

**PATHWAYS AND BARRIERS TO INCLUSION. A CASE STUDY OF A GIRLS'
ONLY SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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**A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Masters of Education**

**UNIVERSITY OF NATAL, DURBAN
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DECEMBER 2001**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the staff at Tredenhorn for their assistance.

To visiting lecturer from the Centre for Childhood Studies at Leeds Metropolitan University in the United Kingdom, Dr Maria Baez, thank you for your initial input and professional advice.

Special thanks are due to my supervisor Professor Anbanithi Muthukrishna. Professor Muthukrishna's patience, sustained support and constructive criticism and insight made this a valuable learning experience.

Mr Costas Criticos, a constant source of sage advice and quiet encouragement and Ms Kantha Chetty helped greatly.

Finally I must thank the learners of Tredenhorn for their candid disclosure of issues that troubled them and the wealth of helpful data that they provided.

SUPERVISOR STATEMENT

As the candidate's supervisor, I have approved this dissertation for submission.

Name: Professor A. Muthukrishna

Date:.....

Signature:

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this minor dissertation is my own work, and that all sources consulted and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Mark Hortop

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December 2001

ABSTRACT

Since 1994 all education policy documents that have emerged in South Africa have stressed the principles of social justice and inclusion by foregrounding issues of equity, redress, quality education for all, equality of opportunity, and non-discrimination. This study examined inclusionary and exclusionary attitudes and practices at a School of Industry for Girls in South Africa. The research was conducted in the qualitative research paradigm, and took the form of a small-scale ethnographic case study. The data collection techniques included observations and used observations, document analysis, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The findings revealed that learners experience various barriers to learning and participation that are clearly embedded in the ethos, curriculum and cultures of the school. Various discriminatory attitudes and practices play themselves out and reflect an intersection of racism, gender discrimination and ableism. The study points towards the need for management and staff in collaboration with learners to interrogate and work towards minimising these exclusionary attitudes and practices prevalent at the school.

CHAPTER ONE: THE STUDY IN CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

South African education uses the country's new Constitution as the basis for policy. Since 1994 all South African documents pertaining to education have stressed the principles of social justice through their foregrounding of issues such as equality and equity and their concomitant concerns with the elimination of discriminatory practices. Issues of equality and empowerment are now prioritised. The White Paper on Education and Training states that:

Education and training are basic human rights. The state has an obligation to protect and advance these rights, so that all citizens irrespective of race, class, gender, creed or age, have the opportunity to develop their capacities and potential, and make their full contribution to society. (Department of Education, 1995, p. 21)

The South African Bill of Rights states that the state and all its people may not discriminate directly against anyone on the grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p8). Schools are meant to imbue their learners and staff with these egalitarian principles and reflect them in their treatment of learners.

The present study is born out of the current emphasis on social justice and inclusion in our schools as expressed in White paper on Education and Training (Department of Education, March 1995); Education White Paper 6 (Dept of Education, 2001), the Report of the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (NCSNET) and the National Committee on Educational Support Services (NCESS) (Department of Education, November 1997). These policy documents that have emerged have emphasised the principle of inclusive education. This principle is located in the dialogue of social justice and social inclusion. Inclusive education is education that seeks to minimise barriers to learning and participation for all children. Its narrow focus is on learners with medically defined disability but broadly it targets

all children who are experiencing disadvantage or learning breakdown. Inclusion for the purposes of this study means not just inclusion in the milieu of the school but also in society at large. The recently published South African Department of Education's White Paper 6 (Department of Education, July 2001) states that inclusive education and training

- *Are about acknowledging that all children and youth can learn and that all children and youth need support.*
- *Are about enabling education structures, systems and learning methodologies to meet the needs of all learners.*
- *Acknowledge and respect differences in learners, whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language, class, disability or HIV status.*
- *Are broader than formal schooling and acknowledge that learning also occurs in the home and community, and within formal and informal modes and structures.*
- *Are about changing attitudes, behaviour, teaching methodologies, curricula and the environment to meet the needs of all learners.*
- *Are about maximising the participation of all learners in the culture and the curricula of educational institutions and uncovering and minimising barriers to learning.*
- *Are about empowering learners by developing their individual strengths and enabling them to participate critically in the process of learning.*

(Department of Education 2001, p.16)

Inclusive education in the context of this study recognises that the attitudes and practices learners are exposed to have a profound impact on their development.

One of the most significant barriers to inclusion is

“ the negative and harmful attitudes towards difference in our society ...

Discriminatory attitudes resulting from prejudice... manifest themselves as barriers to learning when such attitudes are directed towards learners in the education system”

(Department of Education, November 1997, p.15).

Discriminatory attitudes and practices can perpetuate inequality – that is, the denial of social rights, and need to be identified and challenged if constructive change towards inclusion is to become a reality.

The context of the present study is a girls' only school of industry in South Africa. The school will be referred to as Tredenhorn School (for reasons of confidentiality the school's actual name is not used). Children are committed to schools of industry by the courts following severe behavioural problems such as substance abuse, truancy, petty crime and defiant behaviour at school and at home. The schools' purpose is to offer a secure, supportive environment to prepare the learners for reintegration into mainstream schools and society. The length of time the learners spend at Tredenhorn ranges from less than a year to well over two years depending on their progress and needs. This study investigated the inclusionary and exclusionary attitudes and practices of the educators and careworkers at Tredenhorn School of Industry for Girls.

This study recognises that although we have one of the most democratic Constitutions in the world and correspondingly democratic educational policies, people's negative attitudes towards difference may continue to influence practice in schools (Department of Education, 1997; Department of Education, 2001). These practices inevitably impact on the lives of the learners and how they experience their world. With specific reference to issues around gender, race and disability, this study seeks to examine the attitudes of the educators and support staff towards the learners at Tredenhorn school of industry. The aim is to explore discriminatory and exclusionary, and, empowering and inclusionary, practices and outcomes at the school.

The following critical questions were explored:

- What power relationships are evident at Tredenhorn, whose voices are heard and whose are silenced?
- What is the nature of the social interaction between learners, careworkers, and educators?
- How do the issues of race, gender and ableism intersect within this context?
- What inclusionary and exclusionary attitudes and practices exist at Tredenhorn that impact on the lives of the learners?

1.2 Significance of the study:

The study interrogated a girls' only school of industry, and it was envisaged that the findings might have implications for policy and practice within such facilities in the country. In addition, it explores the concept of "children at risk" showing how the learners are constructed on the basis of this category. The school targeted in this study is included in a Department of National Education pilot project entitled, "Resource and Educator Development: Towards building an Inclusive Education and Training System" that is underway in the country. Initiated in January 2001, the project's overall purpose is to support implementation of government policy on the development of an inclusive education and training system that will benefit learners experiencing barriers to learning and participation (Department of Education, November 1997; Department of Education, July 2001). The project has five overarching aims:

- Develop capacity and raise awareness on inclusive education at the provincial, regional and district levels.
- Design an inset course for teachers in the district
- Train educators on developing inclusive schools and communities, and inclusive curricula
- Conduct action research, and facilitate the development of an effective management and information system
- Dissemination of research findings

The findings in this study will feed into the action research cycles of this national Department of Education pilot project, and future development work that is to take place at the school.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the first section will examine educational provision for 'youth at risk' in South Africa. Included in the 'youth at risk' category are children in Schools of Industry. The second section will explore barriers to learning and participation and issues of gender discrimination, racism and ableism and how they intersect to create and reinforce oppression. The third section deals with the philosophical basis of the study.

