

**TEACHER DESEGREGATION IN KWAZULU-NATAL:
A SPATIAL ANALYSIS**

by

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DECLARATION

I, N. BALKARAN do hereby declare that this dissertation, which is submitted to the university for the degree of Doctor of Education has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at any other university, and all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of a complete reference.

N. Balkaran

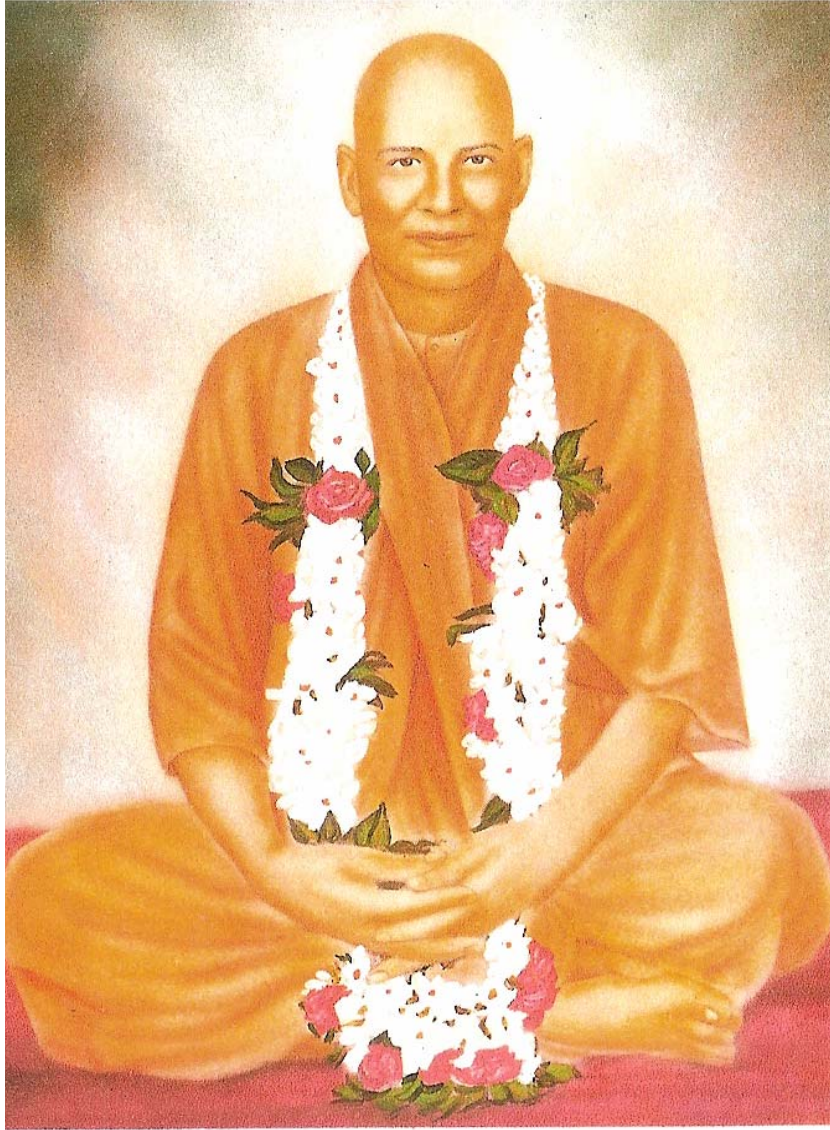


Researcher



Professor R Sookrajh

DEDICATION



**This work is dedicated to the Greatest Teacher of all:
His Holiness Sri Swami Sivananda**

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In my almost selfish quest for some intellectual stimulation, there have been many individuals who spontaneously and selflessly offered their support.

It is with great reverence that I offer thanks to Sri Gurudev, His Holiness Sri Swami Sivananda, to Whom this work is dedicated, and Pujiye Swami Sahajananda, the spiritual head of the Divine Life Society of South Africa, for conferring the continuous grace required to bring this dissertation to completion.

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ABSTRACT

Given the historically repressive and racist legislation and practices of a white supremacist government, and notwithstanding the subsequent advent of a new democratic state, this thesis argues that the desegregation of teachers is unlikely to unfold in accordance with the conceived ideals and expectations of the Constitution of South Africa. It is further contended that while teacher desegregation has occurred to a limited extent, it has not contributed substantially to the realization of non-racialism. Set against the backdrop of the values framework espoused in the Constitution, this study is located in KwaZulu-Natal, one of the nine provinces that constitute South Africa.

Taking into account the 'layered' nature of social reality, and using a humanistic-sociological approach, which is characterised by an emphasis on the human being as the central focus, this study combines both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The first layer of the study comprises of a feasibility study which aims to ascertain the extent to which teacher desegregation has occurred in KwaZulu-Natal as well as to assess the experiences of a convenience sample of teachers who have moved to schools that were historically not designated to their race group. This layer of the study is exploratory and succeeds in providing the contour of the data and indicated the need for an extended, in-depth study. The feasibility study is followed by the second layer of study which serves the purpose of discovery and which comprises of an analysis of how teachers define, understand and manage desegregation. The subsequent layer is an intensification of the data and interrogates the experiences of teachers who are currently employed at schools that were historically inaccessible places of employment.

Driven by a strongly Lefebvrian theoretical perspective on space, the data is analysed taking into consideration the conception of space that prevails today in

the country as opposed to the spatial practices and representation of space of the historical past which were determined largely by legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, both of which territorially divided the country and marked bodies in terms of race thereby contributing to the inextricable intertwining of race and space.

It is suggested that while some progress has been made in respect of racial desegregation and integration, the enduring effects of history which are inscribed in space persist nonetheless. This is evident from the experiences of alienation, marginalisation, displacement, territorialism, resegregation as well as a sense of violation of space which are described by the participants. In addition, obstacles to desegregation are factors such as a fear of crime, inaccessibility of schools, racism and the challenges posed by language.

Ideas for further research in respect of teacher desegregation in other provinces of the country as well as issues of teacher identity in desegregated spaces are suggested and the possible use of a spatial perspective in other studies is encouraged.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Marking the Territory

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter it is argued that teacher desegregation (and ultimately integration) at public schools is unlikely to unfold according to the expectations and ideals conceived by the democratically elected government of South Africa.¹ While the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996)² acknowledges the injustices of the past and has addressed these in the form of a values framework on which the democratically transformed system of education is based, the researcher contends that while teacher desegregation has occurred in a limited way, it has not tangibly contributed to realizing the ideal of “non-racialism”. Hence, the belief that while legislation may be based on a sound foundation it does not in itself guarantee change.

The focus of the study will be outlined as well as the rationale for the selection thereof. This will be followed by an explanation of the purpose and significance of the study and the critical questions that will direct the course of the research. The historical backdrop encompassing the key events related to racial desegregation and integration will be provided in order to contextualise the study. Certain important concepts, which recur throughout the study, will be clarified. In addition to the aforementioned, brief allusions to the theoretical framework, the research methodology and the limitations of the study will be made. In conclusion, an overview of each of the chapters in this thesis will be presented.

¹ The first democratic elections in South Africa took place in 1994.

² The Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) is the supreme law of the country.

1.2 Focus of the study

The philosophy of apartheid was the principle by which the white National Party government enforced the separation of races at various inter-personal levels, ranging from separate park benches for whites and other people to separate independent states for members of the various defined race groups (Christopher, 2001:65). Also emanating from this philosophy was the notion of separate education for each of the race groups. This stemmed from the following tenet:

“Individuals could realise their human potential only through identification with and service of the volk³; hence, institutions such as the school...had to be used to compel an individual to a close identification with his volk.” (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1989:49).

So rigorously was apartheid pursued, that in the sphere of education “segregation was almost complete, exceeding that in residence” (Christopher, 2001:152).

In contrast to the above, accompanying the transition from white minority rule to democratic governance, was the desegregation of every facet that usually typified South African existence. With respect to primary and secondary education, schools were declared open to all in accordance with the terms of the South African Constitution. Learners are able to seek admission to schools previously barred to them and teachers may be employed at any school.

³ *Volk* is defined by Afrikaner nationalists as a “collectivity whose members were of similar descent and racial stock, and who shared a common history, culture and sense of destiny” (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1989:45).

This is the context within which this study is located. This study explores the racial desegregation of the teacher component in public schools in KwaZulu-Natal.⁴

1.3 Rationale for the study

An interest in the topic arose from the reasons outlined below. These are related to policy, personal, and contextual factors.

Firstly, the whole plethora of policies⁵ to transform education since 1994 is a remarkable achievement for the government of South Africa and these form an important backdrop against which teacher desegregation unfolds. These legislations contrasted greatly from those of the segregationist past.

Segregation in South Africa under the apartheid government headed by the National Party⁶ was realised in part through the Group Areas Act of 1950.⁷ This Act was intended to effect total urban spatial segregation of the various population groups defined by the Population Registration Act. These were among the most powerful means of effecting apartheid among the various races in South Africa. The Group Areas Act further reinforced the ideology of apartheid and represented an explicit territorial strategy to implement apartheid by determining separate residential areas for different race groups (Maharaj, 1997:35-150). The result was total segregation (Christopher, 2001:105). This

⁴ KwaZulu-Natal is one of the nine provinces in the Republic of South Africa. See Appendix 1 for map.

⁵ Some of these are the South African Schools Act, The Employment Equity Act, and the Labour Relations Act all of which are consistent with the highest law of the land: The Constitution.

⁶ The National Party was founded in 1934 under the leadership of D.F. Malan and made the fate of the poorest section of whites one of its special concerns. In the 1948 election, the party secured a narrow victory. The main thrust of its policies was segregation as domination (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1989:33-35).

⁷ The Group Areas Act was one of the “key instruments used to reinforce the ideology of apartheid and emphasised separate residential areas, educational services and other amenities for the different race groups (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994:20).

included the segregated provision of education.⁸ The apartheid order reaffirmed the long-standing tendency in the South African state to educate and train whites for the high and middle level job opportunities and to provide the black groups with only a rudimentary education to do the menial, labour intensive jobs (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1989:81).

In contrast with the above, desegregation was effected through various enactments, all of which are consistent with the values expounded in the Constitution, such as equality, non-racialism and unity in diversity. All South Africans have the right to freedom of movement and residence anywhere in the country, freedom of association, and basic and further education.

Notwithstanding the abolition of all discriminatory laws, there is the challenge of “reconstruction, development, and planning” which may not completely obliterate the “spatial and social impact of the Group Areas Act” (Maharaj, 1997:150). In terms of the Schools Act of South Africa (84 of 1996), a new national education system was created which aims to improve the quality of education for all on an equal basis. Furthering the aim of equality, the employment of teachers is regulated by the Employment of Educators Act (76 of 1998) and the Employment Equity Act (55 of 1998). These Acts aim to regulate the appointment of teachers and to promote equality in employment, to eliminate unfair discrimination, and to reduce the effects of past employment injustices (Department of Education, 2000 b:57-58).

⁸ When it came into power in 1948 the National Party government deliberately dismantled the colonial missionary schools, which were created by the English missionaries, because they were not pedagogically structured to emphasise and promote separation along racial lines. Schools were used as a means for the social assimilation of the apartheid ideal, thus racially separated schools were established for all South African children (Zafar, undated :2). This separation of races is referred to as apartheid, a term “which was developed by Afrikaner intellectuals” which literally means “apartness” (Prival, undated:1). Shutte (1994:112) refers to this as the “dramatic divide that has made South Africa a paradigm of separation ... the division between white and non-white (these terms are carefully chosen as being more in keeping with the spirit of apartheid)”.

While the policies and legislation referred to above are intended to provide redress and erase the injustices of the past, there are many institutions that remain unchanged. With specific reference to the desegregation of schools, research that has been conducted in the South African context has of necessity limited itself to the desegregation of the learner components at schools and to the context of historically white, Indian and coloured schools. These comprise about 20% of the total schools nationally (Naidoo, 1996:20). The majority of the remaining historically (and seemingly current) African schools remain almost untouched by the ideals of desegregation.

Secondly, since desegregation is influenced, among others, by political and geographical factors, the desegregation of teachers is a complex matter. South Africa has a history of racial division in almost every facet of life, e.g. housing, schooling, freedom of movement and association with others. This has influenced “the spatial and social organisation of society” and the “geographical landscape... (physical, social and economic)” (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994:20) of the country. It therefore poses a challenge to teachers to venture out of their comfort zones. At the same time, this is a necessary prerequisite in striving towards possible racial integration. If the ideal of a non-racial country is to be realized, desegregation is an unavoidable precondition.

Thirdly, my personal experiences typify those of many practicing teachers. Having lived in an area demarcated for my own race group (which is Indian), having been educated at schools and at tertiary institutions for people of my own colour, and having had interaction with other race groups only in very superficial ways, it was therefore inevitable that the idea of race formed an integral part of my socialization. As a consequence the idea of “identity -in-separation” is cultivated (Shutte, 1994:114). This identity was to a large extent shaped by the way in which all South Africans were defined at birth during the

apartheid era. In addition to this, the vigorous attempts to keep races apart through petty and grand apartheid policies resulted in a deep-rooted internalisation of the idea of race as an inherent and significant part of who we are. One tends, therefore, to view one self as being different and apart from others. The requisite legislation that now rightly declares that many of these experiences were immoral and therefore unacceptable does not obliterate certain ingrained perceptions and prejudices. This study will provide an insight into how teachers experience desegregation.

1.4 Purpose and significance of the study

The purpose of the study is to explore the racial desegregation of teachers in public schools in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN).

One aim of research is to increase knowledge (Ary et al, 2002:473). Since this study focuses on the racial desegregation of teachers, the findings will increase knowledge in the field in the following ways.

- (i) It will provide information on the prevailing situation with regard to the racial composition of the teacher component at schools.
- (ii) It will highlight the experiences of teachers who are teaching at schools where desegregation has occurred.
- (iii) The study also intends to find ways to promote desegregation, and by implication, integration among teachers.
- (iv) The study may provide a possible projection for the mobility of teachers. While Geographic Information Systems may provide a quantitative geographical prediction of mobility of people this study will represent a qualitative approach and will assist in an understanding of the mobility (or immobility) of teachers.

1.5 Critical questions

The following critical questions will direct the course of this study:

- To what extent has racial desegregation among the teacher component been realized in KwaZulu-Natal schools?
- How is the concept *desegregation* defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?
- What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at KwaZulu-Natal schools which were historically not designated to their racial group?

1.6 Desegregation among teachers in the South African context: a snapshot

With respect to the desegregation of schools, there have been many studies around the desegregation of the learner component. However, not much has been said about desegregating the teacher component. The chief studies and writings on the subject of learner desegregation have been done by Vally and Dalamba (1999), Mda (2000), Moletsane (1999), Sujee (2003), Zafar (undated), Naidoo (1996) and Meier (2002). In most instances these studies, with the exception of Sujee's research, focused largely on learner desegregation and only passing observations have been made in respect of teachers. Their most significant findings and views are highlighted below.

In their study of desegregation and integration in selected schools, Vally and Dalamba (1999:26)⁹ assert that while learner compositions have changed, the staff profiles in most cases remain unchanged. The importance of teacher

⁹ This is a national study on racism and integration in the context of post-apartheid South African schools. This study was commissioned by the South African Human Sciences Research Council and exposes how racism has the ability to mutate and adapt.

desegregation is highlighted by Mda (2000:55) who asserts that the teacher is an important factor in integration.

“A child who attends school in a town or its suburbs is unlikely to have an African teacher. In the South African mixed, “multi-cultural” urban schools, teachers are white, Indian or coloured depending on the area of the school, and are therefore English-speaking or Afrikaans-speaking, not African language speaking. Consequently, the learner population may be multicultural or multilingual but the staff population is almost always monocultural, monolingual or bilingual (that is English and Afrikaans-speaking) (Mda, 2000:55-56).

The first group of African teachers in mixed schools were mainly recruited to teach African languages and it is rare to find African teachers employed to teach physical science, geography or mathematics (Mda, 1997:57). This may be indicative of a racially divisive practice at both individual and structural levels. In other words, certain subjects are not entrusted to teachers of certain racial groups. The acquired attitudes find expression in the employment - or the lack thereof - of teachers of another race group.

This type of racism finding expression at the institutional level is also examined by Moletsane (1999:36)¹⁰ who states that the staff complement at previously white and Indian schools remains largely unchanged.

In a study conducted in Gauteng - one of the nine provinces in South Africa - Sujee (2003:19) observed that learner migration has occurred from former African schools to mainly English medium schools. There has been an increase in the number of learners from African townships to schools in the suburbs. Sujee (2003:19) questions whether the teacher component of schools mirrors the “general population demographics”. He goes on to state that an analysis of

¹⁰ This study reviews the different ways in which South African schools respond to diversity in education.

the entire province reveals that the teacher workforce is racially representative but when the data is analysed in terms of individual school units or in relation to learner composition, it becomes evident that little or no de-racialisation of the teacher component at most of the public schools has occurred. He highlights the case of 101 former white schools where there is a majority of black learners but the majority of teachers are white. He also notes that the great majority of the teachers in each of the formerly racially divided education departments continue to represent racial demographics of the apartheid legacy. In summary, Sujee's observation is that little change has occurred in terms of teacher desegregation.

Similarly, Zafar (undated: 5)¹¹ states that the teacher component at schools remains racially homogenous with "a few token appointments", which allows teachers to "use their hegemonic position and covert forms of racism to maintain the status quo and to construct African learners as the 'other' "(Zafar, undated:5). She observes that despite post apartheid legislation the racial composition of the teacher corps remains almost intact (Zafar, undated:5). A similar view is expressed by Meier (2002:158). She asserts that "in all schools the staff component tends to be predominantly from the same group as the majority of learners. For example, few black teachers have been appointed in these formerly white schools, which results in an absence of role models for black learners" (Meier, 2002:158).

Naidoo's (1996) study of racial integration at public schools in South Africa identifies incidents of racism at an individual level against learners. This kind of racism is also prevalent at the institutional level, where "exclusionary tactics" such as determining language competency through the use of tests and fees at

¹¹ Zafar's examines desegregation in South African public schools and reflects on patterns in school desegregation that undermine or enhance statutory deracialisation.

schools are in place (Naidoo, 1996:4). He concedes that although the “formal barriers to discriminatory admission have been removed, the racial values and practices of many communities still remain and are reflected in the various schools” (Naidoo, 1996:3). While this observation is made with respect to learner desegregation, it is proposed that the same values underlying practice are of relevance to the employment of teachers.

The preceding discussion suggests that it is essential for racial barriers to be broken with respect to the teacher composition. This study investigates the experiences of teachers with respect to teacher desegregation. A brief outline of the methodology used to achieve this follows.

1.7 Research methodology

According to Silverman (2000:79), a methodology defines how one will go about studying any phenomenon. This study makes use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to explore different aspects of the topic and is driven by a humanistic-sociological philosophy. The combined use of quantitative and qualitative approaches referred to as “multi-method” (Bryman, 2004) or “mixed method” (Muntaner and Gomez, 2003:4) approach is justified on the grounds that the critical questions necessitate this and that this approach provides a better and more comprehensive understanding of the topic. The humanistic-sociological orientation emphasises the attempt to look at the world from the angle of human experiences (Alant, 1990:ix and Friedrichs, 1990:1) and highlights the need for undogmatic inquiry (Berger, 1985; Kitchin and Tate, 2000) and does not preclude the use of a multi-method approach.

A feasibility study was conducted at the outset to assess the need for the research. This feasibility or exploratory study also addressed the first critical

question,¹² and a quantitative approach was used. This question seeks to ascertain the number of teachers profiled by race that are practicing in schools that were historically not open to their racial group in the apartheid era. In addition to this, a convenience sample¹³ of four teachers who have moved to former white schools were interviewed to ascertain what their experiences were. This part of the study will be used as groundwork for the subsequent parts of the study.

The methodology used to respond to the second critical question¹⁴ is quantitative and qualitative. The survey questionnaire which was used in the study was completed by two hundred teachers. Many of the findings are analysed statistically. However, there are certain questions in the questionnaire¹⁵ which are analysed in a purely qualitative manner. This qualitative aspect of the study provides an enriched and deeper insight into teachers' views and experiences and attempts to realise what Berger (1985:34-36) describes as the satisfaction that can be derived from a sociological approach which strives to understand things human.

The latter part of the second critical question which requires a description of the context of a South African democracy will be done by engaging in a review of the literature, with special emphasis on tracing the country's historical development towards democracy. Although the focus is on the context of democracy, it will be necessary to refer to the segregationist practices of the

¹² To what extent has racial desegregation among the teacher component been realized in KZN schools?

¹³ This is a sample in which teachers are selected simply on the basis of availability (Morse and Richards, 2002:173).

¹⁴ How is the concept *desegregation* defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?

¹⁵ Examples are: What do you understand by the term "desegregation"?
Do you think that desegregation at school level has happened successfully in South African schools? Provide a brief motivation for your response.
Provide details of general critical moments experienced.

past¹⁶ in order to show the development and evolution to current practices. This will be done by an analysis of the most significant legislation and developments that contributed to segregation. This review of the past may help to explain current events and perhaps help one to anticipate future events (Anderson et al, 1999:94). The issue of teacher desegregation, which is the focus of this research, cannot be studied in isolation from the decades during which segregation was rife.

Responding to the third critical question¹⁷ will entail interviewing teachers who are teaching in schools that were historically not designated to their race group. Selected teachers from each of the race groups were interviewed to ascertain their subjective and personal responses. This is consistent with a humanistic approach, which acknowledges the importance of subjectivity, i.e. to using our own feelings, values and beliefs to achieve insight into the nature of human experience and an appreciation of the unique in human experience (Bernard, 2000:19).

1.8 Theoretical framework

The theory that underpins this study is that of space as conceived by Lefebvre (1991). Lefebvre's triad of space, which may be considered to be his most profound contribution to an understanding of space, will be selectively used. This study intends to demonstrate that this theory of space can be meaningfully

¹⁶ Examples of these as enacted in various legislations are the Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified persons according to race (Eyber et al 1997:1), the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 which uniformly created divides in terms of race (Asheron 1976:67-68) and the Group Areas Act which was conceived to effect the total urban segregation of the various race groups. People who were not of the prescribed designated group were forced to leave and take up residence in an area in the group area set aside for them (Christopher, 2001:105).

¹⁷ What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at KZN public schools which were not historically designated to their racial group?

and creatively used to understand teacher desegregation. In addition to Lefebvre's spatial triad, reference will be made to the powerfully controlling, marginalizing and conditioning effect of space, which is sometimes very overt, and at other subtle and hidden. The latter can be attributed to the deceptive power of space.

Firstly, the suitability of the use of a theory of space to analyse desegregation in the context of South Africa, is based on the historical assumption of a "spatial strategy" (Smith, 1996:225) of racial separation. This was typical of British colonial domination and oppression. This strategy of racial and spatial separation, more strictly enforced by law by the National government which came into power in 1948, was effected at various spatial scales. The first was grand apartheid in which the country was partitioned into bantustans, the second was urban apartheid in which living and business areas were segregated, and thirdly, there was petty apartheid which was enforced to ensure minimal contact between people of different races. The latter was implemented through aspects such as separate entrances to buildings, and separate schools and parks, to name a few examples. The conception of racial inequality was thus "spatially reflected" (Christopher, 2001:7).

In contrast to the above, is space as it is conceptualized in the present Constitution of South Africa. The desegregation of space is evident through the legislation of rights, such as the freedom of movement and residence anywhere in the country. As far as schools are concerned, neither the admission of learners nor the employment of teachers is restricted on the basis of race any longer. Racial segregation, as it was enacted in the South African context, as well as desegregation, are thus both inherently spatial processes. Since historically forbidden spaces are now sanctioned, it is argued that the

desegregation of teacher work places will therefore be experienced in a spatial way.

In addition, the pervasive nature of space means that it cannot be studied from a single disciplinary perspective. Studying desegregation through a theory of space, which allows for the adoption of a transdisciplinary approach is critical for an understanding of the workings of space and will provide an enhanced insight into the topic. This transdisciplinary approach allowed for references to law, education, sociology, history, geography and social psychology and rejects the tendency to “fragment space” (Lefebvre, 1991:90-91) into various disciplinary compartments, which are the outcome of artificially created boundaries territorially demarcated between disciplines.

1.9 Desegregation and integration

The concepts desegregation and integration will be clarified since these are used frequently throughout the study.

Desegregation is a mechanical process which merely involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school (Naidoo.1996:11; Meier et al, 1989:21-22). Concurring with this view, Bennett (2003:25) views desegregation as mere mixing of formerly isolated ethnic groups in the same school.

While desegregation is viewed as a mechanical process, integration is seen as a “social” process (Meier et al, 1989:21-22). Integration recognizes and accommodates all the groups that were formerly segregated (Bennett, 2003:25). It refers to the bringing together of learners of different races, ethnicities, cultures, language groups, and the uniting of the various education departments

under one national education department (Mda, 2000:44). Integration starts with desegregation or racial mixing but it implies a great deal more:

“It contemplates an environment in which students from diverse backgrounds... can benefit from an educational experience; it demands an understanding of diversity as a resource, not a disadvantage to be overcome” (Kirp, 1982:22).

Goduka (1999:69) asserts that

“(t)o say that a school is desegregated is not to say that it is integrated, in the sense that members of different racial groups get along with one another, or care for one another, or believe in their inherent equality. Integration is an affirmative term, in the sense that it adds certain conditions and obligations to the less demanding word ‘desegregation’... Integration calls for efforts to promote understanding, mutual respect and beneficial interactions among members of different racial groups.”

From the above, it is apparent that integration presupposes desegregation. The clarification of these terms at the outset of the study is intended to eliminate the general interchangeable use of these terms.

1.10 Limitations of the study

Three limitations have been identified. Firstly, having been personally subjected to the racial practices of the apartheid regime, I cannot lay claim to being an objective reporter of the historical part of the research. Secondly, a methodological limitation is that this study is confined to one of the nine provinces in South Africa. Thirdly, secondary data was obtained from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and the information obtained from this source is subject to human error in the process of capturing large amounts of data.

1.11 Outline of the thesis

This chapter is entitled “*Marking the territory*” which is suggestive of the rightful (or maybe just primitive) sense of ownership felt about the study as well as to the boundaries to which this study either extends or limits itself. Here, a brief introduction and rationale for the study is provided. The critical questions which clearly demarcate the limits, directions and scope, as well as the context, are outlined. The important concepts which are used repeatedly throughout the study are also clarified at this early juncture. A brief description of the methodology and the theoretical framework is also presented. In summary, “*Marking the territory*” constitutes a broad plan for the entire study.

The second chapter, *Locating the theoretical framework: An odyssey to space*, critically assesses the theory of space as propounded by Lefebvre (1991). Other theorists, such as Soja (1997, 2000), Dear and Flusty (2002) and Morgan (2000) also enhance and enrich the understanding of the spatial perspective. Here, Lefebvre’s spatial triad, which may be considered to be a significant contribution to an understanding of space, is highlighted.

Chapter three, “*Charting the way ahead*”, explains the quantitative and qualitative approaches adopted. The quantitative aspect of the study provided one layer of understanding and pointed to the direction that the qualitative dimension should take. The use of what were conceived as the most appropriate methodology/ies and research instruments was determined by the humanist-sociological approach in which the human is the central focus and which emphasises the importance of subjective experiences as a way of promoting understanding.

This is followed by the fourth chapter, “*Encountering Space.*” This chapter commences with an initial section which responds to the first critical question¹⁸, and addresses the extent to which teacher desegregation has occurred in KwaZulu-Natal. This section is a feasibility study and provides the contour for the qualitative dimension of the study. The second section of this chapter provides an introduction to the participants in the study. The third section addresses critical question two¹⁹ and is an analysis of teachers’ definitions of desegregation, integration and resegregation. The fourth section explores teachers’ attitudes towards teaching in various contexts as well as the factors that may encourage or deter them from doing so. The fifth section constitutes a response to critical question three²⁰, and studies the responses of teachers to teaching in schools that historically were not designated to their race, the responses from learners. It also considers the community and the role of school governing bodies. At this junction point,²¹ the reader will encounter and engage with the wide ranging and often complex views and experiences of teachers. The spatial way in which participants understand desegregation, the limitations imposed by spatial constraints, the possibilities of spatial power, as well as some of the critical moments experienced in their day-to-day work-related activities are discussed. Among other interesting ways of living or inhabiting their work spaces, teachers have, in some instances, either naively inserted themselves into or creatively used hitherto forbidden (as opposed to the now sanctioned) spaces of segregated schools. All of these play out against the backdrop of a newly conceived space of the country. In other words, this chapter deals with the spatial practices, representations of space and the representational spaces as experienced by teachers.

¹⁸ To what extent has racial desegregation among the teacher component been realized in KZN schools?

¹⁹ How is the concept *desegregation* defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?

²⁰ What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at KZN public schools which were historically not designated to their racial group?

²¹ Lefebvre (1991) uses the expression to refer to places of encounter and passage.

Chapter five concludes the study with the most significant insights gained from the methodology and data analysis phases. It is entitled “*Conclusions and openings*”²² and examines the themes of teacher identity in desegregated spaces, identity-in-separation, territorialism and a multi-method transdisciplinary approach. This thesis ends with the challenge of further openings and the possibilities and promises of the spatial perspective to provide an alternative understanding of teacher desegregation.

1.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, it is suggested that the benefits and effects of the conceived ideals of the Constitution and other relevant legislation that have been effected after apartheid have not made significant impact with respect to teacher desegregation, which is a necessary prerequisite for the realization of an integrated teacher workforce. The focus of the study has been contextualised, and the rationale, which includes policy, personal and contextual factors, has been explained. The purpose of the study, the reasons why it is considered significant, and the critical questions which provide the scope and direction, are discussed. Specific reference has been made to the desegregation of the teacher component in the context of the country, the research methodology as well as the theoretical framework that underpins the research. The next chapter outlines the theoretical framework that underpins the study.

²² This draws its inspiration from Lefebvre’s book “The Production of Space” (1991).

CHAPTER TWO

Locating the Theoretical Framework: An odyssey to space

2.1 Introduction

This chapter argues that desegregation is best understood through a spatial perspective since space cannot be divorced from issues of human influence, of “power” and in addition to these, “sociality” and history, in the “production of space” (Lefebvre, 1991). To this end, this chapter begins with a discussion of my personal journey to, and ultimate arrival at, Lefebvre’s theory of space. This journey had a somewhat uncertain origin in Peter Berger’s (1985) understanding of society from a humanistic sociological standpoint, which, it is argued, has *implicit* references to space. This finally culminated with Lefebvre’s (1991) *explicit* theorising of space. The points of convergence between Berger’s idea of socialisation and Lefebvre’s perspective on space will be explained.

