looked different from the norm, that is, who was not 'Coloured' looking.

There were other learners with similar names and appearances. However, this comfort was not enough for me to fully embrace my ambiguous identity, be proud of it and not feel as if I did not belong at Surprise High School. Hence, my full identity was contained within my being and was suppressed in an environment where I was one of a minority group. I will always remember times when I was made to feel that I was not completely one of the Coloured learners. They were cruel. I recall being teased, called names as I walked along corridors such as 'chilli-pip', 'these half and half's', 'Indian', and 'these things with their 'gladdes', referring to people with straight hair. I felt isolated. No matter how I tried to

ignore them, the teasing and name-calling was there. For me, being in Surprise High School, I had the awareness that I was different. I had to travel a distance out of my neighbourhood to this school, and was among people I did not know. Thus, my enrolment at Surprise High School and my high school experience at this school were painful ones. I felt this way among learners and teachers. In the classroom I often experienced a sense of them and me. I struggled to fit in. I remember, sometimes, wanting to scream out, but it remained a silent scream. In my first year, I tried to find learners who were like me with an Indian mother and who ate a lunch with an Indian flavour such as curry. I resented my parents for their mixed marriage. It made my teenage years, especially the schooling part, difficult. In the next section, I show that a controlling and authoritative school leadership style during this period contributed to a stifling and suppressive school environment.

5.3.4 School Leadership and Management

Teachers at the school during 1984-1991 recall the principal's controlling leadership style. The principal adopted an authoritative leadership style to realise the vision he had for the school. According to Ms. Adams this period was characterised by many experienced teachers resigning to escape the oppressive and controlled environment. She articulates the essence of the principal's focused visionary and authoritative leadership and management style.

He made us start seeing the benefits of being a well-run institution, of the discipline being of the first class. He made sure you won't stand by your door talking to another teacher, you will be in your classroom teaching, he was seen everywhere on this school premises, it took months, but slowly people started toeing the line. In a period of three to four years, you saw exactly where he was taking this school. The turnaround in this school was fantastic, we were considered to be one of the best schools in this area. He was the type of principal that told you what he wanted and never shifted the goal posts.

Ms Adams comments reflect both the advantages and disadvantages experienced by the school as a result of the principal's leadership style. Teaching and learning were monitored and controlled by the principal and as a result, the school achieved academic success and enjoyed recognition and fame as an institution. However, teaching and learning was disadvantaged through the resigning of teachers who could not work

within the authoritative and controlling teaching learning atmosphere dictated to them by the principal. Her comments imply that it was the principal who not only decided the vision for the school, but also how he was going to ensure how teachers would work to realise his vision. Therefore, her comments imply that stakeholders such as teachers were not engaged in taking part and deciding the school's vision. Teachers voices were silenced and contained by the principal's mode of authoritative and dictatorship leadership style.

Table 5.2 Standard ten learners enrolled, number of passes and fails, passes with exemption, and overall pass rate, 1984-1991

Year	No. of learners	No. Passed	No. Failed	No. of passes with exemption	Overall % pass rate
1984	196	135	61	31	68.9
1985	220	155	65	41	70
1986	171	133	38	57	77.7
1987	144	112	32	24	77.7
1988	154	132	22	38	83
1989	176	146	30	63	81
1990	183	165	18	57	89.6
1991	183	158	19	70	86

Table 5.2 shows that the number of Standard ten learners enrolled from 1985-1991 varied with the lowest enrolment of 144 in 1987 to the highest of 220 in 1985. The overall pass rate shows a steady increase from 70% in 1985 to 89.6% in 1990 with a decrease to 86% in 1991. The increase in the exemption pass rate points to a commitment to teaching and learning within Surprise High School from 1985-1991, and to learners aspiring towards results that would secure their entry into tertiary institutions. The results shown in Table 5.4 (see p.116-117) speaks to increasing standards in terms of learner achievement in the school-leaving certificate examinations and aligns with participants statements regarding high levels of academic achievement during this period.

I matriculated from this school at the end of 1986. Hence, my journey as a learner and as part of the historical account of Surprise High School until 1986 comes to an end. In this section of the historical account, I argued that the principal's leadership style was characterised using a 'pressure cooker' metaphor. The strict control and monitoring of teaching and learning according to the principal's rules allowed for no discussion and participation from other staff members. As a result, over the seven years of this period, the principal was in complete control of how the school was led and managed. The leadership style during this period served to suppress and stifle any input from other stakeholders as to the school's vision and the realisation of the vision.

The characterisation of the next section in the historical account begins with two key events occurring at Surprise High School. First, the principal's retirement in 1992, and secondly, two years later, South Africa's embrace of a new democracy with the changes mandated for transforming the education system. My characterisation of the next period is of a metaphor that describes the effects when a lid is suddenly pulled off a pressure cooker. Ms Jones described the period after the principal retired as a sudden release of all the feelings, thoughts, emotions and views of staff members that had built up and had been constrained and suppressed during the ex-principal's leadership of Surprise High School. I describe the period based on experiences and understandings of the participants in the study, my own field notes based on my observations and from school documents.

5.4 The lid is taken off the pressure cooker: School Administration under the Department of Education (Kwazulu-Natal): The Transition Period (1992 to 1996)

I characterise the period 1992-1996 as 'the lid is pulled the pressure cooker' to capture the essence of the institutional culture of Surprise High School. The metaphor is meant to capture the impact of an institutional culture that for seven years had being dictated to by the principal, of all stakeholders being suppressed and constrained and not being given the opportunity to have input in creating the institutional culture at Surprise High School, and in 1992, the pressure being released in terms of the transition from an apartheid educational system to a democratic education system.

In 1994, South Africa embraced democracy, and with it came the beginning of ending forty years of apartheid. One of the challenges facing the newly elected government was to address the deep inequalities in schooling along racial lines, between urban and rural schools, between rich and poor, and between boys and girls (Christie, 2008). In short, the government was mandated to socially transform the education system. Therefore, it identified five transformative goals to achieve this. These goals are: access to education, democracy in education, quality in education, and equity and redress in education (Department of Education, 1995). Education legislation such as *The South African School's Act (SASA)* of 1996 were put into place to kick start the change process.

The government began with merging the racially divided departments into a single national department. The government undertook to provide resources to the poorest and most disadvantaged schools. These redress measures allowed fundamental changes to be introduced into schools. For example, more boys and girls were to attend school and schools elected governing bodies to self-manage their affairs (Christie, 2008).

In this section I look at how the school in the study managed its way through the transition period. I discuss school admissions, school resources, teacher development, and the culture of teaching and learning. With power being devolved to schools, school leadership was given the authority to make decisions regarding the management of their schools.

5.4.1 School Admissions

The landscape of Surprise High School in terms of learner admissions at the school changed considerably during this period from being a school that was only allowed to enrol learners classified as Coloured to being given the authority to now enrol learners from all race groups. Therefore, the rule in terms of admitting certain learners to Surprise High School was lifted to allow all learners the opportunity to enrol at the school as opposed to before this period where enrolment was contained and restricted to learners classified as Coloured. Participants state that isiZulu-speaking learners were allowed to enrol at the school with their original surnames. This led to the employment of isiZulu teachers to teach learners who had the option of taking isiZulu as a learning subject. The figure below shows the

percentage of learners admitted to Surprise High School from 1992-1996 and their home languages.

Figure 5.4 Home Language of newly enrolled learners, 1992-1996

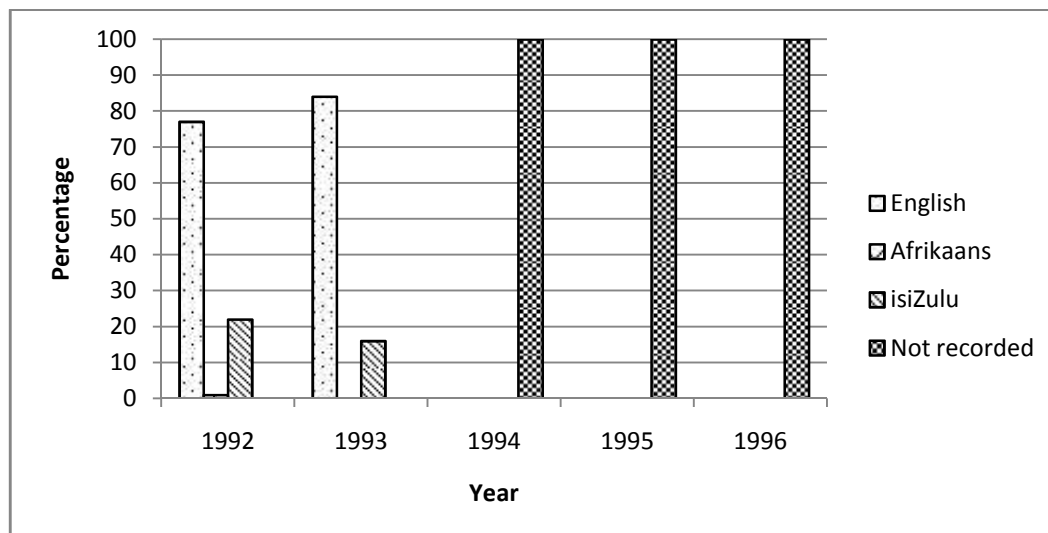


Figure 5.4 shows that in 1992 learners with isiZulu as a home language were enrolled. This is the first year in which there is an enrolment record about isiZulu. The last year learners are recorded being enrolled with Afrikaans as a home language was in that same year. From 1994-1996, all learners were recorded as having English as their home language. The enrolment of isiZulu-speaking learners to Surprise High School in 1992 shows that the admissions policy within Surprise High School was no longer restricted to enrolling English and/or Afrikaans-speaking learners. The admissions policy as part of the school's culture had to open up and begin changing to accommodate isiZulu-speaking learners. The figure also shows that from 1994-1996, all learners were enrolled with English as their home language. This record shows a preference by school authorities towards English as a home language and excludes other languages, such as isiZulu.

5.4.2 School Resources

The term "school resources" refers to resources such as textbooks, a school library and science laboratories which make teaching and learning effective. During the 1992-96 period school resources were beginning to be adversely affected by systemic educational changes. For example, participants remember, that while existing school resources were still

available, a decline in curriculum materials, musical instruments, the school library, and equipment for the practical subjects like needlework was noted. This decline is discussed further in the next time period and its significant effects on the culture of teaching and learning. The school was not able to finance the purchase of much needed new resources. The basic cause of this decline was government's pulling back and devolving more power to schools. School managers were given the responsibility to ensure that their schools were managed effectively in terms of providing what was needed for teaching and learning. The management of schools was no longer centrally controlled and had shifted to the level of schools and school managers (Department of Education, 1996). This new responsibility impacted on teaching and learning practices within Surprise High School. I discuss the effect of the lack of resources on Surprise High's culture of teaching and learning during this period in the next section.

5.4.3 Culture of Teaching and Learning

According to participants' recollections and school photographs, the culture of teaching and learning at Surprise High School from 1974-1991 was characterised by high levels of academic, sporting and cultural achievement i.e. a number of learners excelled in curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. However, participants recall that the school was resourced and teaching and learning activities were monitored by school management under the administration of the respective education department. The transition period saw teaching and learning become the responsibility of school leadership together with governance structures such as school governing bodies (SGB). For schools like Surprise High School, this meant that schools had to have capacity, training and skills in order to ensure a culture of teaching and learning in schools. Given Surprise High School's history of authoritative and controlling leadership, opportunities were not created for other staff members to be trained, skilled and capacitated in school management issues. However, data in school documents show that high academic performance continued to be achieved during this period. This continued despite the landscape, in terms of the culture of teaching and learning, changing considerably. Schools, like Surprise High School, for the first time in seventeen years had learners from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds as part of the schooling environment and teaching and learning needs were different, and the school had to find ways to negotiate the altered schooling environment. The culture of teaching and

learning at the school during this period is expressed in school documents and comments from participants.

Table 5.3 Grade twelve learners registered for the school leaving examination, 1992-1996

Year	No. enrolled	No. Passed	No. Failed	No. of exemption passes	Overall % pass rate
1992	157	152	5	59	96.8
1993	175	167	8	62	95.4
1994	168	157	11	47	93.4
1995	180	173	7	69	96.1
1996	156	151	5	63	96.1

Table 5.3 presents the number of grade twelve learners enrolled for the Senior Certificate examination, the number of passes, the number of fails, learners who obtained an exemption pass which enabled them to enrol at a university as well as the overall percentage result for each year for the period 1992-1996. It shows a steady academic performance and serves as one of the indicators of the ethos of the culture of teaching and learning at Surprise High School from 1992-1996. Therefore, learners at Surprise High School continued to perform well academically. The overall percentage pass rate remained consistently high, ranging between 93% and 96%, and there was an almost consistent increase in the number of exemption passes, as well as an almost consistent low failure rate. The data in the table shows that even after a change in school leadership, the institutional culture of a high academic achievement discussed in earlier periods of the school's history, was still prevalent at Surprise High School. This data shows that even though the school environment was undergoing changes brought on by the transitioning process, high academic achievement was evident as shown in the table. This was because the number of passes was kept consistently high, the number of fails was kept consistently low and the number of exemption passes was also kept consistently high throughout this period.

Therefore, a culture of effective teaching and effective learning remained intact despite declining school resources.

In the next section I discuss the fourth historical period, 1997-2011. I characterise this period as 'things fall apart' to contrast with the previous period which was characterised by steady academic results but also by declining resources and the beginnings of an erosion into the culture of teaching and learning at the school.

5.5 The faded glory: Things fall apart: School Administration under the Department of Education(KwaZulu-Natal) (1997 -2011)

My characterisation of the Surprise High School's history changes from an argument using the metaphor of 'taking the lid off' to an argument using the metaphor of 'things falling apart'. The metaphor of 'things falling apart' was used by the principal in 2011 during a morning announcement to the rest of the staff. The principal was referring in a discussion regarding learner discipline problems at the school. W.B Yeats (1919) uses the phrase 'things fall apart', and I use it here to characterise the post 1996 history of Surprise High School. My understanding of this phrase is that traditions of the society of Surprise High, as depicted in the first two periods, are less than the expectations of the education system post 1994. As a result, the centre, which is the institutional culture grounded in these traditions, is not holding together, and aspects of the past institutional culture of the school is falling apart under the pressures and demands of a new education order. I am using this metaphor because it epitomises the mood and institutional culture I found prevailing at Surprise High School in participants' comments, my observations and school documents. The pessimistic mood of the school mirrored local society at that time as various social structures were pushed reluctantly to transform to be democratic structures and align with the values enshrined in the country's new Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996a).

An over-riding sense that permeated the data generated via participants and my own observations was one where things were falling apart, that the school 'which once stood out proudly on a hill', was but a shadow of its former self in terms of academic and sporting achievements and its past deep commitment to a culture of effective teaching and effective learning. In other words, signalling a loss in opportunities to recognise and celebrate

learners who stood out as heroes and heroines in institutional culture. Therefore, I label this period as 'things fall apart'.

I returned to the school as a teacher in July 2002. After almost seven years of being a temporary teacher at two other schools, I was appointed into a permanent position as a teacher at Surprise High School. This was a prayer answered. It meant to me that someone had seen my worth. For this to happen at the school I had attended as a learner felt right and deserving. It felt like a journey back in time, only this time, I was not a teenager desperately wanting to belong. As a qualified teacher, I was secure and strong in the knowledge that I had something to offer the school.

In the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* of 1996 in section 29(1)(a), the right to education is affirmed which, over and above the right to equal access to educational institutions, protection from unfair discrimination, and rights to language, culture and religion, declares:

Everyone shall have the right: (a) to basic education, including adult education; and (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

This rights-based vision captures the historical period 1997-2011. However, school leadership of Surprise High School lacked the training and skills needed to realise this vision. Decades of apartheid education and school leadership at Surprise High School under the authority, control, and power of the principal challenged existing school leadership to embrace new notions of democratic school governance and allow participation, collaboration and joint responsibility of all education stakeholders. Participants commented on the lack of leadership and managerial capacity within school leadership to work within a democratic framework to realise the goals of access, quality, democracy, equity and redress in education as mandated in educational policy after 1994.

I arranged this section into discussions about school admissions, school policies, school leadership and management and the culture of teaching to show how the metaphor of 'things fall apart' are evidenced in these aspects of institutional culture.

5.5.1 School Admissions

The admission of all learners to schools was provided for in the country's Constitution, as well as in educational policy such as The *South African Schools Act*. The admission of learners at Surprise High School in 1996-2011, seemingly followed the school's admission policy. As stated by one participant the admission of learners was no longer recorded in admission registers, like in the past. Parents filled in admission forms, called a 'blue form', paid an admission deposit, and these forms were put into a file. There were separate files for each grade for each year, and at the end of each year these files were put into boxes and stored. Therefore, there was a policy and formal structure in place at the school regarding admission of learners to the school. However, the manner in which this process was handled appeared to be questionable. This emerged in an interview when one participant said:

An admission policy in writing is one thing, the way you do it is another, they don't follow it, and the fact that they've delegated this duty is not good. I still see discrimination because our secretary handles admissions and she's a racist of note. Coloured parents come late with their applications, and they are accepted, and Black parents come from very far, but because they are a day late, they don't get in, their forms are not taken. That's the truth, it's a hurtful thing to say, but it's the truth (Mr Uys).

Mr Uys's comments suggested that the school admissions policy was being misused, because staff members responsible for admitting learners to the school were abdicating this responsibility to the secretary. His comments also suggested that the secretary was not consistent in how the rules of admission were applied to learners of different race groups. Hence, in this instance, the school's admission policy as a key school policy that helped determine and create institutional culture was being undermined and failed in its function to ensure access to the school for all learners irrespective of their racial classification.

According to participant Mr. Lyons, the school enrolled learners irrespective of which geographic area they come from or how old the learner might be, and there was no selection process to screen learners in terms of academic ability. This practice showed non-discrimination in terms of race, age and geographical area in terms of access to 'Surprise High' school. Hence, the admission policy on the one hand served to be non-discriminatory and functioned to ensure democratic practices in terms of access to the school. On the

other hand, the admissions policy was being misused, and served as a means of discrimination. The abdication of the responsibility for the admissions of learners to Surprise High School reflected a lack of control and supervision by school management to ensure that the admissions process was carried out by the designated school personnel and that it was consistently applied.

5.5.2 School Policies

There was evidence that Surprise High School had a number of policies in place to address school-related issues. However, participants questioned the value of school policies that existed only on paper and not as part of the daily reality at the school. Participants' questions in this regard raised concerns that when key mechanisms of school management such as school policies were not being effectively used, it jeopardised the effective functioning of a school and threatened the school as an educational unit.

The school's mission statement setting out the school's vision featured prominently in the school foyer, but participants were critical about the drawing up the statement, and its implementation, and stated there did not exist a long term collective vision for the school amongst staff, and that the school planned from day to day. Ms. Gertz succinctly articulated the importance and implications of a school vision when she stated that it would require work to realise a vision, and that was what was key to having or, at this school, not having a vision.

A few years ago, the school had drawn up a policy manual and each teacher was given a copy of this document. It contained: the vision statement, mission statement, admissions policy, HIV policy, excursions/sports policy, exit policy, religion policy, pregnancy policy, staff induction policy, maternity leave policy SGB remunerated personnel, honours policy, telephone usage policy and school code of conduct. Participants held different and conflicting responses about these policies. For example, Ms Govender was adamant that the school did not possess any policy in writing, but that the school worked with what staff could remember about certain school policies. However, according to Ms. Gertz, the school had written policies that were formulated on the school premises. Therefore, participants' disagreements about whether the school had policies or not, created a divided sense

between staff members of how the school was functioning, and what was directing that functioning. The “Educator Code of Conduct”, drawn up in 2005 in consultation with teachers outlined the roles, responsibilities and acceptable conduct for teachers. A copy was given to each teacher. The function of school policy to create stability and consistency regarding how school-related issues and situations were handled was being undermined by the differing opinions about the existence of school policies at Surprise High School, and threatened the school as a unit.

In the next section, I discuss how school leadership and management practices at Surprise High School fit into my characterisation of this period using the metaphor of ‘things fall apart’.

5.5.3 School Leadership and Management

School leadership and management at Surprise High School failed to embrace democratic practices of participation, collaboration and consultation of all stakeholders within the school to build a learning institution for all as mandated in educational policy. The school leadership and management drew strong criticism in this period from participants. I found conflicting views about how the school was being managed and led in terms of leadership style and daily practices. For example Ms. Adams commented that the school was no longer a ‘well-oiled machine’ where everyone was held accountable. Instead it was a ‘circus’ without proper planning and a *laissez-faire* attitude among senior management.

The ‘Minutes of staff meetings’ held on the 05/08/ 1997 and 19/01/1998 were evidence that staff meetings were held during this period. However, the fact that records of only two meetings were found suggests that there were not any more meetings held, or that more staff meetings were held, but the records were not kept as part of the school’s records. The evidence that records of staff meetings may not have been kept to record school-related discussions and decisions spoke to a disregard by school management for the importance of school records.

A staff meeting on Thursday 28/07/2011 was called to elect Staff Development teams for the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) process. I observed that at 3 o’clock staff

members stood up and the meeting ended without the principal formally ending the meeting. Therefore, the manner in which the staff meeting was allowed to end spoke to a disregard for meeting procedure and disrespect for and an undermining of the principal as chairperson of the meeting. Almost three months later, on the 07/10/2011 a second meeting took place. No agenda was provided, and the meeting was chaired by the deputy principal who outlined the procedure for the upcoming November examination. Staff members were informed what the procedure would be. Therefore, school management had taken decisions about the procedure for the upcoming examination without consulting with other staff members and obtaining their input regarding this procedure. Hence, the notions of joint responsibility and ownership among all stakeholders regarding school-related decisions were not being built into institutional culture at Surprise High School. Participants commented on school management's practice of non-consultation and discussion with all staff members regarding other school-related issues. For example, one participant asserted:

The head of this institution handles the school finances like it's his personal money, they spend money without consultation, they don't show any records of school funds, I questioned expenditure, and they stopped issuing those figures, so I can't help but think they are hiding something (Mr Uys).

Mr Uys's comment above suggests that there was a lack of transparency by school management regarding how school finances were being spent. His comments suggest that all staff were not given the opportunity to give input as to how funds should be spent, and as a result, he implies there is a breakdown of trust and honesty among staff members regarding school funds.

Ms Govender commented that staff was allowing the 'tyranny' to exist because only a few staff members were willing to challenge unfair school practices. Her use of the word 'tyranny' suggests that school leadership was adopting a cruel style of school leadership and suggesting that the rest of the staff were divided in wanting to challenge school leadership. Ms. Adams spoke to the daily practices and school leadership and stated that the principal surrounded himself with people who don't work so that he looked like a "star" and "that being rude, sarcastic and that pull you down syndrome, and I know best" defined the

leadership style at the school, and which was impacting on the growth of the school. Ms. Gertz voiced similar sentiments and implied school management was aiming at being popular rather than doing what was in the best interests of the school and the learners, and made the following statement:

“What I see here is the unravelling of an institution that once stood out proudly on the hill.”

My observations of morning briefs supported what participants have stated regarding decision-making by senior management. For, example, a decision needed to be made regarding making up lost teaching time for the 28th and 29th of May 2011 which was taken to extend a mid-week school holiday into a long weekend. The principal made the decision about how this time was to be made up informed staff of his decision. On a follow up regarding this issue, the male deputy reported to staff about the time make-up programme, and when questioned by staff as to how this decision was made, the deputy requested that staff direct their questions to the principal because he was not in the meeting where the decision was taken. Therefore, the data shows that the principal makes unilateral decisions regarding the daily running of the school.

In the next section, I examine school culture in terms of teaching and learning, and how my characterisation of this period as ‘things fall apart’ fit the culture of teaching and learning at Surprise High School.

5.5.4 Culture of Teaching and Learning

The culture of teaching and learning became eroded after 1994, in contrast to the steady achievements of the previous period 1992-96 (see 5.4.3). Participants commented on various aspects of school culture that were negatively impacting on and challenging the creation of a culture of teaching and learning at Surprise High School. For example, Mr. Lyons stated that school punctuality was no longer adhered to due to the lackadaisical attitude of the principal on this matter. Mr Lyons asserted that this loss of time undermined the culture of teaching and learning. From my observations of morning briefs in 2011, the time and duration for lessons was often dropped by the principal to accommodate staff discussions of school issues, give time for teachers to complete end-of-term reports, to

attend union meetings or to attend to their domestic matters by closing the school early on pay day.

Another participant, Mr. Uys likened the lack of learner discipline and failure to address discipline issues as a “*cancer that’s eating away at [the school]*”. Mr Uys’s use of a metaphor depicting a deadly disease suggests fatal consequences if school leadership failed to address the ill-discipline of learners. Participants commented about not having enough chairs and desks in their classrooms and of classrooms that were in need of repairs. My observations of classrooms in 2011 reveal a lack of maintenance of school structures and resources:

There is a lot of graffiti on the walls. There are no charts or posters on the classroom walls. Many classroom cupboards and doors do not have locks. Classroom floors are filthy, and most of the chairs don’t have backrests (Field note: 17/05/2011).

Participants further identified the following aspects in the school’s culture that was impacting negatively on the culture of teaching and learning. Mr Lyons stated that a lack of support from school management has led to deterioration in the standard of teaching as well as the seriousness of learners to achieve. This was due to a lack of incentives and encouragement from the school. He also stated that teachers were not committed to the culture of teaching and learning and who are doing the bare minimum in terms of teaching and learning. Ms Jones commented that learners had to learn to cope on their own in the school environment, and the school had no support structures to support learners who were experiencing for example, language difficulties. This spoke to the issue of epistemological access where learners could not cope, nor benefit within the school environment, and the school’s apathetic attitude in terms of assisting learners who were experiencing learning difficulties. Mr Uys alluded to the lack of mentoring for new teachers to improve quality which could not be done because of time constraints, and a senior management that lacked mentorship skills and training. Ms Gertz’s commented on the lack of professional qualifications among some teachers and that these teachers were showing no effort to become qualified. She asserted that there was a lack of capacity within school management to identify the lack of teacher qualifications as a problem and to do something about them. Therefore, the culture of teaching and learning is being broken down by a lack of a commitment by teachers to

obtain their teaching qualification, and a lack of school management capacity to address the issue of unqualified teachers.

The relief register in the staffroom provided details about daily teacher absenteeism and leave taking. The records show that for a full staff complement of forty eight between 1 and 8 teachers were absent daily, and between 1 to 3 teachers took early leave (i.e. leaving school before the day was officially over). Ms. Gertz, the school's deputy principal confirmed a high teacher absentee rate, and expressed concern about the negative impact that regular teacher absenteeism was having on teaching and learning as well as the failure of senior management to address the issue. Another participant commented that teachers stayed absent because they were unhappy about the way the school was run, unhappy about the unfair teaching loads and extra duties given to teachers. This comment highlights the fact that teachers were not consulted about issues that affect their roles and responsibilities as part of the schooling environment. As if to confirm their assertions, school documents show an erratic overall pass rate for matric learners in the school-leaving examination for the period 1997 to 2011 (see table 5.4). From these comments it appears the ineffective school leadership was undermining the past culture of effective teaching and effective learning at the school.

Table 5.4 Matric learners registered for the school-leaving examination, 1997-2011

Year	No. enrolled	No. Passed	No. Failed	Pass with endorsement/ bachelors	Overall % pass rate
1997	206	169	37	86	81.9
1998	207	191	16	85	92.6
1999	191	179	12	67	94.7
2000	219	195	24	59	91.5
2001	No record				
2002	199	185	14	43	92.9
2003	210	203	7	49	96

2004	185	171	14	No record	94.9
2005	209	195	14	83	94.5
2006	217	205	12	66	94.4
2007	No record				
2008	No record				
2009	No record				
2010	205	183	22	74	89.3
2011			59		67.4

Table 5.4 reflects a fairly stable number of learners enrolled for the school leaving examination, and the overall percentage pass for the years reflected varied between 81%-96% for 1997- 2006. However a steady drop from 86 to 49 in the numbers of passes with endorsement from 1997 to 2003 is noted, and a drop of 6% is noted from 2006 to 2010, and a further drop in overall pass rate of over 22% in one year from 2010 to 2011. The number of failures from 2010-2011 increased by 37. The pattern of decreasing overall learner performance from 2006-2011 is evidence of the declining culture of teaching and learning at Surprise High School.

In this section, I showed that, sadly, the principal's description of learner discipline using the metaphor 'things fall apart', was a general malaise of decline in the school that also presented itself in school admissions, school policies, school leadership and management and the culture of teaching and learning.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented an historical account of Surprise High School focusing on four periods to tell the story of how the school culture responded to political shifts over thirty seven years. My account situated the school within the socio-historical context of a changing South Africa. To tell the story, I drew on school documents and photographs, my observations, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, and my memories of events during the years when I attended the school as a girl i.e 1983-1986.