2.2 Perspectives on "youth at risk" in South Africa

In South Africa there are three categories of children and youth that fall into the formal Child and Youth Care system in South Africa, and for whom facilities are administered by the Department of Education and the Department of Welfare. The first are Reform Schools. These are schools defined in the Child Care Act, No. 74 of 1983 as a school maintained for the reception, care and training of children sent to it in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act No. 51 of 1977) or transferred there under the Child Care Act. These schools fall directly under the department of education or in certain provinces under the Department of Education and Department of Welfare. (The Inter-ministerial Committee on Young People at Risk, 1996).

The second category comprises children and youth in schools of industry. A School of Industry is defined in the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983 as a school maintained for the reception, care and education of children sent or transferred to it under the Act. Unlike reform schools, these schools are not linked to operation of the Criminal Procedures Act No. 51 of 1977. Young people cannot be sent to serve sentences in a School of Industry, but can only be sent there by an order of the Children's Court which is an enquiry into the care, development and treatment needs of the child. The primary focus of the School of industry is on the educational component of children's development, where teachers are required to perform all the major roles and functions. As mentioned the context of the present study is a School of Industry.

The third category comprises children and youth in Places of Safety/Detention. A Place of Safety is defined in terms of the Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983, and includes any place suitable for the reception, custody, observation, examination and treatment of a child, into which the owner, occupier, or person in charge is willing to receive a child. These facilities are the responsibility of the Department of Welfare. All Places of Safety are not detention centres. These facilities take mainly children who are in need of care, emotional support and protection. They are placed in these facilities under the Child Care Act of 1983. The majority of these children are there as a result of serious neglect or abuse. Owing to the shortage of secure care facilities, these facilities also take in children and youth awaiting trial.

The Child Care Act of 1983 clearly stipulates the rights of children and youth to care, protection, and development in these schools in Section 31(A). Some of these include the right to:

- know their rights and responsibilities,
- to participate in formulating a plan for their care and development, to be informed about said plan and to make changes to it,
- to be informed of behaviour expected of them, and of the consequences of not meeting these expectations,
- to be consulted and to express their views, according to their level of maturity, about significant decisions affecting them.
- to protection from all forms of emotional, physical, sexual, and verbal abuse.
- to be free from physical punishment
- to positive disciplinary measures appropriate to their level of maturity
- to learning opportunities which develop their capacity to demonstrate respect and care.
- to education appropriate to their age, their aptitude and their ability.
- To care and intervention which respects their cultural, religious and linguistic heritage, and the right to learn about and maintain this heritage.

In section 32, the Act stipulates various regulations for the control, maintenance of good behaviour, and behaviour management of children in Places of Safety, Reform

Schools and Schools of Industry. In section 32(3) the following behaviour management practices are prohibited, for example, group punishment for individual behaviour, humiliation or ridicule, physical punishment, deprivation of access to parents, deprivation of basic rights and needs such as food, clothing, shelter, bedding, measures that demonstrate discrimination on the basis of cultural or linguistic heritage, gender, race, or sexual orientation, undue influence by service providers regarding their religious or personal beliefs including sexual orientation.

From the above analysis, the Child Care Act of 1983 clearly protects the social rights of 'children and youth at risk' in the above formal facilities, including the right to participate in decision making related to their care and development, the right to protection, the right to development irrespective of differences in language, culture, religion, and the right to survival.

2.3.1 Barriers to Learning and Participation

According to policy in South Africa (Department of Education, July 2001; Department of Education, November 1997) inclusive education has at its core, concerns with supporting the rights to learning and participation of learners vulnerable to exclusion and marginalisation and to exclusionary pressures, barriers to learning and participation, within education. This permits a change in emphasis away from the focus on particular learners to the focus on creating cultures, policies, curricula, practices and conditions for learning within learning centres that are responsive to learners in their communities.

Barriers to participation exist within central government policies, learning centres themselves, and in strategies for human resource development which might undermine and fail to support this change in focus. Booth (2001) argues that inclusive education's focus on barriers to learning and participation and its underlying values offers the only means by which the "Education for All" rhetoric can be moved towards a practical reality. Disaffection, exclusion and low achievement arising from cultural and economic disparities, inappropriate curricula and inflexible organisational strategies endure in many systems, including South Africa.

Inclusive education can be seen as the processes of increasing the participation and reducing the exclusion of learners from, the cultures, curricula and communities of learning centres. It requires the restructuring of the cultures, curricula, policies and practices in schools so that they support the learning and participation of the diversity of learners. With an inclusive education framework, diversity is not viewed as a problem to be overcome by attempting to separate learners into groups, homogeneous in background and attainment. Diversity is instead seen as cause for celebration and a rich resource for teaching and learning. Inclusion/Exclusion involves processes that are essentially political. The goal is social change and social justice.

One of the most debilitating factors inhibiting the learners' positive development can be the way they are labelled and pigeonholed – seen rather in terms of 'their group' and their problems than as individuals with different needs (Dreyfus & Rabinov, 1983). The learners are not treated as critical contributors to their own education with different needs and abilities. They are stereotyped according to the artificially created homogenous group they fall into and expected to behave according to the norms created for the group by society.

Various forms of discriminatory attitudes intersect; they do not operate in isolation from each other. Thus a black female in a school of industry will be seen as belonging to a certain group and will be oppressively treated according to her race, gender identity and special needs. Her identity is constructed by the synthesis of the various oppressive attitudes regarding race, gender and disability.

Power is another issue critical to learners' development. Armstrong (1995) contends that,

"Power necessarily stands in relation to something else. It exists as power over something or someone... it creates the dependency of the powerless" (p. 1).

Power allows those who have it to control those who do not. Armstrong explains,

“ Often professionals are unaware of children’s own perspectives regarding the difficulties they encounter in their schooling... those children rarely have meaningful opportunities for contributing to the assessment [of their needs and abilities] on an equal footing with adult participants”(p. 5).

This means that learners are dictated to and not empowered to discover and decide what they are capable of achieving. Examples can be found at schools that have vocational and academic streams where the learners are placed according to what the school management deems to be suitable. Schools that silence the voices of the learners and ignore their ideas and experiences limit their educational opportunities. Greig & Taylor (1998) point out that they deny the learner freedom to develop as an empowered, *“subjective, contextual, self-determining and dynamic being”* (p. 37).

Segregation within schools, and particularly schools that are separated from the so-called ‘mainstream’, pose a problem to the goal of inclusion for a number of reasons. Firstly, by definition a segregated school that is isolated from the rest of society is not practicing inclusion particularly if opportunities to interact with broader society are limited. Secondly the learners’ sense of self develops by their interaction with each other and the staff. If this interaction is characterised by discriminatory attitudes and practices and occurs in complete isolation from larger society, the learners’ sense of exclusion and marginalisation can be greatly exacerbated.