In support of the use of the theory of space in this study, Lefebvre’s (1991) spatial triad is expounded. This may be considered to be his most profound contribution to an analysis of space, which can be meaningfully and creatively used to understand teacher desegregation, which is the focus of the study. Lefebvre’s theory of space convincingly demonstrates an out-of-hand rejection of some of the older views of space. The ways in which Lefebvre’s triad of space are interpreted by Soja (1997) will also be highlighted. Hence, this chapter is also interspersed with complementary references to Soja’s theorising of space, the purpose of which is to enhance and enrich understanding.

The discussion then proceeds to an analysis of the ‘transdisciplinary’ nature of space. Space cannot be contained within a single discipline and its pervasive

nature compels one to foray into other disciplines such as history, psychology and sociology even though it was anticipated that this study could and would limit itself to education with occasional references to geography in which ideas of space are prominent. This demonstrated the validity of Lefebvre's strategy that spatial knowledge should not be "fragmented and compartmentalised as a disciplinary specialty ... (since) (t) he spatiality of human life, like its historicity and sociality, infuse (s) every discipline and discourse" (Soja, 1997:47).

In addition to Lefebvre's spatial triad, this discussion proceeds to show that space has a controlling effect and that this is sometimes very overt and at other times subtle and almost covert. The power of space to control, exclude and marginalise will then be highlighted. In this regard, the focus will be specifically on the issues of territoriality and place.

The relevance of this general theorising of space in the South African context will be addressed. In doing this, attempts to change conceived spaces from previously forbidden to currently sanctioned spaces will be analysed. This becomes evident in the past and present historical context of South Africa. The effects of space on the body and of the body on space are also explored. This is justified on the basis that the body, judged and categorised on phenotype, is governed by the historical laws of discrimination in space. These shall be outlined, since this is critical to an understanding of how teacher desegregation plays itself out against this milieu.

2.2 Personal ramblings towards Lefebvre

In this section, it is argued that there are various points of convergence between Berger's humanist sociological study of society and Lefebvre's theory of space,

or to be more specific, Lefebvre's triad of space. This is a natural and inevitable progression and serves as confirmation of the idea that there can be no a-spatial society and no a-social space (Markus, 2003:13). In support of this argument, there are references to the role of humans in the production of space and reality, the controlling effect of social institutions and space, Berger's three moments of society and Lefebvre's spatial triad. This argument highlights the point that Berger's study of society is *implicitly* a study of space, while Lefebvre makes *very explicit* the inevitable relationship between people and space by asserting that space is a production. It is this relationship between the two that eventually resulted in the use of Lefebvre's conception of space as the theoretical underpinning for the study.

Both Berger and Lefebvre contend that human beings are important. In Berger's case, this is so in his understanding of society, and in Lefebvre's theorising in the production of space. Berger argues that in order to understand society, it must be recognized that people are both producers and products of social arrangements (Berger, 1985:3). They are producers of society in that they have the capacity to participate continuously in the construction of social meanings. People are products of society in the sense that social institutions (patterns of meaning) confront them as a force that then shapes both their consciousness and their behaviour. The arrangements that have been humanly constructed then "act back" on people as if they are an external "force" that is beyond people's control.

While Berger speaks of the construction of "world" and "reality", Lefebvre speaks of society's production of space. Lefebvre (1991:26) argues that (social) space is a (social) product. The space thus produced serves as a tool of thought and action and it is also a means of control and domination and power. He states that human beings know "that they *have* a space and that they *are* in this

space. They do not merely enjoy a vision, contemplation, a spectacle – for they act and situate themselves in space as active participants”. Lefebvre (1991:294) refers to this as “spatial practice”. Morgan (2000:273) states that Lefebvre argued that space and society are mutually constitutive: space is both the product of social relationships and is involved in the production of those relationships. In essence, both Berger and Lefebvre concede the integral role of people in a context of space.

In addition, space, having been thus produced, determines what activity may or may not occur. “Activity in space is restricted by space: space ‘decides’ what activity may occur, but even this ‘decision’ has limits. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order - and hence also a certain disorder” (Lefebvre, 1991:57). The pre-existence of space conditions the subject’s presence, action and discourse, his competence and performance.

Another area of convergence between Berger’s study of society and Lefebvre’s theorising of space is evident in what Berger (1985:4) referred to “three moments” of society. He regarded the moments of externalisation, objectivation and internalisation as operating simultaneously to create society. According to Berger people are able to construct and shape their worlds. This belief is frequently referred to as “humanist”. Externalisation is the “ongoing outpouring of human being into the world” (Berger, 1985:4). It is the process by which people pour their own being into the world in order to make it meaningful for themselves, i.e. in order to make sense of their world. People need to create a meaningful world, or life-world, for themselves. The world of people is “an open world. That is, a world that must be fashioned by man’s (human’s) own activity” (Berger, 1985:5). By creating their own world, people construct their reality. All “institutions” are products of human construction

(i.e. externalisation of meaning). This process of externalisation is an ongoing activity, the ongoing activity of creating meanings.

In this regard, Berger (1985:108) believes that society confronts us as an objective fact. It is there, something that cannot be denied and that must be reckoned with. Society is external to ourselves. It surrounds us, encompasses our life on all sides. We are *in* society, located in specific sectors of the social system. This location predetermines and predefines almost everything we do, from language to etiquette. Our intellectual resistance to what society prescribes or proscribes avails very little at best, and frequently nothing. Society, as an objective and external fact, confronts us especially in the form of coercion. Its institutions pattern our actions and even shape our expectations. He adds that we are located in society not only in space but in time (Berger, 1985:109). The various social situations in which we find ourselves, is not only defined by our contemporaries but predefined by our predecessors (Berger, 1985:110). Implicit in Berger's description of the process of socialisation is the notion of human spatiality, in the sense that we are "located" somewhere as well as in the idea that society "surrounds us" and encompasses our life on all sides". The influence of older conceptions of space as a "container" is apparent in these assertions. While this may be the case, Berger demonstrates an awareness of the great influence that humans have in shaping that which appears external to them. This is a negation of the conventional idea that space is neutral. In addition, he acknowledges the power that is inherent in these "spaces".

Using a similar idea, Romm (1994:221) also refers to the process known as **objectivation**, by which the externalized "products" that have been created by people attain a degree of "distinctiveness" against their producer. That is once they have become socially recognized patterns of activity, they confront their

creators as facts. These then appear to exist externally as “things”. According to Berger (1985:5), “(the humanly produced world becomes something ‘out there’. The process by which the products of human activity become (thing-like) ‘facts’ is referred to as objectivation”.

Internalisation as defined by Berger can be defined in relation to the process of objectivation. While objectivation refers to the process by which the world of social meanings confronts consciousness as an external “fact”, internalisation refers to the process by which this so-called “objectivated” world is absorbed or assimilated into our consciousness. When using the term “socialization”, Berger (1985:15) refers to the way in which internalization takes place. Socialisation can be seen as the “process by which a new generation is taught to live in accordance with the institutional programs of society”.

Internalisation happens, for example, every time an adult is initiated into a new social context or a new social group. Society then is not only something out there, but is also in here. It is part of our innermost being. Society not only controls our movements, but shapes our identity, our thought and emotions (Berger, 1985:140). While Berger attributes the shaping of identity and control of movements, for example, to society, Lefebvre (1991) identifies the influence of a third factor - namely space - on all of these as well as the simultaneous influence of society on space. This is the missing factor in Berger’s analysis of socialisation, a gap that can be meaningfully filled through an understanding of space, and, in particular, Lefebvre’s spatial triad.

2.3 Lefebvre’s spatial triad

Central to Lefebvre’s theorising of space, is his assertion that “(social) space is a (social) product and that every society produces its own space” (Lefebvre,

1991:31) and that “the spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space” (Lefebvre, 1991:38).

In his explanation of the production of space, Lefebvre (1991:38-39) refers to three important concepts. These are spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space) and representational spaces (lived space).

While Berger speaks of what he calls ‘externalisation’, Lefebvre (1991:50) refers to the **spatial practice** of a society. This is referred to as “perceived space” (Lefebvre, 1991). In spatial practice the reproduction of social relations is predominant. It is a production of relations between objects and products. It is observable, readable, visible and audible. It is the way space is appropriated and dominated. In Soja (1997:66) view spatial practice is the process of producing the material form of social spatiality and is “presented as both medium and outcome of human activity, behaviour and experience”. One may contend that the material form of social spatiality is a cause and a source of human activity. Calling this space *Firstspace*, Soja (1997:77) observes that the social production of this space is treated as a historical unfolding, an evolving sequence of changing geographies that result from the dynamic relations between human beings and their constructed as well as natural environments. While there is acknowledgement that *Firstspace* is socially produced, there has been insufficient attention paid to how material geographies and spatial practices shape and affect subjectivity, consciousness, rationality, historicity and sociality (Soja, 1997:79). According to Lefebvre (1991:288):

“Spatial practice simultaneously defines:

- (i) places- the relationship of local to global, the representation of that relation, actions and signs; the trivialized spaces of everyday life;

(ii) spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups. From an analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through a deciphering of its space”.

Another aspect of Lefebvre’s triad of space is **representation of space** or conceptualized space. It is the space constructed by people in power. This is the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers. These people identify what is lived with what is conceived. Representations of space may be abstract but they have a role in social and political practice. Representations of space are shot through with knowledge, i.e. a mixture of understanding and ideology – which is always relative and in the process of change.²³ The relationship among the various facets in the production of space is not linear.

The representation of space (Lefebvre, 1991:42) has an important role and influence in the production of space. This space is referred to by Soja (1997) as *Secondspace*. It is a conceived space of the imagination. While Firstspace perspectives are more objectively focused and emphasize ‘things in space’, Secondspace perspectives tend to be more subjective and concerned with ‘thoughts about space’ (Soja, 2000:11).

²³ An example of this which is relevant to the context of the study would be the previously differentiated allocation of funding for school buildings in former African and white schools. Spatial practice was characterised by the view that there is a hierarchy of races, with blacks considered “inferior to whites” (Michener et al, 2004:157). This belief manifested itself in school construction. Consequently, former African schools were typically small, inferior constructions without access to electricity and water which were hardly conducive to proper teaching and learning. These are in stark contrast to white schools, typically large, spacious, with beautiful gardens, swimming pools, rugby fields and with a variety of specialist rooms like science laboratories, lecture theatres, assembly halls, libraries etc. In her study of school space in South Africa, Karlsson (2003:200-202) points to some of the disparities mentioned above. These buildings are an indication of how conceived space responded to spatial practice (perceived space) and which in turn became the ‘lived space’ of those who attended these schools. The buildings referred to above, are not merely structures, but are part of a “project embedded in a spatial context” (Lefebvre, 1991:42).

The third aspect of the spatial triad is **representational space**, which is the space as it is directly lived through its associated symbols and images. It is the space of ‘inhabitants’ or ‘users’. This space has its source in history (Lefebvre, 1991:41). This lived space is formed by everyday life and it is the space of everyday activities of ‘users’. It is a concrete and subjective space which is naively experienced by the ‘users’ (Gronlund, 1999:2).

In Soja’s (1997:67) view these spaces are both distant from the abovementioned two spaces (spatial practice and representations of space), and encompass them. Representational spaces may be seen as a combination of “real” and “imagined” spaces (Soja, 1997:10). Here, space is directly ‘lived’. In combining both the real and imagined - that is, the spatial practice and representations of space, respectively – these lived spaces are the terrain for the generation of “counterspaces”, spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalized positioning.

Calling this space *Thirdspace*, Soja views lived space as a

“strategic location from which to encompass, understand, and potentially transform all spaces simultaneously. Lived space is the space of all inclusive similarities, perils as well as possibilities: the space of radical openness, the space of social struggle” (Soja: 1997:68).

Soja (1997:2) further describes it as a term used broadly to highlight interesting new ways of thinking about space and social spatiality. Thirdspace is a purposefully tentative and flexible term that attempts to capture what is actually a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances and meanings:

“Understanding lived space can be compared to writing a biography, an interpretation of the lived time of an individual; or more generally to historiography, the attempt to describe and understand the lived time of human collectives or societies. In all these ‘life stories’, perfect or complete knowledge is impossible.²⁴ There is too much that lies beneath the surface, unknown and unknowable, for a complete story to be told. The best we can do is selectively explore, in the most insightful ways we can find, the infinite complexity of life through its intrinsic spatial, social and historical dimensions, its interrelated spatiality, sociality and historicity” (Soja, 2000:6).

The spatial triad may be used as a useful framework to analyse and understand the workings of society, including education. It provides an additional facet to a mere description of society. The inextricable link between social processes and space is emphasised by Soja (1997:46):

“All social relations become real and concrete, a part of our lived social existence, only when they are spatially ‘inscribed’ – that is, *concretely represented* – in the social production of social space. Social reality is not just coincidentally spatial...*There is no unspatialised social reality*. There are no aspatial social processes”.

The spatial triad, or more generally, Lefebvre’s conception of space, which rejects some of the older conceptions of space²⁵ and extends on others,

²⁴ Acknowledgement of the impossibility of acquiring complete knowledge drives the methodology used in addressing critical question three which asks: “What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at schools that were historically not designated to their race group?” Interviews were conducted and questions elicited selected parts of their stories.

²⁵ “In Kant’s time there were, briefly speaking, two opposed conceptions of the nature of space. There was the viewpoint of the Newtonians in which was treated as a real entity, with an existence independent of both mind and matter. Space was a huge container in which atoms and planets swam like fish in a tank. The view of Leibniz, however, was that Newtonian space was logically paradoxical. Empty space, clearly nothingness, was by the container conception, also a somethingness. This contradiction led Leibniz to believe that space was an idea rather than a thing; that “space” sprang from the mind when thought conceived a relationship between perceived objects, and had no more real and independent existence than the distance between two persons described as near or distant relations. In

addresses the long neglected facet of understanding of social process. It simultaneously acknowledges the importance of history and sociality, all of which combined can only enrich understanding.

2.4 A transdisciplinary approach

The preceding assertion that history and sociality, in addition to spatiality, are considered vital to understand how we think about each of these three facets leads one to the challenge of thinking in a “transdisciplinary” way (Soja, 1997:3). Like Lefebvre, Soja uses the term transdisciplinary to embrace all specialised fields, including History, Sociology, Geography as well as perspectives such as literary criticism and psychoanalysis to name a few (Soja,

this case, space was entirely relative: and if the objects were removed, space disappeared (Richards cited in Kirby, 1982:3-4).

The concept of social space, as defined by Chombart de Lauwe (cited in Buttimer, 1980 a:23) offers a useful initial guide for an investigation of lived experience. Social space is a framework within which subjective evaluations and motivations can be related to overtly expressed behaviour and the external characteristics of the environment. Recent developments in sociology, social psychology and other disciplines have greatly facilitated the analysis of specific dimensions of social space as defined in these terms. Chombart de Lauwe (cited in Buttimer, 1980:23) identified two distinct components of social space: an “objective component, which refers to the spatial framework within which groups live, groups whose social structure and organization have been conditioned by ecological and cultural factors and a subjective component: space as perceived by means of particular groups”.

Later philosophers reject the above understanding of space. Lefebvre (1991:1-3) refers to the strictly geometrical meaning attributed to space: the idea it evoked was an empty area. The idea was that it was a mathematical concept. “Social space” was thus a strange thing. He adds that the modern field of inquiry known as epistemology has inherited and adopted the notion that the status of space is that of a mental thing” or “mental place”. He explains that no limits have been set on the generalization of the concept of mental space, no clear account of it is ever given and... it may connote logical coherence, practical consistency, self-regulation and the relations of the parts to the whole, the engendering of like by like in a set of places, the logic of container versus contents and so on. The argument here revolves around the assumption that space can be examined as a virtual abstraction. Lefebvre dismisses this notion.

Geographers, too, have challenged older views of space. Space, they felt could not merely be an empty container of social relationships. The view that space is something that is produced by human activity began to gain ground. Morgan cites Gregory and Urry who assert that “...spatial structure is not seen merely as an arena in which social life unfolds, but rather as a medium through which social relationships are produced and reproduced” (Morgan, 2000:276).

1997:6). Lefebvre's criticism of the fragmentation of space is evident in the following statement:

“The dominant tendency is to fragment space and cut it up into pieces. Specializations divide space among them and act upon its truncated parts, setting up mental barriers and practico-social frontiers. This fragmentation only results in obtaining shards of knowledge” (Lefebvre, 1991:90-91).

The term ‘transdisciplinary’ suggests a pervasive movement across to and even beyond various disciplines. In this sense, space has the potential to transcend and surpass the limits of the different disciplines. This study of teacher desegregation from a historically sanctioned space to a previously forbidden one takes this into account. Ideas of space pervade many disciplines and perspectives, and by adopting a spatial perspective, one is inevitably led to the point where law, education, sociology, history, geography and social psychology merge. This was initially considered to be an inability to “contain” or “discipline” the study to a limited field. In hindsight, it is acknowledged that this further enriched understanding and provides a validation for Lefebvre’s strategy that spatial knowledge should not be “fragmented and compartmentalized as a disciplinary specialty... (since) (t)he spatiality of human life, like its historicity and sociality, infuse (s) every discipline and discourse” (Soja, 1997:47). Emphasising the significance of a spatial perspective and simultaneously conceding the importance of history and society, Soja (2000:7) states:

“Critical scholars have begun to interpret the spatiality of human life in much the same way they have traditionally interpreted history and society, or the historicity and sociality of human life. Without reducing the significance of life’s inherent historicity and sociality, or dimming the creative and critical imaginations that have developed around their practical and theoretical understanding, a reinvigorated critical

perspective associated with an explicitly spatial imagination has begun to infuse the study of history and society with new modes of thinking and interpretation”.

In addition to the above, studying desegregation, which is the focus of this study, through a theory of space offers a new way of looking at the subject. Furthermore, this does not exclude the use of a transdisciplinary approach.

2.5 The controlling and conditioning effect of space

The controlling and conditioning effect of space will be highlighted by examining what views are expressed counter to the notion of the ‘neutrality’ of space, the production and social construction thereof, and the effect that space can have through its inherent power.

Lefebvre rejected the older notions of space. The idea of a transparent, ‘pure’ and neutral space is being dispelled very slowly (Lefebvre, 1991:292). He asserts:

“If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seems to be “purely” formal, the epitome of rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has already been the focus of past processes whose traces are not always evident in the landscape. Space has been shaped and moulded from historical and natural elements, but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies” (Lefebvre.1991:341).

In support of his idea that space is not a given concept, he points out that “(social) space is a (social) product”. Space is not simply “there”, a neutral container waiting to be filled but a “dynamic, humanly constructed means of control and hence of domination, of power” (Lefebvre 1991:1).

Similarly, Richards (cited in Kirby 1982:4-5) asserts that those who concentrate on social and political issues have attacked those views regarding space as a mental thing. The critique rests upon a rejection of the assumption that space can exist as an independent artefact, and that human spatial relations operate in the same way as atomic or planetary bodies. Furthermore, space can only be understood as part of the operation of society. Each portion of space has some particular importance (or meaning) and is used for a specific purpose. If space is a social and political phenomenon, then there may be little point in studying it in the manner that we know as geographical; those who concentrate solely upon social structures might only understand it. Space can therefore not be regarded as something meaningless. In fact, space is laden with meaning. If one wants to arrive at an understanding of society, of the ideologies that shaped it, the answer will lie in an analysis of that society's space.

Concurring with the idea that space must be seen as a social construction Morgan (2000:273) contends space is linked to political struggles of inclusion and exclusion. He explains that those terms such as "location", "space" and "place" are no longer restricted to exclusive use by geographers. Space is viewed as something that is produced by human activity. Harvey (cited in Morgan, 2000:279) asserts that the production of space is linked with power and politics. Harvey states that social space is made up of a complex of individual feelings and images about and reactions towards the spatial symbolism, which surrounds that individual. One criticism of Harvey's views is that it does not make explicit the other axes of power such as race and gender in the production of space. Spaces may be organized to keep "others" out and that space can be enabling or constraining. There are limits to spaces and some people can dominate space to exclude others.

Space is always open to interpretation and contestation by different individuals or groups. Morgan (2000:279) cites Massey who noted that different social groups may have distinct spatialities - they may have different abilities and propensities to travel and mobility - or different levels of commitment to places. Different groups have different degrees of spatial power.

The controlling effect of space is evident in Lefebvre's assertion that space "signifies". What it signifies is do's and don'ts. This is also a reference to the inherent power of space. Space prohibits (Lefebvre, 1991:132) as well as permits. Dear and Wolch (cited in Carmona et al, 2003:106) also point to the influence of space on society and vice versa. They argue that social relations can be constituted through space, constrained by space and mediated through space. This relationship between space and society is thus clearly related. It is difficult to conceive of "space" without social context and equally to conceive of society without a spatial component. This relationship is best conceived as a continuous two-way process in which people (and societies) create and modify spaces while simultaneously being influenced by them in various ways (Carmona et al, 2003:106).

Lefebvre further elaborates on this power of space:

"Every space is already in place before the appearance of its actors; these actors are collective as well as individual subjects inasmuch as the individuals are always members of groups or classes seeking to appropriate the space in question. This pre-existence of space conditions the subject's presence, action and discourse, his competence and performance; yet the subject's presence, action and discourse, at the same time as they presuppose this space, also negate it" (Lefebvre, 1991:57).

The conditioning and controlling effect of pre-existing space is illustrated in an interesting analogy used by Berger. Berger (1985:140) speaks of society being a prison with groups of prisoners busily

“keeping its walls intact. Our imprisonment from society now appears as something affected as much from within ourselves as by the operation of external forces. A more adequate representation of social reality would be the puppet theatre, with the curtain rising on the little puppets jumping about on the ends of their invisible strings, cheerfully enacting out the little parts that have been assigned to them in the tragic-comedy to be enacted. The analogy, however, does not go far enough. The Pierrot of the puppet theatre has neither will nor consciousness. But the Pierrot of the social stage wants nothing more than the fate awaiting him in the scenario ²⁶ - and he has a whole system of philosophy to prove it”.

This space, that is the space/milieu of the social “stage” as described by Berger, is the space that forms the medium (and is simultaneously the outcome) for the sometimes invisible workings of power used either knowingly or unknowingly, to manipulate the naïve actors to act in a particular way. The undiscerning actor unquestioningly internalizes this milieu and believes that he/ she is acting out of free will.

That space has a controlling effect is also convincingly and forcefully conveyed by Lefebvre (1991:143):

“Activity in space is restricted by that space; space “decides” what activity may occur, but even this “decision “has limits placed upon it. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order – and hence also a certain disorder... Space commands bodies, prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to be covered”.

²⁶ This is reminiscent of Lefebvre’s (1991) idea of the naïveté of the users of space.

The controlling effect of space is difficult to discern and its workings are subtle and complex. Dear and Flusty (2002:2) state:

“As society evolves so does its geographical expression; but by the same token, the material form itself has repercussions for the social forces that shape it. This reflexive impact of space on society, and society on space, is realised in many different ways”.

The relationship between space, power and knowledge has been made very explicit by Lefebvre:

“Power, the power to maintain the relations of dependence and exploitation, does not keep to a defined ‘front’ at the strategic level, like a frontier on the map... Power is everywhere, it is omnipresent, assigned to Being. It is everywhere in space...It is in things as well as in signs. Everywhere, and therefore nowhere... (P)ower has extended its domain right into the interior of each individual, to the roots of consciousness, to the ‘topias’ hidden in the folds of subjectivity” (Lefebvre cited in Soja, 1997:31).

A feature of the exercise of power in space is territoriality.

2.6 Space and territoriality

Territoriality may be viewed as the spatial expression of power. Territorial strategies are employed by people in order to attain or maintain control.

Control over territory is a key political motivating force and the apportioning of space or specified territory results from the interplay of social and political forces.²⁷ While theories abound about the reasons for territoriality, the one that

²⁷ The Group Areas Act was conceived to effect the total urban segregation of various race groups. People who were not of the prescribed designated group were forced to leave and take up residence in an area in the group area set aside for them (Christopher, 2001:105). The implementation of this Act may be viewed as a form of systematic territorialism. This idea is supported by (Maharaj, 1997:135-150) who asserts that the Group Areas Act represented an explicit territorial strategy to implement

makes most sense is that it stems from a need to reflect one's power. Power is exerted on individuals within the specified territory or through excluding people from the territory (Storey, 2001:14 -15).

In his earlier works, Soja (1979:19) defines the concept as a "behavioural phenomenon associated with the organisation of space into spheres of influence or clearly demarcated areas which are made distinctive and considered at least partially exclusive by their occupants or definers." Soja distinguishes between individual territoriality and group (or societal) territoriality.

The idea of individual territoriality is described by Myers (2005:174) as the space that surrounds individuals. This is referred to as personal space. This can be likened to a portable bubble or buffer zone that is maintained between others and ourselves. As the situation changes the bubble varies in size. With strangers for example, we maintain a fairly large personal space. On crowded buses or libraries, we protect our space and respect others' space. When this personal space is violated, one may resort to flight or one may find ways to protect one's space. (Michener et al, 2004:187).

The concept territoriality is also explained as the inside-outside idea. It refers to people's definition and defence of themselves both physically and psychologically. This is achieved by the creation of an area, which may exclude outsiders (Carmona et al, 2003:98). Knox and Pinch (cited in Carmona et al, 2003:98) state that people structure groups and define each other by distinguishing between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Territoriality is often the basis for the development of distinctive social milieus that influence the behaviour of their inhabitants. The belief that territory shapes people's

apartheid by determining separate residential areas for different race groups. It constitutes what Lefebvre (1991) describes as representations of space.

behaviour is shared by Storey (2001:19) who contends that “(p)eople shape territories and territories shape people”

Territorialism is more than a simple behavioural phenomenon. This should be looked at in its broader social and political context (Storey, 2001:19).

2.7 Space to place

Linked to space is the idea of place. This relationship is best described in the words of the Dutch architect, Aldo Van Eyck who said the following in his description of place, “Whatever space...mean(s), place mean(s) more. For space in the image of man is place” (cited in Carmona et al, 2003:98).

Smith (1996:253) states that place is necessary for human existence and “goes ...beyond the physical occupation of space... Our place and sense of geographical space or territory merges imperceptibly with a broader sense of identity, of who we are”. He also asserts that place can be “repressive” or “liberating”.

In their theorizing of “place”, Carmona et al (2003:96) cite Jackson who states that a sense of place is discussed in terms of “genius loci” which suggests that people experience something beyond the physical or sensory properties of places, and can feel an attachment to a spirit of place. This spirit of a place often persists in spite of changes. The authors also cite Ralph (2003:96) who believes that the spirit of a place is “subtle”, “nebulous”, not easily analysed in “formal and conceptual terms” but nonetheless “extremely obvious”. Place inspires a feeling of belonging related to family and community. “For others, it is manifested in civic involvement for the purpose of creating a better place to inhabit. Still others experience place as interdependence with the land. For all

who experience a sense of place, it becomes part of their identity” (Budge, undated:5).

The idea of attachment to a place is echoed by Storey (2001). People display a tendency to identify with certain places. They form bonds with place and this forms part of their self-identity. Gruenewald (2003:625-626) also asserts that places make people and people make places, and that places are important in identity formation. Some humanistic geographers speak of the importance of place and peoples’ connection to, and love of, place. This may be linked to, for example, the place where we grew up and places with fond memories. In the same way people may identify negatively with places. These could be places where bad things may have happened or it may be associated with people we do not like. These links with places reflect particular circumstances (Storey, 2001:18-19). Carmona et al (2003:97) cite Relph as saying that “places are centres of meaning constructed out of lived experience. By imbuing them with meaning, individuals, groups or societies change ‘spaces’ into ‘places’ ”.

Carmona (2003:98) is of the view that personal engagement with space gives it meaning as ‘place.’ Relph (cited in Carmona, 2003:98) says that “physical settings”, “activities” and “meanings” constitute the three basic elements of the identity of places. A sense of place does not, however, reside in these elements but in the human interaction with these elements.

Concepts of place seem to emphasise the sense of belonging and of emotional ties to a place:

“The places in a person’s world are more than entities which provide the physical stage for life’s drama. Some are profound centers of meanings and symbols of experience. As such they lie at the core of human existence” (Godkin, 1980:73).

People's sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity. There are many dimensions to meanings ascribed to place: symbolic, emotional, cultural, political and biological (Buttimer, 1980 b:167).

Place can also be considered in terms of 'rootedness' and a conscious sense of association or identity with a certain locality. To Relph (cited in Carmona et al, 2003:96) it means having "a secure point from which to look out on the world, a firm grasp of one's own position in the order of things, and a significant spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere in particular". The essence of a place lay in the experience of an "inside" as opposed to an "outside". Opposed to the sense of place is placelessness, which is viewed negatively. It signifies an absence or loss of meaning (Carmona, 2003:101).

The racialised spaces of apartheid geography in South Africa may have fostered a strong sense of group identity and identity with place:

"Particular spaces may come to be seen as the preserve of a particular 'racial' group. In the case of a group deemed to be inferior or subordinate, their presence in particular areas may often be seen to be undesirable... Such non-dominant groups are seen as the 'other' " (Storey, 2001:148).

2.8 From forbidden spaces to sanctioned spaces: Space in the South African context

In the preceding sections of this chapter, the power of space to exclude and marginalize was discussed. In this section, the context of South Africa, the interplay of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space becomes evident and leads to a deeper understanding of the past and present South African history. This includes an exploration of how conceived spaces

influenced and marked out the body. In addition, a motivation for the use of a spatial analysis for a study of racial desegregation in the context of South Africa is provided as well as an explanation for the persistent effects of space.

One of the categories of difference used as basis for marginalising people is race. However, this should not detract from other categories of difference used as a basis for marginalising people such as gender, age or sexual orientation. In the context of South Africa, race and space are inextricably intertwined. As a consequence, when one thinks of race one is inevitably led to conceive of race in terms of space. It is linked to historical, cultural and spatial contexts. Miles (2000:8) is of the view that “races” are created within the context of political and social regulation. This “race” is above all a political construct. In showing this link between race and space, a transdisciplinary approach is adopted, foraying into law, history, geography, sociology and social psychology. It is also demonstrated how the present Constitution of South Africa and legislation related to education re-conceive the spaces of the country to replace the historical Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and other legislation which were enforced to realise the separatist ideal of the white supremacist government and which entrenched the relationship between race and space. While all segregationist and discriminatory practices are now illegal and unconstitutional, the persistence of history is apparent, especially in terms of the spatial legacy.

The new Constitution of South Africa, the highest law of the land, is the imagined or conceived space that has been produced to attempt to heal the divisions of the past. The Constitution calls for unity and for bridging historical distances and cleavages. This is clear in the declaration: “One law for One Nation”. Mda (1997:35) cites the following vision from the Constitutional principles:

Chapter Two: Locating the Theoretical Framework: An Odyssey to Space

“This Constitution provides the historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, belief and sex” (The Constitution Act 200 of 1993).