I broke the school's history into four periods. I characterised the first period (1974-1983) as 'the good old days' because participants' recollections of this period spoke of an ethos of order and discipline that underpinned high levels of achievement and success in the school. The second period (1984-1991) was characterised as 'the pressure cooker is switched on', because participants' recollections characterise this as a period of strict control and authoritarian school leadership, where participation with and consultation with other stakeholders was not permitted. The third period (1992-1996) of the school's history was characterised as 'the lid is taken off the pressure cooker', and the fourth period (1997-2011) was characterised as 'things fall apart' because for both these periods institutional culture was in decline and failing to sustain the strong culture of effective teaching and effective learning of the previous periods.

In telling the story of Surprise High School's culture in learner admissions, I found a discourse of race came to the fore. A discourse of power also played a key role especially in management and in the teaching and learning, a discourse of performance was central. Hence I structure my detailed discussion of the school around these discourses in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

Changing Approaches, Attitudes and Practices to the Issue of Race and Racial Classification

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on a discussion of the historical account of Surprise High School over four historical periods. The historical account created a specific historical context which framed meanings and understandings of institutional transformation at the school. In this chapter, I look at how race discourses permeate the school's culture. My data sources are a collection of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, field notes of my observations and school documents. In this chapter I address three of my four critical questions, tweaking them in order to bring race to the fore:

- How are the institutional cultures of one high school changing from the characteristics of race-based apartheid education to those espoused in the transformative non-racial education policies of post-apartheid South Africa?
- How do institutional cultures in one high school cohere with non-racial post-apartheid policies formulated around school leadership, and social transformation in schools?
- What are the enabling and challenging conditions for non-racial social transformation in one high school?

To answer these questions, I focus on data in which 'race' emerges as a central discourse. I sought evidence of a shifting discourse of race in school culture. For example, when reading the transcribed semi-structured interviews and school documents I note whose interests are served by the way in which race is articulated over the years, whose racial classification is being acknowledged or set aside and the evident consequences or implications of the racial discursive position.

Race has been a key causal factor in poverty and inequality in South Africa, and such inequalities permeate school culture in complex ways even in post-apartheid South Africa, especially when schools ignore injustice by treating everyone the same (Christie, 1993, p. 172-173). Soudien and Sayed (2008, p. 49) note that post-1994 school governing

bodies(SGB's), who have been given the statutory responsibility to promote the best interests of the school to achieve quality education, have helped new racial discourses and practices become part of school culture around standards, language and school-fees. Thus, they claim that governance structures reinvent race in different forms in South African schools. Such old and new institutional practices speak to the discourses of racial segregation and non-racialism. Hemson(2006) also finds that race continues to be significant in South Africa's rapid social change. Therefore, these scholars assert that schools and their culture, as part of the broader social structure are instrumental in the discourse of race. My findings about Surprise High School confirms this understanding and I present evidence of this in relation to learners, teachers and management and the way in which race intersects with language and religion. In that regard I find shifts occurred over the years 1974-2011, and that in the post-1994 period, the school's racial discourse does not cohere with new educational policies. I also find three disabling conditions in terms of learner admissions, learner profile and race, staff profile and race. In this chapter, I argue that there is a lack of coherence between institutional culture, race and social transformation policies, between school leadership and management opportunities, school culture and race, and the disabling conditions for changing institutional culture of race in terms of teaching and learning.

6.2 Shifts in Institutional Culture of Race

In this section, I present evidence of shifts in discourses of race on the following aspects: learner admissions and learner and staff profiles.

6.2.1 Learner Admissions and Learner Profile

In terms of the *Population Registration Act* of 1950, all South Africans, except Indians who were seen as having no historical claim to South Africa, were classified for legal purposes according to the racial categories of white, black and coloured. The Indian category being later added as a separate classification (Posel, 1991). The Department of Home Affairs (a government bureau), classified individuals based on appearance, social acceptance and descent. Therefore a white person was defined as "in appearance obviously a white person or generally accepted as a white person, a black person would be accepted as a member of an African tribe or race, and a coloured person is one that is not black or white." (Rothenberg, 1995, p.9). After 1994, strong emphasis was placed on prohibiting and

eradicating racism in South African society. Stone and Erasmus (2008) argue that national legislation does not clearly define what is meant by 'non-racialism' and how the different race groups are to be defined. Therefore, there is a reliance on how individuals were racially classified during the apartheid era.

In wanting to understand how race was treated at Surprise High, how its cultural practices around race evolved and possibly transformed after 1994, I analysed the school's admission registers from 1974 to January 1995. The admission registers for that period were pre-printed and issued by the Department of Coloured Affairs. Wengraf (2001) suggests that documents such as registers reveal an institution's culture. Thus, admission registers can be used to trace the evolution and (non-) transformation of Surprise High's racial culture and to reveal the institution's values, attitudes and practices in regard to race pre-1994. What is not said in schools Registers also reveals the denial of access to the school on the basis of race or proxies for race. Wengraf (2001) argues that unintentional expressions found in the language of images, symbols and rituals such as the admission registers do not expose institutional culture. My findings challenge this because I find that in Surprise High School, the registers reflect a culture of restricting learner admissions in terms of one racial category during the apartheid era. Therefore, the learner profile reflected in the registers from 1974-1994 appears to be in line with the wider racial policies of apartheid South Africa. The school was classified as a Coloured school and therefore, only Coloured learners were officially allowed to be admitted. In other words, the school appears to function to reproduce society in terms of racial exclusive practices. However, my findings also provide evidence of resisting exclusionary racial policies during this era. Therefore, the school appears to be both functioning to reproducing society and functioning as a change agent in respect of inclusive/exclusive practices around race. In the post-apartheid era I find registers reveal a culture of inclusionary practices in terms of learners from other race, religion and cultural groups.

On the inside cover of the admission register used in 1974 to 1995, instructions in English and Afrikaans give the procedure to be followed when admitting learners to the school. These were the only official languages in South Africa until 1994. The admission registers and the process involved in creating, writing, speaking and interpreting the

admission registers by individuals within the school and the wider South African society at that time constitutes the discursive practices of race. The influence of the larger socio-historical context of apartheid on the school registers reflects the thinking that only English and Afrikaans are accepted as languages for official conduct in South Africa. The instructed human behaviour for filling in the school register (from 1974 to January 1995) was organised to ensure racial segregation of schools by restricting admissions in Surprise High to Coloured learners only. Thus the 1974-95 learner registers at Surprise High functioned as part of the broader foundation for specific racial outputs in South African society. Christie (1998) argues that apartheid schooling was designed to ensure that "white" South Africans were schooled in order to take on managerial positions in society and to be dominant in economic, political and social arenas of South African society, whilst "black" South Africans were schooled explicitly to take on menial, un/semi-skilled, inferior positions, particularly in the economy. In that context, the school is a specialised structure that interlocks with other social structures to serve racial segregation purposes. This notion of how schools function as part of maintaining their broader social context and system manifests in the manner in which the school register in South Africa was connected to and governed by the apartheid government in order to segregate people of different racial groupings.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) theorise that education is about social reproduction, and that schools cannot be understood outside of the community that they are part of. This theory is explained above in section 2.3.1. In the 1974 to 1995 school registers I see the broader socio-economic policies of apartheid South Africa at work for a process of racialised socialisation and separation. This role of the register constitutes what Bowles and Gintis refer to as 'the hidden curriculum'. I find evidence of the school register having played an important role in preparing individuals for segregated life in apartheid South Africa, and through the practice of admitting only Coloured learners, Surprise High reproduced the prevailing apartheid structures in South Africa of segregated schools of that time based on racial inequality. This was done by suppressing the freedom and autonomy of individuals to attend schools of their own choices. The register was the mechanism that ensured that families could only enrol their children at schools for the child's racial category. I now turn to the registers to show evidence of how this system operated in detail.

Each instruction in the admission registers from 1974 to January 1995 is the same and is numbered with a brief explanation of the instruction. There was no change in instructions over twenty years, 1974-1995. The first instruction is addressed to the principal of the school. The instruction reads:

1. STUDY THESE INSTRUCTIONS:

The principal must study these instructions carefully before using this register.

Under the apartheid education system, school principals were given the position of “headship” (Grant, 2005, 2006). Therefore, the principal was tasked with carrying out instructions, like the instructions in the registers given by the respective education departments during the apartheid era. Instructions numbered two to twelve are headed as follows:

Safe-keeping of registers; Period for which register must be kept; Completion of register; Alterations; Requirements for admission; Admission and transfer forms; Admissions and withdrawals; Admission numbers; Surname; Christian names, and Name and address of parent or guardian.

The importance of the registers is evident in the clearly outlined instructions to the principal regarding how to fill in the registers, their safe keeping for a specific period of time, the admission, transfer and withdrawal procedures and how alterations are to be done. The instructions on the inside of the registers are clear and explicit. For example, instruction six deals with the racial requirements for admission. It reads as follows:

6. REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION:

(a) RACE: No child other than a Coloured may be admitted to a school without the approval of the Department.

The categorical wording used in the instructions above creates the impression that the criteria for admissions of learners were not negotiable and was compulsory. There was to be no deviation from the instructions. Each instruction contains the word ‘must’, and within instruction one to twelve, the word ‘must’, appears twenty six times. In other words, the

word 'must' has a high modality in the admission registers by creating a sense of control within the instructions. It sets the tone of the admission registers to convey the high degree of certainty and authority attached to the instructions from the Department of Coloured Affairs who issued the registers on instruction from the centralised Whites-only apartheid government. The repetition of the word 'must' in terms of it being only Coloured learners reinforces the racial content of the instruction. Instruction Ten deals with a learner's surname and Instruction Eleven deals with a learner's Christian name/s. Clear instructions are given in terms of both. The instructions read:

10. SURNAME: "De", "Le", "Van", etc., go with the word following them; thus a boy named Pieter Andries van der Byl would be entered as "Van der Byl" in the column for the surname and "Pieter Andries" in the column for the Christian names.

11. CHRISTIAN NAMES:

The Christian names must always be given in full. The actual names and not an abbreviated or pet name must be entered.

There are religious connotations to the focus on first names, which are defined as 'Christian names'. This narrow, religious association fed into Christian National Education (CNE) policy of the apartheid government which aimed at indoctrinating all school children in Nationalist ideology while they were in the education system (van Heyningen, 1980). The school register was therefore part of creating and maintaining racial separateness and difference (Christie, 2008). Instruction ten uses examples of Afrikaans-sounding names that are likely to be given to Coloured children to reinforce the racially-linked instruction six for admittance. Instruction ten serves to emphasise the Christian names of the learner being admitted, and that it is these names that are entered into the registers. Instruction ten reiterates instruction six.

For the remainder of 1995 to 1997 different registers were issued by the education authority and used at Surprise High School. The inside of the register cover was blank. It no longer contained instructions as the 1974 to 1995 registers. This change mirrors events occurring within the broader South African society following the first democratic elections in 1994 and the post-apartheid government's mandate to restructure and refocus schooling in South

Africa and the process of de-racialising the education system. After 1994, despite the democratic government's mandate to transform the education system, the apartheid era registers remained in use until January 1995. Towards the end of 1995 a new admission register was issued. The admission register used from the latter part of 1997 was issued by the House of Representatives, Department of Education and Culture. The textual features of this register differ from the registers issued from 1974 to January 1995 in that there are no instructions on the inner cover of the 1995 register regarding criteria for learner admissions to the school, and there are no recordings of learners' home language.

I now move from the structure of the document issued by the education authorities to discuss the discursive practices of people. I provide examples of their subversions and slippages from the official discourse because they highlight the tension between official discourses and institutional practices. In theorising the distinction between official discourses and practices, Fiske and Taylor (1984) argue that the ideological framework guiding social practices consists of norms, values, goals and principles that are chosen, interpreted and put into action according to what the group decides is in their best interests. In this way there is coherence between the ideological framework, social attitudes and the practices. My finding from participants in interviews and focus group discussions is that Surprise High negated, to an extent, the will and race-based policies of the apartheid government. School officers used their agency to subvert the instruction of the apartheid government by admitting learners not classified as 'Coloured', into the school. This signals the existence of a culture of political resistance and of non-racialism at institutional level long before a non-racial discourse was embedded in education statutes, and serves to evidence an example of how the role of the school as a change agent superseded its reproductive role in society. For example, Ms. Gertz in the interview, stated:

I've been at this school for twenty six years we've always had Black learners at this school. At one time we even had four White children here, we've always had Indian children at our school, or as a result of a mixed marriage, with Indian surnames.

Evidence from four registers support Ms Gertz's statement and reflect learners with surnames not commonly associated with Coloured surnames in South Africa being

admitted to the school during the apartheid era. For example, in 1974 a child with the surname Singh was admitted to the school. This is a well-known Indian surname. In 1983 a child with the surname Nyembezi was admitted and this is an isiZulu name.

As explained in section 5.2.1 pp.90-92, school documents, (for example, the admission registers which came from the Department of Coloured Affairs, from 1974 to 1980, and the Department of Internal Affairs: Directorate of Coloured Education from 1980 to 1984), construct the concepts race and access to education for learners within the discourse of race-based apartheid and not within a discourse of human rights. The essential difference between these two discourses is that in the race-based discourse certain races are supreme and privileged by virtue of their racial classification, while in the human rights discourse all citizens are equal irrespective of racial classification (Leonardo, 2005).

New educational policy documents, for example, the *South African Schools Act* No.84 of 1996 aimed at opening up access regardless of racial identity, for the first time gave every South African the right to access education at any school. Within the wider social context, in legislation discourses of non-discrimination, democracy and human rights began to emerge. However, I find evidence at Surprise High of a practice of racist/discriminatory discourses emerged in a claim by Ms Adams during the focus group discussion when she stated:

Before 1994, we had Black children in the school, but because of the racism and discrimination, they changed their surnames, because if the child came with the original birth certificate, and it said Black, they wouldn't accept you.

To substantiate her claim about this subversive practice (that learners with other than English or Afrikaans sounding surnames were admitted to the school during this time), I examined the admission registers closely. I found entries reflected the admission of learners who did not have so-called 'Coloured' surnames. For example, below I extract from the registers record, learners with Indian and African surnames during the years indicated in brackets. For example in 1979 a child with the surname Naidoo was

admitted to the school. This is a well-known Indian surname. In 1989 a child with the surname Ntoloko was admitted and this is an isiZulu name. Therefore, what is reflected in the registers is the official evidence of the learner profile before 1994. I have shown in section 2.2 that it is ambiguous in order to straddle the tension between state policy and local demands.

Admission registers for 1992 to 1996 reflect a change (see figure 5.4p.107). Twenty two percent of learners admitted in this period were isiZulu-speaking. This was the first time school records show admission of non-English/Afrikaans-speaking learners. Participants confirmed this change in enrolment at Surprise High School. For example, Ms Gertz stated that seventy five percent of learners in 2011 were Black. My findings about practices within the school are that they were influenced by educational policy changes within the wider social context. The *South African Schools Act of 1996* deals with increasing enrolment access to schools. I also find that a discourse of race emerged among some participants who created a distance when they spoke about learners who were not classified as Coloured. Throughout the interviews and focus group discussions these participants made use of the third person (i.e. 'they'):

They never dare speak isiZulu (Ms Adams, interview, 19/05/2011)

They never came in with an African name, they always came in with that Afrikaans or English-speaking name that sounded Coloured (Ms Jones, focus group discussion, 21/08/2011)

This term shows how the Coloured teacher participants distanced themselves from the Black learners. Halliday (1985) says that this technique of using the third person dehumanises learners and sets up a pattern of lexicalisation. It also contradicts my earlier finding of resistance and a discourse that leans towards human rights and non-discrimination. In other words, some participants' use of the words 'black', 'they' and 'them' was being used to express how they understood the concept of Blackness as being outside of the identity of Coloured-ness. This implies that while there was a measure of commitment towards non-discriminatory practices at the school, it failed to replace years of socialisation and institutional racism and injustice in people's

consciousness. The values, beliefs and attitudes of school employees in 2011 appeared to be infused by the ethos of a pre-1995 apartheid society and it is the rules of the apartheid era that appears to be controlling them. This shows the power that culture can exercise over individual's behaviour. Stoll and Fink (1996) and Schermerhorn *et al.*, (2009) write that individuals within schools can behave in controlled ways without being consciously aware that there are rules and regulations controlling their behaviour. Therefore, it appears that in 2011, some school employees still reflect the thinking and beliefs of the racial socialisation of the apartheid era.

The words 'never dare' and 'never ever...' send a strong message to the reader that only learners who were classified Coloured were allowed access during 1974-1995 into the school, and 'they' i.e. Black learners were not admitted because 'they' were not Coloured. There are political and racial connotations attached to the use of these quoted words. However, there appeared to be discursive shifts during interviews in the way participants spoke about learners who were not classified as Coloured from a racial discourse of 'blacks' and 'they' and 'them' to one of the human rights of learners who were not classified as Coloured but as 'learners' and 'children'. Thus, my finding is that participants in the interviews draw on different discourses (apartheid, post-apartheid, and human rights). One discourse reflects apartheid values, beliefs and ideology. This is when participants use the quoted words above. The other discourse shows that they are being influenced by the changing global context and the discourses taking shape within that context. This is the discourse alternative to apartheid race discourses. In other words, when the participants use words from two opposing and different discourses, it reflects a tension and shows that the discourses of apartheid and discrimination along racial lines and the new and alternative human rights discourses from the global context are unresolved. This unresolved tension is illustrative of Bowles and Gintis's (1976) theory of social reproduction about how schooling and education can be the means of reproducing social inequalities, and simultaneously the theory of social transformation whereby schools can be an instrument for social change.

The school culture was also shifting to accommodate the practices, values and beliefs of learners who were not Coloured. For example, Ms. Croutz stated that now learners

were allowed to wear the 'traditional skin' around their wrists which the school forbade before. This is a practice common in the Black community. There was an acceptance of an element symbolising a religious and cultural practice widespread within African culture and which would have been frowned upon during the apartheid era of Christian National Education (Van Heyningen, 1960). The change in the culture of Surprise humanised African learners in terms of their identity and religious and cultural practices. According to Christie (2008), the practice of acknowledging and accepting that part of African learners' culture regarding the wearing of the 'traditional skin', reveals new ways of thinking within a school's culture. This is an example of the interaction between change efforts and institutional culture and how the one helps shape the other. Different belief systems can become 'zones of contest in which cultural borders and discourse boundaries are negotiated and defined' (McLaren & Sleeter, 1995, p.28). The change in school practice to accommodate cultural practices other than the norm helps to bring about positive changes for individuals and societies.

Some 'coloured' names originated out of the cohabitation with foreign Huguenots whose names were difficult to pronounce and write, therefore the spelling was changed creating unique South African surnames. e.g. Pienaar is a corruption of Huguenots and White colonists from the French and Afrikaans language. Slaves were often assigned surnames according to the month of their purchase e.g. April or the place of origin or their owners name. On the other hand, Indian surnames such as Naidoo were brought into South Africa among the indentured labourers in the late 19th century mostly from south India. Although these surnames were sometimes modified they continued to be associated with an Indian heritage (Govender, 1983). African surnames originated from clan names as African tribes moved from the north of the continent into southern Africa (Marshall, 2004). Thus, my assumption is that the names in the list above refer to learners of Indian and African origin. Their inclusion indicates a slippage between official enrolment policy and institutional practice. The practice of admitting learners without the so-called 'Coloured' surnames shows the influence of the local social context in shaping an institutional culture that went against the law. Fullan (1982) states that the social context can influence school cultures, but not necessarily determine them. Using the context of production or the process by which admission registers were produced

and used, I conclude that the 1974-1994 registers were produced when schools were segregated along racial lines.

In 1993 learners whose home language was isiZulu are recorded as such on the admission register. This implies that learners other than Coloured learners were being admitted to the school in the transitional period. Therefore, a disjuncture exists between the register instructions and the school's practice of learner admissions. Despite the apartheid era registers still being in use, the official race-based instructions were being nullified by the practice of a different non-racial discourse gaining currency as a result of changes within the larger political context. The political change made it possible for the school manager to fill in the register with greater honesty about race and home language. Thus, the culture within Surprise High school began to support the discourses of non-discrimination around race. By increasing admission places for non-Coloured learners, Surprise High was developing conditions for social justice in a local education context. The new approach to admissions was creating the space for institutional transformation to take place. Thus, I find that from 1994, Surprise High School functioned as a mechanism endeavouring to bring about social transformation with the local context.

A disjuncture emerges in 1974-1995 between the school's practice and the Department of Coloured Affairs policy. For example in the interviews, Ms Jones and Ms Croutz stated that African learners did not come in with their original surnames, but changed these to Afrikaans or English names that sounded Coloured. The column in the register to indicate whether a learner's birth certificate had been checked for compliance with the racial classification of the school was never filled in all the registers from 1974-1997. The neglect to record this data over more than twenty years indicates a consistent practice of resistance within the school management. This created the loophole whereby the school was able to enrol learners who might not have been racially classified as Coloured, but yet had 'Coloured' surnames. The data challenges the theory that education supports social reproduction, and schools, because of prevailing class structures in society, are mechanisms to reproduce those structures. Even under the pressure of prevailing class structures in society, I find that schools like Surprise School did not conform and bow to apartheid dictates and deny access to learners who did not

fit the Coloured racial classification. Thus from a superficial inspection the school was not deviating from the instructions given to only admit Coloured learners. In this way the registers are used to make the school appear complicit with apartheid ideology and its racial discourse within the socio-historical context of South Africa at that time for education to be segregated along racial lines. However, on closer examination the registers reveal a resistance or subversion of race-based admission policies of the apartheid government. This cunning practice enabled the school to straddle the demands of the White minority state as well as those of the local community.

I find participants held diverse positions on the issue of race and learner admissions before 1994 and after 1994. On the one hand, Ms Adams states that only Coloured learners were admitted. On the other hand, Ms Gertz states that all learners irrespective of their racial classification were admitted. Yet the admissions register shows only learners who were English and/or Afrikaans-speaking were admitted from 1974 to January 1995. Hence, accounts from participants do not tally with evidence from the admission registers. In theorising school culture, Bush, Coleman and Thurlow (2003), state the dominant cultures in South African schools pre- 1994 reflect the wider social structure of the apartheid era. However, the register practice at Surprise High School does not cohere with the apartheid stipulations. The data agrees partially with Fullan's (1982) notion that it is internal and external environments that shape an institution's culture. However, in this case it appears to be the internal environment that was stronger in shaping the school's culture in regard to admissions. Schein (2010) states a group's culture has an evolutionary nature and the culture within a school appears to cohere with. A social institution, like Surprise High School, could have evolved the culture of anti-discrimination from a shared apartheid history and not necessarily as a result of external pressure from the wider social context. Hence, when the school was no longer required officially to record learners' home language, this practice was already part of the school's culture. Therefore, resistance to official admissions policy changed to compliance and agreement. There is harmony and convergence between school admission practices and the demands of official admission policy without the racial discord and disjuncture between admission policy and admission practice.

After 1997, participants report new practices occurred within the school as regards learner admissions. Learners names were no longer entered into an admission register, but parents or guardians had to fill in a 'blue form' drawn up by the school to apply for admission to the school. These forms were submitted with a cash or cheque deposit towards school fees set for that specific year of the application. In analysing the form, I found it did not require the parent/guardian to fill in their race group. This reflects a dramatic move away from apartheid discourses where a learner's race was a criterion for school admission to a discourse of a learner being viewed as merely a person regardless of his/her race. In other words, the wider social context of a new human rights and democratic society had come to bear in the production and non-requirements of the blue form. However, the race criterion was replaced by an economic criterion as evident in the required deposit. So, learners are now admitted on the basis of the required deposit being paid.

In the next section of the chapter I look at how a race discourse affected the staff profile at Surprise High.

6.2.2 Staff Profile and Race

The category to which I refer to as staff include the school managers, teachers, administrators, cleaners and staff employed to provide school security. In the apartheid era, staff members employed at Surprise High School were required to be classified as Coloured.

School photographs for 1989 to 1993 show male and female staff members seated in the front row. Behind them, female teachers are standing in rows with male teachers standing in the back row. The name of the school is displayed at the top of the photograph. I sought evidence of how the school dealt with race among staff by examining school photographs. I triangulated photograph data with interviews and focus group discussions to identify disjunctures or patterns of consistency/inconsistency. In analysing the photographs, I used dress as a proxy for race, for example, a sari is commonly associated with Indian women. I find evidence in these photographs that members belonging to several races working at the school during the apartheid era. This is a disjuncture between education policy about teaching staff at school needing to be race-specific and Surprise High's school's policy of employing staff members other than those classified as Coloured. Accounts given in

interviews support this finding. For example two interviewees, Mr Lyons and Ms Jones said that before 1994, the school had employed White and Indian teachers. School photographs taken in 1995 support the claim that there were teachers who were not classified Coloured, at the school. African teachers, however, are only recorded (see table 5.8) as being part of the school staff from 1999. School photographs from 1999 confirm this. By 2011, photos show there were Coloured, Indian and African teachers employed at Surprise High School. However, from my observations of school spaces and my reading of school documents, (for example, staff lists), shows a higher percentage of Coloured teachers than Indian and African teachers being employed. This is confirmed in the following statements made during interviews:

Predominantly a Coloured staff, with a sprinkling of Indian teachers, and the Black teachers now outnumber the Indian teachers (Ms Govender).

We have African, Indian, but more Coloured teachers (Ms Gertz).

In 2011 there was a higher percentage of Coloured teachers at the school. Photographs confirm the changed demographics in staff profile. My notes about the staff photograph taken in 2010 say:

Out of the thirty eight staff members, seventeen are Coloured teachers, eight are African teachers, five are Indian teachers, four are African cleaners with one Coloured cleaner, one African security guard, and two Coloured administrative staff. Further to this, photographs show a higher number of female teachers being employed at the school. I include this data on table 6.1 to highlight patterns that form part of the base for the significant issue of gender equity in management and staff representation discussed in the next chapter.

Table 6.1 Composition of staff by gender, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2011

YEAR	NO. OF MALES	NO. OF FEMALES	TOTAL
1994	20	33	53
1995	25	28	53
1996	20	33	53
1999	15	24	39
2000	13	28	41
2001	12	20	31
2005	14	24	38
2006	14	21	35
2009	19	29	48
2010	17	29	46
2011	22	32	54

Table 6.1 shows that for the years 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010 and 2011, the number of female teachers was higher than that of male teachers. In other words there was a higher representation of female members of staff than male members for these years. However, male members have always been appointed into key senior management positions (see section 7.4.2 p. 182) which illustrate a pattern for the significant issue of gender equity in school management and staff representation which is discussed later in chapter seven.

In interviews, I found distancing about colleagues of other races. For example, teaching staff members who were not classed as Coloured were always referred to by Mr Uys, Ms Croutz and Ms Adams in the interviews as ‘them’, they, or ‘those’ teachers’. These words had a stable referencing function for these participants that reflected certainty and continuity about the unchanging position of ‘*them*’ and ‘*those teachers*’ regardless of a post-apartheid discourse of equality and non-discrimination. Their lexicalisation reflects an attachment to an apartheid discourse of discrimination between racial

groupings in South Africa despite eighteen years of democracy. Janks (1997, p. 335) refers to this as 'dehumanising and 'othering discourse of apartheid racism', and its pressure shows that the discourse of racial discrimination continued to exist within Surprise High School. In other words, through their choice of vocabulary in interviews, Coloured participants were perpetuating an apartheid discourse of race. This was also evident in the vocabulary used by an Indian participant, Ms Govender, who stated:

The learners are being taught in a language that is unfamiliar to them, but they are making the choice to attend a school where English is the medium of instruction.

We need to improve our results, we also need to take a stand and say, there's only a certain child that we can allow to enter our school.

Ms Govender's comment implies that learners who are not English-speaking should not be admitted to Surprise High. She says these learners cannot cope with an English medium of instruction, and the school's results are negatively influenced. Therefore, her comments are racially discriminatory using language. This contrasts with the vocabulary used by an African participant, Mr Mokoena when he said:

Our school is composed from different cultural backgrounds. There is that balance in terms of the education that is being given to learners of different cultures. We don't treat the African child in a different way than the Coloured children.

Although Mr Mokoena distinguishes between African and Coloured learners, his discourse on race is non-discriminatory when he states that all learners are treated equally. Lockett (1997, p. 30) states 'texts are always discursively produced. It is always a part of a process of social interaction and thus conditioned by the structural context. Therefore, meanings of texts are always socially and historically located in discourse.' Surprise High School was formerly a Coloured school during the apartheid era, and my analysis of the interview transcripts find a predominantly apartheid discourse in most participants' language. However, a post-apartheid discourse of human rights and non-racism is also present. These minor shifts in discourse show that participants were

drawing on different discourses that were originating in different socio-political eras and the culture of working with race was not uniform at the school.