Insistence on a particular, rigid curriculum is anathema to inclusionary education – insistence on English as the language of instruction and negation of learners’ cultural backgrounds can have far-reaching negative effects (Madala, 1990; Donald & Hlongwane, 1989; Brownell, De Jager & Madala, 1987). Educators have a responsibility to facilitate learning by concentrating not on the learners’ deficits but their strengths.

All the above areas critical to the learners’ development are run through with issues of racism, gender discrimination and ableism. Stereotyping or “pigeonholing” of learners often takes place on the basis of race, gender or disability. The power imbalance that exists is determined by the influences of race, class and gender.

Denial of the learners' background and insistence on a rigid approach to curriculum further marginalizes learners.

2.3.2 Racism, Gender discrimination and Ableism

It must be borne in mind that racism, gender discrimination and ableism intersect to create oppression and do not function as separate entities. Oppression can be more easily understood if some essential terms are defined. In order for oppression to exist there need to be agents and targets. Agents are those who benefit from the oppression and seek to perpetuate it. Targets are those who are oppressed. The oppression of a group by another group that benefits from the oppression is known as vertical oppression. Within both of these groups there is horizontal oppression where certain members of the group oppress members of the same group in order to retain the status quo. Central to horizontal oppression are internalised behaviours – behaviours that seem to occur naturally and are taken for granted. In the Agent group there is internalised domination and in the Target groups, internalised subordination. This means that the members of both groups see their position in society as common sense and part of the natural order of things (Adams, Bell & Griffin, 1997).

Racism, despite South Africa's new Constitution, remains deeply embedded in the attitudes of many of its citizens. Although there is as much variation within racial groups as between them (Jacoby & Glauberman, 1995) race remains a basis to discriminate suggesting that it is largely a social construction rather than a biological or genetic essence (Omi & Winant, 1986). Adams et al (1997) highlight two themes that run through the issue of racism. Firstly racism is a system of oppression that stigmatises and violates the subordinate group and does psychic and ethical damage to the dominant group. Secondly racism is not solely exercised through overt, conscious discrimination but also through attitudes and practices that are exhibited by those that take the dominant cultural norm to be "common sense".

Gender discrimination is used instead of sexism as it allows scope to investigate the way identities are constructed and how some constructed identities are favoured over others. Central to the discussion of gender discrimination is the concept of

Hegemonic masculinity. The 'hegemonic masculinity' is the dominant form of masculinity. Morrell (2001) explains that the term refers to

"a particular form of masculinity which is dominant in society which exercises its power over other, rival masculinities, and which regulates male power over women and distributes this power, differentially, amongst men" (p. 9).

Mac An Ghaill (1994) says the hegemonic masculinity is defined by homophobia, compulsory heterosexuality and misogyny. The hegemonic masculinity defines what individuals may see as acceptable behaviour. Tong (1989) explains that the hegemonic view of social reality is often accepted and seen as the natural order of things even by those who are disempowered by it. Those who do not adhere to the status quo as delineated by the hegemonic masculinity are marginalized. A clear example may be found in the issue of compulsory heterosexuality.

The hegemonic masculinity defines what roles are appropriate for girls, what subjects they should choose and what careers they should pursue. The girls are required to 'buy into' a particular concept of what constitutes femininity or 'being a lady'. They have far less power than men and men frequently abuse this power imbalance to impose themselves sexually onto girls and women.

Ableism is a pervasive form of discrimination and exclusion that oppresses people who have disabilities, emotional and social problems, and difficulties in learning. Ableism reflects the thinking that such people are inadequate because they fail to meet expected social and economic roles. It can operate at an individual, institutional and societal level (Adams et al, 1997). This type of discrimination takes a variety of forms. Educators may have lower expectations of what the so-called disabled students are capable of achieving. They will therefore not academically extend and encourage those perceived as disabled. The self-fulfilling prophecy comes into play where educators only look for evidence to support assumptions made on the basis of stereotypes. This evidence then confirms the legitimacy of the stereotypes that the educator has constructed. Possibly the worst form of ableism in the context of a school of industry is when an educator uses learners' past behaviour and current

situation as an instrument of control to shame them into silence or otherwise manipulate them.

It is seldom that one finds one form of discrimination acting alone in the context of a school. They tend to intersect (Unterhalter, April 2001). This means that they operate together to create oppression. The present study interrogated how the forms of discriminatory behaviour reveal themselves in the attitudes and practices of the staff at Tredenhorn.

2.4 Philosophical basis of the study

The philosophical perspective that frames this study is social constructionism. The study focuses on inclusionary and exclusionary attitudes and practices and their impact on the learners of the Tredenhorn School of Industry. Social constructionism allows for an in depth interrogation of the pertinent issues. Schwantz (1997) explains that Social Constructionism foregrounds the actor's perspective on the situation, and seeks to

“ understand how social actors recognize, produce, and reproduce social actions, and how they come to share an intersubjective understanding of specific life circumstances” (p. 19).

This intersubjectivity means that the learners' reality is constructed through interaction with other social beings. Attitudes and their related practices help shape the learners' sense of self and how they construe the situation they find themselves in. Social constructionism links to a fundamental concept in African philosophy, that of `ubuntu` a fuller expression being `umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu`. Higgs & Smith (2000) state that this means

“ a human being is a human being through other human beings...`ubuntu` recognises that the human self only exists and develops in relationships with other persons” (p. 58).

Allan, Brown and Riddell (1995) maintain that the social constructionist perspective,

“dismisses individualistic notions of disability and attributes the causes to environmental factors, including the teaching approaches used and the attitudes of those who interact with the child” (p.22).

This goes to the study's concern with the attitudes and practices of the staff at Tredenhorn and their influence on the learners' development rather than an emphasis on any perceived deficit possessed by the learner.

In the context of this study, social constructionism has two main elements. Firstly, it reflects how society constructs identity and often perceives those who are seen to be different as inferior. Secondly, it reflects how individuals (and groups) come to construct and internalise an identity through interaction with their social context. Finally social constructionism recognises that the previous two elements interact, often to reinforce stereotypes and further entrench prejudice. The learners, therefore, develop through interacting with their context and the ideas, attitudes and practices displayed in that context. I believe this philosophical framework is ideally suited to investigating how the learners develop their sense of self both as social beings and as students in relation to the attitudes and practices to which they are exposed.

CHAPTER THREE: MAPPING THE ROUTE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, CONTEXT, PROCESS AND PROCEDURE

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter will provide a brief description of the research paradigm, the research methodology, the context and subjects, the research methods and finally research process and procedures that were used in the study.

3.2 Research methodology

The research was conducted in the qualitative, naturalistic paradigm. This paradigm rejects the viewpoint of a detached, objective observer and believes that the researcher must understand the subjects' frame of reference. Data is gathered through engaging with the research subjects and getting their perspective on their situation, as Vuliamy and Webb (1992) attest, qualitative inquiry provides accounts and descriptions of the processes of social interaction in their natural setting. Burgess (1985) offers a further three characteristics of qualitative research: Firstly studies may be designed and redesigned, this means that researchers can formulate and reformulate their work and do not have to remain committed to perspectives which have been misconceptualised at the beginning of a study. Secondly the research is concerned with social processes and the meaning participants attribute to social situations. Thirdly data collection and data analysis occur simultaneously. The theory therefore emerges from the data collected rather than being superimposed upon the data.