She further asserts that despite this constitutional assurance, South Africans are still very “conscious of the differences among themselves, especially as races, and sensitive to any discriminatory acts...because of the effects of the previous apartheid philosophy which are still being felt.” This persistence is as a consequence of the continued dominance of historical space, which gives clear and continuous expression to the perceived hierarchy of races. These social relations were and continue to be inscribed into space and are thus difficult to eradicate or erase.

The Constitution allows for freedom of movement (spatial power) and freedom to reside anywhere in the Republic. The spirit of the Constitution of South Africa also pervades the conceived spaces of the legislation in respect of the field of education. In terms of the South African Schools Act (84 of 1996) (SASA), a public school must admit learners and not unfairly discriminate against them. The preamble to the SASA (84 of 1996) states:

“Whereas the achievement of democracy in South Africa has consigned to history the past system of education which was based on racial inequality and segregation; and... (w)hereas this country requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners and in so...advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism, sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance...protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators...”.

In terms of the Employment Equity Act (76 of 1998) and the Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995), no school may refuse to employ a teacher because of difference. Hitherto forbidden places of employment are now sanctioned spaces.

In contrast to the conceived spaces of the Constitution, the apartheid government of South Africa zealously pursued a policy of racial separation. The Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified persons according to race, was amended fifteen times before 1986 (Eyber et al, 1997:1). The Population Registration Act of 1950, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 uniformly created divides in terms of race and have made people race-conscious (Asheron, 1976:67-68). The Group Areas Act also successfully separated and zoned people into racial residential areas. The spaces thus created and lived through the apartheid era had a controlling and conditioning effect. It would be simplistic to assume that the effect of the Group Areas Act influenced only the material spaces that it produced through spatial practice. It was born of a particular conception of space and this thereafter became the lived spaces of society. Having produced these spaces on the basis of race, these spaces have the power to act back on the forces that created it, as well on all those who live it.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 divided the whole country, but especially the urban areas, into separate residential areas for different races. In a group area for any one race, no member of another race could own or occupy property. Impartial in principle, in practice it discriminated against the politically powerless. Indians and Coloureds were liable to be moved from areas where they had always lived to areas which were smaller and where alternative

accommodation was scarce (Kenney, 1980:101).²⁸ As a consequence of the Group Areas Act, divisions were created based on race at the most basic of spatial levels. Storey (2001:148) describes this as a classic example of racialised space. It was a territorial system used to enhance the political, economic and social power of whites over blacks. Through the enactment of the Group Area Act, there “was a legal transposition of inequality onto geographical space” (Storey, 2001:149).

While these geographical divisions may have created separation on a purely physical level, it inevitably impacted on the psychological, social, economic lives of all the people - irrespective of race - in the country. This section will seek to show how the apartheid state - in an abuse of the power it wielded - used race as a determining factor to shape the ‘spatial practice’ (Lefebvre, 1991) that prevailed in the apartheid era. While these practices characterized the apartheid era the effects thereof are far from completely obliterated.

In the notorious system of apartheid, based on white domination of all South Africans who were classified ‘non-white’, the latter were further divided by creating a hierarchy comprising of coloured, Indian and African categories. The group areas were demarcated for each race group and the worst and most remote areas were usually allocated to Africans. Indian and coloured areas usually formed buffer zones between African and white areas. In respect of education the government implemented the principle of ‘own and general affairs’, which reinforced the principle of school and curriculum separation. “Matters such as education at all levels became an ‘own affairs’ of the white, coloured and Indian population groups respectively” (Cross, 1999:153). Indian and coloured schools received higher subsidies than African schools.

²⁸ The African population was segregated in terms of the Urban Areas Act of 1923.

The spaces produced through the practice of apartheid were not always naively used. For example, using their spaces of marginality as a location to challenge apartheid, was the response of the Soweto youth to inferior education.²⁹ In a spontaneous uprising against the apartheid's regime plans to introduce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools, the youth offered resistance. In many ways this was a turning point in the lived spaces of the oppressed people and it highlighted the immoral conceptions (or representations) of space. The willful destruction and vandalism of schools during this era was also a form of resistance to spatial practice.

Given the historical context of this study, any attempt to highlight issues pertaining to desegregation, which is intended to eliminate historical segregation, will necessarily include a theory of space. Various writers on the subject of racism, desegregation and segregation (Delaney, 2001; Harris, 2003; Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994; Smith, 1990; Chisholm and Smith, 1990; Goduka, 1999) have made references to the artificially created spaces within which a racialised society was legislated. Brief references will be made to these in support of the idea that race and space are inextricable, hence the need to analyse racial desegregation in terms of a framework of space.

Firstly, Lemon (1990:195) says that separation in South Africa was imposed on three spatial scales: micro-scale commonly termed petty apartheid, involved segregation of personal action space in the use of services and amenities. Meso- scale segregation: refers to segregation of residential areas in particular. This was achieved primarily through group areas legislation. South Africa's enforced urban social segregation provided an effective instrument for maintaining and accentuating group divisions. Residential segregation also provided a territorial basis for segregated schools. The third spatial scale was a

²⁹ Further readings may be found in Christopher (2001) and Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989).

national scale, which refers to the segregation of Africans into reserves, later called Bantustans³⁰ and the homelands (Lemon, 1990:196).

Secondly, Todd, in his analysis of racism, expresses the view that racism can be found at the following levels: racism can be found at the “individual level” (Todd, 1994:80) where actions and attitudes reveal the negative evaluation of people on the basis of a biological trait e.g. skin colour. It can also be found at the “institutional level” (Todd, 1994:80) where the routine procedures and practices can exclude or disadvantage people, e.g. the use of school assemblies and prayer, language tests or high school fees. Racism may be prevalent at the “structural level” (Todd, 1994:80) which refers to the broader, historically embedded patterns of social inequality in society with reference to, for example, work, housing or education. While all discriminatory laws forbid any form of inequality, these inequalities are still deeply entrenched. Lefebvre’s triad of space further confirms what Todd has identified. Todd’s description of the levels of racism shares a partial commonality with Lefebvre’s spatial practice and representations of space, and demonstrates the link between race and space.

Supporting the idea that race and space are linked, Delaney (2001:60) contends that the policy of racial segregation implemented in South Africa is “an inherently spatial process” and segregation is a form of spatial violation. It calls for an understanding of how space gets managed and operationalised. A similar view is expressed by Smith (1990:2-3) who states that geographical space is deeply implicated in social exclusion and that separating people spatially can be an effective means of exclusion and control.

³⁰ This refers to areas where Africans were allowed to establish homes relatively freely (Sutcliffe, 1987:42).

In supporting the need to examine racial desegregation through a spatial perspective, reference is made to the study of urban conflict by Harris (2003) in post-apartheid South Africa. Harris (2003:1) observes:

“The clearly delineated boundaries and racialised spaces created by apartheid geography did not automatically dissolve with the Group Areas Act and related legislation. Rather, space embodies a persistent barrier to creating a deracialised society and promoting a meaningful human rights culture in South Africa. This is because space continues to define access to resources, services and land; patterns of inclusion and exclusion; and relationships of power – both between socio-economic and political ‘groups’ and within specific communities. Space also shapes interpersonal relationships and factors of identity. Most simplistically, this can be seen through the ways that race still predominates within these relationships, although the less obvious (yet highly visible) ‘isms’ of apartheid of apartheid identity – class, gender, nationality and age – also play out in the arrangements of space.”

In the South African context, after the deregulation of the Group Areas Act, all people are free to live and migrate to areas, which have been previously demarcated for specific race groups. This has occurred to a limited extent on a class basis. According to Harris (2003:5) “spatial transgression of racialised areas is more commonly a temporary or transitory phenomenon, with people moving into and out of their schooling or working spaces, and back to their racialised living zones”. This constitutes a temporary desegregation of space.

Soja (1997:1) supports the use of a spatial framework for a study of race:

“(T)he spatial dimension of our lives has never been of greater practical and political relevance than it is today. Whether we attempting to deal with ... racism we are becoming increasingly aware that we are, and always have been, intrinsically spatial beings, active participants in the social construction of our embracing spatialities”.

Further support of using space as a framework for analysis, is Lefebvre's (1991) assertion that (social) space is a (social) product. The racialised spaces produced in the context of an apartheid South Africa were designed so as to alienate certain races and privilege whites. This alienation and domination took place in many complex ways and was consistently premised on race. Any study of race, particularly in this context, inevitably incorporates and implies a study of space.

2.9 Conceptions of space and the body

While the Group Areas Act may have been responsible for the production of a spatial practice in the form of specified residential areas for different races, the Population Registration Act (1959) in its conception produced a great awareness of the body and influenced identity formation. It formed the cornerstone of apartheid and left no room for the ambiguities of races. One of the ways in which racial classification was done was to ascertain if one was recognizably acceptable as white. Distasteful tests based on the physical appearance such as assessing the curliness of hair and skin colour were applied (Christopher, 2001:103). Under conditions such as these, a heightened awareness of the body is inevitable. The identity of the body was thus influenced and shaped by the representations of it as determined by this legislation.

This conception of the body influences the relations among people who are distinguished by race, especially where racial differences have entered into the consciousness of people so affected. These perceived differences influence the individual's conception of him- or herself. Anything that intensifies race consciousness - especially if it is a permanent physical trait - will increase that person's visibility and make his/her identity with a particular race group more

obvious. This tends to create and maintain the conditions under which race differences are perpetuated. This racial consciousness enforces social distances (Park, 2000:105).

Park's observation concurs with Lefebvre's view of the relation between the body and space:

“...there is an immediate relationship between the body and its space, between the body's deployment in space and its occupation of space... Each living body **is** space and **has** its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space. This is a truly remarkable relationship: the body with the energies at its disposal, the living body, creates or produces its own space; conversely the laws of space, which is to say the laws of discrimination in space, also govern the living body...” (Author's emphasis) (Lefebvre, 1991:170).

Similarly, Hooper (cited in Soja, 1997: 114) says the following about the body and its relationship to space:

“It (the body) is a concrete physical space of flesh and bone, of chemistries and electricities, it is a highly mediated space, a space transformed by cultural interpretations and representations, it is a lived space, a volatile space of conscious and unconscious desires and motivations – a body/self, a subject, an identity: it is, in sum, a social space, a complexity – involving the workings of power and knowledge and the workings of the body's lived unpredictabilities”.

Bodies are in space and are space. (Any) body defines itself in multiple ways, one of which is biological, which is in terms of phenotype. This facet of the definition of one's self is heightened when the space within which the body finds its expression, is one of discrimination on that very basis. The body is (as is race) a social construction. This is evident in the stereotypical roles attributed to perceived ideas of masculinity and femininity.

Highlighting the importance of the body Soja (2000:6) argues that:

“We are becoming more aware of ourselves as intrinsically spatial beings, continuously engaged in the collective activity of producing spaces and places, territories and regions, environments and habitats. This process of producing spatiality or ‘making geographies’ begins with the body, with the construction and performance of the self, the human subject, as a distinctively spatial entity involved in a complex relation with our surroundings”.

Historically, certain spaces were forbidden to the body in the apartheid era: free movement was severely restricted, inter-racial marriages were not recognized and were frowned upon. The prevalence of the restrictive and confining spaces of the apartheid era conditioned and socialized bodies.

The significance of the body is further highlighted by Lefebvre (1991:405):

“The whole of (social) space proceeds from the body... The genesis of a far-away order can be accounted for only on the basis of the order that is nearest to us, namely the order of the body”.

The conceived space that produced the body and marked it in terms of race, became the lived space of all South Africans. The spatial practice, in the form of separate material spaces for each of the races further heightened racial awareness.

The persistence of race and space may be partly explained by Mda’s (1997:36) earlier observation that South Africans are still very conscious of race. This can be further attributed to the slow pace at which conceptions of space, that is, the

“imagined” spaces of the Constitution become “real”. The enduring effect of history on space is explained by Lefebvre (1991:37) as follows:

“The historical and its consequences, the ‘diachronic’, the ‘etymology’ of location in the sense of what happened at a particular spot and thereby changed it - all of this becomes inscribed in space. The past leaves its traces; time has its own script. Yet this space is always, now and formerly, a *present* space, given as our immediate whole, complete with its associations and connections in their actuality” (Lefebvre. 1991:37).

The effects of history on space are long-lasting and the influence of the produced space endures. No space “ever vanishes utterly” (Lefebvre, 1990:165). While acknowledging the power of space to leave a permanent mark, Lefebvre (1991:54) points to the real purpose of a revolution:

“A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realised its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space – though its impact need not occur at the same rate, or with equal force, in each of these areas”.

The extent to which change has occurred in South Africa, as experienced or lived in the day-to-day lives of ordinary people in general and in the lives of teachers specifically, will provide insight into how the newly conceived spaces are lived.

2.10 Conclusion

While the preceding discussion attempted to shed some light on the theory of space, and the validity and justification for its use as a theoretical framework, it

is believed that a deeper understanding is only possible with the analysis of the data collected.

In support of this assertion is the view expressed by Harvey (2002:61):

“Space becomes whatever we make of it during the process of analysis rather than prior to it. Further, space is neither absolute, relative nor relational *in itself* but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances. The problem of the proper conceptualization of space is resolved through human practice with respect to it. In other words there are no philosophical answers to philosophical questions that arise over the nature of space - the answers lie in human practice. The question: ‘What is space’ is therefore replaced by the question: ‘how is it that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualizations of space?’ ”

Similarly, Lefebvre (1991:66-67) suggests that an understanding of the production of space in practical terms should be allowed “free rein” and should therefore not be constrained by preconceived theoretical ideas:

“ A new concept, that of the production of space... must ‘operate ‘ or ‘work’ in such a way as to shed light on processes from which it cannot separate itself because it is a product of them. Our task, therefore, is to employ this concept by giving it free rein... without according it... a life and strength of its own qua concept... Ultimately, once it has illuminated and thereby validated its own coming-into-being, the production of space (as theoretical concept and practical reality in indissoluble conjunction) will become clear...”

This chapter argued for the use of the spatial perspective to understand the process of desegregation. In support of this, an outline was provided of the route taken to Lefebvre’s (1991) conceptualisation of space, which began with an understanding of Berger’s (1981, 1985) study of society, both of which share certain points of convergence. However, while Berger’s study of society is implicitly a study of space, Lefebvre makes the relationship between society

and space very explicit. The three key concepts described by Lefebvre (1991:38-39), namely spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces (or perceived, conceived and lived spaces, respectively), were further clarified. Lefebvre warns against the fragmentation of space into various specialisations if one aims to attain an understanding of the workings of space. It is for this reason that he supports the idea of a transdisciplinary approach, and for the purposes of this study, a novel way of looking at the subject of desegregation was provided. The controlling and conditioning effect of space attests to the power of space and its ability to enable, constrain or mediate social relations. One of the ways in which power is exercised in space is through territoriality and this shapes the behaviour of people. The idea of place as a space with which people identify both personally and culturally was also discussed. How the above ideas find expression in South Africa in general, and in the field of education in particular, were analysed by referring to the Constitution, the South African Schools Act, as well as to older discriminatory legislation such as the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts. Supporting literature by various writers who advance reasons for the use of a spatial perspective in an understanding of desegregation was cited. The use of the Population Registration Act to mark bodies in terms of race and the effects thereof on the identity, conditioning and socializing of South Africans was also discussed.

The next chapter provides insight into the research methodology undertaken in this study. It explains the use of combined quantitative and qualitative approaches and is driven by a humanist-sociological orientation.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology: Charting the Way Ahead

3.1 Introduction

This chapter argues for the use of a humanistic-sociological approach, which has humans as the central point of interest and therefore commences with a brief description of some of its characteristics and the implications of this approach for research.

The discussion then proceeds to a diagrammatic representation of the broad methodological framework, which is driven by the 'layered' nature of social reality as conceived by Berger (1985:34-36). According to Berger (1985:34-36), social reality turns out to have many layers of meaning. The discovery of each new layer changes the perception of the whole (Berger, 1985:34-36).

The characteristics of a humanistic-sociological approach are also discussed with reference to the critical questions and the methodology and instruments used to obtain the relevant data in response to each of the critical questions. The complementary use of quantitative and qualitative approaches and its value for the purpose of triangulation will be substantiated.

In demonstrating the suitability of the application of a humanistic-sociological approach, it is acknowledged that research is influenced by the values and experiences of the researcher, and the obvious human engagement with every aspect of the research. A brief and selective biographical snapshot is appended³¹ so that the reader may determine to what extent these have influenced the study. The sample used is indicated as well as how the data was

³¹ See Appendix 7

analysed using both the spatial triad³² expounded by Lefebvre (1991) and a transdisciplinary³³ approach. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the methodological limitations of the study.

3.2 A humanistic-sociological approach

I have elected to use a humanistic- sociological approach in this study for the reasons explained below.

Firstly, humanism is associated with undogmatic inquiry, rational thought, democratic values, the application of knowledge for the benefit of all mankind, human self-reliance and the power to will and shape destiny, and the proposition that happiness, reason, justice and love can only be advanced within the framework of human criteria. Bernard (2000:18-19) states that humanism is an intellectual tradition that traces its roots to Protagoras' (485-410BC) dictum that "man is the measure of all things" which means that the truth is not absolute but is decided by human judgment. Alant (1990:ix) and Friedrichs (1990:1) state that the concept humanism is an attempt to look at the world from the angle of human existences.

Secondly, a humanist sociology in South Africa is a useful approach since it avoids polemical and simplistic interpretations of the society, and never loses sight of actual human beings (as opposed to stereotypes) (Friedrichs, 1990:3). This implies an interest in the subjective experiences of human beings. Since the intention of the researcher is not only to add to knowledge, but also to arrive

³² Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad comprises firstly, of what he refers to as spatial practice. This refers to space as it is perceived or material spaces. Secondly, he refers to representations of space which is space as it is conceived and thirdly, representational space which is the space of everyday activities of its users.

³³ The term 'transdisciplinary' is used to embrace all specialised fields, including History, Sociology, Geography as well as perspectives such as literary criticism and psychoanalysis to name a few (Soja, 1997:6).

at an understanding of the subjective experiences of teachers, it is desirable to use this approach.

Thirdly, the sociological frame of reference, with its built-in procedure for looking for levels of reality other than those given in the official interpretations of society, carries with it a logical imperative to unmask the pretensions and the propaganda by which men cloak their actions with each other (Berger, 1985:51). While South Africans were subjected to white supremacist propaganda in the past, this was readily and aggressively questioned and resisted. With the advent of democracy, one may easily be lulled into a sense of comfort and security and hence fail to question whether social reality is indeed a representation of the aspirations of the majority of South Africans as espoused in the Constitution.

Fourthly, there is an acknowledgement of the necessity of the human element in gaining an understanding of human experience. Berger (1985:179) declares, “sociological understanding can be an important part of a certain sense of life that is peculiarly modern, that has its own genius of compassion and that can be the foundation of a genuine humanism”. While defending the strength and significance of sociology, he is also aware that a sociological understanding of human life may not be the only way to study social life:

“Such a mellowing in self-understanding is in itself of human significance. It might even be said that the mere presence in an intellectual discipline of ironical scepticism concerning its own undertakings is a mark of its humanistic character” (Berger, 1985:186).

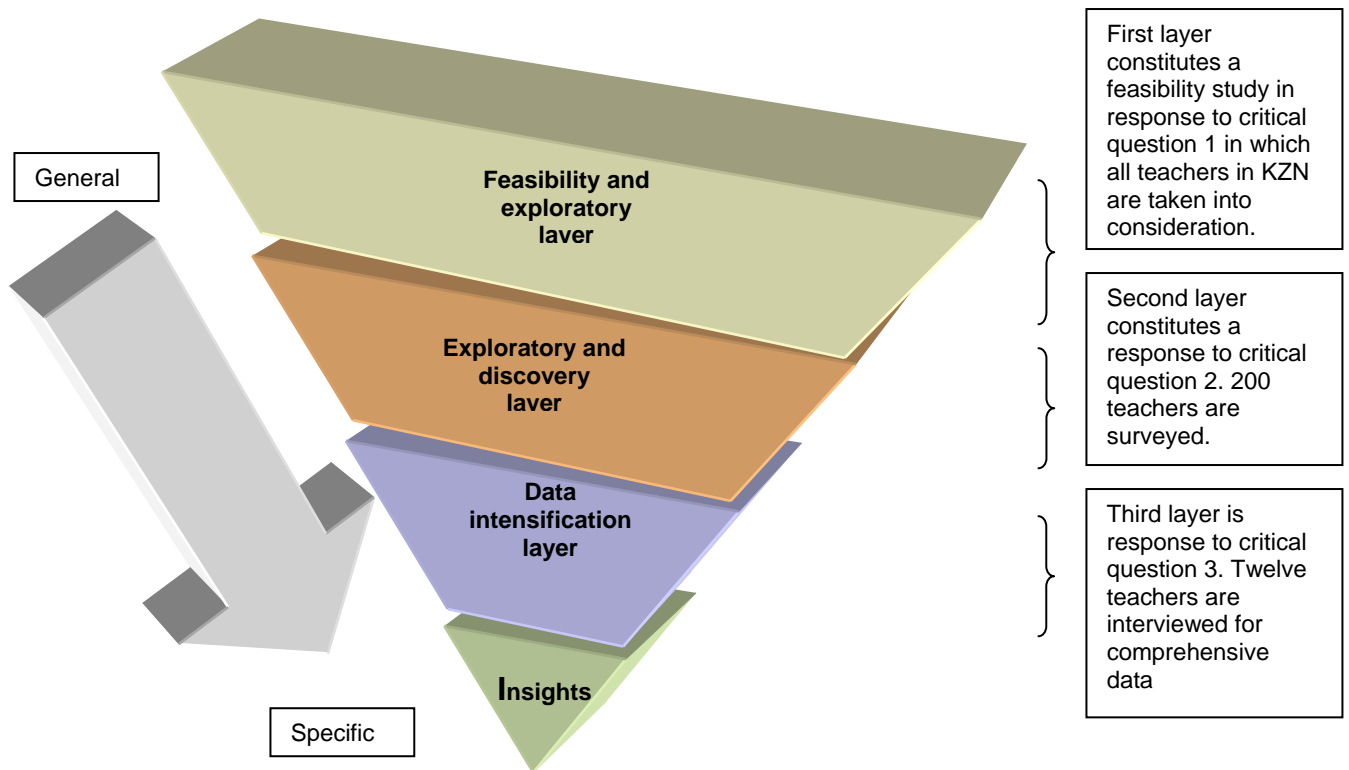
This is an indication of the “undogmatic” nature of this approach.

3.3 A broad framework

The broad research framework is based on the layered nature of social reality.

Figure 3.1 shows how this study uses this principle methodologically to gain an understanding of teacher desegregation.

Figure 3.1: Research framework representation



3.4 The context

The context within which this study is located is KwaZulu-Natal,³⁴ one of the nine provinces that constitute South Africa. It is the province with the most people, with 20.7% of the country's population. The most densely populated

³⁴ See Appendix 1.

areas in the province are Durban and Pietermaritzburg. This province has the highest number of teachers and learners in the country (Bot et al, 2000:13-95).

3.5 The methodology

The following tables (Tables 3.1-3.3) provide a brief overview of the methodological approach.

The nature of the topic lends itself to a humanistic-sociological approach. The experience of teachers is the core focus of the study. Any description of highly personal events calls for sensitivity, understanding and a treatment of each experience as unique. Using a qualitative approach in parts of the survey questionnaire and interviews with teachers allowed for the individual and unique expression of the views and experiences of teachers. This becomes even more important especially against the historical backdrop of a highly racialised South Africa. In the view of Friedrichs (1990:3), a humanist sociology in South Africa is a useful approach, since it is “associated with the promotion of equality, freedom and justice; South Africa is characterized by structural (and race based) forms of inequality, (and) significant constraints on individual freedom.”

Berger (1985:34-36) states that sociology will be satisfying to those who can think nothing is more entrancing than to watch men (and women) and to understand things human.

The point of departure of this study was a feasibility and exploratory assessment of the present situation in respect of teacher desegregation by ascertaining the racial profile of teachers at schools in the province (Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1: Methodological approach:
First layer: Feasibility study**

CRITICAL QUESTION ONE	PURPOSE	RESEARCH INQUIRY	SOURCE OF INFORMATION/ SAMPLE	INSTRUMENTS USED	DATA ANALYSIS
<p>To what extent has racial desegregation among the teacher component been realized in KZN schools?</p>	<p>To ascertain to what extent racial desegregation has occurred among the teacher corps in one of the nine provinces in South Africa.</p> <p>To ascertain whether continued study is warranted.</p>	<p>Feasibility and exploratory study of secondary data to obtain a broad overall idea of the extent to which teacher desegregation has occurred and to determine whether further study is warranted in respect of analysing teacher experiences of desegregation.</p>	<p>Secondary data from Department of Education in respect of teacher distribution in terms of race.</p> <p>A convenience sample of four teachers who are employed at schools historically not designated to their race.</p> <p>Four teachers namely, Keshni, Shamain, Thembi and Patience employed at former white schools were interviewed.</p>	<p>Secondary data from Department of Education in respect of all public schools in KwaZulu-Natal.</p> <p>Interviews with teachers.</p>	<p>Information organized and tabulated and subjected to analysis.</p> <p>Chi square goodness of fit test applied.</p> <p>Analysis of interviews.</p>

**Table 3.2: Methodological approach:
Second layer: Exploration and discovery**

CRITICAL QUESTION TWO	PURPOSE	RESEARCH INQUIRY	SOURCE OF INFORMATION/ SAMPLE	INSTRUMENTS USED	DATA ANALYSIS
<p>How is the concept desegregation defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?</p>	<p>To understand how desegregation is viewed and how the process unfolds in this country.</p>	<p>Quantitative and qualitative inquiry to obtain insights into teachers' views. Humanistic-sociological approach to understand experiences from point of view of teachers.</p>	<p>Two hundred teachers from various parts of KwaZulu-Natal</p>	<p>Survey questionnaire</p>	<p>Personal data and occupational context (Questions 1.1-2.8 and 3.3 -3.12 are analysed and presented quantitatively using SPSS). Use of descriptive, comparison descriptive and inferential statistics. Determine how teachers' occupational contexts are influenced by past history.</p> <p>Analysis of teachers' understanding of the term 'desegregation' and opinion of extent to which desegregation has occurred (questions 3.1, 3.2 and 3.14 are presented qualitatively). Definitions and experiences are to be analysed using a theory of space by, among others, Lefebvre and Soja. Assessment of teachers' views on teaching in various contexts and factors that may encourage or deter teachers from teaching in various contexts. Use of descriptive, comparison descriptive and inferential statistics.</p> <p>Study of responses from teachers, learners and community.</p> <p>Critical experiences (question 3.14) will be analysed and presented thematically using a theory of space.</p>

**Table 3.3: Methodological approach:
Third layer: Data intensification**

CRITICAL QUESTION THREE	PURPOSE	RESEARCH INQUIRY/ FREQUENCY	SOURCE OF INFORMATION/ SAMPLE	INSTRUMENTS	DATA ANALYSIS
<p>What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at schools that were historically not designated to their race group?</p>	<p>To understand the experiences of teachers who are employed at schools, which were previously not designated to their race group.</p>	<p>Qualitative inquiry to obtain deeper understanding of teacher experiences. Humanistic-sociological approach to obtain insights into teachers' experiences.</p>	<p>Interviews with 12 teachers of different race groups who are employed at schools not historically designated to their race group. These are: Aaron, Buhle, Chander, Deshni, Ella, Varsha, Gloria, Harriet, Ina, Joyce, Max and Karen.</p>	<p>Semi-structured interviews</p>	<p>Themes that recur in responses to critical questions 2 and 3 will be collapsed in the presentation of the data. Data will be analysed using a theory of space with selective reference to Lefebvre's spatial triad, and the theorising of space by Soja (1997 and 2000), Dear and Flusty (2002) and Morgan (2000).</p>

This layer of the study also responded to the first critical question.³⁵ This was a quantitative assessment aimed at providing a broad overview of developments in the field of teacher desegregation. This was done by the use of secondary data obtained from the Department of Education and this information was organized, tabulated and subjected to the Chi square goodness of fit test.³⁶ This test was applied to ascertain whether the obtained distribution of a set of scores differed significantly from what was expected. In addition, a convenience sample of two Indian and two African teachers, all of whom are employed at former white schools, were interviewed to explore their experiences. The findings obtained at this point provided a basis for the subsequent layers of the study which are critical questions two and three, both of which probed deeper into teachers' views and experiences. The first critical question succeeded in describing the contour of the data (Leedy, 1992:44). It also opened up avenues to explore and questions to answer, and exposed a specific historical moment by showing its relationship to the social and historical contexts (Bogdan et al, 1992:148-149). In the context of South Africa, these statistics may be indicative of whether progress towards the ideals of a desegregated and non-racial country, including its education system, is being made. These statistics were thus interpreted against the backdrop of a country that is aspiring towards the value of non-racism. While a sociological study requires an open mind, there was also a debunking motif for doing this, since these figures provide an idea of the extent to which desegregation is being realised, and whether these accord with the expectations that one may have of a non-racial country. Most significantly, the feasibility study pointed to the need for further and more in-depth explanatory study.

³⁵ To what extent has racial desegregation among the teacher component been realized in KZN schools?

³⁶ The chi-square test is applied to a single categorical variable to see if the distribution among categories matches (fits) the theoretical expectation. The bigger the chi square statistic the poorer the fit, the smaller, the better (Vogt, 1999:57).

The approach used above and the results that it yielded provided an informative but partial view of teacher desegregation. Leedy (1992:44) comments that statistics can illuminate the contour, but the researcher's primary aim is not to see the contour but to account for its configuration in terms of the research problem. In order to gain a deeper insight into teachers' views and experiences, the second critical question³⁷ (Table 3.2) elicited the views of two hundred teachers in the province through the use of a survey questionnaire.³⁸ This represented an attempt to capture the human element that may influence desegregation, which is consistent with humanism in its attempt to look at the world from the angle of human existences (Alant, 1990:ix). Friedrichs (1990:1) concurs with this view, indicating that the common point of departure of humanistic philosophies is that humans are the central point of interest. This being the case, the general information gleaned from the response to critical question one was insufficient, and it was therefore necessary to research the human element that may account for the statistical configuration obtained during the first layer of the research.

The survey questionnaire³⁹ addressed the need to obtain more specific and detailed data (Table 3.2) and therefore elicited the following information:

- Biographical data and their occupational contexts (Questions 1.1 - 2.8).
- How teachers define desegregation, and whether they think that desegregation has successfully occurred in the context of education (Questions 3.1 - 3.2).
- How they would respond to being placed in each of the following contexts:
 - (i) A former white school

³⁷ How is the concept desegregation defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?

³⁸ See Appendix 5.

³⁹ See Appendix 5.