According to Janks (1997, p. 340), what is said, but what is said can also show how interests are being served. I found the interests of Coloured staff members were privileged in order to dictate who should occupy positions of power within the school, and who and what would determine the essence of the daily rhythms (i.e culture) of Surprise High. For example, Mr Uys stated:

This [i.e. Surprise High School] is a bastion of Coloured culture

The privileging of interests would seem to contradict the earlier claim of a school culture embracing inclusive non-discriminatory practices (i.e. in regard to the skin bracelets). Therefore, I find an anomaly between inclusionary and exclusionary practices exists, which I discuss and reconcile in the concluding chapter.

How people are depicted and represented in photographs is a 'language of images' (van Leeuwen, 2008) that can reveal a discourse about race. I find that only from 2009 are cleaning staff, who are predominantly (i.e. three out of four) African, included in the staff photograph. This signals their exclusion prior to 2009. It suggests that cleaners were not considered part of the school staff, although that was where they worked, and made daily contributions in terms of their cleaning service to the school. Their omission from staff photographs is 'a symbolic form of social exclusion' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 142). If race was the basis for exclusion, then the exclusion by the school was reinforcing the notion of a racial hierarchy in South African society when privileging Coloured over Black. The privileging also emerges in focus group discussions. For example, one interviewee said:

We have cleaners...the cleaners feel...the cleaners view it as...only certain of the cleaners...(Ms Adams).

The language of Ms Adams suggests she is speaking on behalf of the cleaners, and serves their interests. However, who makes up the school staff is established visually in school photographs and prior to 2009, cleaners were excluded in the culture of staff photos.

In focus group discussions two participants spoke about cleaning staff at Surprise High School who were not invited to the school's Christmas function at the end of the year until 2009. They said that prior to this, cleaning staff were offered the same meal, but it was eaten in the parking bay, out of view of the staffroom and the rest of the staff. Staff photographs taken up until 2004 show Coloured managers were privileged by being seated in the front row. All other staff members are standing behind them. My triangulation with interviews, confirm that the 2011 school management profile were all people classified as Coloured. For example interviewees said:

Our entire management staff are Coloured. (Ms Govender).

You find that in our management, there are only Coloured. (Mr Mokoena).

We all Coloured. (Mr Uys).

The comments above show that it is only people classified Coloured who occupy management positions at Surprise High. Therefore, it is the interests of these people that are being served by not having people of other race groups as part of the school management team. The school management profile shows that promotion posts have only been given to people classified as Coloured and it shows that Coloured staff members are being privileged in terms of who are given roles and responsibilities of helping to lead and manage the school.

In interviews and focus group discussions, participants who were not Coloured, referred to school staff that were Coloured through consistent references to 'them' and 'us'. A racial classification using 'them' and 'us' is an example of what Fairclough (1995, p.10) describes as a 'cohesion device'. It is an example of an *othering discourse* and produces a pattern of racial identity confirmed across other aspects of grammar in the text. For example, making up a large part of the thematic structure of the interview accounts is the discourse of race and how race determines access within the school. This was said in respect to staff that were not Coloured, seeking employment or promotion

opportunities within the school. It also determined how staff that were not Coloured were thought of and spoken about at Surprise High.

To sum up, staff profile at Surprise High School has and continues to be predominantly made up of individuals who are classified Coloured. The staff profile in terms of school leadership only shows Coloured staff members. Hence, promotion opportunities within the school have always been given to Coloured staff members. In the next section, I discuss post-1994 social transformation policies in respect of race and the school's culture.

6.3 Coherence between Institutional Culture, Race and Social Transformation Policies

How was institutional culture at Surprise High School coherent/non-coherent with post-1994 leadership and social transformation policies in respect to race? To answer this broad question, I have focused on policy, namely the practice of religion at school.

6.3.1 School Culture, Race and Religion

The apartheid government promulgated the *Education Policy Act* No. 39 of 1967 which gave a reference to the Christian and National character to South African education (Eshak, 1987). This established a strong link between religion (especially Christianity) and race (for White supremacy). Thus, in keeping with apartheid legislation, at Surprise High School, the culture of Christian practices as a norm were shaped and developed by its staff members from the time the school opened in 1974. This is confirmed by Ms. Govender who stated:

Every morning is started off with a prayer, which is a Christian prayer.

The morning briefing session always began with a Christian prayer, or a Bible reading. In other words, the ritual of morning prayer or a Bible reading formed part of the institutional culture. In order to understand how race was used in the school's practices of religious policy, I sought to understand who was saying the prayers or presenting the Bible reading. For this I used staff names as a proxy for race and religion. In South Africa, there is a common assumption of a link between race, language and religion. For example, an individual with the surname 'Govender' is mostly likely to be classified as an Indian person and is likely to follow the Hindu religion. An individual with the

surname 'Mohammed' is most likely to be classified as a Moslem person and is likely to follow the Islamic religion. Likewise, an individual with the surname Gertz who may be classified as a White or Coloured person might practise a form of Christianity. A person with the surname 'Ndlovu' is most likely to be classified as an African or Black who is likely to follow Christianity and/or a form of African religious beliefs. Coloured staff members were mostly Christian and therefore practised Christianity. Non-Christian practices were not evident during my observations of school culture, and were therefore not recognised as part of the daily rhythms of the school. From my observations of school spaces and events (i.e. the morning briefs in the staffroom), staff members belonging to the Hindu or Islamic faith were not on the prayer team list pinned on the staff noticeboard, and did not pray or read before the morning briefing. In other words, religions other than Christianity did not form part of the established morning ritual and was not being given the opportunity to be incorporated into the institution's culture. Therefore, it implies non-Christian staff members were omitted from leading the morning ritual of starting the day with prayer. Mr Uys justified why non-Christian practices were not part of the school's daily practices when he asserted:

Surprise High is a Coloured school with a Christian ethos, and they [i.e. non-Christian teachers] knew when they came here that this was a Christian school'.

Mr Mokoena confirms that after 1994 Christian practices remained privileged within the school's daily routine. However, the Christian culture or ethos of Surprise High does not reflect the values and beliefs of all staff members, because it was only a Christian ethos underpinning the school's culture, and not the ethos of religions held by staff members who were not Christian. He made reference to other daily practices within the school culture that confirms the separatist mentality. Mr Mokoena referred to the exclusivity of a Christian club at the school:

We only have the SCA [Student Christian Association] whereby learners and teachers meet to develop themselves spiritually.

The pattern of a Christian ethos with accompanying rituals underpinning school culture is evident. My analysis of interviews also found evidence of the Christian ethos being extended into classroom culture. For example, one interviewee confirmed saying the 'Our Father' prayer during morning registration, and another Christian prayer during the afternoon registration before learners left the school premises. In other words, the Christian ethos was being carried through to classroom level among individual teachers.

From my observations of morning briefs in 2011, I find that it is not only Coloured, Christian members who lead the morning briefs according to the Christian faith. African and Indian teachers following the Christian faith were also included on the prayer list and had opportunity to lead the morning brief. Thus, other religious groups were excluded from being expressed as part of daily practices. This evidence shows Christianity being privileged within the school. I find non-Christian members were not passive. I observed that they expressed their non-acceptance and non-participation, for example, by not closing their eyes during the Christian prayer or continuing to read the newspaper during that time. Thus, although Coloured and Christian staff members exerted power over non-Christian staff members by stressing the colouredness of the Christian ethos, there was a subtle, non-verbal resistance to this overlay of race and religion. The exclusive practice of a Christian ethos at Surprise High School contradicts what is laid out in educational policy post-1994 regarding religious practices at schools. For example in section 6 of the *South African Schools Act* it states:

Freedom of Conscience and religion

Religious observances may be conducted at a public school, under rules issued by the governing body, provided such observances are conducted on an equitable basis and that attendance at them by both staff and learners is free and voluntary.

Participants in the focus group discussion mentioned a divergence from what was occurring in the staff morning briefing meetings. MsGertz stated that:

Different religions are accommodated at the school. A teacher and our Moslem learners go off to mosque, and we allow people of other faiths to pray in the staffroom.

This account contends that teachers and learners of other religious faiths are expressing their religious practices. However, from Ms Gertz's statement, it is practices that are 'accommodated' and which need permission to be allowed in the staffroom, or off the school premises. This school practice is not coherent with new educational policy, for example, the *South African Schools Act* (Republic of South Africa, 1996c) put into practice in 1999. Mostly Indian non-Christian members chose not to be part of this practice as is implied by, Ms Govender when she maintained:

To come here and to face that is really difficult, because I found that the lack of respect for me and my practices very evident, so there doesn't exist a very harmonious environment at the school, the staff is divided.

Ms Govender's assertion about the lack of respect for religions other than Christianity, of religious intolerance for non-Christian beliefs and practices and a racially and religiously divided staff is confirmed by the following statement from Ms Jones. She stated:

I remember, you could have heard a pin drop when the Indian teacher started that 'ohmmm', [an expression used as a Hindu-intoning prayer] and I remember, someone commented 'this is evil, we'd [i.e. Christian, Coloured staff members] better get out of here'. There was a lot of mumbling, and it was almost like an attack on Christianity.

Ms Jones makes the connection between race and religion when she states that there was resistance from Coloured, Christian staff when an Indian teacher said a Hindu prayer. While there appeared to be tolerance for other races and religious practices in the school allowing staff of other religious faiths to pray in the staffroom, or for Moslem learners and teachers to go off to mosque, I find the tolerance was shallow and superficial. For example, Ms Jones said there was a time when non-Christian members

could practice their faith by praying in the staffroom during the morning briefs but, when they were heard expressing their faith this was described as 'evil' and shunned by members who walked away. In other words, such religious expressions were not part of the shared values, beliefs and norms of the majority of staff members. However, there were also 'ruptures' in such Christian practices within the classroom. For example, Ms Adams maintained:

In my classroom, I do not insist all children pray the 'Our Father'. I make them do the one minute silence where they must pray according to their religion.

She was exercising her agency as teacher and classroom manager to determine the culture of the classroom. This was a culture of Christian dominance with some tolerance for alternative faiths though she strictly controlled how and when that tolerance was to be allowed and practiced. Therefore, there is a disconnect between Surprise High school policy that allows for freedom of expression of all faiths and school practice regarding a predominantly Christian religious practices. Thus, I conclude that according to religious practices outlined in the SASA, democratic practice of religious tolerance was overtly the school policy and practice, and covertly there were attempts to obstruct tolerance and continue with a hegemonic practice of Christianity as the dominant faith at this government school. Hence, there is incoherence with educational policy on religious observance at government schools and religious practices at Surprise High School. Therefore, the issue of religious practices at Surprise High remained unresolved. However, the intolerance of Christian practices was reciprocated among those of other faiths. In my observations of morning briefs I saw some continuing to read the newspaper or not closing their eyes during the morning- prayer.

Scott (1990) uses the term 'hidden transcripts' to identify processes of resistance against hegemonic practices. I find that the newspaper reading and open eyes during prayer time is a hidden transcript of resistance to the hegemony of Christianity in school culture. However, because the school's religious practice was Christian and the school management overtly accepted it as the norm for the school's culture, the 'hidden transcript' of resistance containing subtle bodily positions was not strongly visible. This

allowed religion in school culture to be an unresolved, festering issue among staff members, and that brought race and religion into sharp focus. A participant was of the opinion that this was a Coloured school with a Christian ethos and rituals and therefore Christianity should underpin the school's daily rituals. For example, in an interview, Mr Uys asserted:

They knew when they came here that this was a Christian school.

Members of other race groups questioned the underlying principles of such practices in the democratic era of respect and recognition for all religions (*South African Schools Act of 1996*). I found that religion was driving a racial divide between staff members and affected how staff members interacted with each other. The effect of the tension over normative school culture was evident in a number of patterns that emerged during interviews. I found a pattern of a separatist mentality. The different race and religious groups at the school were dividing themselves across a race and religion axis. The school culture was constructed and perceived as Coloured and Christian even though the State had embraced a policy of non-racialism and democracy at government institutions such as public schools, and specifically adopted a policy about religion as mentioned earlier.

My observations found that policies of transformation were not in place in this school. For example, the school assembly which is an example of a school ritual, always started with a Christian prayer and Bible reading. No other faiths were expressed during the assemblies, and therefore, only Christianity was given free and total expression at Surprise High School. This data supports Fullan's (1982) contention that an institution's historical context and the people within it determine its culture.

In the next section, I focus on school leadership and management opportunities, and how these intersect with school culture and race.

6.3.2 School Leadership and Management opportunities, School Culture and Race

In this section, I examine how opportunities to be part of school management at Surprise High School intersect with race and how the intersection impacts and influences school culture.

My analysis of interviews found a pattern of 'othering'. In some parts of the interview, I found a discourse of 'us' and what 'us' is entitled to, and 'them' and what 'they' should expect within the context of a Coloured school. Other parts of the interviews were structured around a discourse of 'us' and what 'we' were being denied by 'them', and what 'we' also ought to be afforded as part of the staff in terms of opportunities for promotion and recognition. The two parts of this pattern reinforced each other. Participants suggested that 'we' i.e Coloured staff be promoted, that Coloured staff should make up the majority of the staff complement, and that senior management (i.e the principal and the deputy/ies) at the school should be made up of Coloured staff. For example Ms Govender and Mr Mokoena asserted that Coloured staff members feel that it should be Coloured members who are given opportunities at promotion, and that Indian and African staff are being denied these opportunities. For example, in interviews, these participants stated:

They still feel that it is an ex-Coloured school, and that Coloured teachers should be promoted (Ms Govender).

Our management is Coloured, so the African and Indian teachers are deprived of those privileges in terms of promotion (Mr Mokoena).

My observations confirm the all Coloured management staff. According to Ms Govender, promotion within the school is racially-influenced, and who stated that in order to be employed or promoted within the school, one needed to be Coloured. She implied that if a staff member was not Coloured, they would not be recognised and given opportunities to be promoted within the school system. Ms Govender's comment gives information about the racial composition of senior management. She implies that it is only Coloured staff who may occupy those higher post levels of influence in the school. In an interview, one participant spoke of what he thought should happen at the school in terms of who should be leading and managing the school. For example, Mr Uys maintained:

I don't see why this school should have an Indian principal when it doesn't have a single Indian child here.

I did not observe action being taken by African and Indian staff against practices of discrimination in terms of promotion opportunities. This reflects in their passive acceptance of the discriminatory practices that they experienced as non-Coloured staff in terms of opportunities for school-based promotion. However, my observation of school governing body (SGB) meetings and school assemblies are that members of the SGB, learner members of the Representative Council of Learners (RCL), and learners chosen to be head and deputy prefects/monitors reflected wider representation in terms of race. This undermines Ms Govender and Mr Mokoena's claim of racial discrimination whereby positions and promotions are reserved only for Coloured staff members and Coloured learners. My observation of discourse practice or process in those bodies of school settings and events reflects a shift from racial exclusion to racial inclusion. The extent of the shift stopped short of certain opportunities and positions of power at the school. All learners within the school appeared to be recognised and given opportunities to occupy positions of power within the learner body. For example, in the interview, Ms Croutz maintained that selection for leadership appointment positions for learners, for example, as head prefects and RCL was done through democratic elections by the learners. Ms Croutz's discourse reflects a linguistic choice in which all learners are constructed as equal citizens. This discourse draws on a post-apartheid discourse of equality, democracy and fairness (*South African Schools Act*, No. 84 of 1996). However, other participants in the interview experienced a racist discourse when they spoke about the exclusion of certain race groups from positions of power in school management within the school. In other words, the beliefs and patterns of learned behaviour, part of the school's culture before 1994, remained in currency. This coheres with Gherardi's (1996) explanation that institutional culture has the power to covertly guide the behaviour and beliefs of its members as well as influence every aspect of the institution long after the discourse has lost its official status.

Mr Uys's stereotyping of black people in 2011 is an example of a continuing racist discourse that emulsifies the apartheid era. He stated that Black people don't have management skills. His linguistic choice of an apartheid discourse that identified people solely by their race reveals his view that Black' people should be excluded from

positions of management at the school. He is perpetuating apartheid discourse that certain race groups were inferior and others superior. The different linguistic selections of Ms Croutz and Mr Uys show there are complex and shifting discourses of racism and discrimination or of non-discrimination and non-racism, and school culture is not locked into either one of the discourses.

In the next section I explore whether conditions exist for changing institutional culture of race.

6.4 Conditions for changing Institutional Culture of Race

The daily practices, rituals and routines at schools reveal the values, attitudes and beliefs within institutional culture, and create conditions that challenge or promote the changing of the institutional culture of race. However, the institutional culture at Surprise High School displayed a high incidence of challenging conditions for changing the institutional culture of race in terms of teaching and learning. Therefore, in this section I argue that teaching and learning conditions at Surprise High from 1996 to 2011, in respect of the lack of and ineffective teaching and learning resources, an English-only medium of instruction, un- and under-qualified teachers, restrictive curriculum packages and racial prejudice create challenging conditions for changing the institutional culture of race.

6.4.1 Teaching and Learning and Race

My analysis of the conditions for teaching and learning and race led to my observing teaching and learning via the verbal signs within interviews and focus group discussions. I found conditions around the culture of teaching and learning at Surprise High is racially infused. The communication in interviews reflects the assumption that Surprise High School as a Coloured School offers better conditions in terms of the quality of education than the schools in the residential township areas where Black children came from, and implies that the teaching conditions at township schools are of a low quality. Further, according to Gee (2011) communication such as that, may not always be 'benign', but has potential to display a disease in the manner in which the communication reflected how others were being treated. Even though in this case, their treatment would have been evident in the thinking

and expression of those thoughts. It would not be in their presence. For example, in the interviews two participants support my argument:

We i.e. [Surprise High] are definitely offering a better kind of education to where they [African learners] come from (Mr Uys).

Many of our[i.e Coloured] parents still struggle with the fact that their children are being taught by Black teachers (Ms Gertz).

6.4.2 Teaching and Learning Resources

My observations of school spaces examined the conditions for teaching and learning in respect to resources, qualified teaching staff and subject packages on offer at the school, and whether Surprise High School was offering better conditions for a better education than township schools. For example I noted:

There is a lack of resources, lack of support from school management for obtaining teaching and learning materials, language barriers[namely, English-only medium of instruction] un- and under-qualified teachers and subject packages that appeared to limit learners' career choices after leaving school. (Field notes, May-August, 2011).

6.4.3 Medium of Instruction

Participants mentioned the following disabling conditions to teaching and learning: a lack of support from senior management and the school's English-only language policy that jeopardise learners' entry into tertiary institutions. These challenging conditions reveal the values, beliefs and the thinking of each participant about the conditions of teaching and learning at Surprise High School. My interpretation of what participants have identified as a factor impacting on creating enabling conditions for effective teaching and learning is that African, isiZulu learners are challenged with a language barrier. In the interview Ms Govender raised the issue of language impacting on conditions for teaching and learning at Surprise High School. She stated:

We have children who have only been taught in their mother-tongue in primary school, and we allow them access into high school, they can't cope.

I find that beyond what the participant was saying about learners and their mother-tongue in teaching and learning, she was asserting Black learners could not cope. In this way Ms Govender supports a disabling position of denying access to some Black learners into Surprise High who do not cope with teaching and learning in an English-medium school. This communication harks back to the apartheid era of the challenging conditions of separate schooling for learners based on race and language. This means that the participant who was herself educated in that system continues to give the discourse currency despite school policies that pursue equal physical and epistemological access to all learners (*South African Schools Act*, No. 84 of 1996). Therefore, the conditions of the teaching and learning culture at Surprise High School after the onset of democracy in 1994 continues to be challenged by race-based discourses around physical and epistemological access to education.

This section focused on exposing conditions in terms of teaching and learning that were challenging the changing of institutional culture of race at Surprise High in 2011. My findings reveal that the following aspects in institutional culture are creating challenging conditions for changing the institutional culture of race at the school, namely, an English-only medium of instruction, the employment of unqualified teachers, the lack of teaching and learning resources and a lack of commitment by school management to support teaching and learning. Hence, some African, isiZulu learners are not coping and benefitting from the schooling environment at Surprise High School.

6.5. Conclusion

Schein (2010) points to a challenging aspect of culture where the culture of a group of people exists below the surface and operates largely within the unconscious of the group. The norms, values and shared meanings of staff are manifestations of the school's culture. Its influence is strong, creating within group members certain mind-sets and frames of reference. I found from interviews, focus group discussions and school documents that the culture of Surprise High School is embedded in practices which has its roots, for example, within the values and beliefs contained in documents such as admission registers. Schein, (2010) proposes that when a culture is deeply embedded it retains stability. Therefore, I found that despite changes to educational policy, admission register

practices after 1994 and values and beliefs within members of the school continued to discriminate in favour of the Coloured race.

Jansen (2003) argues that the changing symbols and practices that arise in an institution's culture are evidence of transformation taking place. I see the admission register as one of the texts symbolising Surprise High school's culture, and therefore it reflects non-transformation because the way registers were used after 1994 shows a mechanical or structural shift, but not necessarily a shift in fundamental ideas about race and value. Therefore, the evidence that African, isiZulu-speaking learners after 1994 are being denied full epistemological access at Surprise High School shows that racism continues to exist in school culture even though earlier evidence (pre-1994) pointed to a subversion and resistance to racism regarding learner admission. Registers did not originate within the school itself, but exist as a result of the higher government authorities within South Africa during this period. According to Jansen (2003), it is symbols such as registers and their practices that policed the apartheid era enrolment of learners based on race and language. He argues that changing such documents and their exclusionary practice help social integration which is vital for institutional transformation. The post-apartheid South African government agreed with this when it issued new registers in 1995. These registers did not require schools to record a learner's racial classification upon admission to the school. Therefore, admitting all learners irrespective of their racial classification shows structural transformation. However it does not mean a shift in values and beliefs.

I find that in 1995 physical access to Surprise High School was open to learners and teachers of all race groups. The learner and teacher profile in 2011 reflects a complement of Coloured, Indian and African learners and teachers, unlike from 1974-1995 when learner admission and teacher employment was legislated for people classified as Coloured. Therefore, the institutional culture shows changes from the characteristic of apartheid education to transformation policies in post-apartheid South Africa regarding admissions and teacher employment. These changes reflect coherence with post-apartheid policies formulated around social transformation in schools in terms of access, democracy, equity and redress in education. However, the school culture still reflected a racial discourse in linguistic choices used to identify learners and teachers who are not classified as Coloured and creates challenging conditions for the transformation process by reflecting

characteristics of apartheid education in respect to discrimination along racial lines. The culture of teaching and learning for Black learners, especially, is challenged by an institutional culture where English is the medium of instruction. The lack of senior management support for teaching and learning and a lack of resources for effective delivery of teaching and learning are creating challenging conditions for institutional transformation at Surprise High School. Therefore, epistemological access of all learners at Surprise High School is jeopardised and undermines the goals of quality, equity and redress in education essential for institutional transformation in the school.

The next chapter examines the discourse of power and how the practice of power reveals the process and progress of institutional transformation within Surprise High school.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Changing and Stagnating Modes, Attitudes and Practices to the issue of Power and School Leadership

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I used data generated through interviews, focus group discussions, field notes and school documents to discuss the discourse of race that permeated the school's culture, and how this data answered three of the critical questions in this study.

In tracing the history of Surprise High School as told by participants and reflected in school documents (see chapter 5), I found a recurring theme around issues of control and decision-making, ways of leading and being led, ways of managing and being managed. While there were participants at the school who challenged, complained and rejected school leadership and management, others passively accepted it while others basked in their positions and practice of authority and control.

For the purposes of this study, power is understood as being "everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1998, p.63). Therefore, Surprise High School as an institution representing a social group and how power is practised within it becomes an essential component of institutional culture. A practice of power begs the question about the effects it is having on those within the social group: is the practice of power opening up opportunities, or is it limiting opportunities and functioning to close them down, and is it a covert practice, or is it overt?

I present the findings and discussion of the following themes: stagnancy in the practice of power, coherence between the practice of power and new modes of school leadership, conditions that enable the stagnancy in the practice of power in the last decade, and reasons for the lack of a power shift. My finding is that for thirty five years, practices of power have remained largely stagnant at this school despite new ways of practising power being promoted in educational policy. This tension between institutional practice, stagnancy and change are undermining institutional transformation. Thus in this chapter I examine the discourse of power and show how it has become stagnant at Surprise High School. My intention is to address three critical questions in terms of power, and to this end I rephrase my questions.

- How is the culture of power at this school changing from the characteristics of apartheid education to those of the transformative education policies in post-apartheid South Africa?
- How is the practice of power at this school cohering with post-apartheid policies formulated around school leadership and social transformation in schools?
- What are the enabling and challenging conditions for changing the practice of power at this school?

7.2 Stagnancy and Shifts in the Practice of Power

This section addresses the question about whether there are shifts in the practices of power over almost four decades of the school's existence. The aim is to understand and attach meaning to practices of power and determine whether changes are evident, and if so, what these changes are, when they occurred, and why they occurred. I will present evidence that changes in practices of power have not occurred and show that such practices have remained stagnant.

7.2.1 Power Relations and use prior to 1994

My first finding about the practice of power is that prior to 1994, the principal exercised strict control over the daily running of the school. In interviews, two participants, Ms Adams and Ms Gertz recall a controlling leadership practice. Ms Adams stated:

During the time of the other principal, you would never dare be seen talking to another teacher on the verandah, you wouldn't dare sit in the staffroom and the bell has gone.

Ms Adams recalls a principal who was monitoring everything that was going on at the school. As a result teachers were careful to be where they were supposed to be, do what they were supposed to be doing, and when they were supposed to be doing it. In other words, teachers were policing themselves and exercising self-control in respect to space and time because of the school leadership's power to communicate surveillance and censoring from a distance. The second participant, Ms Gertz's memories are also about self-discipline but they are different from those of Ms Adams. She stated:

I remember a time at this school when we really held our head up high. There was such respect for the name of the school, but I also remember that it was accompanied by discipline, teachers were held accountable.

Ms Gertz's memory speaks of pride, evident in the words, '*held our head up high*' and honour that the name of the school had as a symbol. She remembers a school culture wherein discipline and professionalism were key components.

From these two extracts it is evident that the practice of power by the principal was not only negatively controlling and repressive, but also created positive effects. This is borne out by Foucault's understanding of power having dual possibilities to be negative or to 'produce things' (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). Through the principal's leadership style pre-1994, he produced among teachers a negative self-censorship as well as positive feelings of pride and respect that were associated with the school's identity symbols.

Two other participants, Ms Jones and Ms Gertz, substantiate these memories when they report an authoritarian style of leadership in respect of staff meetings prior to 1994. According to them, no discussions took place in meetings and the norm was for the principal to stand in front of the meeting and tell staff what decisions had been made and the staff had to accept such decision/s. In other words, staff members were denied participation in decision-making. The principal is depicted as being active and in control of decision-making (represented spatially by standing in front of them) and the staff (who were seated) as obedient, submissive and passive recipients of decisions taken by the principal. Bush (1995) states that school leadership and management structures prevailing before 1994 in South Africa were mostly autocratic and bureaucratic. Accounts about the school leadership and management within Surprise High School during this period, resonate with the characteristics of bureaucratic structures that have a 'hierarchical authority structure with formal chains of command between the different positions in the hierarchy' (Bush, 1995, p. 69).

A controlling, autocratic and visible style of leadership and management underpinned the teaching and learning style. For example, Mr Lyons recalled that punctuality was an integral part of the school culture, and all roles within the school were clearly defined. Hence, the notion of punctuality was an example of a shared norm among staff members prior to 1994. He recalled that the principal was a dominant figure within the school and who made sure

that all teachers were in their classrooms teaching. Work was checked all the time, and records were strictly kept. In other words, Mr Lyons linked a controlling and autocratic leadership style with professionalism and quality in teaching. Ms Adams confirmed Mr Lyons' assertion of being monitored by the principal during this period when she said:

With the old principal, if you got a pink slip of paper, we all knew, you were in trouble.

A 'pink slip' was a note issued by the principal to a member of staff who then needed to report to his office. A staff member received a 'pink slip' when the principal needed to address that member on a certain issue, and it usually meant that the member had done something wrong. In other words, the issuing of a 'pink slip' by the principal and what it symbolised was part of the cultural norm during this period. The knowledge and reason for issuing the 'pink slip' appeared to be well-known among staff members and members appeared to experience a sense of trepidation and fear around the issue of the 'pink slip'. Here there is evidence of the principal exercising power through a mechanism of issuing a 'pink slip'. This technique of the display of power coheres with Foucault's (1998, p.65) attempt to demonstrate how disciplinary techniques infiltrate the manager's 'area of right', and Ms Adams reflects such techniques as an integral part of negative power within the school community.