One of the most significant traditions in qualitative research is ethnomethodology (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). This study took the form of a small-scale ethnographic case study. As Cohen et al., (2000) suggest a case study concentrates on the characteristics of a single unit of analysis, in this case a girls' School of Industry. The focus on a single unit does not mean the study is simplistic as Greig and Taylor (1999, p. 103) explain "*each case also has a number of elements within it, which makes up a total picture*". Lutz (1981) describes ethnography as follows,

" a holistic, thick description of the interaction process involving the discovery of important and recurring variables in the society as they relate to each other" (p.52).

This approach was chosen as it is best equipped to capture the complexities of the social interaction as an integrated whole. As Spindler and Spindler (1992) suggest hypotheses are developed 'in situ' as the study develops in the chosen setting and the researcher does not attempt to impose a preconceived theory on the situations that arise. It emphasizes or foregrounds the opinions and experiences of those involved in the study (LeCompte and Preiss, 1993), in this case, the learners, educators, care workers and support staff at Tredenhorn. Meaning is given to occurrences by both the researcher and the subjects. Ethnographic studies thus give the researcher's perspective validity while also prioritising the perspectives of the subjects. While the case study generally lets events speak for themselves, the researcher conducting the study can make theoretical statements if supported by the evidence presented (Cohen et al., 2000). Hence the study was not just a documentary-type account. Its findings if applied with discretion can be used to interrogate other schools and contexts. The strengths of critical ethnographic studies, these being; recognition of the participants' perspective, the researcher as a critical participant investigating issues of power and oppression and the realisation that research is inescapably value-laden (Quantz, 1992, p 473), were integrated with those of the case study to investigate the impact of practices (both discriminatory and empowering) on the learners.

3.3 The school context and subjects

Tredenhorn is situated in a farming district in South Africa approximately 3 kilometres from the nearest small town. To reach the school one must travel along a bumpy dirt road that has been carved into the side of the valley within which the school is situated. The landscape has a stark beauty to it consisting mainly of rocks, scrub brush and trees with the occasional traditional hut dotted around. A high perimeter fence topped with razor wire surrounds the school with a secondary wall inside it. Entrance to the school is through a three metre high metal gate and a security guard receives all visitors.

The school was founded as a girls' only School of Industry in 1994. It has the capacity to accommodate 100 girls. At present it is home to about 66 girls. The pupil body is completely multiracial with African, Zulu first language speakers forming the largest group. The school has a staff of 12 educators (including the principal), two having resigned after the third term this year. There are 37 non-educator staff comprising: 14 careworkers, 14 cleaners/groundstaff and laundry workers, 2 housemothers, 2 professional nurses and 5 administrative staff. There is a psychiatrist who visits several times a month and social workers paid by the local education authority on the outside who attempt to help with the integration of learners into mainstream society.

The curriculum has two 'streams' at Tredenhorn, one an academic stream and the other vocational. Learners were initially placed in a particular stream according to IQ tests. This was deemed to be discriminatory hence learners' IQ's are now only used as guidelines as to their potential. The learners are now placed on the basis of what school they attended prior to Tredenhorn, that is, If they attended a so-called special school they are placed in the vocational stream and if they attended a mainstream school they are placed in the academic stream. They remain in their originally designated places unless they are deemed to be displaying academic aptitude by the teachers and management. The school has grades 7 to 12 often with as few as 5 learners per class.

3.4 Research methods

A variety of research methods were used:

Observations: Observations were particularly helpful in analysing the dynamics of interaction between all subjects (educators, careworkers and learners) at once. As Cohen et al state (2000, p. 315), "*Observation methods are powerful tools for gaining insight into situations.*" Observations were used to examine various aspects of the school context such as classroom teaching and learning, assemblies, extracurricular activities, interactions between educators and learners and care workers and learners. I was afforded the opportunity of spending several days and

nights on the school premises (a total of approximately 150 hrs). This enabled comprehensive, in depth observation in the form of a small-scale ethnography.

Document analysis: By critically analysing documents through basic questions, the researcher exposes the clues and truths in its construction (Wolfenden, 2000, p. 26). This provides insights into the ethos and culture of an institution or setting. Various documents relating to school policy, practices and record keeping were examined along with samples of the learners' work. Documents such as the school mission statement gave an insight into what the school hoped to achieve and documents such as the school logbook revealed other perspectives on the school.

Questionnaires: A standard questionnaire adapted from one developed by a publication, "Index of Inclusive schools: Developing Learning and Participation in Schools" (Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education, 2000) containing a set of materials to support schools in a process of inclusive school development was used (see Appendix 1). Self-generated questionnaires (see Appendix 4) created by the learners themselves were used to give an alternative perspective on issues investigated. I explained my role to the learners and then asked them to assume the role of researcher. I then asked them each to devise a questionnaire asking questions they felt needed to be answered regarding the school. The learners, allowed to question aspects of the school through the medium of the self-generated questionnaire (see Appendix 4), provided rich, relevant data.

Interviews: Semi-structured interviews with staff and learners were used to allow all participants to express themselves openly and freely. Individual interviews were conducted with staff to facilitate full disclosure through privacy. Group interviews were conducted with learners as this was felt to be less threatening. Certain basic questions were asked as a framework (see Appendices 2 & 3). However, the subjects were given scope to voice their opinions on any issue they deemed to be of import. Informal discussions with class and staff groups helped generate data that was used to prompt learners during the interviews, and to broaden the study's perspective on certain issues.

3.5 Research Process and Procedures

All available learners at Tredenhorn (58 respondents) participated in the study through their engagement with the structured questionnaire and the self-generated questionnaires. A sample of 12 learners – one fifth of those present at school at the time – participated in the semi-structured interview. They were a random sample chosen from those learners who had spent more than six months at Tredenhorn. Four different educators' lessons were observed, six educators were formally interviewed, four careworkers were interviewed and the rest of the staff members were informally spoken with on a number of occasions. It was often through the latter that new issues arose to be investigated. The educators' lessons were randomly chosen, as were the careworkers to be interviewed. Three of the educators were specifically chosen for interviews, as they were members of the management team and policy makers at the school. The others were randomly selected. A questionnaire was developed for the staff and left at the school with senior management's assurances that the staffs' responses would be posted within two weeks of my last visit – this has not been done. A further request was met with assurances of immediate action but again nothing was forthcoming. Not wanting to jeopardize further research opportunities I did not make a third request. Fortunately, informal discussions and formal interviews have provided a wealth of useful data.

The ethical aspect is an important element of the research process particularly when one is conducting research with children. Legally, children cannot give informed consent but they may give assent (informed agreement to participate in the research). Mauthner (1997, p 18) states that “ *Care needs to be taken to present the research topic and the research clearly to children.*” The exact nature of the research, what is expected, the risks involved and the understanding that the respondents may withdraw from the study at any stage and withdraw any unprocessed data must be made clear to the children (Bailey, 2001). These important prerequisites were dealt with from the outset of the study. The learners were informed of my identity, the nature of the research and the fact that participation was entirely voluntary. They were informed that their responses would be treated with the utmost confidentiality and that their identities would not be disclosed (no real names are used in the findings section). In addition to the above Mauthner (1997, p.19) refers to the “

question of unequal power relationships between adult researchers and children” and emphasizes the need for responsiveness, flexibility and open-ended research techniques. The learners generated their own questionnaires and were given the scope to express themselves fully in the semi-structured interviews. This offset the unequal power relationships to a large degree by foregrounding the learners’ experiences and ideas.