- (ii) A former Indian school
 - (iii) A former coloured school
 - (iv) A former African school (Question 3.3).
- Do they think that their schools will be open to, and accepting of, teachers of different race groups (Question 3.12)?
 - What deters/ encourages them from teaching at former African, Indian, coloured and white schools (Questions 3.4 - 3.11)?
 - Critical experiences that they personally or their friends may have had (Questions 3.13 -3.14).

The survey questionnaire elicited data that is presented quantitatively (Questions 1.1 - 2.8 and 3.3 - 3.12) and qualitatively (Questions 3.1, 3.2 and 3.14). The quantitative approach is used to complement the qualitative study and it allows for triangulation obtained through the use of two methodologies. Denzin and Lincoln (1998:9) assert that there are many qualitative researchers in the postpositivist tradition who use statistical measures, methods and documents as a way of locating a group of subjects within a larger population. Their findings are usually not presented in the form of complex statistical measures or methods to which quantitative researchers are drawn.

The sample⁴⁰ comprised of teachers employed in public schools in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The views of two hundred teachers were canvassed. Since the province is divided into four administrative regions, a representative spread from all regions was necessary. Teachers occupying various positions, for example, head of department and principal, were surveyed. The response to the second critical question seeks to represent the views of teachers who participated in the survey. The survey questionnaire also served as a “search device” (Babbie, 1990:52). For example, the survey questionnaire indicated

⁴⁰ A sample is any part of a population, and may either be representative of the population or not.

some of the possible reasons why teachers believe that desegregation has thus far not been successfully achieved in South Africa.⁴¹ The survey questionnaire was filled anonymously and respondents were informed that they were under no compulsion to do so and that they were free to withdraw at any point.⁴²

The information obtained from the survey questionnaire responded to critical question two.⁴³ The questionnaire was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences computer program. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to summarise, organize, express graphically and in general analyse the information quantitatively. The biographical details of the participants were provided at the outset in order to show that teachers' experiences (specifically their schooling, tertiary education and occupational contexts) are racially determined. This obviously has some relevance to the way they view and understand desegregation. Findings were organized thematically, and were combined with relevant responses to the interview with teachers who are employed at schools that were not formerly designated to their race group (refer to Table 3.3). How teachers feel about teaching in various contexts and what may either encourage or discourage them from doing so was then analysed. Any critical experiences that were mentioned by teachers were highlighted. The use of the survey questionnaire and the interview were originally intended to be neat, watertight and compartmentalised responses to critical questions two and three respectively. The data yielded through these instruments emerged as comprehensive data relevant to both critical questions - hence it became necessary to merge the data obtained into a whole for purpose of coherent presentation.

⁴¹ This arose from an analysis of responses to questions 3.1 and 3.14.

⁴² See Appendix 3.

⁴³ How is the concept "desegregation" defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?

Responses to other questions in the survey are quantified and explanations for these responses are provided from some of the qualitative responses to the questionnaire. Further explanations were obtained from the interviews (Table 3.3), which were chiefly intended to respond to critical question three. The degree of overlap that occurred demonstrated triangulation of the data.

Through the use of the humanistic-sociological approach, the third layer (Table 3.3) of the study took the form of a response to the third critical question which explores the deeper experiences of teachers who are employed at KZN schools which were not historically designated to their race group. This deeper probing aimed to ascertain how these teachers make meaning of their experiences. This is what a humanistic-sociological approach seeks to do. Johnston (1986:5) asserts that a humanistic approach is one whose epistemology is knowledge that is obtained subjectively in a world of meanings created by individuals, and whose ontology is that what exists is that what people perceive to exist. This approach emphasises individuality and subjectivity by focusing on the human being and on the importance of understanding the subjective experiences of humans. In the view of Berger (1985:189), sociology is vitally concerned with what is after all the principal subject matter of the humanities – the human condition itself. Just because the social is such a crucial dimension of human existence, sociology focuses time and again on the fundamental question of what it means to be a man or woman in a particular situation.

At this level interviews⁴⁴ were conducted with a selected sample of teachers who were employed at schools not historically designated to their race group. The interview was considered the most appropriate research tool since its topic is the lived world of the interviewees and their relation to it. The meanings of the input received were registered and interpreted. The interview allowed for

⁴⁴ See Appendix 6 for interview schedule.

nuanced descriptions of certain and specific aspects of the interviewee's life. It was also focused, without being too structured (Kvale cited in Cohen et al, 2001:272). While the characteristics of the interview allowed for a firsthand understanding of their experiences, the role of the researcher is also important. Greeff (2005:298-299) sees the interview as a conversation with a purpose. The researcher needs to show an interest in, and an understanding of, the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience. The researcher is neither objective nor detached, but should be engaged. A humanistic approach sometimes means a commitment to subjectivity- i.e. to using our own feelings, values and beliefs to achieve insight into the nature of human experience, and an appreciation of the unique nature of some experiences (Bernard, 2000:19). Hughes (1989:65) stresses the role of interpretation and understanding as the proper and valid way of gaining knowledge on the subject matter. The subjectivity of the researcher is also acknowledged by Denzin and Lincoln (1998:25):

“Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of the observer and observed”.

While the role of the researcher in an interview is important, his/her part is minimal. This is important in a sociological approach. The purpose of all research interviews is to obtain information and although words and sentences are exchanged in both directions, an interview is essentially a one-way process. Indeed, if it should become a two-way process of communication, it will lose much of its value because of the biases introduced by the interviewer (Oppenheim, 2004:66). These principles were considered when the interviews were conducted.

These interviews were semi-structured and elicited, among others, the following information with respect to the way in which they were appointed to their schools, a brief description of the school and the community, their personal responses to being part of a racially desegregated staff and the responses of colleagues, learners and the community to them. In addition, interviewees were asked if they experienced any alienation through discrimination, what practices at their schools either promoted or inhibited desegregation, and finally they were asked about any critical moments that they might have experienced at their schools.

The structure of the interviews conducted was located on varying points in the structured – unstructured continuum. It may therefore be described as semi-structured to varying degrees, and this was determined by the responses that were forthcoming from the participants. In view of the topic being researched, a wide range of responses from the participants was anticipated. Since questions would be posed with respect to the schools at which teachers were employed, it was felt that approaching teachers and conducting interviews in those settings was inappropriate. This was the motivation for conducting interviews in places where teachers would feel at ease and more likely to respond openly. These were therefore held in local libraries, participants' homes and secluded garden restaurants. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants and were thereafter transcribed and returned to them for additions and amendments. This was done for the purpose of validation.

Oppenheim (2004:69) is of the view that the basic ethical principle in the collection of data is that no harm should come to the interviewees in the research. In order to ensure that this was indeed the case, teachers were given the option to remain anonymous and the names of their schools were not

recorded.⁴⁵ The names of interviewees were coded in order to further protect their identities and where references were made to schools or places, which may easily be identifiable, these were also coded. Oppenheim (2004:69) goes on to state that the interviewee has a right to privacy and to refuse to answer certain questions or to be interviewed at all. All interviewees were informed of these rights prior to their participation in the interview (Oppenheim 2004:83). This instrument was very useful because it provided the opportunity to collect data in the participants' own words and to develop insights into how they "interpret some piece of the world" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992:96).

The sampling unit for this critical question was the individual teacher who is employed at a school that is not historically of his/her own race group. Twelve teachers were interviewed in response to the third critical question. While there was the temptation to continue seeking out more teachers, the repetition of data that emerged from the existing indicated a degree of saturation. The sample comprised a range of participants. Two participants namely, Harriet⁴⁶ and Deshni⁴⁷ are examples of what is described as extreme or deviant case samples, which selects participants who exemplify characteristics of interest. Extreme cases maximize the factors of interest, thus clarifying factors of importance" (Morse, 1998:72). Another type of sample is called an intensity sample which has less emphasis on extremes. These participants are experiential experts and who are authorities on a particular experience (Morse, 1998:72). This sample selected for this study also included teachers who had extensive experience in the field and who taught in various contexts, for example in schools where the teaching personnel comprises of only one race group, and in schools where racial desegregation among teachers has occurred. These teachers were thus best suited to compare their experiences in different contexts. The selection of

⁴⁵ See Appendix 4.

⁴⁶ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

⁴⁷ Deshni is an Indian female teacher employed at a former African school.

the sample also took into account what is called maximum variety in which one engages in a process of deliberately selecting a heterogeneous sample and observing commonalities in their experiences (Morse, 1998:72). While it was important to identify similarities, the uniqueness of each participant's experience/s was captured. The sample chosen is indicated in Table 3.4. The pseudonyms, race, gender, sample type and the schools at which the teachers are employed are also indicated.

Table 3.4: The participants in the interview

Name	Race	Gender	Sample type	School ⁴⁸		
				Former African	Former Indian	Former White
Aaron	African	Male	Heterogeneous sample		x	
Buhle	African	Female	Intensity sample		x	
Chander	Indian	Male	Heterogeneous sample	x		
Deshni	Indian	Female	Extreme case sample	x		
Ella	Indian	Female	Intensity sample			x
Varsha	Indian	Female	Intensity sample			x
Gloria	Coloured	Female	Heterogeneous sample	x		
Harriet	Coloured	Female	Extreme case sample			x
Ina	Coloured	Female	Heterogeneous sample			x
Joyce	White	Female	Heterogeneous sample	x		
Karen	White	Female	Intensity sample		x	
Max	African	Male	Intensity sample			x

In the analysis phase of the study, solid descriptive data is presented so that an understanding of the meaning of the experience of teachers is obtained (De Vos, 2005:339), thus bringing order, structure and meaning to the collected data.

The meanings are expressed from the perspective of the participants (Gay and

⁴⁸ Teachers from former coloured schools were omitted since these constitute a very small number of schools in the province.

Airasian, 2003:169) since this is especially significant in a humanistic-sociological approach. An analysis of the experiences of teachers calls for understanding and sensitivity, hence the suitability of this approach. Furthermore this study focuses on race and given the potential volatility of the subject, especially in the context of a highly racialised South Africa, a sense of rationality and humaneness is vital. Particularly in the study of race, neutrality and objectivity are impossible. In fact, it is tentatively proposed that ‘neutrality’ and ‘objectivity’ are not desirable and that the quality of subjectivity as proposed by a humanistic-sociological approach may be critical to gaining a real understanding of the human experience. Neutrality in research cannot be guaranteed since interpretations and analyses that provide particular perspectives “are shot through with gendered, classed, racialised and other ‘excluding’ understandings” (Blair, 1998:13).⁴⁹

The interviews were transcribed,⁵⁰ read and reread to establish a sense of familiarity with the data. In providing a description of the experiences of the selected teachers, it was necessary to classify related ideas and concepts into categories which were either generated in advance or after having been exposed to the data. Those categories that were identified in advance emerged from responses to the questionnaire especially from the questions, which elicited teachers’ definitions of desegregation, and significant experiences that either they or colleagues known to them may have experienced. Some of these categories were the spatial way in which teachers defined desegregation, the prevalence of resegregation, the meaning of place, the need for collegiality among teachers, racism and the fear of racism. This was followed by interpretation of the data and this addressed how teachers understood their experiences. While adopting a humanistic-sociological orientation which calls

⁴⁹ See Appendix 7.

⁵⁰ See Appendices 8.1 – 8.3 for transcribed interviews.

for an understanding of subjective experiences, the data was analysed using a theory of space and in particular exploring how desegregated school spaces are perceived, conceived and lived within the context of a democratic country.

The use of a qualitative methodology in this exploratory and discovery layer (Figure 3.1) aimed to provide deeper insight into the research setting to obtain in-depth understanding about the way things are, *why* they are that way and *how* the participants in the context perceive them. This was consistent with a humanistic-sociological approach since one strives to understand how participants understand their experiences. The central focus of the qualitative layer of this research study was to provide an understanding of a social setting or activity as viewed from the perspective of the research participants (Gay and Airasian, 2003:169). Some of the general features that characterize qualitative research will be outlined. In the process of outlining these features, the degree of concurrence between these features and that of this study are discussed below.

Firstly, one of the characteristics of qualitative research is the collection of data from real world situations. The data obtained in the qualitative dimension of the survey questionnaire were obtained from a survey of two hundred teachers from various regions in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. These are teachers who teach in schools, which comprise of teaching components that are either desegregated or segregated. In-depth interviews were conducted with teachers who are currently employed in schools, which were historically not designated to their race group.

Secondly, qualitative research data are descriptive. Rich descriptions are elicited from the participants in the interview. This was also accomplished to a

Disregarding the historical dimension when studying contemporary events is against sociological reasoning. Acknowledging the significance of the past, Lefebvre (1991:37) contended that “(t)he historical and its consequences...become inscribed in space. The past leaves its traces”. While Berger may have elected to highlight the significance of history and philosophy, this study followed a transdisciplinary approach and included other disciplines such as psychology and social geography.

In support of a transdisciplinary approach, it is believed that the fragmentation of the study of human beings into various specialised disciplines tends to leave the impression that the total or whole human being is somewhat diminished. According to Johnston (1986:1) “(t)he fragmentation of knowledge into disciplines is artificial and to a certain degree, arbitrary... The boundaries are relatively porous, to allow for inter-disciplinary contact”. During the course of the research, it was difficult to keep the study within the realms of a single discipline. This challenge arose from the multitude of factors that impact on education, for example, law, history and geography. In addition, the use of the theory of space enables one to submit to the interrelatedness of various disciplines since the impact and workings of space are pervasive.

3.6 Towards validation through complementarity

The complementary use of quantitative and qualitative methods strengthened and enhanced this study, firstly, by one providing the groundwork for the other. Secondly, it contributed to validation, and thirdly, the accuracy of the data obtained through the combination was assessed. Fourthly, the qualitative aspect of the study was an extension and elaboration of the quantitative aspect and finally, this contributed to triangulation. These are discussed below in greater detail.

Firstly, the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches may be combined by researchers to use one as groundwork for the other and to explore different aspects of the same research question (Ary et al, 2002:23). This idea is supported by Haralambros *et al* (1996:827) who are of the view that many sociologists now advocate methodological pluralism where a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods is used. This idea was applied in the study since much of the information elicited during the first and second layers of the research provided the groundwork from which to embark on the qualitative dimension.

Secondly, some researchers (Gall *et al*, 1996:29) believe that qualitative research is best used to discover themes and relationships at the case level, while quantitative research is best used to validate those themes and relationships in samples and populations. In this view quantitative research plays a discovery role, while qualitative research plays a confirmatory role (Gall et al, 1996:29). While there was a great degree of overlap between the data elicited during both the quantitative and qualitative phases of this study, since the former preceded the latter in terms of chronology, the quantitative dimension played a discovery role that was further confirmed by way of in-depth qualitative study. During the data analysis phase of this study, the findings that emanated from both parts of the research, tended to merge very meaningfully, thereby eliminating the idea that each of the sections could be neatly and conveniently compartmentalised and separated. Bogdan and Biklen (1992:145-146) state that quantitative data can have conventional uses in qualitative research by providing descriptive information and as in the case of this study, it opened up avenues to explore and questions to answer. Statistical data may be useful since they can serve as a check on ideas that are developed during research. Looking at official statistics and comparing them to what

subjects are reporting can be helpful in exploring perceptions. This study used quantitative and qualitative methodologies to uncover different layers of meaning.

Thirdly, through the combined use of quantitative and qualitative methods the accuracy of the data obtained in each of these phases was assessed.

Haralambros et al (1996:856) cite Bryman who declares that qualitative and quantitative data can be used to check on the accuracy of the conclusion reached on the basis of each. The use of multiple methods of data collection is likely to increase the reliability of the observations. These methods complement each other and are employed to correct their respective shortcomings and limitations (Mouton and Marais, 1993:91). Furthermore, a combination of these approaches provides a more complete picture of the social group being studied.

While both approaches are used in this study, it may be viewed as a predominantly qualitative study. The way in which the combination of methodologies proceeded in this study is supported by Gay and Airasian (2003:169), who state that quantitative and qualitative research should not be viewed as oppositional. Both may be utilized in the same study, as when the administration of a questionnaire is followed up by a small number of detailed interviews to obtain deeper explanations for the numerical data. The analysis of the teacher racial profile at schools (Table 3.1) and the quantitative responses to the survey questionnaire (Table 3.2) were substantiated through the qualitative phase of the study through the use of semi-structured interviews (Table 3.3).

Finally, these methodologies contributed to triangulation. Triangulation is the use of a plurality of methods (Haralambros and Holborn, 1996:856). Janesick (1998:46) cites Denzin in identifying different types of triangulation. Firstly,

there is data triangulation in which one uses a variety of data sources in a study. In this study, the questionnaire survey of two hundred teachers and interviews of twelve individual teachers were done. As pointed out earlier, the data obtained at this point indicated a degree of saturation. Secondly, there is methodological triangulation that encourages the use of multiple methods to study a single problem. Janesick (1998:46) adds another form of triangulation in what she calls “interdisciplinary triangulation”. She feels that by using disciplines such as art, sociology, history dance, architecture and others to inform the research process we may broaden our understanding of method and substance. During the data analysis phase, this study selectively used a theory of space which allowed for, and encouraged, a multi-disciplinary perspective in understanding teacher desegregation.

3.7 Methodological limitations

A possible limitation may arise from what is referred to as researcher effects. One of the effects is that of the affiliation of the researcher. If the researcher is employed by a highly influential organization that is known for the quality of its research, it is likely that respondents will be more likely to be motivated to answer questions authentically and seriously (Mouton and Marais, 1993:81). It was for this reason that the name of the university was provided to the survey questionnaire respondents and the interviewees.

Another effect identified by Mouton and Marais (1993:82-83) is that of the image of the researcher. The image of the researcher is frequently that of an outsider. Especially in the context of this study, language and cultural differences are an important consideration that may influence findings. Other factors such as the researcher’s interests, cultural background, and the time and place of the research also contribute to this effect. While these effects cannot

be eliminated entirely, it is wise to keep these in mind when conducting research. It is for this reason that my own experiences have been made explicit⁵² so that any critique of this study may take these into account in order to assess their effects.

To minimize these effects, the data collected during the questionnaire survey and by the interviews were triangulated.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the argument centred on some of the key characteristics that typify a humanistic-sociological approach. These characteristics and how these were employed to drive the methodology were outlined, through focusing on the subjective experiences of teachers and understanding these from their perspectives. The broad methodological framework was influenced and determined by the ‘layered’ nature of social reality as conceived by Berger (1985:34-36), and each of the critical questions addressed a deeper layer of meaning by commencing with a broad feasibility and exploratory overview of the extent of teacher desegregation in the province. This preceded the second layer that surveyed the views and experiences of two hundred teachers from each of the four administrative regions that constitute the province. Finally, the third layer of data collection captured the direct and textured experiences of teachers who teach at schools that were historically not designated to their race.

The instruments, samples as well as the way in which the data was analysed, were discussed and substantiated. A motivation for the complementary use of quantitative and qualitative approaches was provided. Consistent with the humanistic nature of this study, the methodological limitations were disclosed.

⁵² See Appendix 7 for the researcher’s biography.

The next chapter proceeds to an analysis of the data in response to each of the critical questions. The first section is the outcome of the feasibility study and examines the extent to which teacher desegregation has occurred in the province as well as the experiences of a selected sample of teachers. The second section provides an introduction to the participants in the study. The third section looks at, among others, the ways in which teachers define and understand desegregation. The fourth section examines teachers' attitudes towards teaching in various contexts. The fifth section addresses the third critical question and highlights teacher, learner and community responses to teacher desegregation and the role played by school governing bodies.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings: Encountering space

4.1 Orientation to chapter four

In this chapter, it is argued that the study of desegregation is best understood through an analysis of space and in the case of this study, through the selective use of Lefebvre's spatial triad.⁵³ This is in part due to the view that racial segregation is an inherently spatial process (Delaney, 2001; Harris, 2003 and Smith, 1990). A study of desegregation is grounded in and predicated on a study of segregation and it therefore represents a change in the way space is perceived, conceived and lived. While the analysis of the data is largely interpreted through a theory of space, there are inevitable and essential references to history, social psychology, law and geography. This is consistent with the 'transdisciplinary' approach for which a motivation has been provided.⁵⁴

The analysis of the data commences with a feasibility study (Figure 4.1) that simultaneously responds to critical question one and which is presented in the first section of this chapter. This is an exploratory layer of data and examines the extent to which teacher desegregation has occurred in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This section explores the degree to which spatial segregation has been overcome.

This argument is further sustained in the responses to critical questions two⁵⁵ (Table 3.2) and three, (Table 3.3)⁵⁶ which represent the second and third layers

⁵³ This is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

⁵⁴ Refer to chapter 2.

⁵⁵ How is the concept *desegregation* defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?

of data collection (Figure 3.1), respectively, both of which are thematically presented in sections two, three, four and five.

In section two (Figure 4.1), reference is made to the biographical and occupational data of the participants in the study, most of which were, and still are, racially determined and influenced by spatial segregation. A general background knowledge of these details is a prerequisite to understand the spatial way in which the participants view the term ‘desegregation’, which is also addressed.

Section three (Figure 4.1) incorporates teachers’ understanding of terms ‘desegregation’ and ‘integration’ as these appear to be used synonymously. In addition, the related term ‘resegregation’ is analyzed. The latter is used to describe the way in which people regroup themselves voluntarily along racial lines and how this phenomenon is understood and experienced by teachers.

Section four (Figure 4.1) is an analysis of teachers’ responses to teaching in various contexts, the factors which either encourage or deter desegregation and of the ways teachers respond to the appointment of teachers of other races by drawing on both qualitative⁵⁷ and quantitative data.

Finally, section five (Figure 4.1) comprises of an analysis of the pedagogic spaces that are produced as a result of interaction between teachers and learners, and which are also influenced by the response of the community to teachers. Included here is the role of school governing bodies in the selection and employment of teachers that is a crucial factor in determining the extent to which desegregation occurs. This section draws mainly on data obtained from

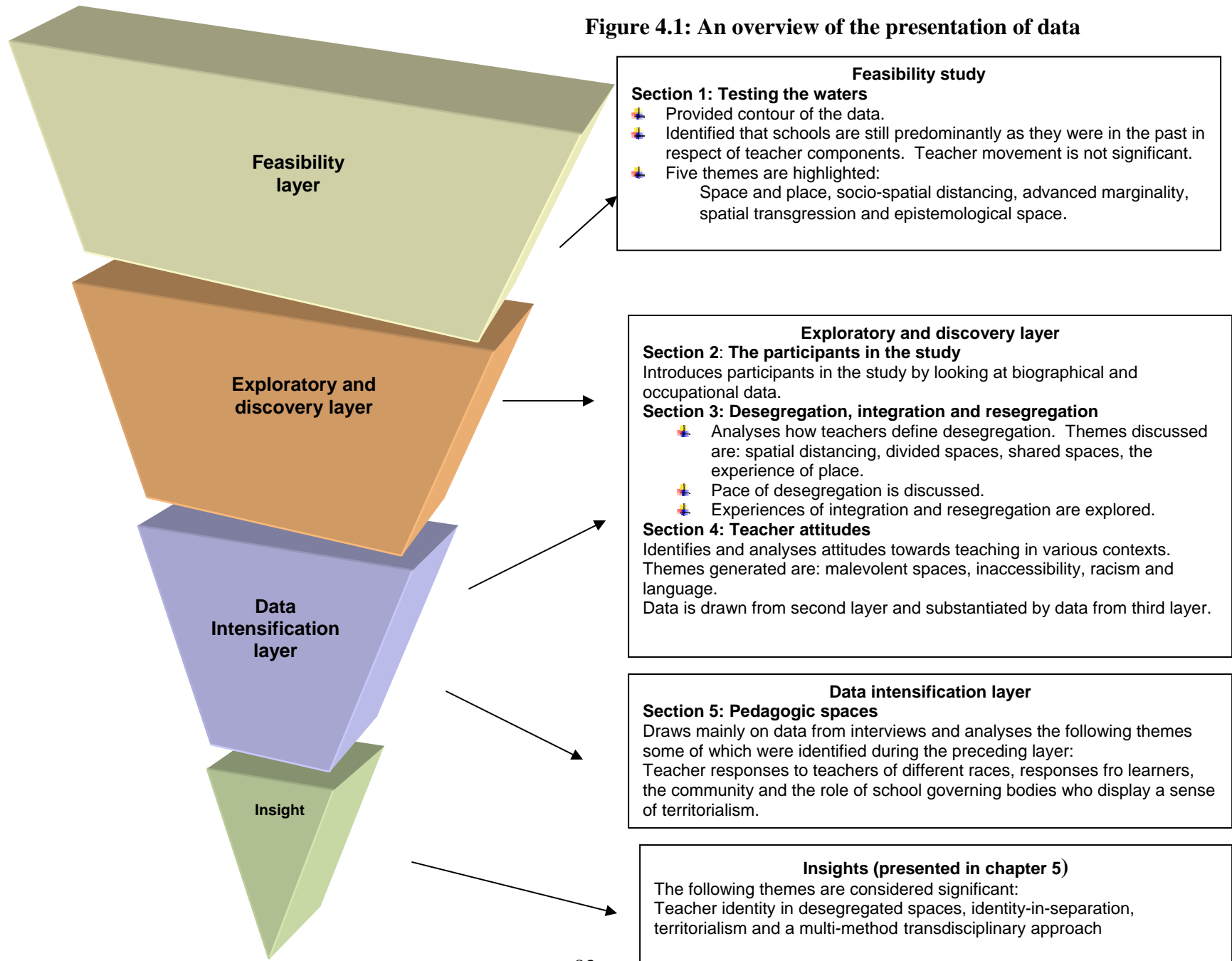
⁵⁶ What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at KZN schools which were historically not designated to their racial group?

⁵⁷ See Appendices 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3 for interview transcripts.

the qualitative dimension of the study.⁵⁸ One of the factors that influenced the presentation of the data is that it is neither possible nor advisable to draw “a hard-and-fast distinction between qualitative and quantitative studies. The difference is not absolute; it is one of emphasis. One emphasis should not be considered superior to the other...Some investigations could be strengthened by supplementing one approach with the other” (Best and Kahn, 1993:211-212). Denzin and Lincoln (1998 a:10) assert that both qualitative and quantitative researchers are concerned about the individual’s point of view. It is for this reason that findings obtained from the quantitative responses of the survey questionnaire are simultaneously elaborated upon by the relevant qualitative references to responses to the interviews.

⁵⁸ This is a reference to the interviews with teachers and to the qualitative responses in the survey questionnaire.

Figure 4.1: An overview of the presentation of data



Section One

Feasibility study: Testing the waters

4.2 Introduction

In this section, it is argued that the idea of a feasibility study which is borrowed from the discipline of economics can be meaningfully applied to a study of education. A feasibility study is a useful way of ascertaining whether a prolonged and in-depth study into the chosen topic is warranted. This is demonstrated by using some of the principles of such a study to explore the need (or otherwise) for further research in the field of teacher desegregation.

In essence, a feasibility study focuses on helping answer the question of whether one should proceed with the proposed project and all activities are directed towards helping answer this question (Hofstrand and Clause, 2006:1). The feasibility study is an exploratory journey that helps to ‘frame’ certain issues so that these may be studied in-depth. Once done, a feasibility study is an information source that indicates whether one should proceed or not (Hofstrand and Clause, 2006:1). This feasibility study comprised of two parts, the first of which examined the information in respect of the racial distribution of teachers in the province. The second part analysed the experiences of four teachers who moved to former white schools.

In addition, this initial study seeks to ascertain whether there are marked differences or striking similarities (Darwin cited in Gardiner, 2006:13) between the data elicited during this layer and that of the second and third layers.

4.3 Exploratory layer of data collection

In conducting this exploratory study, two sets of data were collected, and in doing so, the first critical question⁵⁹ was simultaneously addressed. In this layer of data collection, all teachers in public schools in KwaZulu-Natal were taken into consideration.

Firstly, an assessment was done to determine the number of teachers who are employed at schools that were historically not designated to their race. This was done by obtaining information from the Education Management Information System (EMIS) database of the Department of Education in KwaZulu-Natal. The challenge which was experienced in respect of ascertaining this data was that the database relies on survey forms issued to schools and it was evident that in some cases not all the details required for the purpose of this study were available such as race, gender, and the former education department under whose administration the school belonged. In addition, new schools, that is, those established after the advent of democracy from 1996, which are non-racial, could not be taken into consideration.⁶⁰

Another challenge which may lead to an inflated representation of the number of white, Indian and African teachers employed at former African schools may be attributed to misrepresentation of information in respect of the former classification of these schools as either Department of Education and Training (DET) schools and KwaZulu (KZ) schools. The new classification is KwaZulu-

⁵⁹ To what extent has racial desegregation among the teacher component been realized in KZN schools?

⁶⁰ As a consequence of these challenges, a total of 3116 teachers (whose race or the former education department were unknown) and 2201 educators (from new schools) are excluded from the above statistical analysis. Teachers who indicated “other” (40) under race have also been excluded. Gender and race were unknown in 302 cases and had to be omitted from this analysis. A total of 62 820 teachers were employed in public schools in 2003. 58076 teachers were therefore taken into consideration.

Natal (KZN) Department of Education. Since this data was captured during a period of transition,⁶¹ it is possible that schools may have made use of the new administrative title and these may have been captured as KZ schools. Another reason may be that the tags of former ‘coloured’, ‘Indian’ or ex-Model C (former white) schools are not indicated as these labels are “becoming less meaningful with regard to the composition of the pupil body” since many of these schools have either a predominantly or a wholly African learner enrolment (Hofmeyr, 2000:6).

The teacher component of all public schools in the province profiled by race was collated and represented in table form. This provides an indication of the number of teachers in each race group employed in each of the formerly racially divided education departments. This information is analysed and subjected to a chi-square goodness of fit test.⁶²

4.4 Racial distribution of teachers

This section answers the following critical question: “To what extent has racial desegregation among the teacher component been realized in KZN schools?”

The data provided below was obtained from the Department of Education and represents the teacher distribution in the year 2003.

⁶¹ This data represents the teacher racial profile for 2003, a year before the commencement of the study.

⁶² The chi-square test is applied to a single categorical variable to see if the distribution among categories matches (fits) the theoretical expectation. The bigger the chi square statistic the poorer the fit, the smaller, the better (Vogt, 1999:57).

⁶² In this analysis of the racial distribution of teachers it must be remembered that races are not “distinct, unchanging entities. They overlap and are in a continuous state of genetic flux” (Kuper, 1984:11). Furthermore, there are no typical racial types. Races may also differ from one another in the relative presence or absence of certain genes, not in any absolute sense (Kuper, 1984:11). Omitted from this table are those teachers whose race is not indicated and those classified as ‘other’.