From the interviews participants also speak to controlling practices in respect of planning within the school. Ms Croutz stated that the principal 'ran the school like a well-oiled machine' and a year plan was always drawn up. These school leadership practices for planning means there was order, vision, monitoring and the staff knew what was planned for the year. The data shows participants establishing and emphasising a positive link between autocratic and controlling leadership and management style with a culture of authority, respect, hard work and discipline within the school's culture. Hoyle (1986, p.155-156) emphasises the central role that school principals have in defining school culture, and states that educational leaders 'will self-consciously seek to construct a great mission for the school' which differs from Foucault's ideas of equating position with rights. Hoyle's notion suggests a positive use of power. Thus, the principal of Surprise High School prior to 1994 had set out and

achieved among staff a negative self-censorship as well as a positive respect, discipline and achievement.

School photographs show different patterns in terms of identity and position of school management members and other staff members over different time periods at the school, and how those patterns change. The use of power manifests in how teachers, heads of departments, deputy principal/s and the principal are seated in these photographs. For example, my field note on 5th May 2011 recorded that staff photographs taken before 1994 show the following:

Full colour photographs show staff members are seated in a specific order. The principal is seated in the front row, flanked by the deputy principal/s, with the HOD's filling up the rest of the front row. In all the photographs for the period, members of the school senior management are always seated in the front row with level one staff members standing behind them. The last row of staff members are always male staff members. All male staff members are wearing jackets and ties with female staff members dressed in skirts/dresses and jackets. All staff members have serious expressions on their faces, no-one is smiling.

My interpretation of these seating and standing arrangements in the photographs is a pattern of hierarchy. Staff members are seated according to the position they held within the school, i.e. whether they were teachers, heads of departments or members of senior management. Members of senior management are seated in the front row and teachers are positioned behind them. The male teachers are wearing ties and jackets, and female teachers are also dressed in formal attire which signifies professionalism. It is evident that the conditions under which the staff photographs are produced came under the influence of the wider social context of an apartheid South Africa where school leadership was understood in terms of position or 'headship' (Grant, 2005, p.44), and where there exists a hierarchy in school structure according to post level. Hence, power in terms of position within the school system is used to determine where staff members are seated in school photographs.

7.2.2 Power Relations and use subsequent to 1994

My findings about practices of power after 1994 point to a state of stagnancy in that school leadership styles remained autocratic and controlling. Despite new modes of

school leadership styles and practices coming to the fore in South African education policy, practices of power within Surprise High School barely shifted from autocratic and controlling modesto comply with post-1994 school leadership policies. Foucault (1998) contends that power is part of everything and affects everything in a society, and because it is not fixed and has to be negotiated, changes or shifts in power will reveal a difference in how individuals perceive themselves as part of a group. There will be changes or shifts in, for example, how space is divided, how time is used, how an institution establishes itself, and so on.

The use of power can be seen in decisions taken about dress code after 1994. An entry in the principal's log book in 1998 indicates that an autocratic leadership style, which denies consultation and participation of all staff members in decision-making, is responsible for debate and dissent in respect of implementation of the staff dress code. For example, while the log book entry testifies to a staff discussion regarding teachers' dress code, subsequent to this, school photographs attest to a decision taken by the principal to implement a teachers' dress code.

A staff meeting agenda scheduled for 09/10/1997 outlines issues to be discussed. One of the issues listed is a dress code for teachers, and reflects in the minutes of a staff meeting held on the 19/01/1998, where the issue of dress code for teachers is discussed. According to the minutes, a letter was addressed to the principal regarding dress codes for male teachers who stated that he would respond after perusing the SACE document. The principal and other teachers are reminded by two teachers that there are no official documents addressing dress codes for teachers.

The extract above mentions the South African Council for Educators (SACE) document which is a post-1994 structure 'that aims to enhance the status of the teaching profession through appropriate Registration, Management of Professional Development and inculcation of a Code of Ethics for all educators (Department of Education, 2008, p. 1). The extract from the principal's log reflects debate and challenge when two teachers remind the principal that the teachers' dress code is not prescriptive. This debate highlights the authority of teachers being asserted in the meeting, and the principal being challenged on the issue of dress code. Stagnancy is shown in the principal using the power of his position to disregard the staff discussion on the matter of dress code,

and unilaterally and autocratically making a decision to implement a dress code for teachers.

Power use is also seen in school photographs. The staff photograph for 1998, taken after the principal's log about the dated staff meeting shows that there is a formal dress code for teachers. The photograph shows male teachers dressed in suits and ties with female teachers dressed in formal skirts, dresses, jackets/coats and formal shoes and stockings.

Staff photographs taken up until 2008 did not show any deviation from how staff was depicted in photographs taken before 1994. In other words, even after fourteen years (i.e. from 1994-2008 indicating that the taking of school photographs was an annual ritual at the school) of new ways of thinking in school leadership and practices of power, staff photographs still reflect the old way of thinking of how power is understood and practiced. After 2008, however, there is a shift in how staff is depicted in school photographs which show a mix of very formal and less formal dress code and placement changes. My field note on 5th May 2011 records:

The photographs are individual, colour photographs showing the head and shoulders of each teacher dressed in various forms of casual and formal attire. All staff members are placed randomly next to each other to make up the composite photograph. Teachers appear relaxed and many are smiling in the photographs.

There is a move away from staff members being placed in specific positions in school photographs which denote their post level on the school staff. This is a different approach to how staff members were previously arranged in photographs. These differences in school photographs suggest a change in the values, attitudes and beliefs in terms of how staff members are represented in school photographs. It suggests a move away from the notion of staff being seated or standing according to the employment hierarchy within the school to a practice of equality among professionals. It also suggests a democratic practice where staff can exercise choice over their own dress.

Despite this evidence of a shifting practice of power after 1994, three participants, Ms Govender, Ms Adams and Mr Mokoena said a top-down approach continued to be in use in regard to school-related decisions. According to them, the principal together with

other select senior management members made decisions without consulting or discussing issues with all staff members. They stated:

In the staff meeting we were told, it was not negotiated with us, we were told that cameras are going to be set up in our school (Ms Govender).

The fact is that we as normal teachers don't know how monies are spent in this school, we don't have access to that information, and there's no transparency in how money gets divided in each of the learning areas (Ms Adams).

We were not consulted about the school's vision, I think it was some members in the school management and the SGB, but the teachers, no, we were not involved (Mr Mokoena).

This management practice of authoritarian and controlling power manifests stagnancy in practices of power with no evidence of such practices shifting to embrace new leadership practices for institutional transformation. After 1994, it is still the principal who was controlling decision-making processes within the school, by dictating to members of senior management regarding decisions. Mr Uys who is a member of school management confirmed the principal's autocratic leadership style in decision-making as part of the school governing body (SGB). He stated:

I don't like their [i.e. the SGB's] decisions, simply because they listen to the principal too much, and do what he tells them.

In the comments made by the participants above, power is used in ways that are linked to staff position in the hierarchy. The principal is depicted as being in power over teachers, heads of departments, other members of senior management and school governing body members regarding school information. In other words, the principal is shown to have 'agency' (Huckin, 1997), to make decisions and those members who are being excluded are being depicted as having no agency. These extracts serve as examples of how power is practiced to prevent opportunities for all staff members to participate, contribute and influence decisions that are taken. Mr Mokoena's comment raises the question of why 'certain members' were exerting this power in regard to information and decision-making in the school. From what Ms Adams said, my finding is that certain members maintain their positions of power within the school by withholding information from other staff members, so they can be the only ones who have input

into school decisions. The participants are implying that the principal and some members of senior management being privileged and treated as superior while teachers are being disadvantaged and treated as inferior in respect to having no/little input into decision-making processes. Such an oppressive practice of power highlights hegemony in school leadership. Hegemony refers to leadership or dominance, especially by one state or social group over others. It also includes dominant groups or individuals maintaining their power through the capacity to convince those under them to accept, adopt and internalise their values and norms. In this way new democratic practices within Surprise High school are not being given the opportunity to take root and develop while old, top-down decisions and hierarchies are perpetuated.

There is evidence about exceptions to stagnating leadership practices regarding the withholding of information from all staff members. In an interview, Mr Mokoena gave an account that does not fit the pattern of top-down school leadership practice and where information is withheld from staff. He stated:

Our principal does have an open door policy, his door is open, so we [i.e. the teachers] can go and talk about things, and if there are things, they are also dealt with in public in the staffroom we don't have things that are behind closed doors that this is for a particular group of people.

Mokoena's comment is about transparency in the knowledge of school events and processes. His comment highlights a shift in leadership practices in respect of sharing of information with all staff members. In other words, school leadership is shown to be also functioning in certain respects to bring about change from pre-1994 leadership practices in post-1994 leadership practices. However, he contradicts himself when he says:

In terms of the daily practices, things are imposed by the principal and sometimes the deputy principal. For example, sometimes we have to change the way the day is run, you are told that the times are going to change. They perceive things according to their own beliefs and understandings, they need to change some of the ways in which they do things.

Mr Mokoena's comment that teachers do have the opportunity to approach the principal on school-related issue is contradicted by his comment of a lack of consultation by the principal with all staff members. However, my sense of his

contradictory statements is that he is not saying that the opportunities teachers have to approach the principal necessarily means that teachers have input and influence on school-related decisions. His comments imply that despite teachers having the freedom to speak to the principal, these opportunities do not mean that teachers have input and influence decision-making processes. Here Mr Mokoena refers to a practice of senior management suddenly making decisions regarding the school day without consultation and discussion with the rest of the staff, and then imposing those decisions onto the rest of the school body. He creates the impression of uncertainty amongst staff in terms of how a school day runs. According to Coleman (2005), practices of consultation with and participation of all members make school leadership more participative and collaborative. School leadership and management at Surprise High School are not practising shared or devolved leadership within the school with all members. Rather that the practices of leadership and management are being seen as the preserve of the principal and select members of senior management. Hence, I find a shift from practices of power being vested solely in the principal before 1994 to practices of power after 1994 being vested in the principal together with select members of senior management. This shift in practices of power enlarges the circle of power, but Hodgkinson (1991) argues that it does not go far enough to build transformational leadership practices. Hellinger and Kantamara (2000) argue that participative and collaborative leadership succeeds when cultural norms within a society, like a school, not only show respect for authority, but also place a high value on inclusive social relations and when there is harmony in social groups. Therefore, when leaders suddenly change the structure of the school day without consulting and timeously informing staff about such changes is an example of how power is not being practiced in a way that builds a participatory and collaborative style of school management and leadership.

In the focus group discussion Ms Adams points to negative behaviour among school leaders post-1994. She stated:

The impression I have in this school is that the leaders feel that being rude, sarcastic and that 'pull you down syndrome', 'and I know best'. On our staff, everyone knows you are going to get a sarcastic answer, so it takes brave people to stand out there and challenge it.

Ms Adams account positions school leaders as inaccessible, non-transparent and intimidating. Her positioning of school leaders after 1994 shows stagnancy with how school leaders were perceived pre-1994. Ms Adams characterisation of staff members as passive and scared is, on one hand, confirmed and, on the other hand, challenged by Mr. Mokoena in the focus group discussion. He clarifies why he prefers to keep quiet and be perceived as passive. He stated:

We are quiet in the staffroom because we are not well versed with our rights, but you find that you are scared to say things because, maybe you are going to be spoken to badly. I can talk, but I know that I am a short-tempered person, so if you spoke badly to me, it's not on, but I just prefer to keep quiet and not respond to things.

His silence is a deliberate withdrawal and disengagement that does not necessarily mean he agrees with leadership decisions. However, his silent passivity could be construed by others as such. Mr Mokoena's way of talking about his own responses implies that school leaders are engaging in a practice of power similar to pre-1994 which has the effect of being suppressive, feared, and where staff members deny themselves the opportunity to express themselves. In a similar vein, in an interview, Ms Govender stated that some staff members may have ulterior and selfish motives for not speaking up and challenging school leadership and management on what is perceived as undemocratic practices of power. She asserted:

There is a lot of cover-up for people who are friends, who are doing things that are amoral and many people in this school survive by the privileges that they have, like some people can just jump into their cars and leave the premises whenever they feel like, some people can walk up and down, run businesses from the school, leave the school to attend meetings because of these secondary businesses that they run. Those are the privileges that they've been given, and as a result, let me not question what people do, because [the privileges] can be taken away.

My observations confirm Ms Govender's assertions about practices of power that privilege certain staff members and not others. For example, I observed certain staff members operating taxi services and others providing catering services. Thus, the withdrawal of certain staff members like Mr Mokoena and Ms Govender's claim above of the privileging of certain members sets up a dichotomy or duality in how school leaders practice power. Therefore, practices of power after 1994, while showing shifts to

embrace new educational policy around democratic school leadership practices, leadership practices have to a large extent remained stagnant and reflective of pre-1994 autocratic and controlling modes of leadership.

In the next section, I discuss what conclusions I have reached in respect to stagnancy and shifts in the practices of power.

7.2.3 Conclusions about Stagnancy and Shifts in the Practice of Power

The pattern of stagnancy in the on-going autocratic and top-down approaches from school leaders in their decision-making aligns with Bowles and Gintis's (1976) theory that schools can serve to reproduce inequalities within a social group. At Surprise High School, all staff members are not given the opportunity to be included in decision-making processes, which serves to perpetuate inequalities of power between the different stakeholders at the school. This pattern identifies a practice of power at work within the social context of the school that, at times runs parallel with pre-1994 practices of non-consultation and non-participation of all staff members in school decision-making. At other times, practices of power post 1994 reflect shifts to only include certain staff members. Hence, transformation within the school in terms of changing leadership practices to becoming more democratic, are not being served at Surprise High School. In other words, school leadership and management post 1994 is not focused on deepening practices of sharing decision-making within the school and distributing leadership among staff so that decision-making practices within the school become more democratic. The goals of equity and redress aimed at transforming the education system are being challenged by continuing exclusionary practices of power that serve the interests of the principal and selected stake-holders at Surprise High School.

In the next section I search for evidence of the coherence between the practices of power and new modes of school leadership over the last ten years i.e. 2001-2011.

7.3 Coherence between new Modes of School Leadership and the Practices of Power

from 2001-2011

In this section I discuss the evidence about the practices of power and new modes of school leadership over the last decade. New modes of education management call for more integration and collaboration of all stakeholders and for transformational leadership in schools (Department of Education, 1996). This means that school leadership and practices of power in schools must change from the traditional autocratic and controlling modes prevalent before 1994 to modes of leadership and practices of power that embrace joint and collective responsibility for school leadership and management. I will argue that there is a lack of coherence between practices of power at Surprise High School and new modes of leadership outlined in educational policy. I have divided this section into sub-sections in respect of the transformative goals, namely democracy, access, quality and equity and redress in education.

7.3.1 Democracy in Education

Leithwood, Jantzi and Steinback (1999) argue that transformational leaders are not only responsible for managing the structure of the organisation, but also impact upon the culture of the organisation in order to change it so that the values, norms, beliefs and assumptions feed into a supportive and professional environment. According to socio-cultural theorists Levinson & Holland (1996), society perpetuates itself through its school, and that it is the values, norms, traditions and behaviours supported by the local community that are upheld and promoted in schools. Diko (2006) agrees and states that schools are shaped by local communities, and are central in reproducing local cultures. These theoretical understandings of the influence of local communities on shaping schools are inadequate in the context of Surprise High, because there is the understanding or assumption that local communities are stable and that there are shared values, norms, traditions and behaviours within that community. They fall short of considering communities like the community that Surprise High school is part of that has undergone huge shifts in terms of structure, norms, values, traditions and behaviours as a result of changes in the wider social context of a post-apartheid South Africa.

The school governing body (SGB) as an integral part of school governance post 1994 evidences coherence in how educational policy articulates recommended practices of power and school leadership. For example, the SGB is mandated within section 20, 1 (a) and (e), of the *South African Schools Act (SASA)* (Act 84 of 1996, to promote the best interests of the school and to work together with all stakeholders to achieve this. Implicit in this recommended practice of managerial power are discourses of participation and collaboration as I showed in the previous chapter. Within the wider social context of a democratic South Africa there was opposition to the autocratic practices of managerial power and hegemony is evident within the smaller social context of the school. Thus the relations and practices of power within Surprise High School were not completely in tune with the new conventions of the power discourse as embedded in policies. Therefore, I found participants', such as Mr Uys and Mr Lyons used the discourse of power, authority and hegemony to communicate an autocratic leadership style. In other words, the power discourse was shaped and being shaped by the society of the school (Fairclough, 1993). According to Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1973), when decision-making within an institution involves a manager or leader instructing those under him/her on what to do, this falls within their argument of an authoritative leadership style. Larson (2009) argues transformational leadership becomes evident when all members within a school form partnerships and work collaboratively with each other to build true learning organisations. The new modes of leadership in South Africa necessitate a move away from old, traditional top-down and authoritative school leadership styles to leadership styles embracing collaboration, participation and democracy (Christie, 2001). Within the school there does not exist a positive and supportive environment. For example, staff members and learners are not given opportunities to be creative, to come up with new ideas and approaches to communicate what decisions need to be taken at the school. According to Bass and Avolio, (1999), school leaders who create such opportunities practise a participative and collaborative style of leadership.

From my analysis of the transcribed governing body meetings I note the principal's controlling practices and patterns of autocratic decision-making. Therefore, leadership practices in terms of how the SGB as a structure provided for in the *South African*

Schools Act (section 18) functions at Surprise High School, shows incoherence. The SGB is being denied the right by autocratic and controlling leadership practices to be jointly responsible for school governance. For example school governing body meetings I observed were meetings to announce school issues rather than meetings where issues are discussed and decisions taken by the SGB as a collective body, representing stakeholders in the school. For example:

The issues of starting a feeding scheme, of burst water pipes at the school hostel, of fundraising, of extra mathematics and science lessons are all raised and suggestions are put forward.

No decisions were taken on any of those suggestions from the SGB during the meetings. However, when a decision is made, it appears to be spontaneous, ill-informed, non-consultative, autocratic and quickly withdrawn. For example:

In one of the meetings one of the teacher representatives mentions the issue of matric learners who have not paid school fees being barred from attending the matric ball. The issue had been raised by staff during the morning briefing session who wanted the issue brought to the SGB to take a decision on the matter. An SGB member reminded members that the school does have a measure in place to collect outstanding school fees, and that matric learners should be allowed to attend irrespective of whether school fees are up to date or not. The chairperson makes a decision that the matric ball be cancelled altogether, but after being reminded that he could not make such a decision without consulting all stakeholders, the chairperson immediately retracts his decision.

The chairperson's quick retraction of his decision can be viewed as positive in that his decision to cancel the matric ball was negated. His retraction can also be seen as negative in that as chairperson of the governing body, the *South African Schools Act* makes provision for SGB to be knowledgeable and trained to carry out their duties, and that the chairperson cannot make decisions without consulting all relevant stakeholders. Members within this body are not given the authority to make unilateral decisions as is evident in the observation above. Therefore, the practice of doing so by the chairperson of the SGB indicates a lack of awareness on the part of the chairperson, of the functions of a SGB as outlined in educational policy.

7.3.2 Access to Education

In interviews and focus group discussions, participants Ms Croutz, Ms Gertz and Ms Govender confirmed the practice of senior management making sudden decisions. They stated that the school does not have a year plan, hence planning takes place from day to day, and often without consultation or consideration of the rest of the staff input or their teaching and learning plans for the day. According to the *South African Schools Act* (section 20 and 21), school leadership and management must be guided by a collective school vision that outlines broad and long term goals for the school to reach. Hence, there is incoherence between policy stipulations as regards having a school vision to underpin school decisions and how decisions are taken by school leadership at Surprise High School. Ms Gertz saw a sense of uncertainty resulting amongst the rest of the staff due to the sudden changes and erratic practices of some members of senior management. In the interviews and focus group discussions some participants asserted that school leaders were dismissive of past leadership practices that worked within the school environment. These participants stated:

Every time you refer to previous years, and that we did it like this, or you ask “why are you changing it now?” it gets dismissed. (Mr Lyons).

The person who is in charge of this institution also worked under one of our previous principals, and all the good that was done under that principal, this principal has thrown out. (Ms Adams).

The comments made by Mr Lyons and Ms Adams infer that leadership practices have changed. Past leadership practices that were effective are ignored and discarded by the incumbent principal. Participants imply that the contemporary leadership practices are less effective and less accepted among staff when compared to past leadership practices. Educational policy, for example, The *South African Schools Act* that calls for democracy and a collective vision is challenged by leadership practices that are undemocratic and non-inclusive. In theorising school leadership and management in developing African countries, Harber and Davies (1997) make the claim that leadership and management tends towards being authoritarian. These scholars are of the opinion that it is a traditional ‘top down’, masculine notion of school leadership and management vested in the figure of the principal that is dominant. This dominance does

not cohere with educational policy, such as The *South African Schools Act* that calls for democratic governance in schools and for school leadership to be distributed among stake-holders. The leadership and management style being practised within Surprise High School fails to cohere with policy stipulations and falls within the definition of practices of an autocratic leadership style. The leadership and management style is therefore failing to cohere with the new modes of democratic, participatory, collaborative and transformational leadership styles articulated in South African educational policy.

In the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, five out of seven participants confirmed hegemonic practices in regards to participation of all staff in decisions regarding school finance. The *South African Schools Act* stipulates that school governing bodies must prepare a yearly budget which must be presented at a general parents meeting for consideration and approval (paragraph 38, section 1 and 2), and its record of assets and expenditure must be made available for inspection to any interested party (paragraph 43, section 6). For example, when questioned about whether all staff has access to the school's income and expenditure records, Mr Uys stated that only certain members of the school's senior management have full access to this information. In other words, the principal and certain staff members are dominating and controlling the information about how school funds are allocated and spent within the school. He maintained:

The head of this institution handles the finances like it's his personal money, and he surrounds himself with a team of people that have ulterior motives in everything they do, they spend money without consultation, they don't show any records of school funds. (Mr Uys, interview, 14/06/2011).

From a Gramscian perspective of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), the power that a principal has over school-related information and school decision-making depends on the collaboration and consent of a few members rather than by force. In other words, non-access to information and non-consultation, contributes to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. The lack of transparency regarding the knowledge of and spending allocations of school funds by school leadership is incoherent with educational policy stipulations of records of assets and expenditure

(*South African Schools Act*, paragraph 42 (a)).This practice is evident in the manner in which the principal and these staff members exercise power to restrict information on school finances and to make financial decisions for the school without full disclosure and participation of all staff members. The majority of staff are not aware of how funds come into the school through sources such as school funds, the renting out of the school tuck shop, monies from the Department as learner allocations and income earned by the school by being a marking centre for the Senior Certificate Examination for the past three years [2008-2010], is being allocated and spent. School management appears to be reluctant to divulge information regarding the school's finances by allowing staff and other stake-holders access to the school's budget. Therefore, practices of power do not cohere with transformative policy principles of transparency and full disclosure regarding all the funds received into the school, a school's assets, its liabilities and financial transactions entered into. Ms Govender, Mr Uys and Ms Adams claim that the school budget and financial statements are not made available to all staff members and that although the SGB passes the budget annually, the principal alone predetermines how school funds are allocated and spent without prior consultation with teachers about resources for teaching and learning. In the interview Ms Adams stated that only certain members of senior management are privy to information relating to school finances. She stated:

I've approached the principal, in my personal capacity, and I've been told in no uncertain terms, how they spend the money has got nothing to do with me.

Ms Adams statement reflects a discourse of controlling power and non-collaboration. In other words, certain staff members i.e. the principal and who 'they' are, are part of a select social group within the larger social group of professional staff that are setting and supporting the norms for the building of practices of power of denying access to information to all staff members, and for excluding certain staff members from participating in school-related decisions. The discourse within the school not only reflects the reality of school leadership of Surprise High school in 2011, but is also a contrast from the new modes of school leadership of post-apartheid South Africa. It reflects a discourse that is disconnected from and shows incoherence with efforts to change non-participation that existed in schooling in South Africa during apartheid

to the education department's agenda for institutional transformation. The practice of an autocratic school leadership and management is dominating and not making the effort to bring about the required change in the way members of senior management and the rest of the staff relate to each other. Therefore, school leadership and management at Surprise High are not attempting to empower and share leadership functions with all staff members in terms of financial decisions. According to Coleman (2003), such practices at Surprise High do not cohere with practices of transformational leadership.

7.3.3 Quality in Education

In the semi-structured interviews, participants provided compelling information about teachers' feelings around practices of school leadership and management. Participants, Ms Adams, Ms Govender and Mr Mokoena stated that teachers are unhappy with the manner in which teaching loads are allocated, the autocratic and undemocratic practices of school leadership, and the neglect of school leadership to take cognisance of common values and beliefs within the staff body in the manner in which the school is led and managed. The pattern of unhappiness and dissatisfaction about practices of school leadership and management is primarily among post level one staff. Hence, there is incoherence between practices of power and educational policy calling for democratic school governance and quality in teaching and learning through consultation and participation of all stake-holders. The pattern of dissatisfaction was confirmed by Ms Gertz, a member of the senior management team. She expressed her frustration when she stated in an interview that as part of school management, she is often not consulted or involved in decision-making. However, she also stated that advice is sought from staff via staff meetings, and that staff are not denied opportunities to attend workshops and staff development initiatives. On the other hand, however, Mr Lyons, in the focus group discussion, supported autocratic leadership practices. He stated:

It would greatly benefit the school if that autocratic rule is re-implemented, where the principal takes complete ownership of the school, teachers knew exactly what their role was, and maybe we need to re-invent them within this framework of democracy (Mr Lyons).

The different lexical selections signal different discourses. Ms Gertz and Mr Lyons, at times, use words to engage in a discourse of democratic school leadership, and at other

times, they use words to engage in a discourse of autocratic and bureaucratic school leadership. This is seen when Ms Gertz implies that staff are consulted and that there is transparency about staff development opportunities. Mr Lyons implies that it should be the principal alone who determines how the school is led and managed. They draw on different discourses at different instances in the interview. Therefore, leadership practices at times cohere with transformative educational policy by displaying democratic leadership, and shows incoherence by displaying autocratic leadership practices. According to Janks (1997), such evidence implies values in transition. It reflects the persistence of an older existing apartheid era discourse with a simultaneous new discourse emerging from within the wider post-apartheid society. Throughout the interview with Mr. Lyons, there are instances where he expresses a tension of discourses which demonstrate ideological forces are at work to produce an alternate hegemony. Even in the focus group discussions, Mr Lyons comments point to the influence of changing discourses in the wider social context after the 1994 democratic elections. For example, he refers to the issue of democracy in supportive terms but at other times, the influence of democracy is absent when he engages in supporting autocratic leadership practices. This expression of tension implies the notion of values in transition put forward by Janks (1997) earlier, and reflects the presence of conflicting discourses of democracy and authoritarianism.

7.3.4 Equity and Redress in Education

In participants' comments I find patterns where certain staff members are excluded and not consulted in decision-making by participants occupying different post levels. For example, in certain instances, senior, male staff members are included and consulted, and a senior female staff member is excluded and not consulted regarding school decisions. The *South African Schools Act* mandates for reasonable representation in school structures. The practice of power to exclude a female member of senior management from decision-making processes undermines the transformative goal of gender equity and redress. This practice of power is mentioned by Ms Gertz who stated:

It starts right at the top, it's blatantly obvious that the mates go together and discuss, and because in top management, I'm the only female there, I find a lot of

discussion happens between the males, and I'm not even aware of issues being discussed.

Ms Croutz confirmed Ms Gertz's statement of an exclusionary practice by certain senior management members when she stated:

Management, [the principal, the male deputy principal, the grade 12, male HOD and the grade 8 male HOD], have their own meetings to plan whatever they are planning to do. Many times the other deputy principal is at loggerheads, because they don't see things the way she sees things, so many times she is not part of their meetings.

The comment made by Ms Gertz's above highlights the notion that having a position of power does not necessarily mean that one has opportunity to exercise that power. In other words, the woman has a sense of 'powerlessness within power'. Ms Gertz explained the mechanism of how gender and power operated spatially to exclude (see comment above) and undermine the female member of the team as is evident in her next statement below:

I would make a decision, somebody would just ask one question, perhaps I wasn't in the office, they would go to another office, and it would be another decision.

From observations of school spaces and school events, not all stakeholders occupying positions of power within the school are given opportunities to exercise that power. I observed another example at school governing body meetings where practices of power operated spatially to exclude the learner representatives of the SGB.

Of the two governing body meetings I observed from April to October, learner representatives are present at one of the meetings. During the meeting, one learner representative does take part in discussions. However, it does not appear as if they are being given opportunities to have input into decisions, because (as mentioned earlier, from my observations of SGB meetings), issues are discussed, but decisions are not being taken at these meetings. (field note, 17/05/ 2011 and 4/08/ 2011).

This position devoid of power as regards the RCL is confirmed by Ms Jones who stated that issues raised by the RCL are not taken seriously, and that the RCL is being manipulated to further hidden agendas of staff members running the RCL. Ms Adams confirmed the claim made by Ms Jones who also stated that the RCL is not being run by the learner body, but by staff members responsible for overseeing the RCL. Hence, the functioning of the RCL at Surprise High School, as a supportive school governance

structure provided for in the *South African Schools Act* fails to cohere with the stipulations in educational policy.