Greig and Taylor (1998) state that case study triangulation involves obtaining more than one, usually three, perspectives on a given phenomenon. This entails using multiple data collection techniques. This study used four research methods. Validity was ensured by the use of triangulation both in the sense of one method being used to investigate different subjects’ perspectives and, different methods of data collection being used to study a single phenomenon. This prevented bias and distortion. Equal credence was given to all views expressed.

CHAPTER FOUR: ENCOUNTERS AT TREDENHORN: CONSTRUCTING BARRIERS?

4.1 Introduction

South Africa has one of the worlds most positive, democratic and enlightened education policies. This, however, does not guarantee its effective implementation. Similarly Tredenhorn's mission statement is positive yet the attitudes and practices exhibited by the staff often do not match its philosophy. This chapter deals with findings of the study with respect to the school's ethos, issues of power and control, and discriminatory attitudes and practices.

4.2 Purported Philosophy and Ethos of the School:

The Tredenhorn mission statement is as follows:

To guide each pupil so that she will be able to re-adapt to society as a self-supporting and dignified person, with a sense of self respect. This is achieved by:

- ***Educating each pupil according to her ability, aptitude and interest.***
- ***Educating each pupil in totality and to guide her to adulthood – physically, socially, emotionally, intellectually and spiritually.***
- ***Developing each pupil maximally according to her workrate and ability.***
- ***Preparing each pupil to pursue a career and becoming a responsible citizen.***

The approach will not only be through normal teaching methods to enable the pupil to achieve her maximum scholastic level, but to inculcate religious, moral and socially acceptable norms.

(Tredenhorn1996)

Inherent in the above mission statement are various principles that suggest an inclusionary ethos. Throughout the main school building comprising of the reception area, the staff room and administrative offices there are framed inspirational posters with inscriptions such as:

TEAMWORK: Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed people can change the world. Indeed it is the only thing that ever has.

PRIORITIES: A hundred years from now it will not matter what my bank account was, the sort of house I lived in, or the kind of car I drove... But the world might be different because I was important in the life of a child.

The principles that emerge in these documents foreground the treatment of the learner as an individual and stress the importance of a committed, compassionate staff. The mission statement recognizes that different learners have different learning needs and different strengths and interests, principles that are central to the concept of inclusive education and training (Education White Paper 6, 2001). Unfortunately the attitudes and practices exhibited by the staff rarely match the positive philosophy expressed in the above documentation.

4.3 Whose voices are heard and whose are silenced?

There is a fairly rigidly structured hierarchy at Tredenhorn. The headmaster is recently appointed and as yet has not assumed full responsibility for the management of the school. A deputy headmaster and two senior heads of department (HODs) support him. The head and deputy are Indian men and the senior HODs are white women. The rest of the staff have very little to do with the running of the school. One of the senior HODs by virtue of her experience and assertiveness holds sway in most discussions regarding school policy. There is no governing body in place at present; therefore, the four individuals mentioned have an inordinate amount of power over the running of the school. They decide on the daily timetable, the content of lessons, the curriculum stream the learners are placed in and disciplinary measures.

The careworkers occupy a lesser position than the educators in the hierarchy of school governance yet have an incredibly powerful position over the learners. They spend a great deal of time with the learners, mediate over disputes, provide (or withhold) love and affection and discipline the learners when they see necessary. Their input is vital into how the learners are grouped. The group system is the central mode of discipline at Tredenhorn, groups range from the Golden group through A to D. Golden group consists of those learners who are deemed to be the best behaved. The D group, on the opposite end of the scale, is for those deemed to be badly behaved. The learners have different privileges according to what group they are placed into, with the Golden group getting the most and the D group the least. The careworkers' reports are an important part of this process although management can invalidate their reports if it sees fit. In practice this means that if a member of management takes a dislike to a child for any reason, the child and the careworkers are powerless to improve the child's standing. Phillipa, a grade 10 learner says,

" If you have a fight with say, Desiree and she goes running to Mrs W, you'll just stay in the same group or get dropped to D group."

All non-management staff interviewed, slightly more than 70% of the learners in their self-generated questionnaires, and all learners in the group interview, mentioned this problem with the group system. The careworkers' job is a pastoral one, to nurture the learners and convey their needs to management. Any concerns regarding the well-being of the learners are to be stated in the careworkers' logbook. On analysis of their logbooks however there is no evidence of this pastoral priority. There are frequent complaints about working conditions and late payment but no input on the learners' well being and concerns. The learners are deprived of this conduit to express themselves.

The learners have very little say in the running of the school. There were previously prefects and student representatives but it was felt that (as one of the senior HODs – Mrs W told me), ***"It doesn't work and causes jealousy so it fell away"***. Learners do not have a forum to discuss their grievances as a group and certain members of management seem loath to allow this to occur. During the completion of the questionnaire the learners were closely supervised, and on occasion Mrs W

appeared to prompt individuals to give certain answers. She also did not allow the Zulu first language speakers to answer the questionnaires that had been translated into Zulu but insisted on the English version ostensibly as the school is an English-medium institution.

The maintenance of complete control is a crucial concern at Tredenhorn. Mrs W says that management will never call police onto the property to resolve problem situations unless absolutely necessary, "**they then see it as a transfer of authority because you are not handling the situation**". The geographic isolation of the school, the physical restrictions placed on the learners by the high fences and steel gate and their consequent reliance on the staff also place a great deal of power in the hands of the staff. Interviews (of staff and learners), observation and questionnaire responses revealed how many aspects of the learners' daily lives are strictly controlled; their access to pocket money, their permitted time on the telephone - they are only allowed 3 minutes, they have to shower in full view of the careworkers and other learners, and they must eat at set times. A consistent assertion by management is that the learners need structure as it provides security. This is an interesting view in light of the fact that lessons are often cancelled on the flimsiest pretext and the learners are left to wander the school under the supervision of the careworkers while the day's structure disintegrates. This will be further examined in the context of Ableism later.

4.4 Inclusion or Discrimination?

4.4.1 Constructing Difference

There is need to understand that the apartheid system categorized and officially classified people in terms of 'race'. Four major races were identified: 'Whites', 'Indian', 'Coloureds' and 'African'. This racial classification of South Africans impacted on every aspect of their lives. This was particularly evident in material conditions under which they existed – conditions that ensured they lived segregated and unequal lives. In the school context researched in the study, it became clear that the girl's (identities) were constructed according to the above categories, both by the staff and the learners themselves. The term 'blacks' referred specifically to African learners and staff.

Against this background, the study revealed that racism is rife at Tredenhorn. There is evidence of racism in staff – learner, staff – staff and learner - learner relationships. 64% of learners disagreed with the statement that “ no-one is treated badly because of the colour of their skin”. Over 70% of the learners mentioned racial problems in their self-generated questionnaires. Interviews and observations clarified that many individuals in the staff and amongst the learners were racist. During the initial visit to the school Mrs W said that,

“You have to know how to treat them [blacks]. You have to treat them differently to other people as they don’t think like us.”