**Table 4.1: Racial profile of teachers⁶³ per former education departments:
KZN**

Former Education Department	RACE				TOTAL
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	
Former white schools	517	462	95	2435	3509
Former Indian schools	738	6147	31	82	6998
Former coloured schools	1123	157	602	53	1935
Former African schools	45844	449	103	1079	47475
TOTAL	48222	7215	831	3649	59917

It is evident that in terms of the race distribution of teachers, schools are still predominantly staffed as they were in the apartheid era. The majority of teachers in each racial category were employed at schools that were historically designated to their own race. The total percentage of African teachers at schools other than those for the historically designated group was 4.92% (2366 teachers). The total percentage of Indian teachers at schools other than those historically designated to Indians was 14.75%. While the majority of coloured teachers were employed at former coloured schools, the remaining 27.52% were at schools not historically designated to their race group. While this percentage appears to be larger than those in the case of African and Indian teachers, the total number is 228. This is because the coloured community comprises the smallest population of the different race groups in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Almost one third of white teachers were employed at schools other than those intended for whites and the majority among these were at former African schools.

⁶³ In this analysis of the racial distribution of teachers it must be remembered that races are not “distinct, unchanging entities. They overlap and are in a continuous state of genetic flux” (Kuper, 1984:11). Furthermore, there are no typical racial types. Races may also differ from one another in the relative presence or absence of certain genes, not in any absolute sense (Kuper, 1984:11). Omitted from this table are those teachers whose race is not indicated and those classified as ‘other’.

Table 4.2: Teacher distribution by race and gender:⁶⁴ KZN

	African teachers			Indian teachers			Coloured teachers			White teachers		
	Number		Total %	Number		Total %	Number		Total %	Number		Total %
	Female	Male		Female	Male		Female	Male		Female	Male	
Former white schools	396	119	1.07	344	113	6.35	71	23	11.35	1897	535	66.83
Former Indian schools	490	246	1.53	4101	2029	85.23	23	8	3.74	62	20	2.25
Former coloured schools	851	264	2.32	116	41	2.18	447	153	72.46	53	0	1.45
Former African schools	31575	14015	95.06	266	336	6.22	72	31	12.43	887	185	29.45

⁶⁴ Omitted from this table are those teachers whose race or gender are unknown.

Table 4.3: Chi square goodness of fit test⁶⁵

	Former African schools			Former Indian schools			Former coloured schools			Former White Schools		
	Observed	Expected	Residual	Observed	Expected	Residual	Observed	Expected	Residual	Observed	Expected	Residual
	N	N		N	N		N	N		N		
African	45844	11868.8	33975.3	738	1749.5	-1011.5	1123	483.8	639.3	517	877.3	-360.3
Indian	449	11868.8	-11419.8	6147	1749.5	4397.5	157	483.8	-326.8	462	877.3	-415.3
Coloured	103	11868.8	-11765.8	31	1749.5	-1718.5	602	483.8	118.3	95	877.3	-782.3
White	1079	11868.8	-10789.8	82	1749.5	-1667.5	53	483.8	-430.8	2435	877.3	1557.8
Total	47475			6998			1935			3509		

Table 4.4: Test results

	Former African schools	Former Indian schools	Former coloured schools	Former White Schools
Chi-Square	129717.104	14915.654	1477.901	3808.165
Df	3	3	3	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

⁶⁵ The potential disadvantage of the chi-square goodness of fit test was eliminated in this analysis since the entire population was represented (Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia).

Chapter Four: Findings: Encountering space

A total of 8.15% of African, Indian, white and coloured teachers were at schools previously designated to other race groups, the majority of whom were female (74.66%) (Table 4.2). It is apparent that teaching is increasingly becoming a female dominated profession. Among the male teachers employed at schools other than those historically designated to their own race, the majority was African (51.05%). Of the total number of African teachers at schools other than those previously designated to Africans, 73.41% were female and 26.58% were male. In the case of Indian teachers, 68.36% female and 31.63% male were not at schools originally intended for Indians. Similarly, in the case of coloured and white teachers, the number of females exceeded those of males employed at schools other than those for their own race.

The Chi-square goodness of fit test uses frequency distribution data from the sample to test the distribution proportions of teachers in each of the former education departments (Table 4.3). It indicated whether teachers of the different racial groups were distributed equally or not among each of the schools under the jurisdiction of the historically divided education departments, and if there was a discrepancy in the teacher distribution. The results yielded from tables 4.3 and 4.4 above indicated that in all the former education departments (i.e. former African, Indian, coloured and white schools), the chi-square values are high and are statistically significant. This means that there was a significant difference between the actual teacher distribution and the theoretical or expected distribution, and that all racial groups are not equally distributed in each of the former education departments.

The statistics provide a quantitative measure of the extent of racial desegregation. It does not provide insight into whether any kind of integration is taking place. It is for this reason that the second part of the study, which was qualitative analysis, was undertaken.

4.5 Teacher experiences

In a further dimension to the feasibility study, brief interviews were conducted with two Indian and two African teachers who moved to white schools in order to ascertain and understand their experiences. This was based on a convenience sample of four teachers and in working with the voices with teachers below, an analysis of how space and place get understood within the field of teacher desegregation is also presented. It is believed that the way space and place get conceptualised, applied and experienced are important in identifying reasons for limited desegregation. In this regard five themes are generated to represent the data from the interviews.

4.5.1 Space and Place

Space has become a central dimension in social theory and social sciences (Brun, 2001). Place is not always regarded as integrated with space, but given the structural apartheid of the past, race, place and space can be regarded as closely connected. Space can be understood as a fundamental dimension of all social processes, as “social spatiality” which is the foundation for place (Brun, 2001).

According to Lefebvre (1991:26) the social character of space is produced by every society and appropriated by it (1991:31). The Group Areas Act which designated specially demarcated areas of residence for the different race groups may have contributed to the creation of racialised spaces. Lefebvre (1991:50) refers to abstract space which transports and maintains specific social relations, dissolves others and stands opposed to yet others. Abstract space works in a highly complex way.

4.5.2 Sociospatial dis-tancing

In understanding the cultural processes of stigmatisation, Mohan (2002:72) notes how “dominant groups maintain sociospatial distance from those deemed to be threatening or despised...” For example, Thembi, an African teacher at a former white school, commented as follows:

“When I came into the school, there wasn’t anybody who came and showed me what is to be done, told me where stuff is. I had to figure everything for myself ...this made me feel very unwelcome. I saw how they treated other white teachers who came in after us. It was different.”

Mohan (2002:72) believes that the corollary of this is “attempts at the ‘purification’ of space, whereby non- conformists who do not ‘belong’ are systematically removed from view”. Shamain, an Indian teacher at a former white school made the following observation:

“White teachers would pretend that I was non existent and continued to interact within their own cliques...I would walk into the staff room and be completely ignored.”

These situations are mutually-constitutive as well as mutually-destructive in which teachers of colour feel socially alienated and existing white teachers feel the violation of their space:

“I always had the feeling that the rest of the staff were watching the black teachers very closely and ‘sussing’⁶⁶ us out.”⁶⁷

⁶⁶ This means to look at someone in a suspicious way.

The staff room as place and space for example, inherits the stigma of teachers, and the teachers also become stigmatised through their interaction with place/s.

*“In the staff room, they mostly spoke in first language Afrikaans, which in itself segregated everyone – often created a very tense atmosphere ...”*⁶⁸

From the above, it is apparent that space shapes, influences and predominates in inter-personal relationships and some of the features of apartheid identity most especially race play out in space (Harris, 2003:1).

4.5.3 Advanced marginality

There is a resurgence of social inequality and a mutation of segregation. Mohan (2002:65) in his social exclusion studies refers to this as “advanced marginality”. One way in which this sense of marginality features is through racial clusters:

*“Sadly the groups that develop are not racially mixed groups but restricted to white only and Indian only groups.”*⁶⁹

Another way in which resegregation occurs is through language use:

“Language is used to alienate, especially Afrikaans ... comments about the kind of food we eat, or the way we dress, our culture...Although I

⁶⁷ Comment made by Patience, an African teacher at a former white school. This interview was conducted in October 2004.

⁶⁸ Comment made by Keshni, an Indian teacher at a former white school. This interview was conducted in October 2004.

⁶⁹ Comment made by Keshni, an Indian teacher at a former white school. This interview was conducted in October 2004.

could not follow most of their conversation, I could work out some of the insinuations!”⁷⁰

Language is used to marginalise and to reinforce divisions. The way in which language is used in real day-to-day practices, differs vastly from the government’s strategy of multilingualism and building a non-racial nation.

4.5.4 Spatial transgression

In the South African context, after the deregulation of the Group Areas Act, all people were free to live and migrate to areas that have been previously demarcated for specific race groups. This occurred to a limited extent. “Spatial transgression of racialised areas” (Harris: 2003:5) occurs mainly when people move to places of work and this constitutes a temporary desegregation of space as in the case of the following teacher:

“I did not know anything about the new school except that it was white.”⁷¹

It is evident from the above that teachers experience difficulties in “reterritorialising” and place continues to be viewed as a fixed and unchanging location. In the case of this teacher, she was forced to go to her new school:

⁷⁰ Comment made by Shamain, an Indian teacher at a former white school. This interview was conducted in October 2004.

⁷¹ Comment made by Shamain, an Indian teacher at a former white school. This interview was conducted in October 2004.

“Being declared in excess was extremely humiliating especially when I have served the Department for more than two decades...And then getting displaced to another region was extremely stressful.”⁷²

Change of space and place were not viewed positively.

4.5.5 Epistemological space

This space is created by ways of knowing a cultural reality, values and morality. In the staff room presumptions about what constitutes real, true and good is mapped out by the majority culture. To a large degree, the dominant group makes its own “community the centre of the universe and the conceptual frame that constrains all thought” (Gordon, 2000:15). An African female teacher in a predominantly white school commented as follows:

“They were accustomed to living in their world. Their table, their chairs – they did not know that they were doing wrong. They found it hard to make place for others ...it was almost as if they did not know that they were unfair or rude or even wrong about their behaviour.”

Epistemologies are deeply interwoven within the social histories of the predominantly white teachers at schools historically designated for this group.

4.6 Summary

The feasibility study yielded some valuable data. Firstly, desegregation in the province has occurred minimally and it is proposed that a large number of

⁷² Comment made by Shamain, an Indian teacher at a former white school. This interview was conducted in October 2004.

racially 'exclusive' schools (especially all African schools in outlying and rural areas) may continue to exist simply as a result of population size and location and not as a continued attempt to segregate. If incentives and rewards are offered to attract teachers to serve at certain schools for a contracted or indefinite period, it is possible that desegregation may be fostered.

Secondly, from the experiences outlined by four teachers who were interviewed, it appears that space is an important factor in desegregation. Teachers of colour felt socially alienated and experienced marginalisation within previously racially exclusive spaces. The effects on white teachers in historically white schools were also evident in the way they reacted to the violation of their space and in their need to continue to assert their dominance. There was also an admission of the stress caused by being "displaced".

Finally, this feasibility study was a useful way to explore the field. It uncovered one layer of social reality. The analysis of the racial distribution of teachers across the entire province provided the broad contour of the data. It indicated the need to understand the experiences of teachers in a more specific way. This is significant if the ideal of a non-racial education system is to be realised. This section also pointed to the necessity of extending the scope of the full study to include an analysis of the experiences of teachers of all races within various spatial contexts. The insights obtained during the feasibility study were used to drive the rest of the research into the extent of teacher desegregation and the nature of teacher experiences.

The following section provides a description of the participants in the survey and the interviews. This is necessary to understand their views and experiences of desegregation.

Section Two

The participants in the study

4.7 Introduction

This section serves as an introduction to the participants in the second and third layers of the study. It incorporates the biographical and occupational details of the two hundred questionnaire survey respondents who were from various parts of the province of KwaZulu-Natal. An understanding of who these respondents are, their occupational contexts, their school and tertiary education can only enhance an understanding of the views they express in respect of teacher desegregation. While this introduction to the respondents is not comprehensive, it is essential to point these out since teachers' work identities are influenced by their own experiences of schooling. The twelve teachers from various parts of the province who were selected for in-depth interviews are also introduced in this section.

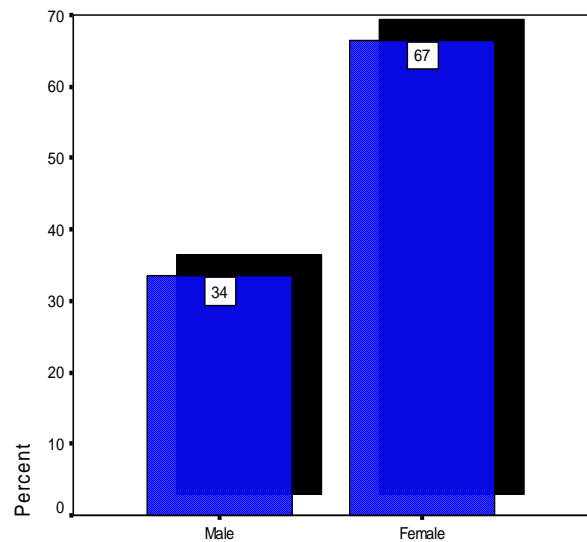
4.8 The second layer: Biographical data and occupational contexts of survey respondents

In this section, the following information in respect of the two hundred respondents who were surveyed during the second layer of data collection is presented: gender, age group, race, institutions at which they attended school, institutions at which they received tertiary education, the regions at which their schools are located, the type of school at which respondents are employed, the type of school at which respondents were previously employed, their appointment to schools, the position held at school and the learner racial profile at their schools.

4.8.1 Gender

Figure 4.2 represents the gender dispersion of the participating respondents in this project. The larger percentage of female respondents (66.5%) can be attributed to the larger number of female teachers employed within the Department of Education. According to figures obtained from the Department of Education females constitute 69.60% of the total teaching workforce in public schools in KwaZulu-Natal.⁷³

Figure 4.2: Gender of Respondents



The predominance of females in the profession can be partially attributed to the stereotyping of women. Cranny-Francis et al (2003:143) refer to the stereotyping of women as natural nurturing, sensitive, emotional and deferring: “Women are seen to be natural mothers, in the sense that by having a womb they are also possessed with patience (and) a natural predisposition towards children.” In Miller’s study (cited by Drudy et al, 2005:23), female respondents believed that women had abilities which were natural and suited for teaching.

⁷³ This information was made available by the EMIS section of the KZN Department of Education.

These are qualities of ‘mothering’ and ‘nurturing’. This stereotyping may have influenced the perception of teaching being a profession most suited to females. However, Drudy *et al* (2005) attribute this to the declining status of teaching as a profession. One reason for the declining status of teaching is that teachers are still subject to much control (Drudy *et al*, 2005:137-153). In his study of the supply and demand for teachers in South Africa, Crouch⁷⁴ (2003:46) states that the teaching force comprises between twenty to twenty five percent more females than the rest of the labour force as a whole.

Teaching has also been feminised. The ‘feminisation’ of teaching can be attributed to several factors, including the high proportion of women in the profession, a strengthened feminine interpretation of this professional activity, a reduction in the social prestige of the profession, and a domestic ideology. The ideological link between women’s domestic roles and teaching stems from the idea that women are naturally more inclined to nurture. This domestic ideology provides cultural support for the idea that women’s careers should be compatible with homemaking responsibilities (Drudy *et al*, 2005:149-151). Similarly, Carrim *et al*⁷⁵ (2003:198) suggest that the student enrolment into the Bachelor of Primary Education Degree (BPrimEd)⁷⁶ during the period 1980 to 1999 reflected that the majority of students were female, and attribute this to the ideas that women are viewed as mothers, nurturers and care-givers. They assert that this qualification is deeply “genderised...reinforcing sexist world views about the allegedly appropriate professions into which females should enter” (Carrim *et al*, 2003:198).

⁷⁴ This study was presented at the Multi-Site Teacher Education Research Project International Symposium on Teacher Education held in Pretoria in 2001. It explores factors that shape the supply and demand for teachers in South Africa.

⁷⁵ This is a study which examines the historical development of the BPrimEd degree in at the Johannesburg College of Education and the University of Witwatersrand.

⁷⁶ A teaching qualification.

The teaching profession appears to be space carved out for women. The perceptions of woman's biological ability to bear children, and their perceived nurturing qualities, their need to attend to homemaking responsibilities after hours makes teaching appear to be suited to them. These perceptions are internalized and continue to influence practice as can be seen by the proportion of women (approximately 70%) that are presently employed as teachers.

4.8.2 Respondents' age

In the age group of 20-30 years, were 6.0 % of the total respondents, 44.5 % were between 31 and 40 % years, 42.0 % were between 41 and 50 years, and 7.5% were between 51 and 65 years (Table 4.5). The largest categories were the 31 to 40 year age group and the 41 to 50 year age group. Combined, these totalled 86.5% of the respondents.

Table 4.5: Age group of respondents

	Frequency	Percent
20 - 30 years	12	6.0
31 - 40 years	89	44.5
41 - 50 years	84	42.0
51 - 65 years	15	7.5
Total	200	100.0

4.8.3 Respondents' race

Table 4.6 indicates the race groups of the respondents to the survey questionnaire.

Table : 4.6: Race of respondents

	Frequency	Percent
African	97	48.5
Indian	81	40.5
Coloured	5	2.5
White	17	8.5
Total	200	100.0

South Africa has a population of 43.1 million people (Van Zyl, 2002:2), consisting mainly of blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians. This study focuses on KwaZulu-Natal, one of the nine provinces of the country. The following table shows the distribution of the population by race in the province. This table reveals that Africans are in the majority, followed by Indian, white and coloured.

Table 4.7: Distribution of the population by race in KwaZulu-Natal

Population group	Number	%
Black	6,881 000	81.75%
Coloured	118 000	1.4%
Indian	791 000	9.39%
White	558 000	6.58%
Unspecified	69 000	0.81%
Total	8,417 000	

(Adapted from Van Zyl, 2002:4)

African teachers form the largest part of the total teaching workforce in the province (80.42%),⁷⁷ hence the largest number of respondents (48.5%) come from this group.

⁷⁷ Information from EMIS database of the KZN Department of Education.

4.8.4 School education

A total of 96% of all respondents attended schools that were racially designated for their own race groups. This racialised schooling may be considered significant especially in the light of a study by Soudien (2003:275)⁷⁸ in which he found that for the teachers, “high school was critical in the formation of their identities as teachers”.

Table 4.8: Institutions at which respondents received schooling according to race groups

	African	Indian	Coloured	White	Total %
Former African school	45.5%				45.5%
Former Indian school		39.5%			39.5%
Former Coloured school		.5%	2.5%		3.0%
Former White school				8.5%	8.5%
Private school		.5%			.5%
None of the above	3.0%				3.0%
Total	48.5%	40.5%	2.5%	8.5%	100.0%

Table 4.8 represents the institutions at which the participating respondents received their schooling. The majority (45.5%) received their school education at former African schools, 39.5% at former Indian schools, 3.0% at former coloured schools, 8.5% at former white schools, 0.5% at private schools, and 3.0% at none of the abovementioned schools.

Among the African respondents the majority (93.8%) attended former African schools. Of the Indian respondents, 97.5% attended former Indian schools, 1.2% attended former coloured schools and 1.2% attended private schools. All

⁷⁸ Soudien conducted in-depth life-history interviews with teachers from the Western Cape and Eastern Cape in his study of teacher professionalism and teacher identity.

coloured and white respondents attended former coloured and former white schools, respectively.⁷⁹

Schools were used as a means for the social assimilation of the apartheid⁸⁰ ideal, thus racially separated schools were established for all South African children (Zafar, undated:2).⁸¹ Shutte (1994:112) refers to this as the “dramatic divide that has made South Africa a paradigm of separation ... the division between white and non-white (these terms are carefully chosen as being more in keeping with the spirit of apartheid)”. Bantu Education, which was introduced in 1955, was the outcome of this policy of separateness (Hyslop, 1999:55).

4.8.5 Tertiary education

Table 4.9 represents the institutions at which the respondents received their tertiary education. While 44% received their tertiary education at former African colleges/universities, 37.5% attended former Indian colleges or universities, 2.5% studied at former coloured colleges/universities, 10.0% at former white colleges/universities and 1.5% at private colleges/universities.

Among the African respondents the majority (90.7%) attended former African colleges/universities, 2.0% went to a former Indian college/university, and 3.0% went to a private tertiary institution. Of the Indian respondents, 90.1% attended former Indian colleges/universities. All coloured and white respondents attended former coloured and former white colleges/universities respectively.

⁷⁹ These findings are anticipated since they are consistent with the policy of apartheid adopted by the National Party. When it came into power in 1948 the National Party government deliberately dismantled the colonial missionary schools, which were created by the English missionaries because they were not pedagogically structured to emphasise and promote separation along racial lines (Zafar, undated:2).

⁸⁰ This separation of races is referred to as apartheid a term “which was developed by Afrikaner intellectuals” which literally means “apartness” (Prival, undated: 1).

⁸¹ www.sahrc.org.za

A total of 91.5% of all respondents attended colleges/universities that were racially designated for their own race groups. This is attributable to the provision of teacher training mainly at colleges of education that were “designed for particular race groups” (Carrim et al, 2003:195).

Table 4.9: Institution at which respondents received tertiary education and race groups

	Respondent race group				Total
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	
Former African college / University	44.0%				44.0%
Former Indian college / university	1.0%	36.5%			37.5%
Former coloured college / university			2.5%		2.5%
Former white college/ university		1.5%		8.5%	10.0%
Private college	1.5%				1.5%
None of the above	2.0%	2.5%			4.5%
Total	48.5%	40.5%	2.5%	8.5%	100.0%

The biographical data suggests that the majority of teachers who participated in the study were subjected to apartheid education which directly found expression in spatial practice in the form of separate and either superior or inferior institutions. These teachers were thus exposed to the advantages or disadvantages of spatially divided learning, and the effects of these material spaces may not be directly measurable but are undeniably great. School (and tertiary education) sites became explicit locations of either inferiority or superiority. This was based on a conception that the apartheid state could, in its creation of an educational institution, whether it was a university, technical college or school, decide that it must function within a specific population or race group’s cultural and value framework. The state could, in addition, limit

the objectives of a formal educational institution to such an extent that it is made to serve the interests of only one race group (Bunting, 1994:6).

4.8.6 Regions in which teachers are employed

Table 4.10 indicates the region in which the schools of the participating respondents are located.

Table 4.10: The regions⁸² in which respondents' schools are located

	Frequency	Percent
Ethekwini	101	50.5
Ukhahlamba	31	15.5
Zululand	39	19.5
Pietermaritzburg	29	14.5
Total	200	100.0

Half (50.5%) of the respondents' schools were located in the Ethekwini region, 15.5% in the Ukhahlamba region, 19.5% in the Zululand region and 14.5% in Pietermaritzburg region. The largest number of participants was from the Ethekwini region. This was not unexpected since this region had the largest number of schools and teachers. Table 4.10 also shows that participants in the study were purposively drawn from all regions in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Table 4.11 represents the regions in which respondents' schools were located and their race groups.

⁸² Four regions together constitute the province KwaZulu-Natal, one of the nine provinces of South Africa. These four regions are Ethekwini, Ukhahlamba, Zululand and Pietermaritzburg.

Table 4.11: The regions in which respondents' schools are located and respondents' race group

	Respondent race group				Total
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	
Ethekwini	9.5%	34.5%	2.0%	4.5%	50.5%
Ukhahlamba	9.5%	3.5%		2.5%	15.5%
Zululand	19.5%				19.5%
Pietermaritzburg	10.0%	2.5%	.5%	1.5%	14.5%
Total	48.5%	40.5%	2.5%	8.5%	100.0%

From the above table, it is observed that the African teachers in this study were spread throughout the province with the majority from the Zululand region. Apart from this region there was an almost equal spread of African teachers from all other parts of the province.

The majority of Indian teachers (85.18%) were from the Ethekwini region. This was because this is the area where the greatest concentration of Indians and historically Indian schools in the province is found.

4.8.7 Current school

Table 4.12 indicates the type of school at which the participating respondents were employed. Of the total number of respondents, 45.0% were employed at former African schools, 35.0% were at former Indian schools, 4.0% were at former coloured schools, 10.5% were at former white schools, and 5.5% were at new schools.

Table 4.12: Type of school at which respondents are currently employed and race group

	Respondent race group				Total
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	
Former African school	44.5%			.5%	45.0%
Former Indian school		35.0%			35.0%
Former Coloured school	1.0%	1.0%	2.0%		4.0%
Former White school		3.0%		7.5%	10.5%
New school	3.0%	1.5%	.5%	.5%	5.5%
Total	48.5%	40.5%	2.5%	8.5%	100.0%

Of the African respondents, 91.7% were teaching at former African schools, 2% at former coloured schools and 6.1% at new schools. New schools are those built after the abolition of apartheid, and hence are not specifically designated for any race group. Of the Indian respondents, 86.4% were teaching at former Indian schools, 2.4% at former coloured schools, 7.4% at former white schools and 3.7% at new schools.

The majority of teachers, i.e. 89%, were at schools that were historically earmarked for their specific race group.

4.8.8 Schools at which respondents were previously employed

Table 4.13 indicates the type of school at which the participating respondents were previously employed. The majority, i.e. 44% were previously employed at former African schools, 38.5% at former Indian schools, 2.5% at former coloured schools, 3.5% at former white schools and the question was not applicable to 8.5% of the respondents. The latter were possibly new appointees or are those teachers who had not changed schools from the time of their initial appointments.

Table 4.13: Schools at which respondents were previously employed and respondents' race group

	Respondent Race group				Total
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	
Former African school	42.0%	.5%		1.5%	44.0%
Former Indian school	.5%	38.0%			38.5%
Former Coloured school			2.5%		2.5%
Former White school				3.5%	3.5%
New school	1.5%	.5%		1.0%	3.0%
Not applicable	4.5%	1.5%		2.5%	8.5%
Total	48.5%	40.5%	2.5%	8.5%	100.0%

Table 4.13 suggests that teachers' occupational contexts have to a large extent been racially determined. In other words, it was on account of race that teachers were employed at their schools.

4.8.9 Appointments to schools

Table 4.14 indicates how the respondents were appointed to their present schools. The majority, i.e. 41% applied for a level one advertised post, 13% applied for a promotion position, 10% were declared in excess at their previous schools and were transferred, 12% applied for transfers, and 5% applied for a school governing body⁸³ post.

⁸³ A school governing body (SGB) comprises of representatives from parents, learners and teachers. This body has the power to recommend teachers for appointments to teaching positions which are paid for by the Department of Education. In addition, other teaching appointments may be made and paid for by the SGB.

Table 4.14: How respondents were appointed to schools

	Frequency	Percent
Applied for advertised level 1 teacher post	82	41.0
Applied for promotion	26	13.0
Was in excess at previous school and was transferred	20	10.0
Applied for transfer	24	12.0
Applied for school governing body post	10	5.0
None of the above	38	19.0
Total	200	100.0

4.8.10 Positions occupied by respondents

The majority (70%) were teachers, 26% were heads of department, and 4% were deputy principals or principals. The respondents were from various levels of the school hierarchy.

Table 4.15: Position held by respondent at school

	Frequency	Percent
Level 1 Teacher	140	70.0
Level 2 :Head of Department	52	26.0
Level 3 : Deputy Principal / Principal	8	4.0
Total	200	100.0

4.8.11 Learner profile at respondents' schools

Table 4.16 indicates the learner racial profile⁸⁴ at the schools at which the respondents were employed.

Table 4.16: Description of learner profile at respondents' schools

	Frequency	Percent
Mainly African	114	57.0
Mainly Indian	48	24.0
Mainly Coloured	4	2.0
Mainly White	4	2.0
Comprising of one race group	16	8.0
None of the above	14	7.0
Total	200	100.0

More than half of the respondents (57%) were at schools where the learner racial profile is mainly African, 24% were mainly Indian, 2% were mainly coloured, 2% were mainly white, 8% described their schools as comprising of one race group, and 7% of respondents felt that none of the above categories best described their schools. These were possibly schools where there was an almost balanced mix of races among the learner population.

Table 4.17 shows the learner racial profile at public schools in KwaZulu-Natal. The number of African learners at former Indian, white and coloured schools, and the movement of Indian learners to former white schools, is significant. This may, in part, be attributed to the desegregation of residential areas.

⁸⁴ For more about learner desegregation and integration see Kraak (1999), Mda (2000), Moletsane (1999), Naidoo (1996) and Vally and Dalamba (1999).

Table 4.17: Racial profile of learners in KwaZulu-Natal⁸⁵

Former Department	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Other
Former white schools	46250	3671	11646	34042	1526
Former Indian schools	113988	4971	129963	1442	1004
Former coloured schools	74374	16087	490	513	17
Former African schools	2018629	1776	-*	-*	4733
TOTAL	2253241	26505	148550	50389	7280

(Information supplied by EMIS)

4.9 The interviewees

The interviewees comprised of twelve teachers who were employed at schools that were historically not designated for their race.

Table 4.18: The participants in the interview

Name	Race	Gender	School ⁸⁶		
			Former African	Former Indian	Former White
Aaron	African	Male		x	
Buhle	African	Female		x	
Chander	Indian	Male	x		
Deshni	Indian	Female	x		
Ella	Indian	Female			x
Varsha	Indian	Female			x
Gloria	Coloured	Female	x		
Harriet	Coloured	Female			x
Ina	Coloured	Female			x
Joyce	White	Female	x		
Karen	White	Female		x	
Max	African	Male			x

⁸⁵ Information provided by Department of Education. This table excludes learners in so-called new schools, i.e. schools established after the abolition of apartheid. These schools are not designated for any particular race group.

* This information was unavailable.

⁸⁶ Teachers employed at former coloured schools were omitted from the study since these schools constitute a very small number of schools in the province.

4.10 Summary

This section provided an overview of the participants in the study. With respect to gender, the majority were female (66.5%). Most of the respondents (86.5%) were in the age category of 31-50 years. Almost half of the total number of respondents were African. It was evident that the school, tertiary education and the occupational contexts of the majority of respondents were racially determined. This will obviously have implications for the ways in which they define and understand desegregation. Teachers were drawn from all four regions that constitute the province and they occupied various levels in the school hierarchy. In respect of the interviewees, participants were selected from all race groups and both genders.

Section three analyses the ways in which teachers define desegregation and their experiences of resegregation.

Section Three

It is necessary to begin with a definition:⁸⁷ Desegregation, integration and resegregation

4.11 Introduction

This section addresses the question of how the term ‘desegregation’ is defined and understood by teachers and it is argued that the term is interpreted and experienced in a spatial way. These definitions have been organized thematically and constitute a response to critical questions two⁸⁸ and three.⁸⁹ These definitions and experiences suggest that desegregation is strongly related to space. Reference will also be made to the ways in which teachers view integration since the terms ‘desegregation’ and ‘integration’ are often used interchangeably. Another emerging issue related to desegregation and integration is *resegregation* and because of the interrelatedness of these three concepts, experiences of the latter will also be considered in this section.