The leadership and management practices at this school in terms of who is involved in decision-making processes and how these processes unfold, works against the goal of transformational leadership for a collaborative, professional culture within a school (Leithwood,1992).Such exclusionary practices also challenge the goal of transformational leadership that aims to foster staff development and staff working collaboratively to solve problems. Coleman's (2003) and Sergiovanni's (2005), argument that transformational capacity yields effective leadership is not evident in this school. Where leaders of this school have the ability to motivate members by sacrificing their own personal interests for a collective interest they fail to do so in order to obtain a broader goal.

My analysis is that these school managers are building practices of discrimination on the basis of post levels and gender. This interpretation coheres with the argument put forward by Schein (1994)who contends that one of the most significant challenges for females in management positions in all countries is the persistent thinking that equates management with being male. Kaabwe (2003) confirms that this perception of male and female leadership is applicable in the South African context. In other words, although school management at Surprise High School follows all inclusive forum of having men and women on the team, the function follows a style consistent with a traditional male domain. The school management is not working towards effecting social change that gives females a real role in leadership positions, as asserted by Coleman (2005) who argues that such recognition is a core value of transformational leaders.

In summary, the findings reflect a significant incoherence between new modes of school leadership and the practices of power in the last decade. Practices of power at Surprise High School are steeped in old, traditional modes of authoritative, hierarchical,non-consultative and non-participatory leadership styles and practices. The notion of school leadership as headship is strongly evident and perpetuated by discriminatory and non-collaborative practices along gender lines and employment hierarchy.At Surprise High, the values of the school's leadership and management are contrary to the values of

respect, democracy, consultation, transparency and accountability, and it is these values that are feeding into and shaping the school's culture.

In the next section, I discuss conditions for changing practices of power from 2001-2011.

7.4 Conditions for changing Practices of Power in the last decade (i.e. 2001-2011)

This section is about the conditions for changing practices of power from 2001-2011. The section is categorised into the enabling conditions and inhibiting conditions to show to what extent the school as a local educational site is/is not changing practices of power to meet the goals of new modes of school leadership and to transform schools into democratic learning institutions. In this section in the chapter, I will discuss the tension between stagnancy and shift in terms of the practices of power. I will discuss the consequences of this tension for the process and progress of social transformation within the school.

7.4.1 Enabling conditions

In my study, enabling conditions are conditions that create an environment that promotes the process of educational transformation at Surprise High School. I found three conditions that were enabling in terms of changing power relations in order to bring about transformation within the school.

The first enabling condition is that leadership responsibilities are distributed to key role players in the school such as heads of departments. My analysis of observations of school spaces and events reveal patterns which allow for heads of departments to conduct subject/learning area meetings with teachers every alternate Friday. In other words, the ritual of subject meetings formed part of the institutional culture during the period 2001-2011. The distribution of leadership roles and responsibilities creates conditions for changing authoritarian and controlling practices of power. For example:

Subject committee meetings are chaired by the respective heads of department (HOD) and the teachers in that department, and where subject-related issues are discussed, for example subject policy requirements. Decisions are taken regarding lesson planning, classroom management, learner discipline and subject-related assessment. School assemblies are often conducted by teachers together with HOD's without senior management being present and parent evenings are supervised by the respective grade HOD. (field note, 19/04, 13/05, 25/08/ 2011).

The evidence presented above of changes in authoritative and controlling practices of power serve as catalysts to change power relations within Surprise High School. It is no longer only the principal, but heads of departments and teachers who are being given the opportunity to be part of school leadership. In this way, these opportunities serve to distribute leadership roles and responsibilities and change power relations within the school and do not only speak to exclusive practices of an autocratic, dictator-style leadership within the school.

The second enabling condition is that heads of departments are given the opportunity to hold regular meetings with teachers in the respective departments. The regularity of subject/learning-area meetings creates opportunities for heads of departments and teachers to work collaboratively and be jointly responsible for decision-making in different subject/learning area departments. Such conditions create opportunities for more stakeholders to be empowered as regards their specific subject/learning area requirements, and creates conditions for heads of departments and teachers to work with school leadership in school-related issues such as discipline and classroom management.

The third enabling condition is evident when teachers are given the opportunity to regularly interact with other key role players, such as parents. These interactions occur at parent meetings where teachers and parents are given opportunities to discuss issues such as learner performance, learning difficulties and discipline. Such interactions provide opportunities for parents and teachers to work collaboratively to identify problem areas and find solutions to enhance the quality of teaching and learning at the school.

7.4.2 Inhibiting conditions

Inhibiting conditions refer to those conditions that challenge or obstruct the shift in practices of power to cohere with new modes of shared and distributed practices of power. The conditions act as a drag on change. I identified the following conditions: the lack of transparency and consultation in decision-making, the practice by school leadership to make unilateral decisions, an authoritarian and controlling leadership style, misuse of power, unplanned staff meetings, exclusive practices in terms of promotion opportunities and undemocratic practices in terms of staff promotions.

There is a discernible shift from the past in the manner in which Ms Adams depicts a relationship of disrespect between school leadership and the rest of staff in response to controlling practices of power, as compared to Ms Gertz's earlier comment (section 7.2) when she comments on the culture of respect evident in school culture pre-1994.

The first condition is a lack of transparency and consultation in decision-making processes, according to Ms Adams. She asserted that certain members are consulted in regards to decisions and other members are not and that there is an attempt by senior management to undermine full staff participation in decision-making. She stated:

It was made clear to us that day in the meeting that money matters is between me [the principal] and the governing body, and they feel it's got nothing to do with us.

Ms Jones and Ms Croutz confirm the assertions of non-consultation made by Ms Adams and state:

There is a distinct lack of consultation between the senior management and the rest of the staff, so here we just see things happening (Ms Jones).

There's really no transparency between senior management and teachers. The principal and whoever else is running this school tend to want to hide everything, and on the last minute present it to the staff, and then you told 'there's no time for exchange of ideas, and I think it's deliberate because the leadership doesn't know how to handle questions (Ms Croutz).

The second condition is the practice by school leadership to make unilateral decisions. Mr Lyons and Ms Croutz also commented on the practice of senior management to make decisions 'in the corridors' or 'ad hoc'. In other words, both participants are implying that school decisions are being made informally and outside of a forum, for example, at a staff meeting where all staff are present and who will then have the opportunity to give input into school-related issues. Therefore, the power of staff to engage in school-related issues and make decisions as a collective is being inhibited. Mr Uys in referring to the roles and responsibilities of the school governing body undermines their functioning as a collective, because it is one member (i.e. the principal) who holds sway when it comes to making decisions. At the same time, he also challenged the abilities and skills of members of the school governing body when he asserted:

Here you getting the whole housewife's league, the doek and broom people that have nothing else, bored with life, to now accept a post in the SGB, because they claim it's a status post, and that gives them power over the teachers.

In his comment above, Mr Uys reveals his arrogance and sense of superiority by making statements that suggest that certain people should be excluded from positions of power (i.e as SGB members), and his comments also reveal a lack of commitment to the goal of democracy regarding school leadership positions. Two participants, Mr Uys and Ms Govender stated in interviews that there is a breakdown of trust within the school culture. Ms Govender, made reference to a staff that is divided and non-collaborative in terms of standing together against practices of non-consultation and an autocratic school leadership. She made similar comments in the focus group discussion when she reiterated her opinion about the lack of unity amongst staff and stated that the division amongst staff is allowing for practices of an autocratic style of school leadership to continue unchallenged. Therefore, the opportunity for staff to work collaboratively as a collective to change authoritative and controlling practices of power is being inhibited. Another participant confirms Ms Govender's assertion of a lack of unity amongst staff members. She stated:

We have the ability to change things because we outnumber senior management, but what happens here on our democratic platform, when we see someone of authority walk in, they say something, most of us shut up. (Ms Adams, focus group discussion, 30/08/ 2011).

From my observations, discussions do take place during the morning briefs (i.e. an example of a morning ritual at the school). However, while senior management allow these discussions to take place in this forum, often it is indulgent because senior management has already made a decision regarding issues staff raises. In other words, staff members are given the opportunity to voice concerns, raise issues and make suggestions around school matters, and that is as far as their input goes. My observations sense that senior management have already decided on issues being discussed. My sense around this issue is confirmed by Mr Lyons who stated:

When the SGB was introduced I was an observer in one of the meetings where they discussed the vision of the school. However, when senior management met it was just the principal and two deputies, and so they decided what it was going to be.

Hence, power appears to be given to staff to talk about school-related issues. However, it is school leadership that ultimately makes decisions about issues raised by staff. In other words, school leadership makes unilateral decisions at the school.

A third condition is an autocratic and controlling leadership style practiced at the school during the rarely-held staff meetings. The practice of power where members of school leadership stand in front during a staff meeting and inform staff about decisions taken is reminiscent of practices of power pre-1994 in regard to decision-making (see section 7.2.1). It depicts stagnancy in practices of power in that, like pre-1994, the rest of the staff are seated and passively receive information about decisions taken on school-related issues while a member of senior management stands in front during the meeting and speaks. Participants in the interviews and focus group discussions confirm the observations of a lack of scheduled staff meetings. Mr Lyons confirmed attending two management meetings since the beginning of the year, and Ms Croutz maintained that formerly structured staff meetings at the school was a rare occurrence.

A fourth condition is evident in the misuse of power by the principal for personal and ulterior motives. Ms Adams uses the metaphor of a dangling carrot to make her point about manipulative practices of power used by the principal.

At this school, the principal plays around with the early dismissal every second Friday, and it's like a carrot dangling here in front of us. In other words, I'm giving you half an hour off, and it's actually a form of manipulation.

The comments Ms Adams are allegations of how the principal uses his position as manager of the school to allow teachers to go home earlier than they are supposed to. She alleges that this practice of the principal's power to make allowances for teachers to leave school before the required teaching hours for the day, is a form of control and manipulation by the principal. According to her the principal is using underhanded strategies to manipulate staff members not to challenge other practices of power they may disagree with because he allows teachers to benefit in other ways.

My observations of school spaces identified the fifth condition of impromptu staff meetings that take place during the morning announcements, and which are not minuted. I observed the following:

The morning briefing sessions, on many occasions goes far beyond the time needed for teachers to receive announcements for the school day. It invariably turns into discussions about school issues, either brought up by senior management or the rest of the staff. (field note, 19/04/2011).

My observation raises the question of why such discussions take place during morning announcements and not at staff meetings. During my observation, (April-October) only one staff meeting was held. Ms Adams provided clarity on the question of why such discussions are allowed to take place during the morning announcements and why there is an absence of regular staff meetings. She stated:

It's to the principal's advantage when there are no staff meetings, then there are no records, nobody takes minutes in the morning and that's the difference between a staff meeting and that rubbish we have in the morning. (Ms Adams, interview, 19/05/2011).

My observation of the daily morning announcements (i.e. from April-October) confirmed Ms Adams statement that minutes are not taken of the discussions that take place. My observation also recorded that for the one staff meeting held in October, minutes were not taken. I further recorded that for the two SGB meetings I observed, minutes were taken. This practice of staff engaging with senior management in discussion during the morning announcements is inhibiting the need and importance of formally-held staff meetings with agendas where staff come together to discuss, have input, and take decisions on school-related issues, and where such discussions and decisions are minuted.

Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009) argue for the collective power of education stakeholders to work together as a team. This kind of power creates opportunities for greater change and assists institutions in moving forward with change efforts. In other words, to make change work, it is critical that there is the knowledge of the change process working together with the energy, thoughts, commitment and ownership of all those involved. However, I find that school leadership within Surprise High School is locked into the ideology of leadership as the preserve of the principal, and at times, to include a few select members, and is not the collective responsibility of all who are part of the school staff. Some participants view these discussions as a deliberate attempt by school management to avoid staff meetings so as not to be confronted by staff to answer questions, where issues could be discussed, and where all staff is given

opportunities to give input and be consulted on school issues. For example, Ms Adams asserted that not scheduling staff meetings was deliberately done by school management so as to avoid being questioned and challenged regarding school issues.

My observations of school spaces reveal the penultimate condition of selected staff members in key positions within the school system, and where it is certain individuals who are recognised as heroes and heroines, and given positions of power within Surprise High School.

In the office foyer there is an 'honours board' showing the school principals appointed over the past thirty years. Individuals appointed to the position of principal from 1974-2011 have always been male.(field note, 10/06/2011).

The consistent appointment of males for over thirty five years as principal of the school suggests that this position of power is viewed as a male domain, and inhibits the recognition and appointment of females who may have aspired to and qualified for this position of school leadership. There is one instance, where a female was appointed as a principal. However, this did not become a permanent position as shown by the appointment of a male into that position later that year.

The final condition relates to undemocratic practices in the appointment of staff into promotion positions within the school. Ms Govender stated that leadership practices with respect to school-based promotions within Surprise High school are undemocratic, and reveal power relations and practices of power that inhibit the democratic appointment of candidates into positions of power based on merit. In an interview she maintained:

At this school, I won't apply anymore, because I already know, going into the process a candidate has already been chosen before the process can even take place.

We are not in a democratic institution there is no equity, because if we were, we would have an equitable management team, then it would have been four women and four men.

My observations of the school staff list confirm Ms Govender's claim of an unequal management team along gender lines. There are five males and three female members in the school's management team.

My analysis reveals Ms Govender building an argument against what she sees as undemocratic practices within Surprise High School. She is arguing that being promoted into management positions at the school is not merit-based, and is therefore undemocratic. School governing bodies have been tasked with making recommendations regarding appointment of staff at schools. In the light of the evidence of a SGB at Surprise High that does not have regular meetings and where decisions are not taken at this forum, there arise the questions of how, when and by whom decisions are taken with regard to the appointment of staff into, for example, promotion posts. This practice can be viewed as inhibiting in terms of who makes such appointments, and how staff appointments are made, and whether these appointments are in the best interests of the school.

To conclude this section, I found that the notion of participative and collaborative leadership put forward by Coleman (2005) is being challenged by practices that show a lack of transparency and consultation with all stakeholders by school leadership in decision-making processes. Unilateral decision taken by the school leadership serves to isolate and exclude key stakeholders, such as teachers in having input and influence into school-related issues. An autocratic and controlling leadership style also allows for the misuse of power by the principal, and denies other stakeholders opportunities to be involved in leadership roles and responsibilities. According to Coleman, participative leadership is characterised by the sharing of decision-making with leadership being distributed amongst the group, and where the organisation becomes more democratic. Coleman is implying that it is the whole group within an organisation that are included, and not a select few. The practice of unplanned staff meetings that are not minuted undermines collective effort by all stakeholders to commit to and work together in change efforts. In theorising change knowledge, one of the key drivers according to scholars Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009) is about developing new knowledge, skills and competencies and working as a team for greater change. However, the conditions of unequal gender representivity and promotion positions that are not merit-based challenges the commitment and will of all stakeholders at Surprise High School to change practices of power from 2001-2011.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I focused on the practice of power post-1994. Prior to 1994, practices of power were steeped in traditional, bureaucratic and hierarchical notions of school leadership and management. A barely discernible shift, identified as stagnancy, in practices of power became evident post-1994 with the principal and a select staff controlling and dictating practices of power characterised by non-consultation, non-participation and non-collaboration in respect to what was often autocratic and exclusive school-related decisions. Practices of power post-1994 were undemocratic and evidence of exclusionary modes of leadership that failed to cohere with new inclusive and democratic modes of leadership and management practices of power from 2001-2011. Old, traditional and hierarchical patterns of practices of power challenged the creation of enabling conditions for shifting such practices in the last decade. Inhibiting conditions in 2011 continue to hinder the need to shift practices of power so that the principles of collaboration, participation, inclusion and democracy underpin practices of power to cohere with new modes of leadership and practices of power.

The enabling conditions of distributing leadership opportunities to heads of departments and teachers serve as examples of pockets of change in the largely autocratic and controlling leadership style at the school. The opportunities for teachers and parents to interact at parent meetings serve as an example of inclusionary practices of power of other key stakeholders in school leadership roles and responsibilities. Hence, on a continuum between stagnancy and change, with change being defined in terms of realising the transformative goals in educational policy, Surprise High School lies closer to stagnating modes, attitudes and practices regarding the issue of power and school leadership.

Power and performance are linked in that practices of power help to determine levels of performance within an institution. Thus the next chapter focuses on a discourse of performance, and how this addresses the research questions underpinning this study.

CHAPTER 8

Changing Levels, Attitudes and Practices to the issue of Performance

8.1 Introduction

In chapter seven I discussed the discourse of power and the effects of the practices of power within institutional culture of Surprise High School on those within the social group. The chapter also focused on discussion about shifts in practices of power and whether the practices of power were/were not opening up opportunities for others within the social group.

Surprise High School's history (as unfolded in chapter five) told the story of a school that stood out proudly from 1974-1994. Participants and archival documentation repeatedly attested to a school culture that strove towards and relished in its achievements underpinned by a school culture of discipline, professionalism and acknowledgement. In their accounts about the past participants engaged in a discussion around curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular performance. In their discussions about performance pre-1994, participants used words around performance, such as achievement, success, aspirations, goals, pride and discipline. The language of performance is therefore critical, because it describes the essence and levels of achievement in curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities at Surprise High School from 1974-1994, and it is what participants remember most about the school during this period. Their talk provides evidence that school culture was underpinned by a principle of quality teaching and learning. For the purposes of this study, performance is defined as "the quality of a performance, the condition of performing, or, perhaps, the object of investigation" (The American Heritage Dictionary, 1969). Hence, the link between performance and quality, and participants engaging in discussions around performance can reveal whether an institution is/is not transforming because 'quality in education' is one of the transformative goals identified by the government post-1994. Therefore, Surprise High School as an institution representing a social group and the levels of teaching and learning performance of and within this group are a significant part of institutional culture.

According to Maslowski (2001) school performance reflects how effective and efficient a school functions as an educational institution, with effectiveness generally referring to

accomplishing school objectives, while efficiency indicates whether these objectives were accomplished timeously. While these memories of a school culture pre-1994 of pride and excellence recalled a positive schooling context, when participants spoke about the school after 1994, they questioned and reflected on the significant negative changes in respect to levels of academic, cultural and sporting achievements of learners and teachers. Hence, there were memories of high levels of performance before 1994 juxtaposed with accounts of a decline in the levels of performance after 1994. What factors yielded the high levels of performance pre-1994 and what led to their decline after 1994? My finding is that four decades of the school's existence have seen a slow but steady decline in the levels of performance of curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities in spite of new educational policies calling for quality in education and increased levels of academic performance, and the subsequent loss of opportunities to acknowledge and celebrate learner heroes and heroines. For example, in the preamble to the *South African Schools Act* of 1996 provision is made for education of increasingly high quality for all learners which ensures a strong foundation is laid to develop the talents and capabilities of all learners. One of the aims of The National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa (Department of Education, 2006, p.3) is "to equip teachers to enable them to continually enhance their professional competence and performance...." Increasing the levels of performance has the potential to bring about social transformation. Declining levels in performance have the potential to negatively affect the potential for institutional transformation, because quality in teaching and learning will decrease as a result. The purpose of this chapter is to examine findings around performance in relation to my three critical questions. To this end I have re-phrased my questions as follows:

- How is the culture of performance at this school changing from the characteristics of apartheid education to those of the transformative education policies in post-apartheid South Africa?
- How are the levels of performance at this school cohering with post-apartheid policies formulated around school leadership and institutional transformation in schools?
- What are the enabling and challenging conditions that are transforming performance at this school?

Formy discussionof the findings about performance, the theoretical framework of social transformationoffered by Bowles &Gintis, (1976), Freire, (1974) and Apple, (1995)proved useful tounderstand the discourse of performancewithin the school, and how this speaks to institutional transformation. For example,through the lens of the theoretical framework, theinsights and understandings obtained from participant's discussions on performance would reveal that Surprise High School is/is not reproducing inequalities in society through its levels of performance. On the other hand, do the insights and understandings obtained from participants discussions reveal a school working asan agent for institutional transformation by having a teaching and learning culture underpinned by quality? The framework therefore enables a deeper understanding of how organisational culture works within the school in terms of performance and who and what was/is responsible for the culture within the school in terms of academic, sports and cultural performance.The analysis unpackswhose interests are being considered,whose are being marginalised, andthe possible interpretations and implications of such practices and positions within the school's culture in order to determine whether Surprise High is/is not working towards institutional transformation. The chapter is divided into the following sub-sections: shifts in the culture of performing curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities; coherence between the culture of performing curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities and the new goals of quality education and conditions that have changed or inhibited the culture of performing curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities.

8.2 Shifts in the Culture of Performing the Curriculum

I find changes had occurred in the levels of performance within the school through different periods of its existence. In this section I track the changes in levels of performanceand give meaning to them in terms of what this revealed about institutional transformation.My discussion is categorised into the three areas of curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities.

8.2.1 Discourse around Performing CurricularActivitiesfrom 1974-2011

My finding aboutdiscourse of performing curricular activities is that participants commented in glowing terms aboutthe academic performance of learners, pre-1994.For example, in an interview (06/06/ 2011), Ms Gertz stated:

There was a time we[i.e. the school] produced, particularly the physics class, five doctors. We've produced lawyers, prominent people now in society.

In her comment above, Ms Gertz conveys personal pride by repeating the word 'we' when speaking about the school and its achievements. Ms Gertz's intention is to create the impression that there is a collective effort in terms of scholastic achievement by emphasising 'we'. From Ms Gertz's comment, I find academic achievements appear to have a narrow emphasis in terms of it being the science and mathematics subjects/learning areas, and not other subjects/learning areas which are displaying such achievements and which are being remembered by Ms Gertz. One of the class photographs has notes attached with learner's names together with the words 'professor', and 'dentist' written in brackets. In other words, heroes and heroines were being acknowledged with pride and by title.

Another participant, Ms Adams supports Ms Gertz's comment by describing the learners' positive attitudes towards their education supported by an institutional culture of academic excellence. She made the following assertion:

The type of child that came here and left, you knew exactly where you were going to, what your goals would be. (Ms Adams, interview, 19/05/2011).

In Ms Adams comment above, she uses a tone of certainty and authority, and conveys the impression that before 1994, learners were focused, goal-orientated and committed to achieving academic goals they had set out to achieve. Two other teachers remember the academic focus within the school's culture before 1994. They state:

Once we were a high-flying school of academic results. (Mr Lyons, interview, 11/05/2011).

We had a strong academic pillar, and we were outstanding. (Ms Jones, focus group discussion, 21/08/2011).

Mr Lyons's use of the word "once" and Ms Jones use of the words "had" and "were" shows that learners' high academic achievements was something that occurred in the past.

School photographs acknowledge learner achievements in other subjects. This is revealed in the notes alongside photographs. For example, there are photographs of a fashion show with learners modelling garments they had made in their needlework/handcraft classes. The pre-1994 school photographs contrast with post-1994 practices and attitudes within the school's management in terms of the school vision and learner achievements. For example, in the collection of school photographs there are no photographs showing school functions held after 1994 to award learners for performing curricular activities. This lack signals a possible loss in having the ritual and ceremony that was part of institutional culture and which accompanied the celebration of achievement. In an interview, Ms Croutz provided a reason for this gap:

Very little is done [i.e. by the school post 1994] in the form of incentives, for example, prize-giving to encourage learners to achieve (Ms. Croutz, 29/06/ 2011).

The absence of school functions post 1994 to recognise and encourage learners in curricular performance reflects a shift away from an institutional culture pre-1994 that encouraged and rewarded positive attitudes and values towards curricular performance by taking time and occasion to celebrate such performance. Ms Gertz's in an interview (13/06/2011) reiterates the sentiments of Ms Croutz in her comments in an interview. She stated:

We [i.e. the school community] don't promote values that say to the learner, extend your own self beyond the boundaries. Our daily practices are not reinforcing this.

Like Ms Croutz, Ms Gertz refers to the shortcomings of the lack of incentives, encouragement and recognition within the school's culture for learners to perform in the curriculum. Her comments emphasise the shift in school culture before 1994 from a school culture where learners had goals and aspirations which were supported, to a school culture where little is said or done to encourage learners to aspire to higher levels of performance.

Comments made by Mr Lyons and Ms Adams reveal a lack of aspirations and goal-setting in 2011 among a portion of learners at the school. Mr Lyons spoke about learners in

their final year of schooling with aspirations that did not extend beyond the gates of a local manufacturer. He stated:

The majority of Coloured children, most of them in matric, their answer to life is, Huletts factory, that's their goal (Mr. Lyons, focus group discussion, 16/08/2011).

Ms Adams expressed concern about the lack of goals and future plans of learners who have one year left of schooling. In a focus group discussion (27/08/2011), she stated:

Half of the grade eleven learners don't have goals about which varsities they can go to and the type of careers they can go into.

The comments made by Mr Lyons and Ms Adams serve to reflect poorly on staff members themselves who are failing to spark vision among the learners at Surprise High School. Both Mr Lyons and Ms Adams criticised the inconsistencies in the commitment to a culture of teaching and learning after 1994. Mr Lyons maintained:

The culture of teaching and learning at our school is very sporadic. We have a group of teachers who work extremely well, and we have a group of teachers who do the bare minimum, and I call that a minimalistic culture (Mr. Lyons in the semi-structured interview on 11th May 2011).

His comments create an image of teachers performing at opposite ends of a performance continuum. Ms Adams commented on the decline in the standards and levels of performance after 1994. In an interview (19/05/2011), she maintained:

Over the years we [Surprise High School] have slipped, I think we, on a scale of 1-10, we are 1 and 2 [in terms of performance] now and, maybe that's too high.

Diagnostic reports about overall matric pass rate lend credence to participants' comments about deterioration in the culture of teaching and learning at Surprise High School.

Table 6.1 Overall matric pass rates: 2003-2011

Year	Overall Percentage Pass Rate
2003	96
2004	94.9
2005	94.5
2006	94.4
2007	No record available
2008	No record available
2009	No record available
2010	89.3
2011	67.4

Table 6.1 shows a decline in percentages for overall matric pass rate for matric learners over nine years. It is evident from these statistics that academic performance over eight years was in decline. The decline in performance levels over nine years at Surprise High School shows a shift. This shift coheres with participants' discussion on declining performance levels after 1994 when teaching and learning was underpinned by discipline, commitment, accountability and high performance before 1994 to inconsistent levels in teaching and learning after 1994. This is influencing and impacting negatively on performance levels within Surprise High School. The declining overall pass rates mentioned above is an example of a discourse of declining performance levels.

8.2.2 Discourse around Performing Co-Curricular activities

In this section I focus on discussions of performance in respect to co-curricular activities and how these discussions shape the changes in levels of performance within the school before and after 1994. Co-curricular activities are commonly understood to be activities which complement and support the regular academic programme within an institution. Klesse and D' Onofrio (2000) argue that co-curricular activities are important to the educational programme. Such activities support the goal of teaching students

responsibility, helping them to become fulfilled human beings through opportunities that help develop their character, critical thinking, social skills and talents (National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1996). I found in participants accounts that the type and number of co-curricular activities that was part of the academic programme at Surprise High School before 1994 declined considerably after 1994. These accounts were corroborated with evidence from school documents such as school photographs, and entries in the principal's log after 1994. There is a silence of school events regarding teachers and learners involved in co-curricular activities, and an absence of evidence of school events around co-curricular activities. Participants recalled that before 1994, a variety of co-curricular activities were a significant part of the school's academic programme. Ms Adams recalls the regular opportunities for learners to take part in activities that challenged and extended their academic ability in different subject/learning areas. She stated:

Learners taking part in the maths, geography and science Olympiads [i.e. tests run by The University of the Free State in a wide range of skills and knowledge] was a regular thing at the school, and I remember the science learners taking part in the science and technology competition where they came second. (Ms Adams).

Ms Adams recalls a school culture in which participation in inter-school co-curricular activities was significant. Two other participants, Mr Jones and Ms Croutz recall that subject-related field trips were a regular part of the academic year plan before 1994. The range of co-curricular activities that Ms Adams remembers shows a school culture of extending learners classroom learning of subject knowledge and skills. She compares this with opportunities for learners to engage in co-curricular activities after 1994, and maintains that these declined considerably. She maintains:

We [i.e. teachers] don't encourage debates, we don't give them opportunities to build their confidence, and where we instil in them the idea to stand up for your rights, to stand up and be heard, we don't anymore.

In her comments above, Ms Adams repeatedly uses the term 'we'. She holds herself and other teachers responsible for not giving learners opportunities to engage in co-curricular activities at classroom level. Her assertion about the decline in co-curricular

activities over eleven years and the reasons for it is picked up in an interview with Ms Jones who states:

No, it's just what we[i.e the teachers] do in the class, the classes are much bigger and some children can't afford the cost to go on trips or excursions.