During the final research visit to the school, the same member of management reiterated what she had said during the first visit and added,

“ I sometimes think that they think we are better than them [pause] or they think that we think we are better than them [blacks].”

Another member of management Mrs P asserts that

“black teachers are different, they’ll stay off school for any little thing.”

The black teachers tend to distance themselves from the rest of the staff not joining the rest of the staff in the staff room at break. Mr N, a languages teacher, says he is made to feel uncomfortable at the school and wants to change schools.

All the careworkers interviewed reported that there were problems with racism and that often there were acts of resistance from the target groups, that is, those who were subject to racism. Ms. E said,

“ The black girls tend to gang up on the whites, you know – majority rule”.

She also mentions that there were some extremely racist white learners.

In the interview conducted with a sample of the learners there was animated response to questions around the issue with all the groups, 'coloured', black and 'Indian' learners, saying they had been subject to racism at one time or another. They were subject to racism from the staff and fellow learners. Observations and interviews with staff confirmed that racist attitudes and practices were indeed present. These racist attitudes are internalized by the learners and are often angrily expressed.

An interview with an experienced member of staff, Mr F, generated the following:

Interviewer: What about the issue of racism?

Mr F: My opinion on the issue and because I have very sensitive ears [chuckle] is that learners are upset with service providers here.

Interviewer: You mean teachers?

Mr F: Teachers, careworkers, admin staff, cleaners etc. they will pass through and say [with vehemence] 'that fucking Indian I'll put a knife through his head' or for that matter 'the white teachers only look after the white pupils' or 'these African learners they've still got the wrong ideas about what is expected from them.'

Internalized racism that becomes manifest as horizontal oppression is also an issue. Black learners that have internalized the racist attitudes of staff and the belief that they are not capable of achieving what the white learners are, pick on those black learners who apply themselves to their studies and begin to reap the rewards. Learner T explains

" Here at school I don't say we don't have whites being racist to us, I mean there is but blacks are racist to blacks [other black learners in group concur]. There's a saying 'umuntu omnyama doesn't want to see omuntu omnyama going up' [Black people don't want to see black people going up]."

The learners also complain about being stereotyped and given a blanket group identity by the staff. Learner H,

“And just say J makes a mistake they won’t say J stop it they’ll say the coloureds are like this or the Indians are like this, they’ll pick on the whole nation.”

When asked what should be done with those who display racist attitudes the level of antagonism and anger was clear in some of the responses, “***F... them up***” and “***Kill them***” being two of the more extreme examples.

4.4.2 Being a Girl

The learners are certainly expected to conform to stereotypical notions of what “being a girl” entails. Mrs W says that it is a woman’s job to tend the home and “***produce children***” while Mrs P believes the learners must be taught to behave like “***proper young ladies***”. The learners are taught stereotypically gender specific subjects such as cookery, needlework and art even though many have requested to start more so-called masculine subjects such as woodwork and metalwork.

A very problematic issue is that of lesbianism. The staff at Tredenhorn abhor and are deeply distressed by lesbianism, often not because of the fact that it involves sexual behaviour on the school premises but because it involves same-sex sexual interaction. The Deputy headmaster conducted an assembly where he openly vilified “the lesbians”. The harassment of other girls was not addressed but rather the fact that lesbianism was unnatural and “*a sin*”. A senior member of staff set up “***Christian-orientated counseling sessions to rehabilitate the lesbians***”. One of the questions that was posed by a learner through the self-generated questionnaires was, “***Is lesbianism [sic] a sin?***” Girls were threatened with expulsion if caught performing lesbian acts. There appeared to be a lot of confusion on the part of the learners regarding lesbianism.

The final clear form of gender discrimination at Tredenhorn is sexual harassment of learners. During the first research visit a teacher was being investigated for sexual misconduct. During lesson observations the same teacher often seemed overly

familiar with the learners and occasionally passed inappropriate comments. He was cleared of any wrongdoing by management, a member of management saying,

“While you can accept what the girls say, you don’t necessarily have to believe it.”

During the final research visit to the school the self-same teacher who was accused of sexual assault struck a learner who was disobedient. While the occurrence was mentioned in the staffroom, it was without rancour or any concern, it was treated as humorous buffoonery on the teacher’s part. Occasionally what could be construed as lecherous behaviour such as overly physical communication and verbal innuendo by certain male teachers was observed both in the classroom and in other settings.

4.4.3 “They’re just not capable”

As stated in chapter two, the term ableism, in the context of this study, is used to refer to prejudice against those with medically defined disabilities and those who have been subject to disadvantage and learning breakdown. The learners at Tredenhorn have experienced learning breakdown and are subject to discriminatory attitudes and behaviour because of it.

The learners at Tredenhorn are seen as having limited academic potential by most of the staff and are treated accordingly. The social worker explained that the girls are at the school for a variety of reasons from,

“typical adolescent rebelliousness to more deep-seated problems”.

It seems however that often the staff construct the learners as problem children and make no attempt to understand their needs and help them realize their potential. A response that exemplifies a frequently made point in the questionnaires and interviews is,

“ They talk at us and tell us what to do and what we can’t do but they don’t know what they are talking about, they don’t understand anything”.

It became clear both in the interviews and the self-generated questionnaires that the learners felt that they were restricted unfairly in terms of subject choice and that those in the vocational stream were at a distinct disadvantage. Certain educators also expressed their wishes for less restrictive subject choice. During the first research visit, Mrs W asserted the following in reference to the vocational stream,

" Most of our girls, although they don't like it that is where they belong."

She was outspoken during the final visit saying,

"Grades 11 and 12 are a waste of time so is the academic stream – we're just going round and round in circles here".

This view is not shared by all the staff some of whom point to the success of a recent matriculant who got three distinctions. Mr Q said,

" Management wanted to scrap grades 11 and 12 until Suzanne got three A's, we were very proud of her and it shows girls here can achieve".

A careworker bemoans the lack of educator commitment saying that they do not expect the learners to achieve so fail to push and encourage them. When asked why lessons fall away if there is a water shortage, she replied,

" Leave alone that, if there's even a small problem [voice raised and agitated] the whole school stops... I mean what are we teaching the children!"

Two learners at the school are illiterate and a staff member remarked that they have not gained any writing skills in six months. One of these learners is scheduled to be returned to her home because her behaviour has been exemplary. An educator stated that she was extremely ***"tidy and polite"*** in short, in the view of the educators and management she has learnt to "fit in".

Observation of lessons revealed ideal class sizes (six or seven learners per class) yet very little intensive teaching took place at all. Lessons were often cancelled or truncated for reasons such as water shortages or electricity problems. There seemed to be an attitude of indifference displayed by the majority of the educators. One stated with an air of resignation that,

“there’s only so much you can accomplish with girls like these.”

Most educators when given the option of teaching or gathering all the learners into the hall to play games routinely take the latter option. On three separate occasions during water shortages, management cancelled lessons. Only two of the twelve educators opted to remain in their classrooms to assist those who wanted to learn.

When instructions were being given to the learners as how to construct their own questionnaires an educator told the researcher the learners could not understand the instructions. Not only did the vast majority of the learners understand the instructions but their insightful questions also provided much rich data asking questions such as:

Why do they tease us with our problem when we have an understanding [not to reveal learners’ personal problems] with them?