4.12 Definition of “desegregation”

In response to the question of how teachers define ‘desegregation’, it was evident that it was viewed in rich and varying ways. Different respondents placed at the fore what they considered the most important features of desegregation. Segregation and desegregation were viewed and experienced spatially. There was a distinct awareness of divisions, such as those which emerged as a consequence of the Group Areas Act and related legislation,

⁸⁷ B.F.Skinner, 1938.

⁸⁸ How is the concept *desegregation* defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy?

⁸⁹ What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at KZN public schools which were historically not designated to their race group?

which need to be bridged, and of distances that were created and reinforced, either knowingly or unknowingly, through language. While there was acknowledgement of progress in desegregation, there were concerns expressed about the pace at which this was occurring. The synonymous use of the terms ‘desegregation’ and ‘integration’ and observations made by teachers about ways in which to promote desegregation and, by implication, integration, are also discussed. Four themes have been selected to represent this data from the survey questionnaire, namely, spatial distancing, divided space, shared space and place.

4.12.1 Spatial distancing

The respondents to the survey questionnaire showed an extremely sophisticated awareness of the relationship between desegregation and race and space. This was evident, for example in the statement: “*When people of different **races** were kept to **the designated areas** in the past but now they are integrated and work together.*” Desegregation was defined in racial terms. For example, respondents spoke of “*no division among **races**.*” These divisions were seen as being reinforced in space: “*Means putting aside the idea of each racial group having its **own school, suburb to live etc.***” The respondents commented on the need to overcome these apparent divisions through a conquering of space in the way it is lived by teachers in South African schools by the breaking or destruction of barriers that separate people on the basis of race. This was evident in the statements: “*Doing away with racial barriers*” and “*Racial groups not confining themselves to each other in various facets of life.*” There was an acknowledgement of the need to share space among all and the sense of place that is derived when there is a feeling of belonging to and identifying with a space. One respondent stated that there is a need to: “*(b)ring people together as one rainbow nation.*”

4.12.2 From divided space: “Breaking barriers”

Separation is seen in terms of divisions or gaps between races. The sense of distance from each other that is felt is apparent in the following statements:

*“People move freely across **geographical and historical boundaries.**”*

*“It means that there is **no racial divide** among school population.”*

*“Coming together, closing the **gap** between races.”*

*“Race issues do not determine /dictate **where to learn or teach.**”*

Teachers describe desegregation in spatial terms. These spaces have been used to divide and exclude. Lemon’s (1990:195-196) assertion that segregation in South Africa has been imposed on three spatial scales: micro-scale, meso-scale and a national scale, and these are the levels on which these spatial divisions have to be overcome to facilitate desegregation.

The following views provide a sense that “barriers” have separated people. Desegregation is thus seen as a process of eliminating these barriers. These barriers are not only racial but also exist between genders and have had the effect of producing a sense of mental isolation. Thus, the sharing and exchange of ideas is also seen as another facet of desegregation. Mental barriers - in addition to physical barriers - have to be eliminated. The repetitive use of “breaking barriers” is striking in the following observations:

“Breaking barriers, learning new ideas.”

“Breaking up of clusters e.g. racial clusters.”

“Breaking down barriers of race and gender.”

“Breaking down racial barriers.”

“Lifting of barriers that separate various race groups e.g. Group Areas,⁹⁰ Separate Education.”

“Breaking down the barriers that separated us in order to bring about a unified, stronger nation.”

The above statements suggest that the idea of separation on the basis of race is a construction and needs to be broken, lifted or eliminated. The respondents reveal an awareness that segregation on the basis of race is an artificial and human construct, that while these constructions may have been expressed in a physical way in space, for example through the Group Areas Act, they also manifested themselves in the interaction among people.

The impression gained from the above comments, is that of the existence of obstacles to desegregation in the form of barriers. According to Lefebvre (1991:57), individual subjects as members and groups of classes seek to appropriate space: “The pre-existence of space conditions the subject’s presence, action and discourse, his competence and performance... The subject experiences space as an obstacle (barriers), as a resistant ‘objectality’ at times”. In South Africa certain spaces were previously forbidden and have been legally re-appropriated. However, traces of history still persist, hence teachers experience space as an obstacle.

Linked to the idea of space as a resistant ‘objectality’, is Freire’s notion of ‘limit situations’. Freire (2002:205)⁹¹ comments on Freire’s emphasis that human beings are endowed with consciousness. They have some awareness of their conditioning and freedom. They meet with obstacles in their personal and social lives and they see them as obstructions to be overcome. Freire (2002)

⁹⁰ The Group Areas legislation was used to implement the ideology of apartheid and had (and continues to have) considerable spatial implications for South Africans of all races (Maharaj, 1997:75).

⁹¹ This is a reference to A. Freire, who wrote a commentary in P Freire’s (2002) *Pedagogy of Hope*.

calls these obstructions “limit situations”. People respond differently to these; they may perceive these barriers as obstacles that cannot be removed, or as obstacles they do not wish to remove, or as obstacles they know exist and need to be broken through. The above respondents showed an awareness of these barriers and a keenness to eliminate them. The degree of forcefulness expressed in these statements (suggested by the use of the word ‘breaking’) attests to the perceived strength and power of segregation.

4.12.3 Shared Space: “One rainbow nation”

In their attempts to define their perceptions and understanding of desegregation, teachers were of the view that spaces have to be shared among all, and were not the exclusive preserve of any particular group. This sense of physical confinement and limitation has its origins in the conceived spaces of apartheid. Observe the sense of limitation (‘confinement’) that they need to overcome in the following statements:

“Interacting, communicating and progressing beyond their racial confines.”

“When schools open doors to all.”

In the following statements, teachers suggested the need for cohesion and unity:

“A situation where teachers of different races are employed in one institution.”

“Where the staff of a school form a unit.”

“Desegregation happens when teachers from different race groups find themselves in one institution, sharing the same staff room.”

“Get a good mix of all racial groups at any institution.”

Respondents did not only refer to a need for physical proximity within one institution, but they also focused on the need to work together, share ideas and thoughts, to embrace all cultures, to extend desegregation to outside the school into communities:

“All racial groups living and working together.”

“Different races and cultures join together.”

“Work together in school and community.”

“Different races coming together and sharing ideas.”

“Ability to interact with other races, socially and otherwise despite race and culture.”

“System whereby various racial groups integrate and work together for one rainbow nation.”

The acknowledgement that desegregation is a prerequisite for integration reflected an awareness that social relations are embedded in spatial organisation. This was evident in the responses obtained where teachers identified the need to bring about proximity under “one institution” in order to enhance integration. This concurs with Duncan’s (1996:5) view that social relations are constructed and negotiated spatially, and are embedded in the spatial organisation of places.

The relative silence of the majority of respondents on issues of gender was conspicuous. However, the following observation is made in respect of gender:

“Where the staff of a school forms a unity. No separation because of gender.”

The above observation points to the need to foster not only racial unity but unity and inclusion based on gender as well. One may recall the practice at certain schools where separate staff rooms were allocated to men and women.⁹² While these physical barriers may be a thing of the past, there are practices that still disadvantage and exclude women.

4.12.4 To a sense of place

Experiences of desegregation are obviously linked to place. When asked to compare her present experience with that in her previous school, Harriet⁹³ responded,

“At my previous school, I felt more at home because we were of the same race. The majority were of the same race. I could identify with and relate to people. I felt very comfortable in that environment and I felt if I needed assistance or if I needed someone to help me that I could ask anyone whereas in this school I didn’t feel that way. I feel that I just need to stay in my little cocoon and not bother anyone.”

Harriet feels the need to withdraw into a “cocoon”, a place in which she feels warm and safe. This was influenced by her early socialisation process in the apartheid era. Yet it is a safety and warmth that is derived from isolation. It is here that she finds her ‘place’. It is also apparent that the teacher feels alienation in terms of the body. There is awareness that her place is where her body is but there is also a feeling of displacement, hence the need to seek a place (cocoon). According to Ricoeur (2004:149) the search for a place “would be frightening” if one were “not to ever to find it...the feeling of

⁹² As a learner, I recall the use of separate staff rooms for male and female teachers in the primary and secondary schools at which I studied.

⁹³ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

uneasiness...joined to the feeling of not being in one's place, of not feeling at home, haunts, and this would be the realm of emptiness...".

Divided spaces were not empty or meaningless. Despite the negative associations of the allocation of space in South Africa, particularly to the disadvantaged peoples, the actors within these spaces experience a sense of place. The following observation⁹⁴ attests to this:

"It (desegregation) is whereby there will be no places meant for specific groups e.g. historically black universities. Like in my school I can say it was meant for Africans only. I would like another race."

McDowell (1996: 32) cites Massey: "Space...is also a set of places, from a home to national territories, with associations and meanings for individuals and groups." Place can on one level refer to geographical location, but beyond this it is important to acknowledge that place has multiple meanings that are not simply attributable to location.

"The places in a person's world are more than entities which provide the physical stage for life's drama. Some are profound centers of meanings and symbols of experience. As such they lie at the core of human existence" (Godkin, 1980:73).

In both of the cases cited above, place is associated with race, with Harriet feeling a need to withdraw from an unfriendly space to seek a place, and the latter respondent feeling a need to share place.

It is apparent that desegregation is perceived in terms of space.

⁹⁴ This is a response from the survey questionnaire (Question 3.1).

4.13 The pace of desegregation

While the above views on desegregation focused mainly on the spatial, the following ideas in respect of desegregation are linked to the temporal. These are some of the observations made by the respondents:

“The process is still occurring.”

“This is a long process.”

“It is slow. There is fear of change, acceptance and compatibility.”

The emphasis that many respondents place on time to successfully effect desegregation revealed the different ways in which they viewed time. Time was more keenly felt than space by respondents, hence the focus on the former. This may be explained by a brief theorization of the concept ‘time’. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy explains the relationship between time and the mind and draws a distinction between physical time and psychological time. Physical time is public time, the time that clocks are made to measure. Psychological time is private time and may pass slowly for someone who is anxiously waiting for water to boil on the stove, and it passes swiftly for someone enjoying a book and paying no attention to the water on the stove. While physical time may help us to understand our shared experiences in the world, psychological time is essential for understanding many human thought processes. Moss (2004:285) cites Davies’s theorization of time which for example speaks of clock time which is measurable, but the values associated with time are not. According to Massey (cited in Moss, 2004:287) an analysis of space and time as separate entities leads to time being theorized as the dynamic concept, concerned with social change, action and progress. Space is conceived as being static and empty. Lefebvre’s (1991:95-96) view of the concept is also significant in understanding how teachers experience time:

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“Time is closer to us-more fundamental than space. But it is no longer intelligible. It cannot be constituted. It is consumed and exhausted and leaves no traces. It is concealed in space.”

Hence, one needs to view time and space as interdependent and equally involved in social processes of desegregation and integration.

The following respondents felt that it was premature to declare that desegregation had been successful and they stated that more time was required. The following observation revealed the relation between space and time.

“We are still in the process of transformation which is happening slowly.”

Evans-Pritchard (2005:29) refers to what they call structural time which refers to larger periods of time because the events they relate are changes in the relationship of social groups. The following comment was an indication of the way the following respondent viewed time:

“It will take a hundred years to desegregate.”

There was an awareness that the effects of the past are long-lasting. Lefebvre (1991:165) states that the effects of history on space are long-lasting and the influence of the produced space is difficult to erase. No space “ever vanishes utterly.” This was also apparent in the following comments:

“Most people in South Africa are still influenced by the old separate development. They cannot come together easily. It will take time.”

“There are still major problems that will probably decrease with the passing of time.”

The spatial practices of the past in the form of material spaces such as residential areas and workplaces like schools as places of employment for teachers that were allocated to different races continue to persist. The respondents believe that this can be changed with time. It is my view, however, that while the conceptions of space have changed considerably under the rule of the democratic government, spatial practice has remained largely the same. The potential to transcend the constraints of spatial practice lies in the possibilities of representational spaces and a deconstruction and possible reconstruction of space. While this may appear to be a highly theoretical proposition, one may see evidence of this being translated into practice, either knowingly or unknowingly, by some of the participants in the study.

4.14 Integration: “Forget colour and get to know the person”

Consistent with the idea that desegregation which merely involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school (Naidoo, 1996:11; Meier et al, 1989:21-22), some respondents made the following observations:⁹⁵

“A situation where teachers of different races are employed in one institution.”

“Diverse teaching staff in respect of race.”

“Race is not a criterion for appointment.”

⁹⁵ This is a response from the survey questionnaire (Question 3.1).

Integration implies much more than desegregation. These comments were obviously a reference to integration:⁹⁶

“Ability to interact with other races, socially and otherwise despite race and culture.”

“Allow races to interact/ live with each other.”

“Attempt to integrate various race groups.”

In the following instances,⁹⁷ there was a perception of how desegregation may lead to integration which is ultimately the goal of desegregation:

“When we work in mixed racial groups we respect each other as colleagues and work together and help each other.”

“There is racial harmony among pupils and staff.”

This respondent has singled out former white schools as examples of successful desegregation and integration and other examples cited by respondents follow:

“It (desegregation) has happened successfully in many schools in South Africa, especially former white schools. These schools are multiracial and they run smoothly besides a few minor incidents.”

“At my school we work as a team. Though there are teachers from other race groups they don’t feel or experience any racial confrontations.”

⁹⁶ These responses are to question 3.1 of the survey questionnaire which asks for teachers’ definitions of the term ‘desegregation’.

⁹⁷ These are responses to question 3.2 of the survey questionnaire which is: “Do you think that desegregation at school level has happened successfully in South Africa? Provide a brief motivation for your response.”

“As far as I can see coloured, black Indian teachers are part of the team. There are no colour issues.”

“We work as a team and are not looking at who is what race.”

“I have never experienced anything other than warmth and friendliness between races. As a matter of fact, one forgets colour and gets to know the person. I wish all schools could experience this.”

The respondents placed great emphasis on teamwork in order to facilitate integration. They also indicated the need to disregard race. From the above, it is apparent that integration presupposes desegregation.

4.15 From apartheid to resegregation: Modern prejudice

Emerging from the literature is a new concept “resegregation” (Twohey, 1998; Orfield, undated)⁹⁸ which is a process that occurs subsequent to desegregation, and may or may not be indicative of a failure to integrate. Resegregation may be described as a process in which people voluntarily choose to segregate into groups with which they can identify and these tend to take place along racial or cultural lines. This phenomenon was attributed to various reasons.

These respondents⁹⁹ observed the affinity that people have for their own race groups:

“We see this happening at most institutions. People of different races tend to group together.”

⁹⁸ www.rethinkingschools.org/archive

⁹⁹ These comments have been made by respondents to the survey questionnaire in response to question 3.14 which asks for a description of critical experiences.

“As much as we enjoy healthy working relations (with other races) teachers of the same race do form their own cliques.”

Buhle¹⁰⁰ also observed that the resegregation of races finds expression in the occupation of material spaces by teachers which influences social relations:

“In the past everything was fine. Things changed when more and more black teachers came to the school. Then we started having this thing where the African teachers sit together and the Indian teachers who sit together and even when we are given duties, I noticed that they make sure that they put so and so as friends and maybe they put one Indian teacher – maybe the one employed by the SGB – not a state paid teacher.”

While certain individuals opted to resegregate, it appeared that this was also fostered by practices prevailing at the school, for example in the allocation of duties friends of the same race are grouped together, with one teacher of another race. The latter was done to possibly avert any criticism of the way in which these duties were delegated.

According to Harriet¹⁰¹:

“If you walk into the staff room you still find whites sit with whites, blacks with blacks, Indians with Indians and that’s just the way it is. Even when we have functions that should be encouraging us to integrate it still turns out to be the same groups that are together. There’s no change in that.”

¹⁰⁰ Buhle is an African female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

¹⁰¹ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

Ina¹⁰² agrees with the above comment:

“We do have our cliques on the staff, formed on the basis of race. The white people are sitting together and the black together.”

The following respondents made the same observations but attempted to provide an explanation for this phenomenon. These respondents provided different motives for joining and staying in groups. Some may belong to a group because they enjoy interacting with the members, or because the group reflects their own values, or because the group helps them get something they want. Social cohesion within groups is fostered when group members are similar, for example on the basis of race (Michener *et al*, 2004:325). While there was a strong awareness of resegregation, there appeared to be a silence on why this should take place on racial lines. That segregation on racial grounds was deeply internalized and accepted, was evident in the following responses:¹⁰³

“Race groups tend to stick together- this is human nature. Why try to upset the nature of people to feel better about yourself? We are equal, treated so, paid so, and how and where we work is personal – there is no competition unless you feel inferior and that is from within.”

“It’s just natural for each group to mix with its own; they have so much in common.”

“It is just a natural thing to look up to people of your own background/race group to interact with on an informal basis.”

¹⁰² Ina is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁰³ These are responses to the question in the survey questionnaire which asks for a description of critical experiences.

Similarity was given as the reason for resegregation. In a country like South Africa, where the power of difference has been historically emphasised, the power of similarity should not be underestimated. From the following comments, one observes the power of similarity. In alienating others on the basis of difference one is simultaneously affirming the power of similarity. Each group that is thus alienated as a consequence of difference feels unified or held together by that feature, idea or belief which is perceived as similar. This may contribute to resegregation. The following observations were made by some of the respondents to the survey questionnaire:

“People just feel comfortable with their own.”

“Race groups that are similar tend to feel comfortable with their own kind and don’t fear intimidation. Therefore they tend to join others of similar race group.”

“Government policy can try to mix different races together or balance them, but deep down in every individual race group, you prefer your own race group.”

“It is human for a race group to form their own cliques because we have common interests.”

Max’s¹⁰⁴ description of resegregation at his school provided some insight into why resegregation happened at his school:

¹⁰⁴ Max is an African male teacher employed at a former white school.

“One of the things that promote peace in the staff room is that there are four large tables and we sit according to the phase we teach: i.e. foundation, intermediate, senior and FET phases. But where the senior phase is supposed to sit, only blacks sit around that table. One can perceive that as racial division but my experience tells me that it is not. We sit like that because of the commonalities that we have. If I pass a joke in English and the same joke in IsiZulu it doesn’t carry the same weight. So rather speak to someone who can understand you better. That’s what makes us sit around that table – not because we are aloof to people of other races, not at all. They also sit in the same fashion as we do. So it all depends on how you as an outsider look at it, but we are very comfortable.”

Max attributed the resegregation at his school to language, common interests and a sense of comfort derived from the company of the group. He was also keen to point out that this was not an indication of racial antagonism and that his was a “very united staff”.

From a social-psychological perspective, it is human to define ourselves by our groups. Our self-concept - our sense of who we are - contains not just a personal identity but also a social identity. For example, to be of a minority race at some gathering is to feel one’s social identity more keenly and to react accordingly (Myers, 2005:351). This phenomenon of resegregation may be described in what Myers (2005:336) calls “modern prejudice” which is subtle and appears in our preferences for what is familiar, similar and comfortable.

In the following statements¹⁰⁵ the effects of such resegregation were highlighted. In these instances it was clear that resegregation can lead to alienation of others:

“Indians tend to group themselves during lunch and I was left alone.”

“African teachers remain in their own cliques during breaks and at functions. They are hesitant to come aboard in respect of school activities.”

“At school level I have not had the opportunity to interact with other race groups. However, at workshops and meetings, I feel that teachers tend to stick together with their own race groups, often speaking their own mother tongue - thereby alienating others and restricting interaction.”

Group cohesiveness may result in blind loyalty as the following incident¹⁰⁶ demonstrated:

“Educators are inclined to stay together in groups; however they are approachable, friendly and amenable to suggestions. But should there occur an infringement, e.g. theft of money – experience has shown – groups stick together to support each other even if they know that the action was wrong.”

One respondent offered the following advice in situations where desegregation has occurred:

¹⁰⁵ These are responses to the question in the survey questionnaire that asks for a description of critical experiences.

¹⁰⁶ These are responses to the question in the survey questionnaire that asks for a description of critical experiences.

“There is nothing wrong for someone to go and mix with other racial groups as long as one is going to have a positive attitude. If you are an Indian among 22 blacks, do not go and sit outside alone for your lunch, mix with them. If not, they will see you are the one with the problem.”

Failure to desegregate and integrate can, according to one respondent, be explained as follows:

“As adults, teachers from different race groups find it more difficult to adapt. Pupils don’t have similar hang-ups.”

This suggests that older teachers are products of the apartheid socialisation process.

The silent and seemingly spontaneous way in which teachers resegregate may also be due to the effects of what Lefebvre (1991:56) calls ‘abstract space’. He explains that this space works in a highly complex way:

“It has something of a dialogue about it, in that it implies tacit agreement, a non-aggression pact” Lefebvre (1991:56).

This space determines the behaviour and relationships within that space. These in turn

“generate ‘consensus’ or conventions according to which, for example such and such a place is supposed to be trouble-free, a quiet area ...and so forth... (T)hey also have a quasi-legal aspect which also works for consensus: there is to be no fighting over who should occupy a particular spot; spaces are to be left free, and wherever possible

allowance is to be made for ‘proxemics’ – for the maintenance of respectful distances” (Lefebvre, 1991:56-57).

Teachers in this study appeared to experience schools as spaces for spontaneous resegregation. In these spaces, distances were allowed for different groups, all of which were formed on racial lines. Spaces were so racial in nature that it was considered ‘natural’ to gravitate towards one’s own race. People seemed to find their places among their own races. The ‘dialogue’ generated by this space appeared to say to outgroups, “Keep out.” This was done in a non-aggressive and unquestioning way.

The re-grouping is indicative of racial alliances and is a mutation of segregation. This phenomenon deserves to be more thoroughly interrogated if it is to be understood, challenged or resisted. This type of resegregation will be difficult, if not impossible, to regulate. The findings in respect of resegregation bear marked resemblance to the findings in the feasibility study.

4.16 Summary

This section analysed the ways in which teachers viewed the terms desegregation and integration, both of which were largely expressed in spatial terms. Desegregation was seen as the breaking of barriers, gaps or divisions that have separated people to achieve a sharing of space in which people work and live together and where people eventually feel a sense of belonging. There was also a feeling that change will occur with time. For successful integration, the respondents described the need for collegiality and teamwork among teachers and racial harmony. The prevalence of resegregation was attributed by the participants in the study to as a result of common interests and a sense of comfort which is derived from being with one’s own race group.

Chapter Four: Findings: Encountering space

Section four analyses the attitudes of teachers towards teaching in various contexts. While this data was elicited predominantly in response to the survey questionnaire, supporting experiences and observations by the interviewees will also be cited.

Section Four

Teacher attitudes

4.17 Introduction

This section looks at the attitudes of teachers towards teaching in various contexts that were elicited by the survey questionnaire, and supporting data from the interviews. It proceeds to explore some of the factors that may either encourage or discourage desegregation, and these are the fear of spaces perceived to be “malevolent”, inaccessibility of schools, fear of encountering racism and language issues.

4.18 Attitudes towards teaching in various contexts

This section is a presentation of the data in respect of teachers’ attitudes towards teaching in various contexts. In examining the quantitative data elicited in respect of how teachers feel about teaching in various contexts, the responses expressed during interviews will also be integrated. The findings obtained are subjected to a central tendency test, independent t-test, ANOVA test and Cronbach’s alpha test.

Table : 4.19: Feelings towards teaching in different contexts

	Former African schools	Former Indian schools	Former coloured schools	Former white schools
Disagreeable	16.0	6.5	9.5	11.0
Neutral	28.5	31.5	40.0	33.0

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	Agreeable	46.0	41.5	27.0	34.0
	Total	90.5	79.5	76.5	78.0
Missing	System	9.5	20.5	23.5	22.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

With respect to teaching at former African schools, 46% of the respondents indicated that they were agreeable, while 28.5% were neutral and 16% indicated disagreeable. As far as teaching in former Indian schools is concerned, 41.5% of the respondents indicated that they were agreeable, 31.5% were neutral and 8.2 % indicated disagreeable. While 27 % of the respondents indicated that they were agreeable to teaching in a former coloured school, 40 % were neutral and 9.5 % indicated disagreeable. Only 11.0% of the respondents indicated that they were disagreeable to teaching in a former white school, while 33 % were neutral and 43.6 % agreeable. An approximate one-fifth of respondents did not indicate their feelings towards teaching in former Indian, coloured and white schools. This was in contrast with the 9.5% who did not respond to the same question in respect of former African schools. This may be an indication that the majority of teachers were more certain about their attitudes to teaching in former African schools than in any other context. These silences may also indicate that teachers have not considered these issues previously or were not committed to teaching in schools of other races.

In addition to the previous table (Table 4.19), a useful way of comparing teachers' feelings towards teaching in each of the various contexts is by examining the central tendency distribution of teachers' responses. The distributions for each of the contexts may then be compared. This is done by determining the mean,¹⁰⁷ mode¹⁰⁸ and median.¹⁰⁹ These are indicated in Table 4.20:

¹⁰⁷ The mean is the average score (Huysamen, 1998:45).

¹⁰⁸ The mode is that value that has the highest frequency (Huysamen, 1998:42).

¹⁰⁹ The median is the middlemost score when scores have been arranged in ascending or descending order (Huysamen, 1998:43).

Table 4.20: Central tendency:¹¹⁰ Feelings towards teaching in various contexts

	Former African School	Former Indian School	Former Coloured School	Former White School
N Valid	181	159	153	156
Missing	19	41	47	44
Mean	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
Median	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
Mode	3	3	2	3
Std. Deviation*	.761	.642	.654	.702
Variance*	.578	.413	.428	.493
Range*	2	2	2	2
Minimum*	1	1	1	1
Maximum*	3	3	3	3

The mean result in respect of former African, coloured and white schools are *neutral* (2.00), and *agreeable* (3.00) for former Indian schools. The median response towards teaching in former African and former Indian schools is *agreeable* (3.00), and *neutral* (2.00) towards teaching in former coloured and former white schools. The mode response of respondents is *agreeable* (3.00) towards former African, Indian and white schools and *neutral* (2.00) towards former coloured schools.

¹¹⁰ The measurement scale is: 1 = Disagreeable, 2 = Neutral and 3 = Agreeable.

* The *standard deviation*: The above four variables have a standard deviation from 0.642 to 0.761 indicating that these statements have variation in respondent's feelings.

Variance: All four variables have a variance from 0.413 to 0.578 which indicates that there are differences in the respondent's feelings.

Range : All four variables have range values of 2. This indicates that these variables have difference in respondents' feelings and they have expressed all types of opinions towards each of the contexts.

Minimum: All four variables have minimum values of 1 and this indicates that the respondents have articulated the minimum feeling which is *Disagreeable*.

Maximum: All four variables have maximum values 3 and this indicates that respondents have articulated the maximum feeling, which is *Agreeable*.

To compare the feelings of male and female towards teaching in each of the various contexts, an independent t-test may be used. This is reflected in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21: Independent t-test: Teaching in various contexts and gender

		F	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)
Former African school	Equal variances assumed	.804	3.010	179	.003
	Equal variances not assumed		3.075	141.247	.003
Former Indian School	Equal variances assumed	1.878	-1.357	157	.177
	Equal variances not assumed		-1.299	97.490	.197
Former coloured school	Equal variances assumed	.917	1.663	151	.098
	Equal variances not assumed		1.670	113.241	.098
Former white school	Equal variances assumed	1.783	-.664	154	.508
	Equal variances not assumed		-.640	104.664	.523

In the above t-test, the results indicate that statistically there was a significant difference between male and female feelings towards teaching in a former African school.¹¹¹ In respect of former Indian, coloured and white schools there was no significant difference between gender groups,¹¹² that is, male and females had almost similar feelings towards teaching in former Indian, coloured and white schools. To ascertain if there was a significant difference among African, Indian, coloured and white respondents towards teaching in the various

¹¹¹ The p significance value is less than 0.05 (0.003).

¹¹² The p significance values are above 0.05 for the following questions:

- Question 3.3.2 (0.177), i.e. feelings towards teaching in a former Indian school.
- Question 3.3.3 (0.098), i.e. feelings towards teaching in a former coloured school.
- Question 3.3.4 (0.508), i.e. feelings towards teaching in a former white school.

contexts, an ANOVA¹¹³ test was done.

Table 4.22: ANOVA test: Attitude towards various contexts and race

		Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig
Former African school	Between groups	18.051	3	6.017	12.375	.000
	Within groups	86.060	177	.486		
	Total	104.110	180			
Former Indian School	Between groups	12.394	3	4.131	12.131	.000
	Within groups	52.788	155	.341		
	Total	65.182	158			
Former coloured School	Between groups	.565	3	.188	.435	.728
	Within groups	64.429	149	.432		
	Total	64.993	152			
Former white School	Between groups	2.711	3	.904	1.863	.138
	Within groups	73.725	152	.485		
	Total	76.436	155			

The ANOVA test results indicated that statistically there was a significant difference in the feelings of different race groups towards teaching in former African and Indian schools. This means that respondents of different races had different feelings towards teaching in former African and Indian schools.¹¹⁴ In addition, it also indicated that statistically there was no significant difference in the feelings of respondents of different race groups towards teaching in former coloured and white schools.¹¹⁵ This means that respondents of different race groups had almost similar feelings towards teaching in former coloured and white schools.

¹¹³ This is an abbreviation for *analysis of variance*. It is a test of the statistical significance of the differences among the mean scores of two or more groups on one or more variables or factors. It is an extension of the *t-test* which can handle only two groups to a larger number of groups... The procedure in ANOVA involves computing a ratio on the variance between groups to the variance within groups (Vogt, 1999:8).

¹¹⁴ The **p** significance values are 0.000 and 0.000 respectively and less than **0.05**

¹¹⁵ The **p** significance values are 0.728, 0.138 respectively and more than **0.05**.

To measure the internal reliability or consistency of the items in the question that asks for feelings towards teaching in the various contexts (Question 3.3), a Cronbach alpha test was done.¹¹⁶ When applied, it yielded a value of 0.7591 and this indicated internal consistency and reliability.

Teachers who participated in the interviews expressed their responses to teaching in schools that were not historically of their own race group. Their feelings ranged from excitement to apprehension. Aaron¹¹⁷ described his feelings:

“I am happy in my school. I have learnt a lot from them and about their different cultures. They are a united staff, always together. I am used to their race because I have taught at other Indian schools before I came here.”

The ease with which Aaron settled into his new school was facilitated by his previous experience and his knowledge of different cultures. While he showed knowledge of the majority culture at his school, Aaron appeared to be silent on whether teachers at the school are knowledgeable about his culture. His response also provided an acknowledgement that learning is an ongoing process and that in his role as teacher, he was receptive to this.

Chander¹¹⁸ felt that in the new South Africa one should feel free to do one’s work:

¹¹⁶ A measure of internal reliability or consistency of the items is an index. It is a widely used and can be used to test items that have more than 2 answers, such as Likert scales. Like other reliability coefficients, Cronbach’s alpha ranges from 0 to 1.0. Scores towards the high end of that range (e.g. above 0.70) suggest that the items in an index are measuring the same thing.