Ms Jones comments above reflect a sharp decline in co-curricular activities compared to the range of activities participants recall (i.e from earlier comments) that were part of the school's culture to complement the regular academic curriculum. According to Ms Jones this is due to financial difficulties and larger numbers of learners in individual classes. She engages in a discourse of blaming, and she points to larger learner numbers and financial difficulties as factors responsible for the decline. By pointing to these factors she puts the blame on them and does not implicate herself in the declining levels. Her discourse about performance reveals that she is of the opinion that smaller class sizes and financial ability influence learners' performance levels.

My findings about co-curricular activities are that before 1994 learners were given the opportunity to be part of a wide range of activities in support of the school's academic programme. However, after 1994, co-curricular for learners opportunities have dwindled. This is as a result of the challenges of increased learner numbers, financial attachment for learners taking part in activities and a lack of capacity by teachers to provide learners with co-curricular opportunities in the classroom. Therefore, the discourse of performance in respect to co-curricular activities changed over time and took on a different form. The discourse changed from discourses revealing a variety of co-curricular opportunities to a discourse that speaks about challenges and difficulties around the provision of co-curricular activities after 1994.

In the next section I examine extra-curricular activities and levels of performance.

8.2.3 Discourse around Performing Extra-curricular activities

Extra-curricular activities are defined as any activity that one does that "is not a high school course or paid employment" (Grove, 2010, p. 1). In other words, it is activities outside the regular academic curriculum and includes activities within the categories such as the arts (e.g. music, drama, theatre, dance) church and community-based

activities (e.g. community outreach, helping the elderly) governance (e.g. student council, sports (e.g. football, track) (Grove, 2010). As such these activities have relevance in the quest for institutional transformation because they recognise and help increase learners' social skills and impacts positively on learners' performance development of responsibility, their abilities and interests, self-discipline and leadership skills (Maslowski, 2001). Further, learners' involvement in social clubs and debating clubs helps them learn basic concepts and values of society as a whole and improve their social skills (Shumow, 2001). Therefore, the leadership skills learnt through engaging in extra-curricular activities and other people gives learners the chance to understand different attitudes, skills and talents, and how to interact effectively with a diversity of people while working towards common goals (Karns & Bean, 1990). It also fosters development of cooperation and establishes important social negotiation skills and opportunities to experiment with social roles (Rombokas, 1995). The constant reference to such activities and the central focus given to such activities by members of a group turns the talk about such activities into a discourse. Such discourse is significant because it gives insight and understandings into the values attached to, the attitudes of and beliefs held by the group regarding these activities and their significance in the holistic development of learners in a school. From the discussions with participants I find that before 1994, participants spoke about a school culture that provided many extra-curricular activities for learners. According to participants, activities such as athletics and other codes of sport, music, art, dance and concerts were highly prevalent in the school before 1994. This discourse signifies that the teaching and learning culture at Surprise High School went beyond academic goals and aspirations to embrace and provide opportunities for teaching and learning in extra-curricular activities. In the interviews, Ms Gertz and Ms Jones recall the following extra-curricular activities that the school was involved in:

We [i.e. Surprise High School] were very involved in athletics and sport. When schools heard we were coming, they would actually pull out of the tournament. That's the reverence that other schools had for our school. (Ms. Gertz).

People used to do theatre productions, we [i.e Surprise High School] had a music department, we were taught piano, somebody played the accordion, played guitar, we had the keyboard, art, guidance classes. (Ms. Jones).

In the discourse above, I noted a pattern of variety and of high levels of performance in the categories of extra-curricular activities that was part of the school culture prior to 1994. As a result, the school was well-known and feared as a competitor in certain activities, and signifies respect and honour that other schools had for Surprise High School regarding, for example, their sporting abilities. Ms Gertz and Ms Jones use the word 'we' six times when speaking about the extra-curricular activities the school was involved in. The repetitive use of the word 'we' signifies joint responsibility, commitment and pride that staff showed in the extra-curricular activities provided for learners at the school, and creates an image of a collective effort amongst members of the school community to be involved in extra-curricular activities. The discourse reveals a range of extra-curricular activities made available to learners and shows extra-curricular activities were available at the school to cater for the development and potential for many learners in terms of different talents and interests. School photographs and school documents show sport activities and music being part of the school's culture before 1994.

There are photographs showing what appears to be a sports event. There is a crowd of people, adults and children, who are standing outside the school gates dressed in what appears to be running gear. There are young children in the crowd. School photographs also show the principal handing out trophies to learners dressed in sporting attire, and learners sitting at a piano.

The discourse evident in the photographs speaks to extra-curricular activities at Surprise High School extending into the school's local community and speaks to a social aim within the school's extra-curricular programme to help prepare learners 'for civic participation and social advancement' (Christie, 2006, P. 15). The photographs show that learners were recognised for their participation and awarded with trophies which serve as symbols of the discourse of performance within the school and which represent acknowledgement, pride and success in achievements. Trophies are displayed in a person's home or at the institution where they can be seen and admired. Trophies serve

as evidence and reminders of goals and aspirations that have been reached. They can serve to encourage and motivate one to work towards achieving further goals and for others within an institution to have aspirations and to work towards achieving their own goals. Trophies also serve to bring recognition and status to an institution through the achievements of its members. I found that extra-curricular activities within the category of the arts were also provided for learners which is seen in the photographs of learners sitting at a piano with other photographs of learners taking part in a cultural event (an eisteddfod, as indicated by a note alongside the photographs). The different types of extra-curricular activities provided speaks to a discourse of performance aiming at holistic development of learners by making provision for learners to participate in and benefit from activities beyond the academic programme of the school.

I found the school culture in favour of providing extra-curricular activities to learners carried over from 1984-1993 to 1994 and the next principal. A letter written by the principal to parents dated 15/09/1998 confirms this finding and reflects the following:

The principal goes to great lengths to applaud learners who have excelled in sporting activities around the country, as well as teachers who have been selected to represent different codes of sport in the country.

In the letter the principal is seen engaging in a discourse of praise and recognition by acknowledging learners and teachers who have achieved and who are seen as heroes and heroines of the school. This means that the principal extended the knowledge of these achievements to the parent body. A discourse of praise contrasts with the discourse of blame engaged in by Ms Jones (see section 8.2.2). It is evident that these two discourses co-exist at Surprise High School, because of contrasting and conflicting values, attitudes and beliefs regarding extra-curricular activities at the school. I find that a discourse of appreciation and recognition for learner involvement in extra-curricular activities extended into the school community. For example, two clippings from a local newspaper in the principal's log book reveal the following:

The first clipping shows grade eleven learners handing over gifts and flowers to the principal, and the article mentions that this gesture was extended to every teacher on staff. This was linked to an initiative labelled 'teacher appreciation day' (TAD),

the first of its kind initiated by a group of twenty-two grade eleven learners from the school(principal's log, 11/05/2007).

According toKarns and Bean,(2001) learners who engage in extra-curricular activities have a personal sense of belonging and integration with the school. The discourse evident in the above newspaper clipping capturesfeelings of accomplishment, self-worth and high self-esteem from the activity described above that has led to publicity from their participation.However, this discourse does not originate from within the school, but from an outside source. The discourse serves a source of evidence about the school's social life and social relations between the school and the local newspaper.

Participant's discourse about the recognition and acknowledgement by the school for learners who had performed well showed consistency from before 1994-2007.I found evidence of this continuing discourse in school documents which showed learners at the school in 2007being aware of and involved in social issues. The principal's log dated 11/05/2007 states the following:

The principal speaks in support of an article appearing in the local newspaper showing grade twelve learners from the school. The article and photograph are in respect to the launch of a 'prayer against crime' campaign initiated by four learners in a bid to create awareness of rising crime in the country, and to canvass other schools in the area to come on board and join the campaign (principal's log, 11/05/2007).

Newspaper articles are about learners taking an initiative to become involved in issues within society in order to make a difference.Learners' efforts wereto create awareness, become proactive in the endeavour around crime in the community and engage in a discourse to encourage other learners in other schools to do the same. The principal's action to highlight the learners' efforts and engage in a discourse of support helps to create a context thatbuilds into an ethos of social responsibility which falls under the auspices of extra-curricular activities (Grove, 2010) and acknowledges learners for their initiatives.Therefore, the insights gained from the discourse regarding extra-curricular activities at Surprise High School assists in holistically developing learners by giving them the encouragement to participate in and gain recognition through being involved in

societal issues. According to Ramsey (2008), school culture plays an important role in creating an environment to increase levels of achievement, and principals who are well trained and experienced are able to assist members. In this instance, learners in the school, in attaining such accolades as evident in the discourse in the photographs serves as an example. In a similar vein, Pellicer (2008), points out leaders are responsible for establishing conditions that make organisations great places to work for. The principal and the discourse in existing school culture helped establish conditions within the school whereby learners could make contributions to their own development as well as to others outside of the school.

My findings around the discourse regarding the type of extra-curricular activities after 1994 show a slow but gradual decline in the provision of resources and opportunities for extra-curricular activities and the consequent effect on levels of performance within the school's culture. The decline has been to the extent where participants, in the interviews in 2011 engage in a discourse using disparaging and negative language when they refer to the school as '*a circus*' (Ms. Adams) and '*where things fall apart*' (Ms. Gertz). The discourse used by the two participants reveals how these participants feel towards the school and how they relate to the school. Therefore, the role and value of imparting positive life skills (Marsh & Kleitman, 2002) that extra-curricular activities plays in social transformation is being negated at Surprise High School. The evidence in the discourse shows the challenges for the process and progress for institutional transformation by the lack of provision of extra-curricular activities at the school.

My finding show that in 2011, although there had been extra-curricular available for learners to take part in, there was a decrease in the number of extra-curricular activities made available to learners compared to before 1994. For example, participants' discourse generated knowledge of various activities they are involved in. For example, Ms Govender stated that she assisted with netball, and Ms Gertz and Mr Lyons stated that they were involved with organising the athletics component at the school. The discourse showed that there were two codes of sport mentioned viz. netball and athletics. My observations of school spaces and events revealed the following four additional codes of sport that teachers and learners were involved in at the school:

Learners and teachers are involved in inter-class and inter-school soccer games. There are volleyball, basketball and hockey games. (field note: 11th May 2011).

My findings are that extra-curricular activities were still provided at the school in 2011. However, there was a leaning toward sporting activities. Thus extra-curricular activities, such as music, art and drama offered to learners before 1994 were no longer available to learners. Therefore, opportunities for learners to excel in extra- and co-curricular activities and have the opportunity to be recognised were no longer part of the institutional culture. The following comment made by Ms Croutz in an interview reflected a negative discourse in terms of teacher commitment and lack of support from school management for extra-curricular activities. She maintained:

Sport is so important it's almost non-existent in our school. Teachers are not committed there is a lack of commitment from parents, and school management to make funds available for sport.

The discourse reveals, not only what Ms Croutz is saying, but how she is saying it, and provides additional insight into the way she understands commitment from teachers and school management. Her discourse provides evidence that teachers and parents are not committed and school management is not interested and are frugal in regard to providing extra-curricular activities. The negative discourse shows a lack of teamwork between stakeholders in respect of initiatives to introduce or develop extra-curricular activities within the schooling environment in 2011. Therefore, in 2011, discourse regarding the provision of extra-curricular activities at Surprise High School shows a decline and this decline is as a result of a shift in the values and attitudes of the role and importance of such activities in school culture by school management and parents.

In the next section, I focus on the coherence between discourse performance and transformative goal of quality in education.

8.3 Coherence between the Discourse of Performance and the Transformative goal of Quality Education

The *South African Schools Act* of 1996 (section 39) articulates the need for schools to provide quality in education to help transform the education system. According to the

Act, school governing bodies of which school leadership is part of, must ensure 'quality in education'. This means laying a strong foundation to develop the talents and capabilities of all people. Performance in curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular performance within schools is therefore linked to the quality of school leadership and the varied roles they play in the school to provide direction and exert influence in order to achieve the school's goals (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003). Therefore, I examine the coherence between the discourse of performance within Surprise High School and the goal of quality education. I found that the discourses show that quality education is not being provided at Surprise High School. Firstly, the discourse around school leadership after 1994 shows a decline in its provision of extra-curricular activities. This decline is impacting negatively on providing quality education to learners to develop the abilities, interests and inclinations of learners. The complaining and disgruntled discourse is evident in a comment of a participant about what he believed learners desired from the school environment:

They [i.e. the learners] want extra-mural, they want culture, there's a big demand for the arts, dance and drama, kids want to participate. (Mr Uys).

Through the discourse Mr Uys creates a context about what he believes learners want and uses language to imply that these activities are not being offered to learners in 2011 as they were before 1994. This discourse of a lack of extra-curricular opportunities is evident in Ms Croutz's comments on extra-curricular activities at Surprise High School in 2011. She stated:

We [i.e. the school] are not going to cope for the child that likes drama, the child that is physically good at sport, we don't do any music at all.

The comments by Mr Uys and Ms Croutz reveal a change in the discourse participants engage in regarding extra-curricular activities before 1994 and after 1994. Before 1994, participants' discourse revealed the abundance of curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities offered to learners at Surprise High School and linked this provision with quality in education and high levels of performance. After 1994, participants' discourse shifted to reveal the decrease in curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities and linked this decrease to a lower quality in education and lower levels of

performance. Therefore, the discourse has transformed over time and has taken on a different form after 1994. The evidence of a decline in quality education is revealed in Ms Gertz's comment below who raises the issue of an inadequate school curriculum to provide opportunities for all learners to cope and benefit from the schooling environment.

Of what benefit is our curriculum going to be, when all that that child wants to do is develop his potential, he draws, he sings, he dances, we unable to cater for that. (Ms. Gertz, interview 13/06/ 2011).

In the discourse engaged in by Ms Croutz above and earlier by Ms Gertz's, there is repeated use of the word 'we' and 'they'. This discourse sets up a dichotomy between what the learners want in terms of extra-curricular activities, and what the school managers are offering. In this way the dichotomy created by the discourse helps to construct the culture of the school after 1994 in terms of extra-curricular activities and quality education. This discourse indicates a shift from the varied activities provided to learners before 1994 and, a school curriculum that extended to include such activities. It also reflects a school leadership that is failing in 2011 to actively collaborate with other stakeholders to devise a school curriculum with such extended activities to enhance the quality of teaching and learner performance (Marks & Printy, 2003).

Mr Uys commented on the deterioration within the culture of performance of Surprise High School. He stated:

It disappoints me as an ex-learner to see my school, it's like this cancer that's eating away at it.

Mr Uys expresses disappointment at the way he perceives the situation at the school. His comment implies that there was a time when he was pleased and proud of what the school stood for. He chooses to use language depicting a deadly disease to describe how he sees the deterioration in the school's performance culture from when he recalls how it used to be. Ms Adams also chooses words that create an image of something that is slowly wasting away to describe the school culture. She stated:

I would say the decay and rot that has set in at this school has been coming for a period of time.

Both participants use strong, graphic images to portray how they see the current state of the school's performance culture. The images used suggest that something within the school culture has been festering and has now become toxic and poisonous to the 'body' of the school. Therefore, in place of improving levels of performance, teaching and learning is depicted as steadily declining.

In the next section of this chapter, I focus on the discourses that reveal enabling and inhibiting conditions for performance within Surprise High School.

8.4 Conditions for Curricular-linked performance

This section identifies conditions that enable or inhibit the transformation project at this school to change the discourse of performance. According to Marzano and Kendall (1996), in order to improve achievement, there must be a set of standards that clarifies precisely what is to be taught and the levels of performance that are expected out of this teaching. In other words, efforts to improve education must begin with the process of integrating standards into the school curriculum that help create enabling conditions. On the other hand, conditions that challenge curricular-linked performance refer to those conditions where an institution does not have enough knowledge and has not committed to providing all the necessary resources to meet the needs of its learners. In other words, the institution is failing to function to provide for the needs of the people within the institution (Darling-Hammond, 1997).

8.4.1 Enabling conditions for Curricular-linked performance

I found four enabling conditions for curricular performance before 1994 which no longer exist after 1994. I am using the evidence of the conditions that no longer exist to highlight how such conditions assisted in effective and successful curricular implementation and resulted in improving performance levels (Sinnema, 2011). Firstly, I found school leadership enabled and promoted effective curriculum implementation. For example, Ms Adams commented on school leaders before 1994 who provided the resources needed for practical subjects like handcraft. Their role helped in realising the

goals and outcomes in the curriculum in respect of specific learning areas. Another participant, Ms Croutz commented on facilities within the school before 1994, such as laboratories and libraries. School leaders ensured that funds allocated to the school and funds generated within the school were used to provide and maintain teaching and learning resources. The second condition I find is that the national school curriculum catered for both academically and practically-inclined learners. For example, besides academic subject packages being offered, practical subjects such as handwork, music and drama were also on offer in subject packages.

The third condition I find is a controlling leadership style whereby a principal uses the power of position to improve learner performance (Wohlsletter & Albers Mohrman, 1994). This mode of leadership creates an institutional culture that enables high overall performance. Mr Uys referred to the principal of the school from 1980-1994 as a controlling school leader who was effective in terms of learner performance.

Two other participants engaged in a discourse of praise for the central role played by the principal who had a vision and created an environment of discipline within the school's culture. Under the principal's leadership, there was commitment, dedication and pride amongst teachers, learners and parents. Ms Adams stated:

Principal A [i.e. pre-1994], how did he get it right? Vision and when that man walked in the 1980's, he knew what level we were at, and he knew where he was going to take it. In a period of three to four years, you saw exactly where he was taking this school. The turnaround in this school was fantastic, we were considered to be one of the best schools in this area [i.e. in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal].

The principal made sure our work was done and he always knew what was going on. If children were disrespectful, something was done about it, parents were called in. (Ms. Adams, interview, 19/05/2011).

Ms Adams has vivid memories of the principal who had a vision of realising the maximum potential of the school, and who was determined to realise that vision. Using an autocratic leadership style underpinned by vigilance, surveillance and control, performance within the school reached new heights. According to Schein (2010), when

an organisation attains an identity, this becomes a core aspect of culture and can become the largest stabilising force in that institution. Hence, even if and when members of a group leave, for example, when the old principal mentioned by Ms Adams, left the school, the essence of performance within the school's culture remained because members treasure stability wherein they find meaning and predictability. The context that Ms Adams and Ms Jones are speaking about existed pre-1994 wherein the notion of school leadership and management is understood as 'headship' (Grant, 2005). Ms Adams comments suggests that within this structures and leadership practices, the school excelled in terms of academic achievements, as well as in terms of the school being valued and seen as an asset in the wider community. The school principal had begun a process of 'culture creation' (Schein, 2010, p. 22) within the school in terms of beginning and managing a cultural evolution within the school regarding performance. The principal was able to discern and understand the existing culture of the school in terms of performance, and began the process of changing the values and beliefs held within the school (Schein, 2010) to realise what he envisioned the performance can and should be. Although resources were provided that improved learner performance, according to Mr Lyons, school resources before 1994 were technologically limited. However, this limitation did not stand in the way of the school achieving a high level of teaching and learning within the school. He stated:

I have two ex-learners who have their Masters' degree in a GIS system, and when they matriculated in 1993, this school did not have a single computer, and they said they had good English teachers.

According to Brown (1995) technology such as computers, form part of the visible artifacts, linked to deeper levels of an organisation's culture which serve as indicators and evidences the essence of the organisation's culture. The fact that the school did not have technological artificats, for example, computers (mentioned by Mr Lyons above), did not impede learner performance, and suggests that other aspects of school culture were in place to ensure that learner performance levels remained consistently high.

The fourth condition is that, before 1994, learner performance was acknowledged and rewarded with tokens such as trophies and certificates at school events. Such actions

spoke of efforts within school culture to celebrate learner achievement and the reaching of school goals by holding special functions. (Wohlsletter& Albers Mohrman,1994). The evidence of this finding is reflected in school photographs showing award functions and graduation ceremonies being held at the school. These functions were part of the rituals of school culture which reflect values and attitudes held by the school in respect to learner performance. The photographs show learners being acknowledged and rewarded with certificates.

To conclude this section, the four enabling conditions I found pre-1994 connect to quality in education in the following ways. The first condition of providing teaching and learning resources by the school management ensures that teaching and learning goes beyond theoretical aspects to ensure practical knowledge and skills are gained through the learning process. For example, having equipped and functional laboratories and libraries allowed teachers the opportunity to physically demonstrate learning content, and learners the opportunity to extend their learning content through the physical component of carrying out, for example, experiments or doing research. This enabling condition is challenged in 2011 by a shortage of teaching and learning resources and infrastructure because laboratories and the library are being used as classrooms. The reluctance by school management to allocate funds to acquire resources for teaching and learning further hampers teaching and learning and compromises quality in education.

The second condition of extending the school environment to cater for multiple intelligences ensures that more learners are given the opportunity to gain epistemological access from within the learning environment. In this way, teaching and learning is not restricted to particular intelligences, but works to extend and improve the quality of teaching and learning. School curricular in terms of subject/learning area packages in 2011 is restricted to an academic focus, and limits the development and nurturing of other intelligences that learners might have. In this way the quality of the educational experience is also challenged and limited.

The third condition of a vision-orientated and controlling leadership ensured that teaching and learning was focused, goal-orientated and aspirant. Quality in education

was thus ensured by teachers and learners being motivated and encouraged to take responsibility and work towards increasing levels of attainment. A controlling and autocratic school leadership in 2011 denies participation and consultation with all stakeholders in decision-making processes, and thus loses out on the benefits of multiple inputs on ways to ensure quality in education.

The fourth condition of school leadership actions to acknowledge and reward learner achievements connects to quality in education by increasing learner performance through recognition, and by giving learners the opportunity to access a wider scope of career opportunities through improved and extended learning opportunities. There is a lack of school events and awarding of tokens to recognise and applaud learner achievements in 2011. Hence, the intrinsic value of motivation and encouragement that adds quality to the educational experience is found lacking.

In the next section, I examine challenging conditions within the school before and after 1994 in respect to curricular performance.

8.4.2 Challenging conditions for Curricular-linked performance

I found seven challenging conditions within the school environment that have a direct bearing on the levels of performance within teaching and learning. The following aspects of school culture in respect of performance have been identified and are the focus in this section: school leadership, provision of teaching and learning resources; school policies, teacher professionalism and social context; use of human resources and teacher development and support.

The first disabling condition I find is the failure of the principal to recognise and understand his role in bringing about change, and the impact of his controlling mode of leadership. Principals should use the potential of active collaboration of teachers around instructional matters to enhance the quality of teaching and learner performance (Marks & Printy, 2003). Participants claim that the principal is not willing to consult with the rest of the staff body about decisions such as what teaching and learning resources are needed, and when funds are spent, participants claim that this is done by the principal and the school governing body (SGB) and according to what they consider

important. Participants also highlight a lack of concern and of prioritising a culture of support for teaching and learning activities on the part of school management, and practices within the school that undermine the importance of co-curricular support for teaching and learning. This claim is evident in participants commenting on the lack of consultation and transparency by school management in terms of discussing and seeking input from all staff as to what resources are needed by the school community, and how and where finances should be allocated. For example, Ms Jones stated:

It's not about money; it's about the fact that they don't think we [i.e the teachers] are important enough for them to invest in us, so we don't get consulted.

According to participants, resources to improve school infrastructure to assist in delivering quality teaching and learning is not a priority among school managers. There is an absence of a school management vision for transformation, in terms of teaching and learning, linked to the realities of the expectations of teachers within the school. School leadership's reluctance to involve all stakeholders in decision-making regarding needs of teaching and learning resources creates the obstacle of effectively developing the curriculum and realising the goals of curriculum (Nolder, 1990).

In theorising organisational culture, Handy (1989) cautions managers when reinforcing and changing culture. According to Handy, managers run the risk of creating superficial changes when changes are dictated rather than being underpinned by shared values. There exists the possibility that key members within the group might not buy into and will resist proposed changes. The impact, as remembered by Ms Adams in terms of the school losing good language teachers confirm Handy's(1989) notion of resistance to change when change is dictated. According to Handy, such responses are likely when managers are not sensitive to the effects of their proposed changes, and fail to take into account the following: whether the proposed changes align with important values held by members within the organisation, whether the proposed changes cohere with historically important assumptions within the organisation and whether proposed changes are consistent with relevant common assumptions held within the wider social culture outside the organisation. It can be argued that the process of autocratic change introduced by the principal aligned with apartheid dictates of autocratic governance

present within the broader society. However, within the schooling environment, some teachers resisted and challenged this type of school governance by leaving because it went against the grain of the existing culture around school governance within the school.

The second condition I find is a lack of resources. Resources are necessary for quality education because they help realise more effectively curriculum goals or outcomes, such as overhead projectors, computers and subject laboratories. Two participants, Ms Adams and Ms Govender, state that teaching and learning resources, such as textbooks, were in short supply. Mr Mokoena in an interview (27/04/2011) highlights further concerns and maintains:

The chalkboards are not good enough for teachers to use. We need OHP's, because writing notes on the board is time-consuming. Our science laboratories are under-resourced. We have computers, but learners are not given opportunities to go there.

According to Mr Mokoena, the lack of teaching aides is having a negative impact on teaching because teachers experience difficulty in writing on the chalkboards due to their disrepair, and that constantly having to write notes on the chalkboard takes up a lot of time. He also states that learners are denied the learning experiences and skills that can be obtained from using available resources, such as computers.

My observations of school spaces found a lack of teaching and learning resources which confirms participants' accounts. For example, in 2011, I noted that the school did not have a functioning library, equipment in science laboratories and enough textbooks for all learners in all learning areas. The resources that were available at the school were ineffective because they were not being used for their intended purposes. For example, I observed:

There are science laboratories, a school library, a school hall, and a computer room. The science laboratories are being used as classrooms, and the computer room has been locked for months. There are also Life Sciences and Physical Science models, chemicals and science equipment, for example, microscopes, bunsen-burners, beakers and test-tubes. Most of the models are broken or have parts missing, the

chemicals are yellowed with age, many of the test-tubes and beakers are broken. There are no records of what resources are available. Most of the equipment and resources are dumped at the back of the science laboratories or are in boxes, covered with dust. Many overhead projectors are out-dated or broken. Teachers in the Geography department do not have maps to use when teaching map-work, and borrow from neighbouring high schools. (field note: 25th June 2011).

Participants told me that resources to support teaching and learning were not being utilised because there was no monitoring of the resources and staff would not accept responsibility to care for the resources. For example, in the interviews, I was told the following:

It (i.e. the computer room) stays locked, it was opened for one term, some children were up to no good, but if there was monitoring over there[i.e. teacher supervision of the computer room] (Ms Adams).

It (i.e. the computer room) stays locked; nobody is prepared to take responsibility for that (Ms Govender).

I observed the resource of extra time set aside to support teaching and learning being used ineffectively in 2011. The Matric Intervention Programme (MIP) was held during school hours and the school day for matric learners was shortened in order to accommodate the MIP programme. Teaching time that was lost as a result is then made up in the MIP which negated the aim and argument of an intervention programme to provide extra assistance to learners. I also observed that holiday programmes were not focused on intervention strategies to assist learners experiencing difficulties in certain learning areas. Teachers were using the time to complete syllabus requirements in their learning areas. There was little or no 'intervention' taking place. The MIP and holiday programme for matric learners are symbolic gestures to support teaching and learning. According to Christie(1998), such symbolic gestures do not improve learner performance to the desired extent because they are merely symbolic and fail to address the underlying causes for their reason to exist.

Mr Mokoena states that in 2011, there is an absence of a staff development team, and stated that teachers are often left on their own to find ways to cope with the challenges faced due to a lack of teaching and learning resources. The lack of support from school management, including the SGB and support structures was commented on by Ms Adams as affecting the support needed by teachers. For example, she mentioned the lack of mentors for new teachers and the difficulties for teachers to access school computers for teaching and learning purposes. According to Bova and Phillips (1981), mentoring involves establishing personal relationships for the purpose of professionally instructing and guiding. In education the value of mentoring has been recognised in the use of experienced teachers in on one-to-one instruction of students to provide technical and professional guidance skills needed to survive daily experiences. Hence, the absence of mentoring structures at Surprise High School in 2011 reflects an incapacity within school structures to assist new and inexperienced teachers, which negatively affects teaching and learning for these teachers. The difficulty for teachers to access available resources, for example, computers speaks, to withholding of artifacts (Handy, 1989) within an institution which can result in less advanced teaching and learning and declining performance within the institution. Therefore, teachers at Surprise High being denied access to school computers to improve teaching and learning is causing performance in teaching and learning to drop in 2011.