Why don’t we go for outings?

Is the schoolwork at Tredenhorn the same as at other schools?

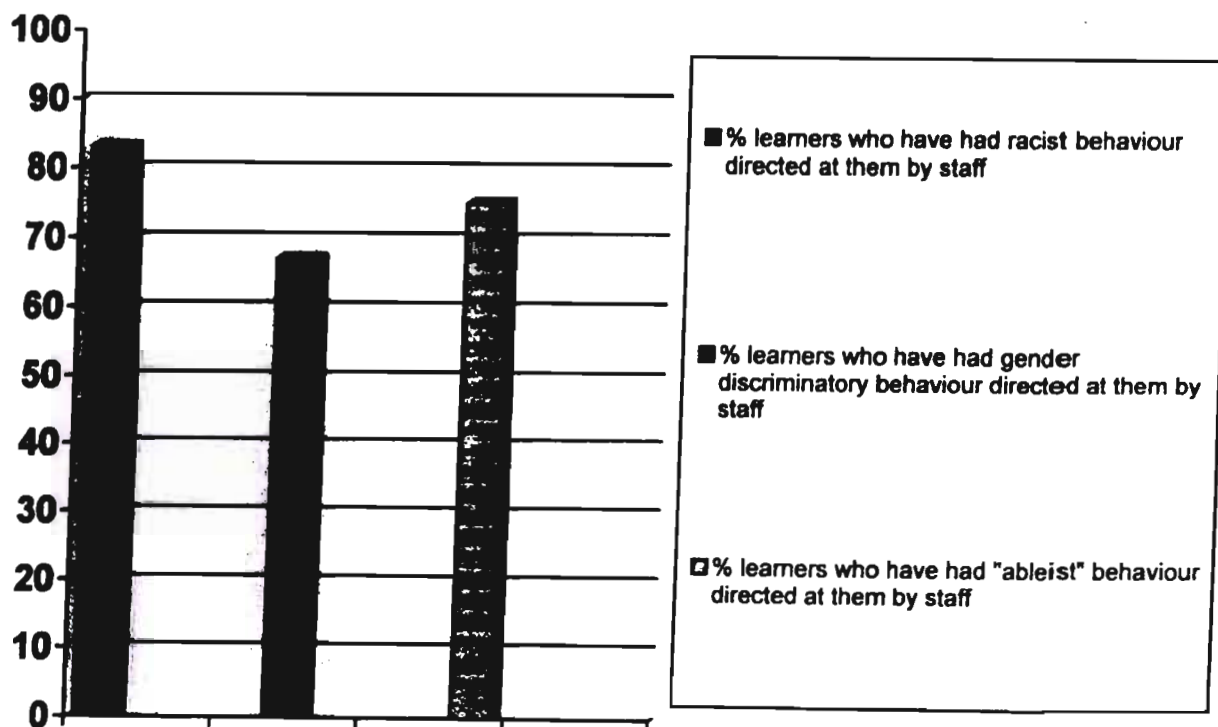
The learners are deeply resentful of the fact that they are seldom taken on excursions. The staff rationalize this by saying that the learners can not be trusted to behave themselves appropriately. When this is put to the learners they assert that if they were properly supervised and shown respect and trust they would reciprocate by adhering to the rules for excursions. One of the most disturbing reports of ableism came through the self-generated questionnaires and the learner and teacher interviews. It was stated that some teachers used the reasons for certain learners being brought to the school to shame them into silence or otherwise humiliate them or demonstrate power. Certain teachers would comment on a learner’s problems with

drug abuse or openly criticize a learner's previously promiscuous behaviour. Some teachers compared the learners to their own children using their own children as examples of normality to reveal the deficits in the learners. Learner P clearly shows the hurt and frustration this causes when she says,

" I wanted to tell the bitch, just say your daughter gets pregnant then she's not so perfect when compared to me. And you know it's so easy things like that can happen to anyone".

Below is a table constructed with data gleaned from the learners' formal, and self-generated questionnaires that clearly shows the pervasiveness of discriminatory behaviour at Tredenhorn.

Figure 4.5 Showing Levels of Discriminatory Behaviour



CHAPTER FIVE: MAKING MEANING AT TREDENHORN

5.1 Introduction:

In this chapter an attempt will be made to examine some broad themes that have emerged in this study in light of current literature on social exclusion and inclusive education.

5.2 Power and Control

An important component of the relationship between attitudes, practices and their effects on the learner at Tredenhorn is the power dimension. The discriminatory attitudes and practices do not operate in isolation. The imbalance of power that exists between learners and staff is reinforced by the learners' isolation and vulnerability. The imbalance of power and isolation combine to ensure that the staff's attitudes and practices have a huge impact on the learners' development, as they are all the learners are exposed to. While 25% of the staff do not exhibit any discriminatory attitudes a significant number do. The learners' concerns are not heard and they are not allowed to contribute to their own education. They have no say in how they are assessed and are completely disempowered in the school context – the antithesis of the goals of inclusive education (Armstrong, 1995).

Certain members of management as revealed in the previous chapter were loath to let the learners express their opinions and views on issues. With this ethos discriminatory attitudes and practices are rarely challenged, on the contrary, they are allowed to flourish. This study has remarkable parallels to one conducted by Allan (1999) at "mainstream" schools containing disabled learners in Scotland, specifically regarding educator responses to learners articulating their concerns, and criticizing elements of their schooling. She states,

“Teachers appeared uncomfortable with the status of pupils as active critics and the pupils expressed surprise to be placed in a situation where their views were central” (p. 2).

5.3 The Policy-Practice Divide

Education White Paper Six (Department of Education, 2001) states that inclusive education is about,

“Acknowledging and respecting differences in learners, whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language class, disability, HIV or other infectious diseases”(p.6).

This principle is entrenched in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, and the White paper on Education and Training (Department of Education, 1995). However, findings in this study reveal that there is a clear policy to practice gap.

Racism appears to be the most prevalent form of discriminatory behaviour at Tredenhorn. The study revealed that several educators display condescending attitudes towards Africans be they learners or fellow staff members. African learners that “know their place” are treated better than those that seek to challenge the roles they are being encouraged to occupy. Inclusion in this context seems to be inclusion into a discriminatory framework if anything. There is a selective recognition of African culture and language that is extremely discriminatory. An example was provided by the refusal of a member of management to allow isiZulu learners to answer the isiZulu language questionnaires and an insistence on the English. This is clearly a negation of the learners' background (Madala ,1990; Donald & Hlongwane, 1989; Brownell, De Jager & Madala, 1987). However the self-same member of management was happy to recognize their background when wanting to be critical, hence utterances like, **“You have to know how to treat them... they don't think like us”**.

Racism is not the sole form of discrimination but functions together with gender discrimination and ableism to construct the learners' identity. Many of the issues related above could equally apply to all the forms of discrimination practiced at Tredenhorn. The learners are expected to adhere to set definitions and fulfill stereotyped roles. Girls are supposed to be "innately heterosexual" (Rich, 1980). The staff expect certain behaviour from the learners because they are categorized as "youth at risk" in a school of industry and respond to them on that basis creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. This is completely contrary to the goal of inclusive education as expressed by Barton (1997) who asserts,

" Inclusive education is about responding to diversity; it is about listening to unfamiliar voices, being open, empowering all members and about celebrating 'difference' in dignified ways" (p. 233).