¹¹⁷ Aaron is an African male teacher employed at a former Indian school.

¹¹⁸ Chander is an Indian male teacher employed at a former African school.

“As a South African citizen and with the democratic country that we now live in, I feel that my race should not matter and that I should be allowed to do my work with assistance from the staff and community and the Department of Education.”

Chander’s appointment at a former African school demonstrates the realization of values associated with the democratic ideal of South Africa. He subscribed to the idea that one’s race should not determine where one was employed and he showed an awareness that spaces had become more permeable since the advent of democracy. He simultaneously acknowledged that he still faced challenges and that the collaborative effort of all stakeholders was crucial. His need for assistance from the Department of Education and others concurs with the findings by Carrim (2003:315)¹¹⁹ that “teachers do not feel equipped to school a ‘nation’ based on a culture of human rights and democracy”.

There is acknowledgement of the need for involvement and participation of various stakeholders, including “the National Department of Education because it is actively promoting diversity and inclusion in education. Partners should also include learners in the classroom and their parents or guardians” (Department of Education, 2000 e: 31).

Varsha¹²⁰ described her feelings of excitement:

“I was excited about being part of a racially desegregated staff. I felt like a professional, I was motivated. The learners were angels; they were disciplined, motivated, enthusiastic and respectful. I was thrilled.”

Entering a new pedagogic space stimulated Varsha and enhanced her

¹¹⁹ For further details see Carrim’s (2003) article on teacher identity in which he traces how teachers’ identities are affected by race.

¹²⁰ Varsha is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

professional identity. Similarly, Max¹²¹ described his feelings of excitement: “I’m very excited to be in this school.” Joyce¹²² was also enthusiastic about her promotion:

“Oh well. I’m very upbeat about it. I’ve been there since 1989. I’ve never had a problem, a racial problem that is. I’m quite comfortable and I think that our school is quite unique in that the staff gets along well. Everyone’s on first name basis... Colour does not come into our staff room.”

The staff room at schools is a place of encounter. It is probably the most significant site for the forging of social relationships among teachers. At her school, Joyce believes that race does not play a role. She experiences a sense of comfort, which may be described as a sense of “place”, at this historically African school where race is disregarded. The use of first names among staff members suggests an intimacy and cohesiveness among teachers.

The joys of teachers who ventured into schools where they were historically not permitted employment, were similar to the “euphoric afterglow of a non-bloody revolution in South Africa” (Samuel, 2003:254)¹²³ experienced by would-be teachers in the context of post apartheid South Africa.

Karen¹²⁴ was previously employed at a former white school that was eventually closed down by the Department of Education. She resigned and began a catering business from home until the desire to resume teaching became, as she describes it, “irresistible”. She contacted schools in the area and

¹²¹ Max is an African male teacher employed at a former white school.

¹²² Joyce is a white female teacher employed at a former African school.

¹²³ Samuel writes about teacher education in the post apartheid context of South Africa. While this study focuses on student teachers and teacher education, the feeling of ‘euphoria’ he describes is equally applicable to practicing teachers.

¹²⁴ Karen is a white female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

was informed of a vacancy at a former Indian school. She has never regretted this decision and describes it as an enriching experience during which she learned much about Indian culture.

As far as teaching in a former Indian school is concerned, she says the following:

“It did not trouble me because there is respect for all religions, traditions, and habits. Close friendships exist between those in your circle of friends and one shares one’s friend’s joys and pains, as well as those of her husband, children, parents, brothers and sisters, even those of the maid. Important days and events are shared because there are no racial differences. When my father passed away, the principal took me home and when his sister was diagnosed with cancer, we walked the difficult road with her through him. We pray for each other because we have grown on each other like blood family – we know everything about each other.”

The responses provided above by Aaron,¹²⁵ Chander,¹²⁶ Varsha,¹²⁷ Joyce¹²⁸ and Karen¹²⁹ demonstrated the euphoria associated with the change from the historical divisions to which they were subjected, and the permeability of the social spaces that prevailed at each of their schools. In these instances, the teachers were absorbed into or embraced by the existing space. Soja is of the view that “sociality produces spatiality, and vice versa” (Soja, 1997:72). The following insights, as identified by the various teachers, may have contributed to this:

¹²⁵ Aaron is an African male teacher employed at a former Indian school.

¹²⁶ Chander is an Indian male teacher employed at a former African school

¹²⁷ Varsha is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹²⁸ Joyce is a white female teacher employed at a former African school.

¹²⁹ Karen is a white female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

- knowledge of various cultures
- staff unity
- prior knowledge and experience
- the spaces created through the new constitution of the country
- learner discipline and attitude
- disregard for race
- respect for all religions and cultures
- healthy personal inter-relationships.

It would be naïve to assume that the above are the only prerequisites for the production of spaces that are inclusive. It is also about the silent and possibly unnoticed surrendering of space and reappropriation thereof in a way that is different and inclusive. The following responses differed from the above.

Deshni¹³⁰ and Ella¹³¹ responded as follows in respect of their schools experiences respectively:

“It was definitely not pleasant. I always felt very uncomfortable. This was compounded by the fact that I was unable to speak the Zulu language.”

“I did not know anything about the new school except that it was white and situated in an elite suburb. I was used to being in an ‘Indian school’ with the population being either black or Indian...living in an exclusively Indian area. My greatest apprehension was: Would I cope ...with the new environment, with the whiteness? I was more conscious of my Indian-ness now than ever before. I stood at the staffroom entrance – not knowing how to proceed, where to step – I felt my blood drain from

¹³⁰ Deshni is an Indian female teacher employed at a former African school.

¹³¹ Ella is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

my face, leaving me colourless.”

The spatial responses expressed above attest to the link between space, power and race. There was distinct feeling of displacement and dislocation that was underlined by the location of the school in an elite white suburb. In this space, Ella felt her Indian identity even more keenly and her views of race were essentialist. This feeling is similar the view expressed by teachers in Soudien’s (2003:282) study in which he concludes that teachers are conditioned by their apartheid experiences. Both Deshni and Ella felt like ‘outsiders’, Deshni by virtue of her lack of knowledge of the language used at the school and Ella because of her race. Ella’s fearful and almost dramatic entry into what she perceived as a forbidden space communicated the idea that she was transgressing what was normally considered acceptable. Standing uncertainly at the entrance to the staff room which is a significant “junction point”¹³² conveyed her peripheral-ness. Deshni’s inability to speak isiZulu alienated her from the rest and contributed to her feeling of discomfort at the school.

Max’s¹³³ response to being appointed to his school is best conveyed in his own words:

I’m very excited to be in this school... But I must say in the past I was not so comfortable because we still had at that time white teachers who were very racist and they would sometimes make racial statements to which I would respond in an unfriendly manner... I’m a member of the ANC¹³⁴ and I would speak a lot of sense to them especially those that I felt were racist and some of them began to realise that there is no way we can go back to oppression and well, if you can’t beat them, join them. That’s

¹³² As used by Lefebvre (1991) to describe a place of encounter.

¹³³ Max is an African male teacher employed at a former white school.

¹³⁴ This is the African National Congress, the current ruling party of the South African government.

exactly what happened. Most of them changed and I'm happy today that they are really transformed. The one teacher that I felt did not change eventually left for London. As for the remainder of the teachers, we are one united staff.

Max's own feeling of joy at being appointed at the school must have been tempered by the attitude of his colleagues. His resistance to the attempts to alienate him was an indication of the potential of Soja's (1997:10) idea of Thirdspace. This is the space of resistance to the dominant order arising from Max's peripheral and marginalized positioning. Max purposefully located himself in this position from which he waged his "social struggle" (Soja,1997:68) and in doing so, he was able to transform the real or material space which was historically produced for white learners and teachers and which, according to descriptions provided by Max, boasted of the best facilities. The conceived or "imagined" space of the Constitution of South Africa is, in this instance, in the process of being realised, but this did not happen spontaneously. It was accomplished by Max's strenuous opposition to the racist practices of his colleagues which eventually proved successful. This he attributed to his membership of the African National Congress (ANC).¹³⁵ It is significant to note how Max's political identity, and not his racial identity, was foregrounded.

The above responses which ranged from euphoria to apprehension, attest to the complex nature of desegregation.

4.19 Factors that may encourage or deter desegregation

The reasons why teachers may either be encouraged or deterred from seeking

¹³⁵ The ANC is the ruling party in democratic South Africa.

employment in various contexts are analysed in this section. This is done by referring to the views expressed by the respondents to the questionnaire in which the responses are quantified, as well as those of the interview respondents that provide richer and textured detail. The concurrence in the data obtained in varying ways is evidence of data and methodological triangulation.

Table 4.23: What will encourage/ has encouraged respondents to teach in various contexts

	Former African school	Former Indian school	Former coloured school	Former white school
Promotion	17.0	35.0	25.5	31.0
Commitment to uplifting others	50.5	27.5	24.5	18.5
An offer of financial incentive	7.0	4.5	4.5	9.0
I will not consider / have not considered	22.0	26.5	38.5	35.0
Total	96.5	93.5	93.0	93.5
Missing System	3.5	6.5	7.0	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The largest percentage of respondents (50.5%) may be motivated by altruism to teach at former African schools, 35% by desire for promotion to teach at a former white school, 35% will not consider or have not considered teaching at a former Indian school while 31% were willing to teach in this context if promoted. More than one third (38.5%) of respondents will not consider or have not considered teaching at a former coloured school. However, another 25.5% will be willing to teach at a former coloured school if promoted.

Table 4.24 provides reasons why teachers were deterred from teaching in each of the contexts. The majority of respondents (42.5%) appear to associate former African schools with crime. A total of 60% of respondents are deterred from teaching at former white schools as a result of racial bias and fear of racism.

Table 4.24: What deters/ will deter respondents from teaching in each of the contexts

	Former African school	Former white school	Former Indian school	Former coloured school
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Fear of crime	42.5	2.0	8.0	25.0
Inaccessibility	9.0	4.5	3.5	4.0
Racial bias	6.0	35.5	11.0	8.5
Fear of racism	4.5	24.5	15.0	11.0
Nothing deters me / deterred me	33.5	28.5	55.5	43.5
Total	95.5	95.0	93.0	92.0
Missing System	4.5	5.0	7.0	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As far as teaching at former Indian and coloured schools are concerned, the majority feel that there was nothing that deterred them.

A discussion of deterrents to desegregation will follow and focuses on the themes of violence, the location of schools and racism, which were the most significant themes emerging from the data.

4.20 Malevolent spaces: “Take a gun to school”

In their study of violence in South African schools, Vally *et al* (1999: 1)¹³⁶ describes the level of violence as being high. This perception was also evident in the responses provided in the survey questionnaire.

“In all schools nothing much has happened because some teachers are afraid to go to former African schools because of crime.”

“There is also a high crime rate (at most African schools) that makes it difficult for them to teach at such schools. People fear for their lives.”

Incidents of this nature are reported in newspapers. The following is an excerpt from a newspaper report¹³⁷ of an Indian principal who was employed at a former African school in a rural area outside Estcourt.¹³⁸

“A 41 year old school principal narrowly escaped death when he was hijacked ...while travelling to Emnagwena Primary School where he is principal.”

Vally (1999:1) goes on to say that this is a reflection of a

“complicated combination of past history and recent stresses on individuals, school and community levels – in a society marked by deep inequities and massive uncertainty and change within school operations. Despite the end of apartheid in

¹³⁶ See Vally’s (1999) study on racism and violence in South African schools.

¹³⁷ Article from the Sunday Times Extra dated 3 September 2000:28.

¹³⁸ Estcourt is a small town located in Northern KwaZulu-Natal, approximately 180 kilometers from Durban.

Chapter Four: Findings: Encountering space

South Africa ‘race’ and ethnic tensions remain at the centre of much violence in the country”.

He further adds that in spite of legislation to promote desegregation, “the incidence of racial rancour in many school communities attests to the intractable and continuing violence in South African schools” (Vally et al, 1999:1). This violent atmosphere in South African schools contributes to a feeling of disempowerment among education actors. Demonstrating the significant impact of violence and crime, teachers responded as follows¹³⁹ to the effects of desegregation:

“In schools where it (desegregation) was implemented, teachers were threatened and intimidated.”

“In schools where different racial groups are mixed together they treat each other badly and they even resort to murder.”

“Hindrances such as cultural background, fear of being racially attacked and fear of person and property, amongst others, are hampering this process.”

In a study which reflects on the nature and scope of violence in schools and on teachers as victims of violence, Singh (2006:6) asserts that

“within media reports in South African schools the underlying causal factor ...have shifted their focus. This shift reflects a complicated blend of past history and the recent educational transformations. The focus has shifted from violence being linked to political instability to racial rancour, and more recently to social and economic challenges that are a reflection of the broader South African society.”

¹³⁹ These are qualitative responses to the survey questionnaire in which respondents were asked to indicate whether they are of the view that desegregation at school level has happened successfully in South Africa (question 3.2).

This fear of crime was later highlighted by the survey questionnaire respondents and by interview participants, who described their personal experiences. Teachers are afraid to go to certain schools (particularly former African) because of the remote location, fear of crime and racially motivated attacks. Fear of crime is seen as inseparable from crime and disorder in western cities (though I am of the opinion that this is not only applicable to these locations), but also from a range of other social and economic problems concerned with housing, employment, environmental planning and social exclusion (relating to poverty, gender, race and so on) (Pain, 2000:365). People also commonly report fear of personal and property crime being heightened when they are in particular environments. This fear of crime in particular spaces inevitably has social meaning. There is also a general tendency to fear stereotypical “others” who are marked out by, for instance, their colour and class (Pain, 2000:369-372).

In her study of school violence, Singh (2006:38) observes that teachers are exposed and vulnerable to increasing levels of violence at schools. Schools reflect the values of the community, and learners are exposed to drugs, gangs and weapons (Singh, 2006:140). These inevitably impact on schools.

Table 4.25 examines the relationship between gender and deterrents to teaching in a former African school. It reflects that a larger percentage of women were afraid of crime. This has implications for desegregation of certain schools in locations that are perceived as being unsafe for women. This is especially significant given the high proportion of female teachers employed by the provincial Department of Education (approximately 70%).

Table 4.25: Deterrents to teaching at former African schools and gender

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Fear of crime	12.6%	31.9%	44.5%
Inaccessibility	2.6%	6.8%	9.4%
Racial bias	2.1%	4.2%	6.3%
Fear of racism	1.6%	3.1%	4.7%
Nothing deters me/ deterred me	14.7%	20.4%	35.1%
Total	33.5%	66.5%	100.0%

One of the interviewees, Deshni¹⁴⁰ described a hijacking incident which occurred in the heart of a former African township where her school is located. This experience has left permanent scars:

“The most critical moment I experienced was on 22 February 2000 at 7.15. I had parked my car and had just alighted when I was confronted by a gunman, who pointed his firearm on my forehead, whilst another youth appeared from behind me and demanded that I hand over my car keys. I resisted, but he snatched it anyway, together with my schoolbag and handbag. The gunman noticed my cell phone and was about to snatch it when I broke into a run and started screaming for someone to help me.”

She attributed the breakdown of her health and marriage to this extremely frightening incident. In a study of violence in schools, Singh (2006:147) states that teachers experience “emotions ...from frustration, rage, stress and bitterness...humiliation and isolation...The emotional strain in many cases

¹⁴⁰ Deshni is an Indian female teacher employed at a former African school.

manifests itself in physical symptoms.” For Deshni, the strong psychological impact of this incident was evident:

”My present condition has also taken a toll on my family. From being a very independent and vibrant person, I have become an introvert. Because of the stress and demands being placed on my husband as a result of my hijacking, he underwent heart bypass surgery in October 2003. My marriage of 30 years ended in divorce in November 2005. Two years ago, I requested to be medically boarded.”

The above experience was life changing and led to a complete erasure of Deshni’s former personal and professional identity. Instead, she felt the vulnerability of a crime victim, and she has not yet been successful in reasserting her status as a professional woman.

Karen¹⁴¹ also recalls her own fear:

“There was the first SADTU¹⁴² strike that I experienced, and I thought that my life was going to be in danger because I was planning to go to school. It was the first time that I gave in to my husband’s insistence that I take a gun to school.”

Males were also susceptible to crime. Another interviewee, Chander¹⁴³, was a little reticent to talk about his experience at a former African school, but he did indicate he “was intimidated by thugs in 2006,” as a result of which he had to leave the school.

¹⁴¹ Karen is a white female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

¹⁴² South African Democratic Teacher Union.

¹⁴³ Chander is an Indian male teacher employed at a former African school.

The fears that are experienced by teachers are very real. Teachers feel vulnerable and exposed to crime and violence. These have an impact on the desegregation of schools as teachers perceive certain schools and areas as unsafe.

4.21 Inaccessible spaces: “Bound by areas where they live”

Spatial factors and limitations also influenced desegregation. In the responses from the survey questionnaire cited below, this was evident.

“Schools have been part and parcel of the community. Therefore certain schools will have certain race groups.”

“Teachers are bound by the areas where they live, e.g. a teacher from the settlement cannot move and go to teach at a rural area leaving his/her family.”

“Segregation is rife in rural areas where other races do not consider going to teach.”

Desegregation of schools will continue to be a challenge since structural forms of racism in the form of separate residential areas for the various race groups still persist. Teachers are thus held captive by structural factors. Desegregation among learner components has been comparatively significant as a result of the perception that advantaged schools provide better education. Learners are thus willing and motivated to cross residential divides and travel distances to school. No incentives exist for teachers – apart from their own altruism – to increase their spatial power and seek employment at schools that are located far

distances away from their homes. What was also evident was that rurality was not valued and that prejudices against rurality were strong (Budge, undated).¹⁴⁴

The deep internalisation of the idea of segregation was evident. An important feature of the above observations was the sense of inescapability that people felt. Because of the previously demarcated group areas in which residential areas were allocated on the basis of race, certain race groups will predominate in a specific area. Teachers were also seen to be bound by areas in which they lived. There was the deeply embedded view that certain places were meant for specific groups. This is also a reflection of the social conditions of the apartheid era.

This is also an indication that space endures. Lefebvre (1991:165) asserts that the effects of history on space are long-lasting and the influence of the produced space endures. No space “ever vanishes utterly”. Respondents are aware of this as is reflected in the above responses.

4.22 Racism: “I will never apply to any other school as I fear racism”

The fear of encountering racism was a deterrent to desegregation, and this was evident from the following comments:

“I have never taught at a school that has different races other than all African. I fear racism going to other schools of which former white schools top the bill.”

“I will never apply to any other school as I fear racism.”

¹⁴⁴ <http://dept.washington.edu/k>

Interviewees were able to provide greater details about their experiences of racism. Varsha¹⁴⁵ said the following:

“The following experience provided the critical moment in my life. One of the Heads of Department came into the principal’s office emotionally upset about her pet that died that morning. The principal hugged the HOD and told the staff that ‘Mrs. H’ is upset and that everyone should be sensitive and give her some tender loving care. A few minutes later, the Indian clerk came into the principal’s office and asked for leave because her husband was admitted for surgery and her reply was, ‘Please leave your personal problems at home.’ This double-standard in treating human beings so differently was blatant racism.”

This incident exposed the principal’s subscription to the view that races are hierarchically structured.¹⁴⁶ The idea that whites are a superior race has its origins in the latter part of the 18th century when “scientific racism” became a widespread theory in Europe. One of its fundamental assumptions was that distinct ‘races’ existed and that the capacities and destinies of racial groups were biologically determined. This supposedly resulted in the ‘hierarchy’ of races (Shutte, 1994:4).

Todorov (2000:64) differentiates between what he calls ‘racism’ and ‘racialism’. Racism is a term designating behaviour while racialism is a term used for an ideology of race. An ideology of race is not necessarily racist ideology in the usual sense, since theoretical views may have no influence on acts, or the theory may not imply that certain races are intrinsically evil or superior. A form of racism that is rooted in racialism produces catastrophic

¹⁴⁵ Varsha is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁴⁶ In this instance it is evident that the pet animal of a white teacher ranks higher than the spouse of an Indian teacher.

results. In the instance cited above, the differing sense of concern expressed towards the teacher's loss of a pet and utter disregard and lack of sympathy for the teacher whose husband was ill in hospital is a stark indicator of the racial hierarchy that exists. The "Indian" husband ranks lower than the "pet of a white teacher." The interpretation of racism in this instance finds its source in racialism that is based on the ideology that some races are superior to others.

Harriet¹⁴⁷ described her experience with passion and pain:

"There are many other issues where people treat you badly. Once I asked for keys because we have vehicles and the man took the keys and threw it at me and I found he treated me like I was just nothing. I found that very embarrassing."

This experience has the effect of dehumanizing the victim. It simultaneously dehumanizes the perpetrator (Freire, 2003:44). Harriet's reaction to the incident was:

"I spoke to the principal about it. I said, 'I don't take this very lightly. I don't appreciate being treated in that fashion.' So he addressed the matter."

The principal had a discussion with the individual concerned. The outcome was described as follows:

"But it hasn't changed much because from the smiles you get, you can see whether someone is genuinely smiling with you. That's just the way it is, but I have to persevere and move on."

¹⁴⁷ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

The responses Harriet received from teachers on the staff were varied. The teachers with whom she worked most closely were “helpful” and made her feel at “ease”. The majority treated her as if she “was someone picked off the streets...as though (she)...was not ...adequate”. She was not made to feel like she was a significant part of the school. Enduring this type of response as well as experiencing racism in various ways led her to feel the need to “stay in (her) little cocoon”. While there were times when Harriet felt the need to withdraw from the realities of this impermeable space, there were also occasions when she used her position in the margins to offer resistance to subjugation. When she was subjected to covert surveillance¹⁴⁸ by the principal and when treated with disrespect by a ‘colleague’, she voiced her objections to these.

The racism to which Harriet¹⁴⁹ was subjected, may be an example of individual racism. It is ironic that she drew this matter to the attention of the principal whose actions are also not beyond reproach as the following incident reveals.

“When I started at the school, initially I found it strange that the principal would stand outside my room without my being aware of it. It was like he was actually listening to me to check whether I can teach. I found that to be such an invasion of my professional integrity. I also found that I just couldn’t understand why he would do that and when I found out from my colleagues, I mean white colleagues, I discovered that that didn’t happen to them and I found that such a suspicious act... On another occasion the headmaster walked into my classroom unannounced and I found that an unacceptable practice because why would he single me out and I told him I do not approve of him walking

¹⁴⁸ Harriet observed soon after her appointment to the school that the principal would “stand outside my room without my being aware of it. It was like he was actually listening to me to check whether I can teach.”

¹⁴⁹ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

*into my room without my inviting him. He said, 'Why? Do you think I'm spying on you?' I said, 'Yes, I do think so.' He wasn't too pleased with my response but I just felt I was not treated as a professional – as though I was treated with suspicion when I came to the school. **White colleagues haven't experienced what I have.**"*

Harriet¹⁵⁰ experiences this act of racism as a spatial transgression and a violation of her classroom space. His later entrance into her classroom uninvited was another act of transgression.

Harriet's sense of "invasion" is an indicator that she experiences her classroom practice in a spatial way. The classroom is an area, which is considered a private pedagogic space, and encroachment is not welcome without prior invitation. The classroom is a space that subtly; either justifiably or not, excludes some. It is a pedagogical space in which the teacher is responsible for engaging in practices such as teaching, disciplining learners, being a role model, developing positive relationships with learners, and assessment. It is a space about which Harriet feels territorial. Indiscriminate wielding of power such as the one described above on the part of school leaders contributes to the deepening of the racialisation of the teacher's identity and creates a feeling of alienation. This is disabling for teacher practice and demeaning for teachers who generally are continuously subjected to hierarchical relationships such as those that exist in schools. Being singled out for this type of treatment further relegates Harriet to the margins and alienates her.

In this instance, the principal's racial bias affects his sense of professionalism. The expectation of the principal as leader and manager of an institution is that they should promote inclusion and acceptance of individuals in the

¹⁵⁰ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

organisation. This means that everyone should have a feeling of being wanted and appreciated and that there is a need for their special contribution. They should be able to provide the lead in developing team spirit and cohesiveness within the school (Fuglestad and Lillejord, 2002:5). In terms of the duties and functions of a principal,¹⁵¹ the principal is responsible for guiding and supervising the work and performance of all staff in the school, as well as for observing class teaching and offer professional advice to teachers where necessary (Department of Education, 2000 c:63-64). New and inexperienced teachers may be singled out for additional support to understand the special and unique circumstances of the school so that they may achieve educational objectives in the light of these. The kind of covert surveillance to which the teacher is subjected highlights the ways in which racism insinuates itself into professional conduct, and this can undermine the teacher's professional integrity. The subject of teacher appraisal is often volatile and is guaranteed to “raise temperatures” (Gitlin and Smith, 1989:42). In this instance it is compounded by the prejudicial attitude towards the teacher as a result of her race. The current system of appraisal of teachers is regulated and has a developmental focus with “tremendous potential” (Balkaran, 2000:23).

Harriet’s professional identity in the *pedagogic space* of the classroom where she is in a position of power and where she has created a space for inclusion differs from the identity she has when interacting with teachers. She has succeeded in creating the imagined space envisaged within the broad values framework of the Constitution.¹⁵² Within the confines of the classroom her racial identity is passive, whereas her racial identity is foregrounded and heightened outside of it. Her sense of professional identity within the school is

¹⁵¹ As outlined in the document called Personnel Administrative Measures (1999), which outlines the terms and conditions of employment of teachers.

¹⁵² This is the space conceived by the democratic government and which finds expression in, for example, various education policies and the Constitution. Values such as respect for diversity, human dignity and non-racism are considered important.

split in two. This may be attributed to the tensions between past and present, and the fact that she has to straddle widely differing spaces simultaneously. She counteracts her marginalized and subjugated position by confronting the head of the institution when she experiences unpleasantness. This unfortunately does not prove effective since the insidious nature of racism to which she is exposed is so pervasive that it can be described as institutional. She uses her location in the margin productively by continuing to resist and she is determined to “persevere and move on.”

A similar experience to the one in which Harriet is relegated to a subjugated position is encountered by Max.¹⁵³ These demonstrated the perception that Africans are cognitively deficient:

We had a lady who was the Head of Department of Language, Mrs Viljoen.¹⁵⁴ She had a superiority complex and each time we had a meeting or I had to speak to her she would make me feel that I'm subordinate to her. When I came to the school, I had just written my Honours Degree examination and somewhere in April was graduation. When I returned to school I showed the certificate to my principal who showed it to the staff. Everybody was excited about it except this lady and when she was asked by the principal to return the certificate to me, she said to me, 'Where did you get this degree from?' I told her and she said, 'These must be very nice people. They just hand out degrees. Maybe I should join you to see if they cannot give me a better one.' I felt terrible. She undermined me and the institution at which I studied. She just felt that she was a better person.”

¹⁵³ Max is an African male teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁵⁴ Not her real name.

These experiences described above constitute violence. It is a violence that is initiated by those “who oppress... (and) who fail to recognize others as persons” (Freire, 2003:55). These acts demonstrate the type of racism that is overt, where people consciously and openly discriminate (Haralambos and Holborn, 2005:185).

Racism in the form of bias is also a deterrent to desegregation. This is evidenced in the following statements:¹⁵⁵

“There are still schools with only one kind of racial group dominating.”

“Old ideas and stereotyping persist.”

“Some schools have not moved with the changing times because they are so entrenched in their old ways.”

“Inter-racial tension and suspicion still exist.”

“Although most teachers are welcoming you still find some teachers who make racially biased comments.”

Merit also seems to be associated with race. The following statements¹⁵⁶ support this:

“Other races (i.e. other than African) are always given preference even in schools. They are believed the best choice.”

“The schools still overlook the Africans. They do not trust whatever they do. They ill treat him/her in different ways such as checking his/her work now and again and gossip to kids about him/her.”

¹⁵⁵ These are responses to the survey questionnaire.

¹⁵⁶ These are responses to the survey questionnaire.

“When it comes to the delegation of work, some are given strenuous and non-examinable subjects.”

The above comments reflect prejudice, which means that certain beliefs and values exist which lead to bias for or against members of certain groups. These are beliefs which are not necessarily translated into action and are often subliminal. The individuals and schools referred to above are also guilty of discrimination that involves unfavourable treatment of all persons socially assigned to a particular category (Haralambos and Holborn, 2005:185). Stereotyping of African teachers not being “the best choice” is prevalent. It is perceived that this is why subjects which are non-examinable are allocated to them.

The experiences and observations made with respect to the association of race with merit, prejudice, stereotyping and the dehumanizing treatment and unprofessional conduct towards teachers of different races are some of the realities that prevail at schools, and to which teachers are subjected. These experiences maybe described as “dysconscious racism”, characterized by the “uncritical habit of the mind that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given” (King, 1991:135). It is only through resistance that marginalization may be averted.

4.23 Spatial distancing and cohesion through language

While neither the survey questionnaire nor the interview specifically elicited responses with respect to language, this issue did emerge. Language may be viewed as a problem that hinders, or as a tool to enhance, desegregation.

“Some schools are still using Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. Other learners are not able to learn at these institutions.”

“Languages of the various race groups are not recognized or catered for.”

Lefebvre points to the as yet concealed relations between space and language. He asserts that every language is located in a space. Every discourse says something about a space (places or set of places) and every discourse is emitted from a space (Lefebvre. 1991:132). The marginalisation of African languages and the aggressive promotion of Afrikaans in South Africa in the era of apartheid is a case in point. However, with the advent of democracy the importance of all eleven official languages is emphasised and respected. In the view of Alexander (1989:51) the main aim of a language policy in South Africa should be to encourage communication between people who have been separated by apartheid. Holding the potential for such a reality, the Constitution (1996:4) conceives a space for all languages:

“Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.”

While the Constitution¹⁵⁷ accords the rightful status to all languages, this has yet to be translated into practice. The significance of the Constitution, however, should not be trivialized since it is one of the ways in which the ‘imagined’ space of the country is expressed. This is demonstrated, for example, in the

¹⁵⁷ This refers to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). This is the supreme law of the country and is intended to heal the divisions of the past and to promote a democratic and open society.

way in which the discourse associated with the fostering of a new united South African nationhood replaces the divisive terminology of the past.¹⁵⁸

Vally *et al* (1999:6) also highlights the importance of language. Language issues are closely linked to questions of power and human rights. In the following cases,¹⁵⁹ the failure to recognize the various languages in use in South Africa hinders desegregation:

“Some schools do not allow Black teachers to teach in their schools. They do not like to learn the African languages.”

“Some races, more especially the Afrikaners, do not want blacks in their schools. They use language as the weapon to fight against the admission of blacks to their schools. They interview teachers in Afrikaans although they may have applied for English.”