The third condition I find is a lack of school policies. School policies are needed to provide a framework within which an institution functions. My finding emanates from the allegations made by Ms Adams and Ms Gertz on, firstly, the lack of school policies to support teaching and learning and the resulting decline in performance. Ms Adams in an interview (19/05/2011) commented:

We don't get help from senior management because they don't know what's expected in every subject and there's no policy that say what will be provided or done. Ms Gertz's comment below reflects the lack of school policy to address and encourage teachers and learners to have higher aspirations in terms of teaching and learning. She stated:

The learners seem to have lost interest in terms of doing their best, and we[i.e the school] promote values that say to the learner and teacher, extend yourself. There's nothing in place, in terms of school policy where we inculcate those sorts of values.

From the comments made by the participants above, it appears that participants are highlighting the lack of a collective school vision in terms of teaching and learning, the lack of teaching and learning support from senior management, and a lack within the school culture to engender values of success, achievement and for learners to aspire towards future goals. Ms Adams comment also draws into sharp focus a school leadership that is unconcerned and uncommitted to ensuring teachers and learners have what they need to ensure quality in teaching and learning.

The fourth condition I find, are participants perceptions of a lack of interest and motivation amongst teaching staff to source development opportunities. These perceptions reflect the lack of teacher professionalism. For example: Mr Mokoena stated that some teachers lack the desire to attend workshops; Mr Uys commented on an attitude of complacency with some teachers in terms of development and Mr Lyons stated that many teachers lack aspirations for self-development and are therefore unable to motivate learners to aspire to and reach goals in terms of learning. Ms Govender in an interview commented on her experiences of teaching and what she interpreted as a lack of teacher professionalism. She asserted:

I've been teaching grade twelve, and often I'm faced with the situation where I've got to teach learners things they should have learnt in grade ten and eleven. That is evidence to say that teaching is not going on in certain classes.

Ms Govender's comment was reiterated by Mr Uys when he made a similar comment in an interview about an absence of teacher professionalism in respect of teaching. He stated:

I sometimes see no commitment from teachers lower down, and I think teachers at the bottom don't really see the need to complete anything because they know they won't be saddled with the burden when the child gets to matric.

Ms Gertz, as part of school management provides a similar view on the decline in the culture of teaching and learning. She stated:

I think of it as erratic learning, learning is not happening all the time, because I've walked past classes, and I've seen teachers not doing what they should be doing.

Ms Adams quoted examples where teachers do not leave the staffroom timeously after their breaks to settle learners down to begin engaging in teaching and learning. According to her this lack of commitment, erodes into teaching time, negatively impacts the culture of teaching and learning and performance. Ms Croutz and Ms Adams put forward their reasons for the decline in teaching and learning performance levels after 1994.

A lack of support from senior level has seen a general deterioration in the standard of teaching, as well as the seriousness of learners to achieve (Ms.Croutz, interview, 29/06/ 2011).

Ms Gertz, as part of senior management expressed her views and concerns on the downward shift in performance levels of the culture of teaching and learning after 1994. She stated:

I think about our situation here, and it regards having someone in the classroom who has no qualifications that is carrying out the job of teaching, and what shocks me is that there doesn't seem to be a desire to get qualified. I think we are doing untold injustices to the learner. I do think that management is part of the problem, because we've allowed people to think that the job is theirs despite the instruction and regulations from the Department [i.e DoE].

Ms Gertz's comments highlight the lack of a sense of professionalism among certain teachers in 2011 to obtain the necessary qualifications for teaching. She states that school leadership is failing in its responsibility to put measures in place that prevent the employing of un-qualified teachers at the school. Ms Adams highlighted a dimension of school culture of the consistent employment of un-qualified teachers to the school that is negatively affecting the culture of teaching and learning and performance. She stated:

We getting a lot of unqualified teachers here, and what do they know about teacher professionalism, about the standards that must be achieved?

Ms Adams comment speaks to a practice within the school in 2011 to employ teachers that do not have the skills and knowledge for teaching. Therefore, the goal of achieving quality in education is obstructed by this condition because effective curriculum delivery and the quality of education is jeopardised. She also maintained that after 1994, there is a lack of commitment to professionalism within part of the teaching component of staff. She stated:

The principal wanted us to sign a code of conduct in 2009. There were teachers who refused to commit to it, because it required us to be at school at a certain time. In other words, the basic things in terms of achieving functionality and there were teachers who refused to sign it.

Ms Gertz raised the issue of chronic absenteeism of teachers and the cumulative, negative teaching and learning impacts and speaks to teacher professionalism. According to Brown (1995, p. 21), values and beliefs form 'part of the cognitive sub-structure of organisational culture. There is a close link between values and moral and ethical codes which determine what people think should be done. Participants are raising issues that cause concern for teachers in the teaching and learning culture in 2011 and impacts on performance.

The fifth condition is the challenging social conditions at the school. Social conditions such as unemployment, poverty, parental neglect and abuse challenge the realisation of goals of teaching and learning. Ms Gertz commented on social issues and challenges within the school community that are not being addressed because of lack of resources and measures to do so. She asserted:

At this school, you are a psychologist, nurse, and teacher comes at the end of the line. We under-resourced, there's no real support structure, children have huge social problems, that if you don't attend to those first, that child is never going to pay attention in the classroom.

Ms Gertz highlights that the reality of being a teacher within Surprise High School goes beyond the pedagogical aspects of teaching to undertaking several other roles. She maintains there are no support structures and measures in place to assist teachers in fulfilling these other roles.

The sixth condition I find is a practice within the school regarding the use of human resources. Effective use of human resources affects quality in education, because teachers must have the content knowledge and skills needed to deliver quality education by realising curriculum outcomes. Participants allege that there was a practice within the school to use human resources ineffectively. For example, Ms Croutz stated that many teachers were not being used by school leadership to teach the subjects they trained for. She states that this practice disadvantages learners and decreases their performance in those subjects. Similarly, Mr Mokoena commented on this practice when he referred to his own experience of being qualified to teach History, but was told by school leadership to teach Technology and Natural Science. According to Mr Mokoena, it is human resource leadership practices such as this that produced poor end of year results within the school. Therefore, there is a connection between effectively using human resources to improve learner performance and quality in education.

According to Ms Adams, prior to 1994 teaching loads matched a teacher's subject specialisation and teachers were consulted regarding their teaching loads. In this way she creates a link between effective use of human resources and quality in education that was evident in the performance levels attained in teaching and learning before 1994. She is highlighting past practices where teachers were consulted and participated regarding their teaching allocations. Mr Mokoena's personal account is an example that shows that after 1994, such consultative practices regarding teaching allocations is no longer practised. In this way he creates a connection between the ineffective use of human resources after 1994, declining performance levels and a declining quality in education. In theorising approaches to education management in South Africa, McLennan and Thurlow (2003, p. 14), describe management at institutional level within different paradigms. According to these scholars, within the paradigm of education governance and management, there is a growing emphasis on building relationships between all stakeholders in an institution, and that

equity, balance and reconciliation can be achieved through stakeholder consultation, collaboration and dialogue’.

A seventh obstructive condition is the lack of internal and external teacher and learner development and support at the school in 2011. Internal development and support is defined as nurturing a sense of ownership and purpose in the manner in which teachers approach their jobs. It includes giving autonomy to teachers in order to improve the quality of their classroom practices, giving teachers opportunities to work together in meaningful and purposeful ways and to believe that they are contributing to the success of the school and learners (Mulford & Silins, 2003). External development and support is defined as that which comes from education authorities in the form of funds, supervision and educational policies for administrative support, advice and guidance to schools in response to recommendations emanating from external evaluations. As a result of this shortage, quality in education is being adversely affected because, firstly, a controlling and autocratic school leadership style denies all stakeholders opportunities to be involved in school decision-making processes and which engenders joint responsibility and ownership for teaching and learning. Teachers are denied input into what resources are needed to improve their teaching practices to improve and increase the quality of lesson delivery. Secondly, while policies from education departments do exist, the monitoring and assessment of how policies are being implemented at school level are inconsistent and superficial. Hence, accurate evaluations do not occur and measures to address incoherence with educational policy stipulations as regards institutional transformation are hampered.

My finding is based on participants’ accounts. According to Ms Adams, Mr Mokoena, Ms Govender and Mr Uys the school does not have induction programmes, mentorship initiatives or monitoring systems to assist new teachers or teachers who have been promoted to understand and perform well in their new roles and responsibilities. These participants claim that new teachers coming into the school or teachers that are promoted are left to cope on their own within the school environment. Mr Uys recalls his promotion to a management post and the fact that he did not receive any mentoring. From a school management perspective, Ms Gertz commented on the lack of internal development and support for teaching and learning. She stated:

I don't call what we do here, mentoring. We sit and talk to them[i.e new teachers], and we let them go, there's no follow-up. I know that schools are supposed to have a staff development team, I'm not even sure if that team even exists anymore.

Ms Gertz's comment highlights the lack of systems and structures and that whatever support processes do exist, are *ad hoc*.

In summary, this section on disabling conditions revealed seven conditions obstructing curricular-linked performance. A controlling and autocratic leadership style functions to deny all stakeholders input into school decision-making processes and thus undermines teaching and learning and challenges improving quality in education. The reluctance of school management to invest in teaching and learning resources is compromising the goals of teaching and learning and quality in education. The lack of school policies means stakeholders, such as teachers are uncertain about how the school functions and how they are required to deliver quality teaching and learning. The lack of interest and desire amongst certain teachers to commit to self-development initiatives compromises the delivery of quality in education. Numerous social challenges erode into teaching and learning time and challenges effective realisation of teaching and learning outcomes. The practice of ineffective use of human resources means teachers are not fully utilised for their subject expertise and undermines the goal of delivering quality education. The absence of internal and external teacher and learner support undermines the principle of collective ownership and responsibility of all stakeholders in developing a culture of teaching and learning underpinned by quality.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the discourse of performance in terms of curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. Prior to 1994, discourses of performance reveal that although physical access was restricted along racial lines, all learners at Surprise High School were given more opportunities to cope and benefit from the educational environment of the school. Expressions of pride, accomplishment and success permeate participants' accounts of curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. This means that more learners obtained epistemological access at the school through the diverse curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities offered at the school. However, I find the discourse of

performance shifts after 1994, to show that while more learners obtained physical access to the school, fewer learners were coping and benefitting from the school environment due to the decrease in curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities on offer at the school, lack of and insufficient resources, declining professional standards and lack of internal and external support. Participants' accounts were full of expressions of criticism, blame and low morale. Hence, the performance discourse after 1994, does not evidence the transformative goal of epistemological access to education. As a result, the goal of providing quality in education at Surprise High School is also challenged.

Performance discourses show that the transformative goal of democracy in education is being challenged. A controlling and autocratic school leadership style at Surprise High School functions to deny consultation and participation of all stakeholders regarding curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular decision-making processes. New modes of school leadership and management calling for joint responsibility and ownership of education through distribution of school leadership and management are not being embraced at the school. Hence, discourse around school leadership and management reveal incoherence with post-apartheid policies formulated around school leadership, and reveal a lack of transformation in this regard.

The enabling conditions for curricular-linked performance of effective school leadership and management, broad school curricular, vision-led school leadership and acknowledgement and rewarding of curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular performance existed before 1994. The seven challenging conditions for curricular-linked performance of ineffective school leadership and management, lack of teaching and learning resources, lack of school policies, lack of teacher interest and motivation to self-develop, adverse social conditions, ineffective use of human resources and a lack of teaching and learning development and support exist after 1994. These challenging conditions are transforming the performance at the school, and are combining to create an educational setting that is not aligning with post-apartheid policies formulated around school leadership and institutional transformation of schools.

The role of schools is important in the social transformation of South African society. Thus the next chapter focuses on the role the school in the study is playing in terms of its own transformation and in assisting in the social transformation of South African society.

Chapter Nine

The Progress of Institutional Transformation within Surprise High School from 2011 and beyond

9.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the discourse of performance and how the levels of performance in curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities at Surprise High School cohered with new educational policy calling for increasing levels of school performance. I also discussed shifts in the culture of performing curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities in terms of the new goals of quality education and conditions that improved or inhibited the culture of performing curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities.

As South Africa moves towards completing the second decade of democracy with the mandate to transform its educational landscape, how are public educational institutions like Surprise High School meeting government goals for institutional transformation? From a school once described by a teacher as 'standing proudly on a hill' to an institution in 2011 described by another teacher as 'a circus' and by another teacher and the principal as a place 'where things fall apart', what does this say about Surprise High School's transformation? On the surface it appears to imply that Surprise High School is falling short of the institutional transformation goals. It is important to look beneath appearances and sweeping statements in order to arrive at a measured understanding of how Surprise High School is faring in its institutional transformation. Thus, in this chapter I take a recursive glance along the road travelled, and the key findings of this study.

I embarked on an ethnographical study in one school. I used interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document analysis to generate data regarding institutional transformation at the school. Critical discourse analysis and thematic analysis was employed to create in-depth understandings of institutional transformation and how the data answered the critical questions underpinning this study. Therefore, I begin by reflecting briefly on the answers to the questions I posed in chapter one. I draw conclusions regarding: the institutional culture of Surprise High School pre-and post-1994 and to what extent the institutional culture has/has not transformed; the match between the types and practices of

school leadership policies and the impact of such policies on the process and progress of institutional transformation within Surprise High School; the identity and explanation of specific aspects within the institutional culture of Surprise High School that were serving to promote or inhibit transformation efforts and, how schools as key sites for the realisation of democratic ideals can advance the broad social transformation agenda in South Africa. I also explicate how the study contributes to knowledge regarding institutional transformation, outline the implications of the study and look at some possibilities for future research.

9.2 Research Questions

This study concerned South African schooling before and after 1994, the implementation process within one school towards institutional transformation and changes in institutional culture at a public school. The educational transformation agenda created the impetus for me to examine how educational institutions have/have not transformed in respect of the government's transformative goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education (Department of Education, 1995). Using theories responsible for either reproducing inequalities in society or bringing about changes to address inequalities in society, theories of change knowledge, theories of leadership for institutional transformation and theories of organisational culture, I sought to examine how one high school was working to meet the transformative goals laid out in educational policy. In using the theories as a lens, this study gained insights and meanings into the process and progress towards institutional transformation at the selected school.

I have divided this section into four research questions I posed in chapter one focusing on the discourses of race, power and performance. Hence, the sub-section focuses on key conclusions in respect to the discourses of race, power and performance.

9.2.1 Institutional Cultures of Surprise High School pre-and-post-1994

Research question one was: how are the institutional cultures of one high school changing from the characteristics of apartheid education to those of the transformative education policies in post-apartheid South Africa? A key reason for posing this question was to investigate whether the cultures characteristic of the pre-1994 apartheid education system were present within the institutional culture and whether these characteristics were

hindering the school from transforming its culture to cohere with post-1994 transformative policies.

In answer to this first question I found the following. Firstly, institutional practices pre-1994 within Surprise High School challenged rather than enforced social inequalities of that era in terms of racial exclusivity. In other words, racial discrimination which was the foundation of apartheid educational policy between 1974 and 1994 was challenged by the agency of key role players within Surprise High School. They did not allow the racial policies of that time to determine their institutional practices in respect to learner admission and in this way played the role of trying not to perpetuate inequalities in society regarding access to education. Therefore, such practices do not cohere with the notion within existing scholarship, for example, Bush and Coleman (2003) who state that the dominant cultures in South African schools reflect the wider social structure of the apartheid era. The practices within institutional culture of Surprise High School even prior to 1994 showed a shift away from educational policy dictates towards educational policy dictates and practices of post-1994. However, post-1994, institutional cultural practices again shifted and showed incoherence with post-1994 educational policy dictates regarding the transformative goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education. Pre-1994 institutional practices around learner admissions (see section 5.2.1), provides evidence of how the school functioned both to reproduce inequalities in society and as an agent for changing inequalities in education. For example, pre-1994, the school did not comply with the dictates of existing educational policies in their practices around learner admissions and admitted learners who were not classified as Coloured learners, while simultaneously was compliant with traditional and bureaucratic school leadership styles advocated in pre-1994 educational policy. Therefore, both pre and post-1994 institutional practices of Surprise High School show incoherence in respect to certain aspects with external educational policy dictates of the time, and show a mixed display of either functioning to reproduce inequalities in society or functioning as an agent for changing inequalities in society. Therefore practices within the institutional culture displayed features from two theoretical standpoints, and places the school somewhere in between these two theoretical ends. The implication of this mixed display is that, as an educational institution, Surprise High School's role in society was/is not definite. It did/does not fit into either

definition of the role of schools as determined by, for example, the respective department of education and wider social dictates of the time. It shifted/shifts between two opposing roles with regard to certain aspects of its institutional culture.

Key discourse findings about performance show the following. The notions of goal-setting, aspirations, quality and high standards in the culture of teaching and learning were clearly evident within the school's culture pre-1994. The role of the school, pre-1994 was to provide quality education through quality teaching and learning. Although the essence of this culture carried through past 1994, a steady decline in the standards and quality of teaching and learning within Surprise High School has taken place. I found evidence of this decline especially in the overall senior certificate results from 2003-2011 (see section 5.5.4 p.118), and in the decline in the provision of co-curricular and extra-curricular activities (see section 8.2). As a result, the quality of teaching and learning declined together with the levels of academic, sporting and cultural performance. The school, post-1994 is not functioning to provide quality education to its learners, and is therefore subverting the goals of access and quality in education.

There are reasons why a change in declining curricular performance is central to institutional transformation and wider social transformation. New educational policy put into place after 1994 aimed at transforming South Africa from a racial, apartheid state to a modern democracy. The new education system was mandated to help make this transformation a reality. My findings of decreasing levels of curricular performance at Surprise High School provide the following reasons for changing curricular performance. Firstly, the lack of and adequate provision of curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities for learners and where teachers can improve their content knowledge to pass onto learners at Surprise High School, does not cohere with the principles of access and quality in education provided for in the *South African Schools Act* of 1996. Secondly, Christie (2008, p. 187) argues that "content knowledge and language of the school are tied to social power", and through quality in schooling, learners have more choices. According to Christie, this is what makes an education system more equitable. Hence, providing teacher developmental opportunities and improving curricular performance at Surprise High School will give learners improved opportunities to access social power through improved curricular performance. Such opportunities can help eradicate social inequalities. Further, by improving access

within and outside the school and increasing levels of performance allows learners to develop in order “to link up with both the networks of the global community as well as participate in their local context” (Christie, 2001, p. 64).

9.2.2 Coherence between Post-Apartheid policies and School Leadership and Institutional Transformation at Surprise High School

Research question two was: how do institutional cultures cohere with post-apartheid policies formulated for school leadership and institutional transformation in schools? The underlying reason for posing this question was to determine to what extent post-1994 school leadership was characterised by traditional, bureaucratic and hierarchical school leadership structures dominant during the apartheid education system, and what impact post-1994 school leadership styles and practices were having on transforming the institution.

Key discourses about power in respect to research question two show the following findings. Firstly, school leadership and management styles at Surprise High have largely remained stagnant. It is still perceived as the domain of the principal and is organised in a strict hierarchy and functions using a top-down approach, as was the norm before 1994. Hence, the role of school leadership undermines the goal of, for example, democracy where all stakeholders work collaboratively and take joint responsibility for school leadership and management. There is, however a notable difference in the institutional culture that existed and defined the school before 1994 and the institutional culture currently existing and defining Surprise High School. Before 1994, under traditional, bureaucratic and authoritarian school leadership and management, the school functioned to instil the values, beliefs and attitudes of respect, discipline, accountability. There was predictability and consistency in the manner in which the school was led and managed.

Secondly, key discourses about power in 2011 show school leadership and management still holding onto an autocratic, controlling and top-down approach (as discussed in section 7.2.2). This regression in terms of school leadership styles shows an institution still holding onto the values, beliefs and attitudes of a bygone apartheid era. Further, the non-compliance with new modes of leadership articulated in post-1994 educational policy shows

reluctance by the institution to embrace transformation efforts and change institutional culture to cohere with the changing educational landscape regarding how schools are led and managed post-1994. Therefore, the school as a social structure in a democratic South Africa fails to align with the institutional transformation ideals articulated in educational policy and underpinned by the *Constitution* of the country. It shifts back to pre-1994 apartheid dictates around school leadership and shows a school still steeped in apartheid ideology and practice.

Unlike institutional culture during the apartheid era, institutional culture in 2011 is underpinned by values, beliefs and attitudes of disrespect, discrimination, ill-discipline, disorder, lack of accountability and questionable standards in the quality of teaching and learning. There is unpredictability, inconsistency and evidence of a lack of planning in the way in which the school is being led and managed (see section 7.2.2). The reasons for such manifestations in institutional culture are linked to, for example, a lack of a school mission statement, a school leadership vision, school year plans and the supervision and monitoring of teaching and learning by school leadership and management. Hence, teaching and learning is disrupted, monitoring and supervisory structures are not put into place which compromise teaching and learning. Therefore, the role of the school is functioning to subvert educational policies underpinned and driven by democracy, quality, access, equity and redress in education. For example, while institutional practices regarding learner admissions, under the dictates of new educational policy, increased to include African isiZulu-speaking learners, findings show epistemological access for isiZulu-speaking learners in 2011 is being challenged by, for example, the English-only medium of instruction at Surprise High School. Further, the practice of school leadership to employ under- and un-qualified teachers (see discussion in section 8.4.2) at the school does not match up with the legislation of the *Employment of Educators Act* (1998) that regulates, among other things, competency requirements for teachers, as well as the *Constitution* which gives learners the right to quality education (see section 29(1)). According to Walberg (1991), one of the factors affecting the effectiveness of schools in South Africa is years of teacher training. Therefore, the delivery of quality teaching and learning is being compromised by un- and under-qualified teachers who may not have all the required skills, knowledge and capacity to deliver quality education.

The exclusionary practices of school leadership at Surprise High School in 2011 in terms of consultation and participation of all stakeholders in decision-making regarding teaching and learning resources, does not cohere with the principle of democratic governance underpinning the SASA to provide quality education. Such practices hark back to the non-participative and non-democratic system of apartheid education, and do not help build capacity in the structure and ethos of the school system and in school managers (McLennan & Thurlow, 2003). In order for schools, like Surprise High, to move towards self-managing, Sackney and Dibski (1994) argue for transformation of a previously controlling school culture to a culture that promotes autonomy and empowerment. Their argument is that this can be achieved through professional development characterised by shared decision-making, team building and effective communication. Hopkins, Ainscow and West (1994) states that enhancing the teaching and learning process through supporting conditions, for example, professional development, will improve a school's capacity to provide quality education.

9.2.3 Enabling and Challenging Conditions for Institutional Transformation at Surprise High School

Research question three read as follows: what are the enabling and challenging conditions for institutional transformation in one high school? My motivation for including this question as one of my critical questions was underpinned by research which shows that many South African schools are still challenged by conditions created by the apartheid system of education. Many schools struggle to transform such conditions to help realise the transformative goals of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education.

Institutional practices at Surprise High School in 2011 help answer research question three and highlight the lack of enabling conditions while bringing to the fore two key challenging conditions for institutional transformation in Surprise High School. Firstly, under the mandate for a new democracy, school leadership and management deny participation and consultation of all staff in decision-making, school planning and the school's vision to recreate a culture of teaching and learning. In this way, bureaucratic and autocratic structures, mind-sets and practices subvert the principles of participatory decision-making

and inclusivity underpinning current educational policy. This in turn, challenges the building of a learning institution needed in a democratic South Africa.

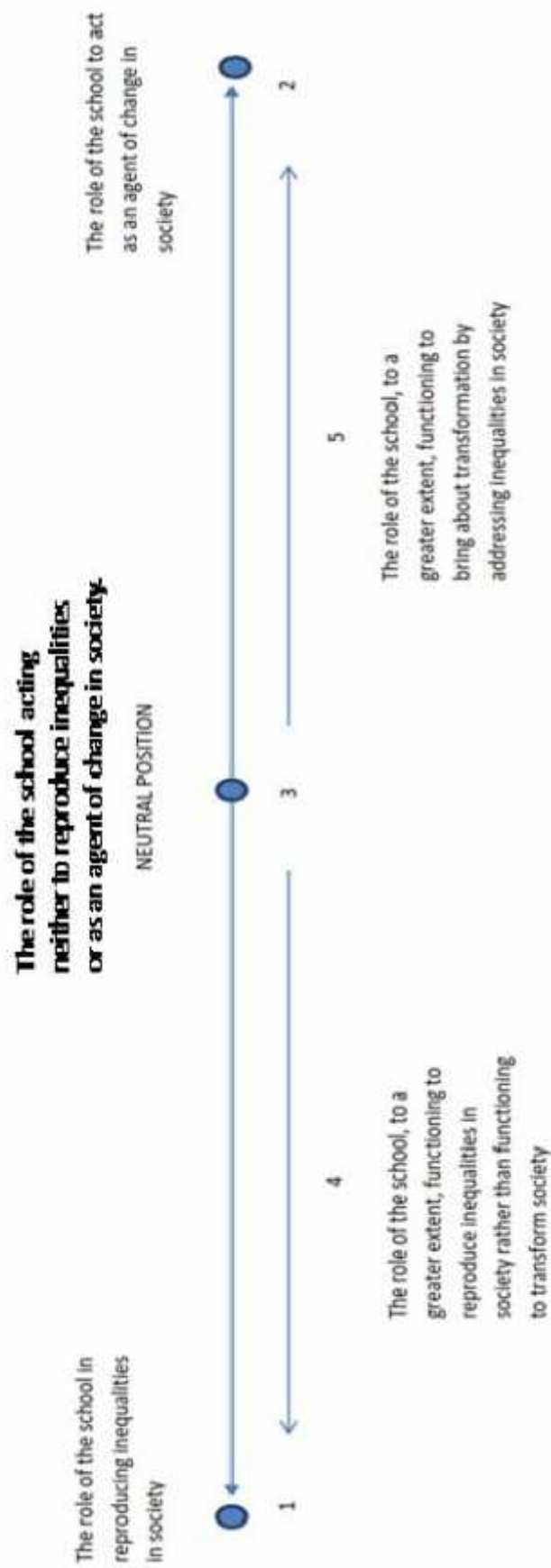
Secondly, alternative transformational and democratic leadership styles are not being embraced. Therefore, the opportunities to create an environment and conditions which would help bring about social justice in school leadership at Surprise High School, is challenged. Hence, it was and is institutional culture, with embedded values, beliefs and attitudes that continue to determine the conditions for institutional practices within Surprise High School and determines the role of the school in society. In 2011, for example, the *South African Schools Act* of 1996, the *National Education Policy Act* of 1996, the White Paper on Education and Training of 1995, the White Paper on Special Needs Education: Building an inclusive education and training system of 2001, are fundamental legislation created for the transformation of the education system. Such legislation foregrounds democracy, participation in decision-making, social justice, inclusivity and gender equity and, are being undermined by the two key prevailing conditions within the institutional culture of Surprise High School.

9.2.4 The Role of Schools in Socially Transforming South African society

Research question four focused on the role of schools in a democratic South Africa based on the insights and understandings obtained from the school in the study and read as follows: what do the efforts and experiences of one school reveal about the role of schools in socially transforming South African society? I posed this fourth question because schools have been identified as key sites for the realisation and promotion of the democratic ideals put forward in post-apartheid education policy and are ideals underpinned by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*. In other words, from a theoretical position, are schools positioned so that they function to reproduce inequalities in society or are they positioned so that they function as agents of change? Alternatively, are there other positions between these two theoretical positions along which schools may be located in terms of their role in society. In other words, can the role of schools neither be exclusively to reproduce inequalities in society or to function as an agent to help transform society, but be located somewhere in between, as determined by its institutional culture? Therefore, in terms of the two theoretical positions and the position of schools in society, I propose a

theoretical construct of a school role continuum with different points along the continuum(see figure 5.5 on next page) to help identify the role of schools in society.

Figure 5.5. Theoretical Construct of School Role Continuum



In using the notion of a continuum (figure 5.1), I position Surprise High School along such a continuum at varying points. I have identified five different points as follows: at either end of the continuum (i.e. positioned arbitrarily on the left or the right) are the positions of the role of schools in helping to reproduce inequalities in society (i.e. point 1) or in functioning as an agent to address inequalities in society (i.e. point 2). For the purposes of this study I have chosen the left of the continuum to represent the position of the role of the school in reproducing inequalities, and to the right of the continuum to represent the position of the role of the school to act as an agent of change in society. Midway or at the centre of these two points, is a neutral position where the school functions neither to reproduce inequalities in society or functions as a change agent in society by addressing inequalities (i.e. point 3). To the left of the centre of the continuum is the position where the school to a greater extent, functions to reproduce inequalities in society rather than functioning to transform society (i.e. point 4). To the right of the centre of the continuum is the position where the school, to a greater extent, functions to bring about transformation by addressing inequalities in society (i.e. point 5). There is also the possibility of a number of positions in-between the five positions identified here.