Because the learners are disempowered they cannot challenge the way they have been socially constructed which leads to greater frustration and further marginalisation.

5.4 Changing Attitudes

At Tredenhorn school, discriminatory attitudes paradoxically while often generalizing about a particular group focus on perceived weaknesses inherent in individuals. There is a tendency to ignore the issue of " socially constructed disadvantage" (Muthukrishna, 2001). As stated by a report of NCSNET and NCESS (Department of Education, 1997),

"Discriminatory attitudes resulting from prejudice... manifest themselves as barriers to learning when such attitudes are directed towards learners in the education system"(p. 15)

This prejudice is clearly having a powerful impact on the learners at Tredenhorn and severely limiting their opportunities to achieve inclusion in any significant way. Lomofsky, Roberts and Mvambi (1999) insist that,

“To support the inclusion of learners with special education needs teachers have to be sensitive, not only to the particular needs of individual learners, but also to their own attitudes and feelings”(p.71).

It is vital that staff are aware of their own attitudes but this alone is not enough. Staff must also be aware of how these attitudes influence the construction of the learners' identity and their sense of self. At present the learners, instead of being empowered and treated with positive regard are invalidated and pressurized into assuming certain subservient, limited roles. Staff need to be aware of the fact that these practices contravene the Child Care Act of 1983. The Act clearly prohibits measures that demonstrate discrimination on the basis of cultural or linguistic heritage, ability, gender, race or sexual orientation.

CHAPTER SIX : WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNT?

6.1 Introduction

This investigation into inclusion and exclusion at Tredenhorn found that a preponderance of the data pointed towards discriminatory attitudes and practices. It is clear that learners are perceived as having deficits. The fact that societal construction of them as belonging to a “at risk” category impacts on all aspects of their lives is ignored.

6.2 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The fact that I was able to gain entry into the context with a minimum of difficulty was a definite strength. I was able to establish a positive rapport with the staff and the learners from the outset and they expressed themselves freely in my presence be it in an informal context or interview situation.

The use of four different methods of data collection prevented the development of a skewed perception regarding the school. The fairly extensive amount of time spent in the school context gave added depth to my understanding of the school environment and the dynamics at work. Although this study was conceptualized as an ethnography, it is conceded that it is small scale in the sense that the period of 150 hours (approximately 6 days) is rather limited. The study must be seen in the context of exploratory research.

The access the Headmaster and his deputy gave me to documents, classrooms and interviews meant that little time was wasted negotiating access. This provided for collection of a large amount of relevant data.

Possibly the most significant limitation of the study is that the rationale behind the staff's discriminatory attitudes was not fully interrogated. However due to time and

space constraints associated with a minor dissertation perhaps it was expedient to leave such investigation to a larger study.

6.3 Implications of the Study

The following implications for both schools of industry and mainstream schools can be drawn from the study:

- Learners' sense of self is profoundly affected by staff attitudes and practices.
- Inclusion is not about teaching learners to "fit in" it is about developing an awareness of the barriers the learners face and finding ways to limit these barriers.
- Staff development sessions are necessary. It is critical that they highlight accountability, and focus on continually interrogating barriers to learning and participation embedded in the ethos, cultures and curricula at the school. The schools need to ensure that principles and stipulations in the Child Care Act of 1983 are not violated.
- Issues of power and power relations need to be constantly interrogated, and imbalances addressed in an ongoing manner.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Adapted “Index for Inclusion” questionnaire

Appendix 2: Basic questions for semi-structured interview with staff

Appendix 3: Basic questions for semi-structured interview with learners

APPENDIX 1

What I think about Tredenhorn School of Industry

Questionnaire adapted from "Index for Inclusion: developing learning and participation in schools"

Please fill in the details directly below and then carefully answer the questions that follow.

Stream:

Vocational

Academic

(tick the correct block)

Grade:

Group:

		<table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;">Strongly Disagree</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Disagree</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Agree</td> <td style="width: 25%;">Strongly Agree</td> </tr> </table>				Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree						
1.	In lessons I often work with other students in pairs and small groups.								
2.	I enjoy most of my lessons..								
3.	I am learning a lot in this school.								
4.	The work is easy.								
5.	My friends help me in class when I am stuck with my work.								
6.	Teachers help me in class when I am stuck with my work.								
7.	It is easier to speak to female rather than male teachers.								
8.	In lessons teachers are interested in listening to my ideas.								
9.	My work is displayed on the walls in the school.								
10.	The staff at this school is friendly to me.								
11.	I think the teachers are fair.								
12.	When I am given homework I usually understand what to do.								
13.	I usually do the homework I am given.								
14.	Most of the time I like being at Tredenhorn.								
15.	It's good to have students from different backgrounds in the school.								
16.	If you really misbehave at this school you will be sent home.								
17.	The school is right to send a student home if they behave badly.								
18.	I have some good friends at this school.								
19.	I worry about being called names at school.								
20.	I worry about being bullied at school.								

		Strongly Disagree			
		Disagree			
		Agree			
		Strongly Agree			
21.	If anyone bullied me I would tell a teacher.				
22.	I like my registration teacher.				
23.	Everyone is made to feel welcome at this school.				
24.	Students help and respect each other.				
25.	Staff treat me with respect.				
26.	The teachers work hard to make this a good place to come to.				
27.	Students are taught to appreciate those who have different backgrounds to their own.				
28.	Sometimes pupils say things in Zulu so the teacher won't understand.				
29.	Activities are arranged outside of lessons which interest everyone.				
30.	I wish there were a equal number of boys and girls at this school.				
31.	I feel uncomfortable in certain lessons because of my religious beliefs.				
32.	No-one gets treated badly at this school because of the colour of their skin.				

These are the three things I would most like to change about the school:

1.

2.

3.

APPENDICES

Appendix 4

QUESTIONS GENERATED BY LEARNERS IN SELF-GENERATED QUESTIONNAIRES.

Do you enjoy living at this school?

Do you get enough attention?

Do the teachers and care staff respect the girls?

How do the staff treat the girls?

Do you think the school helps you with your problem?

Why do they (teachers) tease us with our problem when we have an understanding [not to reveal learners' personal problems]?

Should the teachers judge [sic] a person by what you have done and should they even know what you have done?

Do you sometimes feel that everyone is trying to break you down by saying rude things?

Do you have enough privacy?

Do you think Tredenhorn should be called a school of industries or a boarding school?

Why is the school so far in the bush?

Would you prefer to go to school at Tredenhorn or the outside schools?

What is the most disturbing thing at Tredenhorn?

Should you be forced to do what you don't want to do?

Is there racism at Tredenhorn?

Do you think there is too much violence at this school?

Is the schoolwork at Tredenhorn the same as at other schools?

Do we go for school outings often enough?

Are we allowed to play sport against other schools?

Why aren't there more subjects offered, for example, Accounting, Computer Studies?

Why don't we play tennis at this school?

How difficult is the schoolwork and what is taught?

Do you think that the education here at Tredenhorn is too little (limited)?

Why is it that the school does not have school leaders or youth leaders?

Why don't they find jobs for us when we leave?

If you finish matric, do they worry about you and what you are doing in outside life?