In using the theoretical construct of the continuum that defines the role of schools in society, the following insights and understandings regarding Surprise High School were reached. For the period 1974-1983, I position the school, firstly at position 1 according to official discourse/s regarding, for example, school leadership and management styles and school admission policy. Secondly, I place the school at position two according to unofficial discourse/s in respect to, for example, learner admissions and staff employment. For the period 1984-1991, I place the school in two positions. Firstly, I place it at position 1 according to official discourse/s in respect to, for example, autocratic school leadership and management styles. Secondly, according to unofficial discourse/s, I place it at position 2 regarding, for example, learner admissions. For the two periods mentioned above, the role of the school as determined by official and unofficial discourses shifts between position 1 and 2.

According to official discourse/s, for the period 1992-1996, I place the role of the school at position 2 in respect to school leadership and management styles. This position coheres with new modes of school leadership and management styles as outlined in post-1994

educational policy such as *The South African Schools Act* of 1996. However, according to unofficial discourse/s regarding, for example, school leadership and management practices, I place the role of the school at position 2. Hence a disjuncture occurs between the official and unofficial discourse regarding the role of the school in society during this period. For the period 1997-2011, I place the school at position 2 according to official discourse/s regarding, for example, staff employment, developing democratic organisational structures such the school governing body and the representative council of learners and learner admissions. However, according to unofficial discourse/s for this period, I place the school at position 1 with respect to, for example, autocratic and controlling leadership and management styles.

The position/s a school occupies is/are determined by its unique institutional culture. This position may also shift at different times in the institution's history if and when changes in the values, beliefs, attitudes and practices occur within institutional culture as seen in figure 5.2 in the alternating positions occupied by the school often within the same historical period. These insights and understandings help identify more or less where on the continuum Surprise High School is positioned in 2011 regarding its role in society. The autocratic and controlling school leadership style in 2011 (see section 7.2.2) together with the disabling conditions within the institution's culture (see section 7.2.4) at Surprise High School function to control and dominate teaching and learning at the school. Hence opportunities are not created for stakeholders within the school to question the education being offered at the school in order to increase their knowledge and understanding about their social reality. Therefore, creating the capacity within stakeholders to recognise what changes, through education, need to be affected in society and how such changes can be effected, is severely hampered. In addition, the realisation by school leadership and management that it is through collective and not individual effort that brings about social change, (see section 7.2.4) is challenged by the lack of opportunities for participative, collective and joint responsibility by all stakeholders for teaching and learning, at Surprise High School. The *South African Schools Act* creates opportunities for stakeholders, such as parents to be empowered through school governance structures such as school governing bodies to take responsibility in helping to govern schools by ensuring that democratic structures and practices are put into place (Soudien & Sayed, 2008). However, at Surprise High School, for example, the ineffective functioning of this structure (as discussed in section

7.2.4) challenges stakeholders in ensuring that this structure and the practices evolving out of it, are democratic and are in place as part of the institution's culture.

The disabling conditions in respect of teaching and learning (see section 7.2.4) do not allow learners to obtain deeper meanings of their learning. Therefore the education they receive is limiting in terms of empowering and critically conscientising learners about their society and what they can actively do to change it (Hugo & Bertram, 2008). However, institutional practices pre-and-post-1994, for example, the granting of physical access to learners and teachers of all race groups to the school serve as an example of how the school is functioning to address inequalities regarding physical access to schools. Hence, the school shows evidence of both functioning to reproduce inequalities in society while at the same time functioning as a change agent. Therefore, the school is at neither end of the two theoretical positions and neither is it in the centre, but somewhere in between. From the evidence that Surprise High School is functioning more to reproduce inequalities in society rather than functioning as an agent of change in South African society in 2011, I position it at position four on the continuum (i.e. the position that identifies the school's role as being one which is functioning more to reproduce inequalities in society rather than functioning as an agent of change). Therefore, in order for the community of Surprise High School to improve the role of the school in society, there needs to be a change in some of the shared values, beliefs, attitudes and practices within institutional culture that is challenging the process and progress of transformation.

9.3 Significance of the Study and Theoretical Contributions of the Study

Findings about the institutional culture of Surprise High School in 2011 has shown that the school does not occupy a distinct position in terms of determining whether the school is theoretically positioned to function to reproduce inequalities in society or whether the school is theoretically positioned to function as an agent of change in a democratic South Africa. Existing scholarship on the roles of schools places schools on either end of a continuum where schools either function to reproduce inequalities in society or function as agents of change in society (Hoffman, 1988; Levinson & Holland, 1996; Katz, 1964; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Althusser, 1972; Freire, 1972, 1974 and Apple, 1995). However, existing literature fails to provide theoretical understandings of the following: how schools can and

do exist and function along multiple points along such a continuum. In other words, how schools can function to both reproduce inequalities in society and function as agents to bring about change in society; how schools manage the challenges they face as they negotiate these multiple identities regarding their role in society and how and what determines the institutional culture in such schools? Hence these theoretical lenses were inadequate in completely explaining institutional transformation at Surprise High School. Further, the discourses of race, power and performance were not adequately and sufficiently addressed by the chosen theoretical lens. For example: how deeply embedded racial institutional practices and symbols can be changed to reflect the transformative goals essential for institutional transformation in South African schools post-1994; how school leaders can successfully negotiate shifts from old, traditional and hierarchical patterns of practices of power to school leadership practices that embrace practices of collaboration, participation, inclusion and democracy to cohere with new modes of school leadership outlined in post-1994 educational policy, and how practices within institutional culture can ensure consultation and participation of all stakeholders in decision-making processes around curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities to ensure quality teaching and learning. Therefore a gap is evident in existing literature on how schools located somewhere along a continuum and which are not on either end of a continuum as suggested in the literature, function.

Based on the data generated within the school, it shows that Surprise High School is not situated on either end of the continuum regarding its role in society, neither is the school situated in the centre where it neither functions equally to reproduce inequalities in society nor is it functioning as an agent to bring about change in society, but is situated at position 4 (see explanation in section 9.2.4) where its institutional culture shows it's functioning leaning more towards the role of reproducing inequalities in society in terms of access, democracy, quality, equity and redress in education. I name this position as the role of a school caught between deeply ingrained institutional cultural practices of a bygone era and 'window dressing transformation'. According to Argyris (1993, p.1) people generally hold 'two opposing theories of action about how to behave effectively. Firstly, the one they espouse or reveal to others, and the one they actually use. In other words, there is a disjuncture between the two. According to Argyris, espoused theory is made up of the

words one uses to communicate what they do, or what they want others to think they do. On the other hand, the theory that actually determines one's actions is the 'theory-in-use' which determines the actual behaviour. In addition, it embodies the assumptions about self, others and their environment which, in turn makes up a part of one's everyday life. In other words, Surprise High School, on the inside, its daily reality in terms of its role in society contrasts with what appears as its outside reality. In other words, there is a disjuncture between the internal and external institutional reality of Surprise High School. On the inside, the institutional culture still holds onto the values, attitudes and beliefs propagated pre-1994, and are still what drives institutional practices post-1994. The outside attempts to show evidence of transformation by means of, for example, increasing physical access, while fundamental principles of democracy, quality in education, equity and redress articulated in educational policy and underpinned by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* are being marginalised and subverted.

In addressing the 'so what' question which is key in ethnographical studies, and what can the community of Surprise High School do to improve the school's role in society I propose the following: to make the contents of this study available to the school community. This can be done by holding a seminar or workshop at the school. The aim would be to create understanding and insight into the study aims and the findings that emanated from this regarding institutional transformation in respect to the five transformative goals which has implications for institutional practice and institutional culture.

9.4 Critical Reflections on the Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The ethnographical approach used in this study proved worthwhile in that it allowed me to achieve the purpose of gaining insight and understanding into the process of institutional transformation through the daily contact I had with the research site, and in answering the four research questions underpinning this study. In particular, in answering research question four regarding the role of schools in society (see section 9.3), the study has identified paucity in existing literature regarding the role of schools in society and has highlighted the possibilities that the role of schools in society is a lot more complex than explained in existing literature.

Limitations of the study are also noted. While the research focused on the significant issue of institutional transformation by asking pertinent questions, and generated thought-provoking answers, the study did not extend beyond one context due to the methodology chosen. The findings are based on fieldwork done in this school, and are therefore not sufficient in addressing institutional transformation in all schools in South Africa. In hindsight, my ethnographical approach is able to answer my fourth research question within the context of Surprise High School about the role of one school in socially transforming schooling, but these answers cannot be applied to educational institutions in the whole of South Africa. Therefore, there is a contextual limitation as well as the inability to generalise my findings beyond the context of Surprise High School. While there is the commonality in that all schools are educational settings, the daily realities, experiences and understandings of institutional transformation will differ in each context. Each group of people in each setting come from different social, racial and cultural backgrounds and experience unique interactions and derive unique understandings of their daily reality. The insights and understandings of institutional transformation were shaped by participants, observations and school documents of Surprise High School over specific periods of time. However, this did not include accounts given by parents and learners because of ethical considerations, and must be acknowledged as a limitation in this study. The account of institutional transformation was therefore situated, contingent and partial to Surprise High School.

9.5 Openings for Future Research

My discussion of the strengths and limitations of this study (see section 9.4) points to future research to build on and develop the insights, understandings and findings from my study of Surprise High School through the following:

- Longitudinal studies that spend extended periods of time at different contextual research sites.
- Further interrogation of this study's findings around the discourses and possible sub-discourses within race, power and performance including interrogating the narrative of decline articulated by participants. The issues of race, power and performance may not play out in the same way and to the same extent in former White, Indian or African schools in other provinces as it has in Surprise High School.

- Using the school role continuum and points along the continuum as the focus to extend research into institutional transformation at schools including Surprise High School, while at the same time attempting to refine the application of the continuum to enhance its effectiveness.

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30 March 2011

Mrs. YJ Govinden (202520956)
School of Education and Development

Dear Mrs. Govinden

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0146/011D

PROJECT TITLE: Institutional transformation in the post-apartheid era: an ethnography of one high school in KwaZulu-Natal

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process:

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 school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor – Dr. J. Karlsson
cc. Dr. I. Naicker
cc. Mr. N Memela/Ms. T Mnisi

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■ Westville



kzn education

Department:
Education
KWAZULU-NATAL

YVONNE JANE GOVINDEN
20 RILEY CRESCENT
HOWICK
3290

Enquiries: Sibusiso Alwar

Date: 24 March 2011

Reference: 0033/2011

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE KZN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

PROPOSED RESEARCH TITLE: Institutional Transformation in the post apartheid era : an ethnography of one high school in Kwazulu - Natal

Your application to conduct research in the KwaZulu Natal Department of Education Institutions has been approved. The conditions of the approval are as follows:

1. The researcher will make all the arrangements concerning the research and interviews.
2. The researcher must ensure that Educator and learning programmes are not interrupted.
3. Interviews are not conducted during the time of writing examinations in schools.
4. Learners, educators, schools and institutions are not identifiable in any way from the results of the research.
5. A copy of this letter is submitted to District Managers, Principals and Head of Institutions where the intended research and interviews are to be conducted.
6. The period of investigation is limited to the period: From 01 March 2011 to 31 March 2012.
7. Your research and interviews will be limited to the schools you have proposed and approved by the Superintendent General. Please note that Principals, Educators, Departmental Officials and Learners are under no obligation to participate or assist you in your investigation.
8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the school(s) contact Mr Alwar at the contact numbers below.
9. Upon completion of the research, a brief summary of the findings, recommendations or a full report/dissertation/thesis must be submitted to the research office of the Department. Address to: The Director: Resource Planning; Private Bag X9137; Pietermaritzburg; 3200

The Department of Education in KwaZulu Natal fully supports your commitment toward research and wishes you well in your endeavours. It is hoped that you will find the above in order.

Dr SZ Mbokazi
Acting Superintendent-General

...dedicated to service and performance
beyond the call of duty.

KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

POSTAL: Private Bag X9137, Pietermaritzburg, 3200, KwaZulu-Natal, Republic of South Africa
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20 Riley Crescent
Howick North
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3290

Reference: Mrs Y.J. Govinden
Telephone: (033) 3306573
Cell: 084 454 7839
Fax: (033) 3979599

January 2011

The Principal and School Governing Body chairperson

Sir/Madam

Application for permission to conduct research for PhD study

I am presently researching the topic: Institutional transformation in the post-apartheid era: an ethnography of one high school in KwaZulu-Natal.


In order to successfully complete this research study, I need to conduct 8 interviews and focus group conversations with staff members occupying different post levels, observe social settings and events at the school and engage in school document analysis.

I have registered my research topic at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood. My student number is 202520956. The interviews and focus group conversations needed to collect data for this study will not be conducted during lesson time. I am currently employed as an educator with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture. My persal number is 15408949.

I would appreciate it if you would grant me permission to conduct my research.

Yours sincerely

Y.J. Govinden (Mrs)


KWAZULU NATAL EDUCATION DEPT
13/04/2011
P.M.BURG 3201

PROJECT: Institutional transformation in the post-apartheid era: an ethnography of one high school in KwaZulu-Natal

Observation Schedule for School

Purpose: To observe school settings and events contextually. To observe interactions, decision-making, and to get a better understanding of the daily going-ons/ culture within the school. To observe how the cultural practices of the school cohere with the transformative goals of access, quality, democracy, equity and redress in education articulated in education policy after 1994 to bring about transformation in the education system.

Duration: indefinite

Preparation: Identify the participant/s who will be observed, the setting or event being observed e.g. a staff meeting, school assembly, the school playground, etc., and negotiate the voice recording in advance, the duration, and address any observation issues that the observer may raise. Confirm that informed consent has been granted in writing.

Task

The researcher to be unobtrusively present.

Write detailed notes about:

1. The immediate setting that contains the activity being observed.
2. Objects that populate the immediate setting, e.g. furniture, documents, etc.
3. Participant/s: indicators of their role in the event, gender, personality, social status, etc.
4. Interactions: who introduces, decides, is silent, compromises, mediates, etc.
5. Use of time and space, e.g. turn-taking, duration, proximity, posture, gesture/s etc.
6. Use of sound and tone e.g. soft, loud, condescending, authoritative, etc.

Example of observation schedule for school settings and events (Adapted from Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

Date and Time	Situation/Event	Participants	Actions observed	Reflection

After observation, note the social context outside the event/ setting that has been observed.

At end, thank those who were being observed for granting that opportunity.

**PROJECT: Institutional transformation in the post-apartheid era: an ethnography of one
high school in KwaZulu-Natal**

**Ethnographic semi-structured interviews for level one teachers, teachers as head's of
departments and teachers in senior management positions.**

The interview schedules vary slightly for the teachers in level one posts, the teachers who are heads of departments and teachers in senior management posts, although the questions will cover the same themes of access, quality and democracy in education. This will assist in cross-checking the reliability of the information provided by the different groups of teachers.

Introduction

Hello. I am doing research in your school about social transformation in terms of the transformative goals of access to education, quality in education and democracy in education as identified by the government after the 1994 elections.

Informed Consent

Thank you for volunteering to talk to me about social transformation within your school. I would like to record the interview so that I have a full record of what you say. Before you agree to this, there are a few things I need to check.

1. I have asked for volunteers to be interviewed and my understanding is that you have agreed for me to do that. No one has forced you to volunteer to be interviewed by me. Is that correct?
2. I will not use your name in any of my notes and when I write about what you've told me. Do you have any questions regarding this?
3. Whatever you say will be recorded and then written out in a transcript. The transcript will not be given out to anyone at the school to listen or to read. If I do mention anything you tell me, no-one will be able to tell exactly who from this school gave me this information. I will not use the name of your school. Do you have any question about this?
4. If I ask you any question that makes you feel uncomfortable and you don't wish to continue, that is okay. You should say if you wish to stop and I will stop asking you questions. I will turn off the voice recorder and end the interview. Do you have any questions regarding this?

If you have understood what I've explained and you agree for me to turn the voice recorder on and to begin the interview, the please fill in your name and sign that you understand and agree to this.

Declaration

- I understand your request to interview me.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and I can withdraw anytime I want to.
- I understand that my name and identity will not be used in any reports.
- I understand that the interview is to be recorded.

Sign:

Name:

Date:

Ethnographic Semi- structured interview guiding questions for teachers, including the principal and other senior management staff

Interviews will be done in two sessions of not longer than 90 minutes for each interviewee. Interviews are semi-structured. From responses to the open-ended questions, interviewer probes for more detail and follows potentially relevant leads.

Session one

1. Introduction and Background

The interviewer will introduce the research study, the purpose of the interview, the confidentiality conditions and any other relevant background information, and then elicit background information from the respondent. For example,

1.1 What is your position/ role in the school? (prompt: subject/ learning area, extra-mural activities/ co-curricular activities).

1.2 How long have you been in this position?

1.3 What are your qualifications, where did you train, what professional development activities have you been involved in?

2. Social context of the school

2.1 In order to understand what's happening in this school, I need to understand the social context of the school and its community. Please would you describe it.

Probe: Language

Religion

Income

Employment

Migrancy

Health and nutrition

Home literacy

2.2 How do you think that the social context that you have described affects the school attendance, culture of teaching and learning and the performance of teachers and learners? Probe for: dropouts, absenteeism of learners and staff

3. School Profile

After the 1994 elections, the government identified five broad transformative goals to help transform schooling in South Africa. These goals are improving access to education, improving quality of education, democratising education, equity and

redress. As you are aware, the topic of this study is social transformation within a schooling context with a focus on the goals of access, quality and democracy in education.

3.1 Are you familiar with the transformative goals and how the government and department is pursuing them in schools? Explain, give examples.

3.2 How many learners are currently enrolled at the school? Staff complement? Race? Gender? What changes have you observed in this regard since 1994 ?

3.3 Getting under- and unqualified educators qualified has been a real struggle for the Department. Tell me what the status is with the educators at this school.

4. School Ethos and School Climate

The ethos or culture of institutions like schools is said to be made up of patterns of thought, behaviour and artifacts that symbolise and give meaning to the work place, and as the glue that holds everything in place in an institution, and as the way things are done.

4.1 How would you describe the ethos/culture of this school? Probe: daily practices, beliefs, values. Any changes? When? How? Explain and give examples.

4.2 Describe the culture of teaching and learning at the school.

4.3 In your opinion, how do you see the culture of the school helping to realise the goals of access, quality and democracy in education?

4.4 How would you describe the average learner and teacher attendance and punctuality and how does it affect the culture that you are working towards in this school?

4.5 How does the school promote human rights (issues around race, ethnicity, disabilities, sex, violence)?

4.6 Describe school management practices at the school to support teaching and learning and monitoring of Human Rights.

4.7 In your opinion, what is the quality of teachers and teaching and the monitoring and support of departments in the school in this regard?

4.10 Have there been particular aspects of the transformative goals mentioned that have been difficult to put into practice or particular changes that have been difficult to make? Probe around barriers or resistance to changes etc. How have you dealt with these challenges?

SESSION TWO

5. Curriculum – National Curriculum Statement (NCS)

South African schooling has undergone changes i.r.o curriculum since 1994. First there was Outcomes Based Education (OBE), followed by Curriculum 2005 (C2005), and the Revised National Curriculum following in which is now referred to as the National Curriculum Statement(NCS) which schools are following.

5.1 What is your knowledge of the NCS, and what are your feelings around the NCS? Curriculum evaluation? Learner assessment methods? Language and the curriculum?

5.3 What changes in practice have you observed/ implemented in relation to the NCS? Probe: learning and teaching activities.

5.4 Did you need to retrain/ upgrade your qualifications for teaching of new learning areas? How so?

5.5 What challenges have you experienced regarding introducing a new curriculum, what strategies have you used, and what progress has been made in the implementation process?

5.6 Are there induction /mentoring programmes in place for new teacher development in/out of the schooling environment?

6. School Management and Management Development

6.1 What is your understanding of the concepts 'management' and 'leadership' and has this understanding changed? How? Why?

6.3 Describe the vision of the school. What do you think of this vision and please tell me how it was developed? Were you involved/consulted concerning this? Do you know who else was involved/consulted?

6.4 Please tell me what management support and development the school receives from outside the school.

6.5 Explain what in-house training activities are provided to develop and support management structures and who provides this.

7. School Governance

7.1 What sort of training/ capacity building given to governing body members?

7.2 In your opinion, how effective is the SGB in carrying out their duties? Explain, using examples.

7.3 In your opinion, are school governing body members readily available and willing to participate in school/ professional matters?

7.4 What are your perceptions of the decisions made by the school governing body and how this impacts on the school?

7.7 What support is given by the SGB to support the interests of the school? For example, in terms of developing school policies, fundraising, selecting staff, assisting with learner discipline issues and school maintenance and in helping to develop a school budget.

8. Teacher Development and support

8.1 What teacher development programmes are available within/ without the school?

9. Cross Cutting Questions

9.1 If you wanted to show a visitor how your school has/ is socially transforming, what would you show them?

9.2 What changes does the school community hope to see in this school?

9.3 What do you think it will take to make these changes happen? What needs to change?

Would you like to add any further comments?

Thank you for participating in this interview.

PROJECT: Institutional transformation in the post-apartheid era: an ethnography of one school in KwaZulu-Natal

Permission form for participation in the focus group sessions for school staff

Introduction

Hello. I am doing research in your school about social transformation in terms of the transformative goals of access to education, quality in education and democracy in education as identified by the government after the 1994 elections.

Informed consent

Thank you for volunteering to be part of the focus group to discuss social transformation within your school. I would like to record the group conversations so that I have a full record of what the group has to say. Before you agree to this, there are a few things I need to check.

1. I have asked for volunteers to be part of the focus groups and my understanding is that you have agreed to do that. No one has forced you to volunteer to be part of the group sessions. Is that correct?
2. I will not use your names in any of my notes, and when I write about what has been discussed in the group sessions. Do you have any questions regarding this?
3. Whatever we discuss will be recorded and then written out in a transcript. The transcript will not be given out to anyone at the school to read. If I do mention anything we have discussed, no-one will be able to tell exactly who from this school gave me this information. I will not use the name of the school. Do you have any question about this?
4. If I ask any question that makes any of you feel uncomfortable and you don't wish to continue as part of the group, that is okay. You should say if you wish to be excused from the group, and I will excuse you. Do you have any questions regarding this?

If you have understood what I've explained and you agree for me to turn the voice recorder on and to begin the focus group session, then please fill in your name and sign that you understand and agree to this.

Declaration

- I understand your request for me to be part of the focus group sessions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and I can withdraw anytime I want to.
- I understand that my name and identity will not be used in any reports.
- I understand that the focus group session is to be recorded.

Sign:
Name:
Date:

PROJECT: Institutional transformation in the post-apartheid era: an ethnography of one high school in KwaZulu-Natal

A. Focus Group Conversations (Adapted from Van der Riet, Hough & Killian, 2005).

Focus group conversations will be conducted in a series of three clearly defined but inter-related sessions. Each focus group session is designed to address the specific transformation goals of access to education, quality in education and democracy in education which subsume the other two goals namely equity and redress in education.

Purpose: To make sense of social transformation within the school, and to get a better understanding of how transformation is occurring / has occurred in terms of access, quality and democracy in education after 1994.

Duration: 1 focus group session per week, and which is not to go beyond two hours.

Introduction

The researcher introduces herself as facilitator of the process, outlines the purpose of the research study as well as the purpose of a focus group, and what it is/ is not used for. The researcher will negotiate voice recording of the conversations.

Focus group conversation schedule (Adapted from Van der Riet, Hough & Killian, 2005).

Focus Group Conversation 1

Theme: Access to education

Introductory tasks (15 minutes)

The researcher together with the group discuss and agree on ground rules for participation in the conversations, such as a commitment by all to participate freely, to respect each other's opinions views and for all discussions to remain confidential and within the confines of the group.

The researcher will use this opportunity to establish ground rules for participation in the focus group, and to create a space where the group will feel comfortable, confident and safe within the conversations of the focus group.

Researcher ends by reminding the group of the purpose of a focus group discussion, and then proceeds to the main discussion activities.

Activity one (45 minutes)

The researcher will in advance have newsprint/whiteboard and different coloured markers for a brainstorming activity for the whole group on the concept “access to education”. Researcher introduces the concepts of epistemological and qualitative access. Researcher provides definition of ‘quantitative access’ as articulated in education policy after 1994. Ask the group if they see their understanding and experience about access to education within the institution as being similar or different from what is articulated in education policy, and whether changes have occurred/not occurred in this respect. The group to think back and try to recall and give examples. Using the method of time-line strategy to track and gain insights and understanding of qualitative access before and after 1994.

Activity two (45 minutes)

Researcher provides definition of ‘epistemological access’ as articulated in education policy after 1994 and using newsprint/whiteboard and different coloured markers (as for quantitative access).

Towards the end of the discussion (after about 30 minutes) the facilitator asks the group if their experiences, knowledge and observations within the institution around epistemological access to education is in line with education policy or different, and why. Facilitator probes institution’s cultural practices, policy, values, norms and changes.

The facilitator ends the conversation by thanking everyone for participating in this focus group discussion.

Homework Task (10 minutes)

Facilitator hands out prepared double A4 (X2) sheets with the two concepts printed in the centre with arrows pointing out. The group is asked to reflect on the group conversation during the week and to add/elaborate on issues raised during the group conversation in preparation for feedback at the next focus group.

Focus Group Conversation 2

Theme: Quality in Education

Introductory tasks (15 minutes)

Allow for feedback discussion on homework task. Facilitator to ask participants to take A4 sheets and group to discuss their reflection and possibly adding new information/understandings/examples of transformation within the school in terms of access to education. The facilitator will introduce the theme for the session and then proceed to the main discussion activities.

Activity one (15 minutes)

A group conversation on their knowledge and understanding of the concept 'quality in education' and the researcher to write down key words/terms on the board raised during the discussion.

Activity two (10 minutes)

The researcher in advance to prepare a 10 minute power point presentation using words and pictures (accessed from television/newspapers) showing learners and school staff at schools during the school day in various parts of the country.

Activity three (45 minutes)

Facilitator to probe the attitudes, feelings and perceptions of the participants on what was seen and heard during the presentation in terms of 'quality in education'.

Facilitator to then get the group to focus on quality of education within their school and examine this in terms of:

- 1) Subject/learning areas - What? Resources? Changes?
- 2) Teaching and learning support materials/resources. For e.g. Probe – Workshops? Development programmes? Library and computer facilities, changes? How teaching and learning needs of the school population are addressed/not addressed
- 3) School infrastructure – Buildings/equipment

Homework task (10 minutes)

Facilitator asks group members to reflect on the issue of quality in education, and to record any new information/experiences/observations in this regard.

Participants are also requested to bring any documents/pictures/leaflets/school newsletter/photographs they may have and which is relevant to the topic of quality in education in the school for the next focus group conversation.

Closing activities (15 minutes)

At the end of the session the facilitator will summarise briefly the main points of view and seek verification thereof and thank everyone in the focus group conversation.

Focus Group Conversation 3

Theme: Democracy in Education

Introductory tasks (15 minutes)

Allow for feedback discussion on homework task. The facilitator will introduce the theme for this conversation and then proceed to the activities planned for this session.

Activity one (5 minutes)

In advance, the facilitator will prepare stick-on tags, with the number one and the number two on it. Members will then pick tags, and all the number ones will join to form a group and so will the members who picked the number two to form a group.

Activity two (35 minutes)

Members in each group will be given 10 minutes to discuss, and write down their knowledge and understanding of the concept 'democracy in education'.

The next 15 minutes will be used for one group member of each group to report back to the rest of the group. The facilitator will then use 10 minutes to consolidate the entire focus group's knowledge and understanding by the concept 'democracy in education'.

Activity three (60 minutes)

In advance, the facilitator will prepare two labels, one label with the words 'for a democratic culture', and the second label with the words 'against a democratic culture', in preparation for a debate activity between the 2 groups. A group leader from each of the previous groups will be elected and using the toss of a coin will then decide which group will be debating 'for a democratic culture' and which group will be debating 'against a democratic culture' within the school.

The facilitator will then give the two groups 20 minutes to prepare their arguments and defence. Following this, for the remaining 35 minutes, the group's leader will then lead the debate for each group.

This being the last focus group session, the facilitator will use five minutes to express appreciation and thanks to members of the focus conversations for participating in all of the focus group sessions, and for making a valuable contribution of their knowledge, understanding and experiences of social transformation within the school.



Turnitin Originality Report

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Dr Saths Govender

7 NOVEMBER 2013

LANGUAGE CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This serves to inform that I have read the final version of the thesis titled:

‘Institutional Transformation in the Post-Apartheid Era: An Ethnography of one High School in KwaZulu-Natal’ by Y. J. Bengover, student no. 202520956.

To the best of my knowledge, all the proposed amendments have been effected and the work is free of spelling and grammatical errors. I am of the view that the quality of language used meets generally accepted academic standards.

Yours faithfully



DR S. GOVENDER

B Paed. (Arts), B.A. (Hons), B Ed.
Cambridge Certificate for English Medium Teachers
MPA, D Admin.