The National Curriculum Statement¹⁶⁰ defines languages as a “tool for thought and communication. It is through language that cultural diversity and social relations are expressed and constructed. Learning to use language effectively enables learners to think and acquire knowledge, to express their identity, feelings and ideas, to interact with others, and to manage their world” (Department of Education, 2003:9). The aspirations and values of the National Curriculum Statement which are in line with the Constitutional declaration of eleven official languages, is currently implemented by teachers and are denied to teachers themselves:

¹⁵⁸ Examples of these are “rainbow nation”, “non-racism”, “non-sexism”, “ubuntu” as opposed to “apartheid”, “colour-bar”, “kaffir” to name a few. The respondents to the survey questionnaire have cited some of the former.

¹⁵⁹ These are responses to the survey questionnaire.

¹⁶⁰ The National Curriculum Statement is the new curriculum that is currently being implemented at South African schools.

“The community in rural areas will not accept a white or Indian principal or deputy because of language problems since most of the parents are not literate.”¹⁶¹

“There are still schools who apply segregation especially in the rural areas. They do not recommend white or Indian principals. They say it will be difficult to communicate with them since many of them (parents) are illiterate.”¹⁶²

Chander¹⁶³ also refers to the important role of language:

“There is alienation due to language barriers. When staff members and learners talk in Zulu,¹⁶⁴ then I do not follow what is being said...Integration can be promoted if we all speak in the same language. As an English speaker I should have been trained in Zulu in order to fit into the community.”

Deshni¹⁶⁵ also felt alienated because of language.

“I was unable to speak the Zulu language. I was always the one to initiate a greeting or a conversation, which was always answered in monosyllables. Despite my presence, they would only converse in their mother tongue. Meetings would begin in English and invariably Zulu would be spoken and then I would be remembered.”

Gloria¹⁶⁶ also cites the following experience that she had:

¹⁶¹ This is a response from respondents to the survey questionnaire.

¹⁶² This is a response from respondents to the survey questionnaire.

¹⁶³ Chander is an Indian male teacher employed at a former African school.

¹⁶⁴ IsiZulu is the dominant language spoken at home in KwaZulu-Natal (Bot et al, 2000:69).

¹⁶⁵ Deshni is an Indian female teacher employed at a former African school.

“On arrival there was a presentation by an insurance representative. He did his entire presentation in IsiZulu without considering that there may be people who do not understand the language. With my little knowledge of the language I could hardly understand what he was saying.”

However, Gloria was also proactive:

“At first the learners used to talk about me thinking that I do not understand their language, IsiZulu. It was difficult for them to approach me as they felt they had to talk only in English. As time went on and I got a better knowledge of their language our relationships improved.”

Gloria found that in order to counteract her marginality, she had “to make (herself) fit in and follow their culture and beliefs in order to work harmoniously with the rest of the staff.” Her alienation through her inability to speak IsiZulu was counteracted to a large degree by her effort to learn the language and thereby facilitate her insertion within this space. In this instance, Gloria is engaged in the process of reconstructing her own identity.

Despite the country having very progressive and inclusive language policies, language appears to be used in a manner inconsistent with the spirit of such policies. In this study, respondents pointed out that language is, either knowingly or unknowingly, used to alienate others, to restrict interaction or in certain instances used to justify territorialism:

¹⁶⁶ Gloria is a coloured female teacher employed at a former African school.

“Certain language groups group themselves together so as to alienate me and spoke ill of my presence, like I’m taking their jobs. I unfortunately got terminated by the SGB within a week.”¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, language barriers lead to poor communication and lack of understanding:

“Language differences can cause doubt and distrust. In public forums it is rude to speak so that one is not understood. Common languages allow people to align with each other.”¹⁶⁸

“Differences in background as well as language barriers sometimes result in misunderstandings. Different race groups use the exact same English word but mean something different.”¹⁶⁹

While there are no quick and ready remedies to the language problems raised above, there is a clear need for language issues to be handled sensitively. The following experience provided by a respondent¹⁷⁰ shows on the one hand, the capacity for warmth and collegiality, and on the other, the insensitivity of the group which received him at the school:

“I was welcomed even though they did not want me to speak my home language (an African language); they wanted me to speak their language even though I didn’t know.”

¹⁶⁷ This comment is in response to question 3.14 of the survey questionnaire.

¹⁶⁸ This comment is in response to question 3.14 of the survey questionnaire.

¹⁶⁹ This comment is in response to question 3.14 of the survey questionnaire.

¹⁷⁰ This observation was made by an African teacher, a respondent to the questionnaire survey to the question which asked for details of critical experiences.

This incident demonstrates the power of the majority as well as the lack of regard for previously marginalized languages. This lack of sensitivity towards language and the effects thereof, are clear. The limited number of languages offered in the curriculum at the school at which Max¹⁷¹ was employed resulted in the learner population comprising of exclusively African learners:

“But in the past when I joined the school which was in 1995 we still had a couple of Indian learners, coloured and white learners but IsiZulu is a must in my school so the other races felt uncomfortable with that especially because they would do it as a first language. That is how we lost those learners.”

The insensitivity towards language led to alienation of learners. This resulted in the learner component becoming monoracial. While this study does not address the issue of learner desegregation, it is important to note that if this is to be successfully accomplished, language rights of learners have to be respected.

While the preceding case shows how language can interfere with issues of desegregation, Joyce’s¹⁷² knowledge and use of isiZulu is appreciated by the parent community and facilitates integration:

“In terms of parents’ response to me, to begin with they are quite hesitant. But I speak Zulu. If it is a simple case, I will speak to them in Zulu. If it something where there might be a misunderstanding, well then I do have a Zulu speaking person present and I think that once I actually speak to them in Zulu, they hear how awful my Zulu is, they are far more

¹⁷¹ Max is an African male teacher employed at a former white school. This school is located in the northern part of KwaZulu-Natal.

¹⁷² Joyce is a white female teacher employed at a former African school.

outgoing about speaking to me. I think they do not expect me speak to them (in Zulu). I think they appreciate it.”

How language plays itself out in real day-to-day “trivialized” (Lefebvre, 1991:288) practices, differs vastly from the conceived and imagined ideas expressed in language policies. The Department of Education seeks to promote multilingualism in South Africa.¹⁷³ The language policy is part of the strategy to build a non-racial nation. It is also intended to facilitate communication across barriers of colour, language and region, and being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African. The creation of an enabling space for all languages by “social engineers” (political parties, government) is also represented in the Constitution.

4.24 Summary

This section analysed the attitudes of teachers towards teaching in former African, Indian, coloured and white schools. Only a minimal percentage of respondents indicated that they were disagreeable to teaching in each of the contexts. The responses of the interviewees to being appointed at schools other than those historically allocated to their race, ranged from excitement to apprehension. The fear of crime, inaccessibility, racism, challenges of language appeared to be some of the deterrents to desegregation.

The following section looks at the ways in which teachers respond to teachers of different races, pedagogic spaces, views of the community as perceived by the interviewees and the role of school governing bodies in determining the extent of desegregation.

¹⁷³ This is in terms of the Norms and Standards for Language Policy in Public Schools (1997:31-32).

Section 5

Pedagogic spaces

4.25 Introduction

This section is an analysis of the ways in which teachers respond to teachers of different races and of the pedagogic spaces that are produced as a result of the interaction between teachers and learners. The views of the community towards teachers and the role of school governing bodies in the appointment of teachers as perceived by the teachers interviewed are also analysed.

4.26 Teacher responses to the appointment of teachers of different races

In this section the findings from the survey questionnaire are presented and these are substantiated by references to the qualitative data obtained from interviews. In presenting findings from the qualitative dimension of the study, it is shown how teachers gained entry into previously impenetrable spaces, and how this reflects the uncertainties, fears or the joys of seeking better opportunities. While in terms of conceived spaces, all places should be equally accessible and attainable for all irrespective of race, not all teachers viewed their entries into space in this imagined way. For some, employment at schools provided the opportunity for promotion, for others it was a chance for employment, and others were forced to accept positions as a result of the policy of teacher rationalisation. Table 4.26 highlights the respondents' views on how teachers of different race groups would be received at their schools.

Table 4.26: Response of teachers at respondents’ schools to appointment of teachers from other race groups

	Respondent race group				Total
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	
They will be welcomed	34.9%	31.3%	2.1%	5.2%	73.4%
People will be indifferent to them	2.1%	.5%		1.6%	4.2%
I think they will not feel a sense of belonging at school	3.6%	2.1%		.5%	6.3%
They may experience racial confrontations	5.2%	.5%			5.7%
They will be neutral	3.1%	6.3%	.5%	.5%	10.4%
Total	49.0%	40.6%	2.6%	7.8%	100.0%

The majority of teachers in each of the race groups (71.2% Africans, 77% Indians, 80.7% coloureds and 66.6% whites) felt that teachers of other races will be welcomed at their schools. The data elicited in the above table can be triangulated with qualitative responses obtained in the survey as well as from the interviews.

There have been some positive developments at schools where desegregation among teachers have occurred. One such experience was cited by an African teacher¹⁷⁴ employed at former Indian school:

“They welcomed me, made me feel at home. They know and understand my culture and that is because they have an African teacher who came

¹⁷⁴ This is in terms of the Norms and Standards for Language Policy in Public Schools (1997:31-32).

before me. They all promised to help with any difficulties I may come across”

A white respondent in a predominantly African school had a similar experience:

“I work in a department where I am the only white and when I started teaching at this particular school I was welcomed with open arms and made to feel part of the department. I have never been affected by racism in my school.”

It is evident from the above that knowledge and understanding of the culture of others was appreciated and led to a sense of well being. It also fostered collegiality and may even enhance teacher performance.

The following responses were elicited from the interviewees and were more detailed. These were teachers who were employed at schools that were not historically designated to their race group. Here, they described the responses they received from fellow teachers on their appointments:

These responses were varied. Joyce¹⁷⁵ was appointed principal and this was the response she received from her colleagues:

“I think that because I worked with them as a deputy principal, it was to my advantage. It did at some stage lead to unpleasantness because when I was deputy principal the then principal wanted to know why the staff always came to me for anything and why they didn’t go to him... I acted principal for a year before the appointment so it was an easy transition.”

¹⁷⁵ Joyce is a white female teacher employed at a former African school.

Karen¹⁷⁶ described the response to her in the following way:

“It was like any other school at which I had taught previously. You are initially involved with those in your department only and with those whom you meet during breaks and with whom you sit in the staff room and then your involvement gradually extends to the rest of the staff. As in any other place, there are those whom you just greet because they do not want anything more, but it has nothing to do with race. It has to do with personality clashes. You find this in any community.”

While the above responses were positive, in the cases cited below, it was clear that teachers were not always welcomed. The response that Ina¹⁷⁷ received was due largely to the resentment that teachers harboured as a result of failed application for the same promotion post:

“Obviously when you go to a school on a promotion and you’ve been appointed and one of the existing staff was not, they tend to not want you at the school but other than that I was received well by everyone else.”

Chander¹⁷⁸ states:

“My colleagues responded positively although some may have hidden their feelings not knowing what to expect of an Indian teacher.”

Deshni¹⁷⁹ did not have a very warm response:

¹⁷⁶ Karen is a white female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

¹⁷⁷ Ina is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁷⁸ Chander is an Indian male teacher employed at a former African school.

¹⁷⁹ Deshni is an Indian female teacher employed at a former African school.

“The principal and deputy seemed polite initially. The rest of the staff looked at me very suspiciously.”

Ella¹⁸⁰ felt welcome, but only by certain teachers:

“I was received warmly at school. The principal and deputy principal introduced me to the staff and at assembly. Initially, some teachers did not really talk to me. They either did not have the time or other reasons. But gradually one gets to know others.”

Harriet¹⁸¹ had, by far, the most extreme experience from all the interviewees:

“I must admit that the colleagues I work with in my department are very accommodating and helpful and really made me feel at ease. However, to the rest of the staff I was like a non-entity. I was treated like someone picked off the streets to come and teach there as though I had no experience, as though I’m not equipped enough or adequate enough to fit in the school community and I also find that I didn’t get much support from management. It’s like you’re thrown down the deep end and you must swim. Because even though I had teaching experience every school has its own dynamics and I really felt I didn’t get the support I would have been given in a school in the community I come from.”

Harriet felt insignificant at her school:

“It’s like you’re just a number in the school. I didn’t really feel like I made a difference to the staff. It was like I was just there. I just feel that

¹⁸⁰ Ella is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁸¹ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

I was appointed and needed to do my duty and that was it. I didn't feel like I made a contribution to the school."

These teachers who have, either voluntarily or otherwise, assumed posts at schools not previously designated to their race group, should have been lauded. Instead, the reception accorded to them was tentative at best and openly indifferent at worst.

4.27 Producing pedagogic spaces: Response from learners

The response of learners to teachers contributes to the production of a space that is either conducive or not to teaching practice. These responses appear to be largely positive. However, there are a few exceptions.

Varsha's¹⁸² learners appeared to be grateful to her for her choice of methodology:

"The learners seemed happy with my instructional design. I taught rules and examples and did a lot of explanation. The learners told me that their previous teachers did not teach grammatical rules and therefore they couldn't understand many sections in language. I also ensured that at the beginning of each lesson, I put up the vocabulary on the board and explained difficult concepts. I think that the learners appreciated me."

Varsha took her role as professional very seriously and chose a methodology that she considered appropriate for her learners' needs. Freire (2003:82) remarks that "teachers who fail to take their teaching practice seriously, who teach poorly, or who teach something they know poorly, who do not fight for

¹⁸² Varsha is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

the material conditions required for their teaching practice, deprive themselves of the wherewithal to cooperate in the formation of the intellectual discipline of the students.” Considering the move to a school not historically designated to her race group, Varsha felt an affirmation of her value as a teacher and she was filled with enthusiasm and set about to forge a space within the classroom which led to her being valued and appreciated by the learners. While she produced and encountered a productive space within the confines of her classroom, she witnessed the double standards practiced by the head of the school in the differing treatment meted out to teachers by virtue of their race.¹⁸³ On the one hand, Varsha attempts to create the kind of spaces envisaged as the ideal in the context of a new South Africa, and on the other she has to be exposed to racist practices. These are contradictory spaces within a single institution.

While Freire (2003) identifies the aforementioned as necessary characteristics of a teacher, the National Curriculum Statement visualizes teachers who are qualified, competent, dedicated and caring. They should be able to fulfill the various roles outlined in Norms and Standards for Educators.¹⁸⁴ These include being mediators of learning, interpreters and designers of learning programmes and materials, leaders, administrators and managers, scholars, researchers and lifelong learners, community members, citizens and pastors, assessors , and subject specialists” (Department of Education, 2003:5).

Other expectations of teachers include being able to adjust teaching strategies to match the developmental stages of learners, meet the knowledge requirements of the particular learning area and cater for cultural, gender, ethnic, language

¹⁸³ This was evident from the experience that Varsha had which is described in section 4.22.

¹⁸⁴ This refers to National Policy (1996) which describes the roles, their associated applied competences and qualifications for the development of teachers.

and other differences among learners. Teachers are also responsible for creating a learning environment in which learners develop strong internal discipline, challenge stereotypes about language, race, gender, ethnicity, geographic location and culture. In addition, they are expected to construct an atmosphere which is democratic but disciplined and which is sensitive to culture, race and gender differences as well as disabilities (Department of Education, 2000 e: 49-50).

The kind of learner that is envisaged is one who is imbued with values and act in the interests of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity and social justice as promoted in the Constitution (Department of Education, 2003:5). In accordance with this, Varsha¹⁸⁵ forges a new space in her classroom, one that learners find enabling and meaningful. As a consequence of her experience as a teacher, she possesses the necessary confidence to do things in a way that was different to previous practices to which learners were exposed.

Aaron,¹⁸⁶ Chander¹⁸⁷ and Ina¹⁸⁸ attribute their success with learners to their being well disciplined, respectful, positive and attentive.

“The school has disciplined children. They respect me like all other teachers. Not only children that I teach but all the children from Grade R to 7.”¹⁸⁹

In addition to learner discipline and the ability to discipline learners, one of the things identified by Lethoko (2002:239) that typify teacher professional culture

¹⁸⁵ Varsha is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁸⁶ Aaron is an African male teacher employed at a former Indian school.

¹⁸⁷ Chander is an Indian male teacher employed at a former African school.

¹⁸⁸ Ina is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁸⁹ This comment was made by Aaron.

is the teachers' self-discipline. Many of the above teachers have highlighted the importance of learner discipline. Disruptive behaviour in the classroom may be viewed as an attempt to challenge the power of others and to take power back. Power becomes the focus of the struggle within the context of the classroom, but it is not unrelated to factors beyond the bounds of the classroom. The classroom is a particular kind of social context. It is a space produced jointly by teachers and learners. In this space, the teacher has to exercise his/ her power in such a way that discipline is achieved. This is done to ensure conformity to the established rules (Cohen and Manion, 1992:232). Chander¹⁹⁰ and Ina¹⁹¹ describe the response of their learners as follows respectively:

“Learners respond positively and are attentive in class. However, the ability to perform is not very encouraging.”

“My relationship with learners is I’m friendly with you but I’m not your friend. That’s how it is. It’s purely a teacher-learner relationship. Other than that I have no problems. I have no discipline problems with them. I have no problems with them when it comes to my day to day work so I can say they are responding well to me.”

The latter response showed the need for the teacher to be viewed as an adult. This is important since teachers are professionally and legally responsible for what goes on in the classroom (Olsen and Cooper, 2004:102).

Ella¹⁹² and Harriet,¹⁹³ respectively, described their unconditional acceptance by the learners:

¹⁹⁰ Chander is an Indian male teacher employed at a former African school.

¹⁹¹ Ina is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁹² Ella is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

¹⁹³ Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

“I was accepted unconditionally by the learners. They don’t seem to mind if teachers are from any race group.”

“One thing I admire about learners is they are really exposed to this multicultural integration and you find that they respond to each other so well. They can tease about race and it doesn’t become hostile when they do. They joke about each other’s race and they accept and treat all teachers the same. It doesn’t matter whether you are white or black or whatever so we’re all treated the same. The learners have accepted that we’re all just teachers or human beings. They don’t have any issues about a person of another race teaching them.”

Karen¹⁹⁴ described the learners’ response to her:

“The learners accepted me as if I was one of them. We laugh together during joyous times and cried together when a loved one passed away, or when things went wrong. There are learners who still keep in touch with me via SMS, or visit me at home to keep me informed about progress in their lives. If we meet in the street or at their places of work, we have a chat about how they are doing.”

Joyce¹⁹⁵ says the following about the learners’ response to her:

“I’ve been here so long. They know they have a white woman principal and discipline-wise they are not really a problem. Most schools have discipline problems with modern children. Maybe we have even less than the majority of schools. But I think life is very much easier for me

¹⁹⁴ Karen is a white female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

¹⁹⁵ Joyce is a white female teacher employed at a former African school.

in the sense that others can be accused of racism. Having all black learners makes it a whole lot easier.”

The importance attributed to good discipline on the part of learners is a theme that pervades most responses. This seems a significant prerequisite for a productive pedagogic space.

In contrast to the way learners received their teachers in the instances cited above, Deshni¹⁹⁶ described her learners as “very arrogant”. She also said:

“The fact is that staff found it difficult to accept me because of my being Indian. How were they expected to teach their learners otherwise? Aren’t we supposed to be the role models?”

Learners in this school have modelled their behaviour according to that of their teachers. Their ‘arrogance’ can be construed as a form of resistance to her presence at the school. Modelling, especially in this instance, has important consequences for discipline. Through imitation the learner observes the model’s behaviour, imitates it and makes it his/her own. This can be learnt incidentally, which is a more subtle form of modelling than imitation. The learner observes the model’s behaviour in specific situations and on the basis of these observations makes inferences about the model’s beliefs, attitudes, values and personality. These inferences may affect the child’s behaviour (Cohen and Manion, 1992: 264). Teachers need to be aware that they are under close scrutiny by learners at all times and that their (teachers’) behaviour is a strong influence on learners. Cohen and Manion also cite Rutter (1992: 265) who states that standards of behaviour in school are also set by the behaviour of the

¹⁹⁶ Deshni is an Indian female teacher employed at a former African school.

staff. This will not be restricted to the ways that teachers treat learners, but may also include the ways that staff interacts with one another.¹⁹⁷

The following is another instance in which the response to teachers is negative, from both learners and teachers:

“There are former Indian, white and coloured schools where African teachers are treated like they don’t exist because of their race. They are ill treated by learners and teachers.”¹⁹⁸

Buhle, an African teacher in a predominantly Indian staff, narrates the following incident:

“And you know. One child told me when I was trying to give an instruction, ‘Hey, I was never, ever instructed by a black teacher. What are you telling me? I’m not gonna do it.’ This was an African child.”

The learner concerned resists acceptance of an African teacher. This is an example of black on black racism.

The majority of teachers indicated that learner response has been positive. This enhances the potential of a productive pedagogic space. Some of the factors that contribute to the creation of a positive space are choice of methodology by teachers to which learners are receptive, good discipline on the part of learners, acceptance of teacher’s race and warm relationships between learners and teachers.

¹⁹⁷ Earlier in this chapter (Section 4.26), reference was made to the lukewarm response from teachers to which Deshni was subjected.

¹⁹⁸ This is a response to question 3.14 of the survey questionnaire.

4.28 Response from community

Teacher professionalism requires positive relationships with teachers, learners, principal, parents and community (Lethoko, 2002:239). Teacher conduct is regulated through the compulsory registration of all teachers as members of the South African Council of Educators (SACE). In respect of their conduct towards the parents and community, teachers are required to recognize parents as partners and promote a harmonious relationship with them. Teachers need to acknowledge that the school serves the community and that there will be differing customs, codes and beliefs in the community that must be respected (SACE Act 31 of 2000). The following experiences demonstrated to what extent this is being practiced at schools.

The positive response of the community to Aaron¹⁹⁹ is attributed to the generally good relationship that existed between the principal as leader of the school and the community:

“The principal of the school is a person who respects his staff and also the community. He also treats everyone equally, so the community is doing the same thing to the school and staff. The community is disciplined and respectful. They know and follow all the school rules and are also supportive to the school...They are a loving community. They care very much about their children’s school work. They are always there to help when they are needed and also when they are called for their children’s work. They respect me and know me as their children’s teacher.”

¹⁹⁹ Aaron is an African male teacher employed at a former Indian school.

Chapter Four: Findings: Encountering space

Varsha²⁰⁰ felt that the response she received from the parent community was due to her respectful attitude towards them. *“I gave the parent respect, so I received respect.”*

Karen²⁰¹ also reports that she was treated with respect and warmth by parents:

“In 99.9% of cases, I was treated with respect and friendliness by parents and they are appreciative of what I do for their children. When I do a home visit, not a single parent will allow you to leave without having a cup of tea or a cool drink. In addition, they also give a little something to take away.”

Harriet²⁰² felt that the parents accept her role as a professional:

“I don’t have much contact with the parents but the number of occasions that I do, I find they are a little bit more accommodating or should I say more accepting of you as a teacher. I don’t think the parents have issues with people of colour teaching their children. They treat you like a professional and also acknowledge and appreciate what you do. So that’s a plus at the school.”

Buhle²⁰³ described the varying treatment received from Black and Indian parents:

“You know the Indian parents and learners were happy because I came here as a guidance teacher but the black parents and learners were not

²⁰⁰ Varsha is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

²⁰¹ Karen is a white female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

²⁰² Harriet is a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school.

²⁰³ Buhle is an African female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

happy at all. There was a time they wrote a memorandum to the principal and said that they don't want a black teacher. They've taken their children to an Indian school because they wanted their children to learn and I'm here to drop the standard. Really, they were not happy at all... I think this thing was coming from the parents because they think that as an African teacher, when you are the only one in a school like..., you are here to drop standards... Indian parents have no problem. You know some of the parents when they were looking at my lessons they phoned the principal to find out about me. Even today, when I'm walking about in town, they ask me, 'Are you still at...? You know, my son/daughter will be graduating through your guidance.'"

This is another example of the stereotyping of African teachers as inadequate. This stereotype of African teachers was prevalent among the African parents. In contrast, Buhle²⁰⁴ appeared to be accepted by Indian parents who appreciated her contribution to their children's welfare. She went on to narrate the following incident that serves to underline the negative attitude of African parents towards her:

"Black parents discriminate. Once, I noticed a learner with hair extensions and I cut these. The parent phoned the school immediately. She wrote a letter to the principal and complained about my behaviour. She came here and we were able to sort out the problem. If you do anything as a black teacher, the black parents will come and fight with you but if you do anything as an Indian teacher, they just remain quiet. I think black parents don't like us to be here."

²⁰⁴ Buhle is an African female teacher employed at a former Indian school.

Ella also explains the preference expressed by parents for teachers of a particular race.²⁰⁵

“Some parents prefer white teachers. This is prevalent among Indian parents who believe that their children will receive a higher quality of education. However, management does not encourage this.”

The hierarchical ordering of races in terms of their perceived superiority is a belief that has been internalized by parts of the community. Both the African and Indian parents in question appeared to believe that teachers from their own race groups were inadequate to meet their children’s educational needs. This can be attributed partly to the social conditioning of the apartheid era.

Mutual respect between teachers and parents, acceptance of the teacher’s race, concern shown by parents for their children’s education and appreciation and acknowledgement of the teacher’s role, contribute to the fostering of a healthy pedagogic space. In addition, acceptance by the parent community affirms the teachers’ professional identity. In instances where teachers do not feel accepted, the participants cite race as the reason.

4.29 Appointment of teachers: Protecting the territory

Teachers in the survey highlighted the ways in which teachers are appointed as an obstacle to desegregation. These are suggestive of the need by each group to continue to dominate and (mis) appropriate their spaces. While institutional racism is usually covert and hidden (Haralambos and Holborn, 2005: 185), the manifestation of this type of racism in the appointment of teachers has become

²⁰⁵ Ella is an Indian female teacher employed at a former white school.

noticeable as is evident in the following responses from the survey questionnaire:²⁰⁶

“Indian schools have remained predominantly Indian with just a few black teachers for IsiZulu. The white schools have taken on both Indian and black teachers. But black schools have very few teachers of other race groups.”

“Whites tend to appoint few Africans because they feel if more Africans are appointed, teaching and learning will not be up to standard.”

“White schools do not accept Black teachers.”

“Whites do not want blacks to teach in their schools. Indians make sure that an Indian is employed at their school. The black community gets angry because this is the country of their birth and they fought for their freedom.”

“The former white schools very rarely, if ever, consider taking on Indian teachers. The former African schools show dislike for Indian teachers.”

“African teachers are rarely appointed to other race schools.”

“I was in excess at former Indian school. I was appointed at former African school. I was considered a threat to the “comfort-zone” of teachers. In the interest of my safety, the principal thought it best to send me to a former Indian school.”

²⁰⁶ These are responses to the survey questionnaire in which respondents are asked to comment on critical experiences (3.14) and question 3.2 which asks whether respondents think that desegregation has occurred successfully in South African schools.

Many respondents highlighted the role of school governing bodies in the appointment of teachers. According to some respondents, the minimal extent to which desegregation has occurred can be attributed to principals and to school governing bodies who represent the views of the parent community. They feel that the school governing bodies use their powers to resist and prevent change:²⁰⁷

“Governing bodies are given too much power in selection of teachers; hence the status quo is maintained.”

“The mindset of governing bodies ... has not evolved to accept desegregation and transformation. Parents are also of the view that former white schools want to retain the status quo.”

“Principals resist desegregation.”

“Many heads and governing bodies are worried about a drop in standards.”

The lack of racial representivity on school governing bodies (SGBs) is a part of the problem. “SGBs must reflect the learner demographics. This is not the case in many schools. Black parents are still made to feel inferior... this perception is often foisted onto black parents by domineering Indian and white parents who still want to claim territorial rights over public schools” (Vandeyar, 2002:102). School governing bodies exercise a great deal of power in either promoting or resisting desegregation.

²⁰⁷ This was evident from the responses elicited through the survey questionnaire.

This respondent²⁰⁸ offers advice on how to promote desegregation:

“In some schools the idea of the rainbow nation applies. When the schools are interviewing teachers for employment, all races are involved and even in employing those teachers, they try to mix all races at schools.”

School governing bodies are responsible for the selection and recommendation of appointment of teachers at schools and they have enormous power to either facilitate or resist desegregation.

4.30 Conclusion

In this chapter, it was argued that desegregation can be meaningfully analysed through a selective use of a theory of space and this was confirmed by teachers' views and experiences of desegregation. A study of desegregation is grounded in, and predicated on, a study of segregation and it therefore represents a change in the way space is perceived, conceived and lived as was evident in each of the sections presented in this chapter.

This chapter commenced with the feasibility study which was a response to critical question one and which analysed the movement of teachers to schools other than those historically limited to their own race group. This represented the first layer of the research. The main finding was that the majority of teachers are still employed at schools historically designated to them. Teacher movement was minimal and, where it has occurred, as described by four Indian and African teachers who were interviewed and who are employed at former white schools, there were experiences of alienation from the majority group

²⁰⁸ This is a response to the survey questionnaire.

who felt a violation of their space. In addition, teachers felt marginalised, and being ‘displaced’ from one school to another was considered stressful. The feasibility study proved to be a useful way to explore the field. It indicated the contour of the data and the need to further explore the views and experiences of teachers. In addition, it drove the rest of the research, and in particular, it provided some substantiation of the view that desegregation may be analysed using a spatial perspective.

Section two constituted an introduction to the participants in the second and third layers of the study and represents a response to critical questions two²⁰⁹ and three.²¹⁰ It outlined the biographical and occupational data of the two hundred survey questionnaire respondents, and revealed that race played a crucial role in teachers’ lives, and that these are reinforced in space.

The third section presented the views of teachers towards desegregation. It yielded data in respect of the ways in which desegregation was defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a democratic South Africa. The definitions of ‘desegregation’ and ‘integration’ were to a large extent expressed in spatial terms. Desegregation was viewed in terms of the breaking of barriers that have separated people to achieve a sharing of space in which people work and live together, and where people eventually feel a sense of belonging. There was also a feeling that change will occur over a period of time. The need for collegiality, teamwork and racial harmony among teachers were emphasised. The prevalence of resegregation was attributed to preference for one’s own race, common interests and a sense of comfort which is derived from being with one’s own race group.

²⁰⁹ How is the concept *desegregation* defined, understood and managed by teachers in the context of a South African democracy

²¹⁰ What are the experiences of teachers who are employed at KZN public schools which were historically not designated to their racial group?

The fourth section explored the attitudes of teachers towards teaching in each of the contexts, namely former African, Indian, coloured and white schools. Only a minimal percentage of respondents indicated that they were disagreeable to teaching in each of the contexts. The responses of the interviewees to being appointed at schools other than those historically allocated to their race, ranged from excitement to apprehension. Some of the obstacles to desegregation are the fear of crime, inaccessibility, racism and the challenges posed by language.

The final section studied the pedagogic spaces that are produced as a result of interaction between teachers and learners. It also looked at the response of teachers, the community and school governing bodies to the appointment of teachers of different races. Teacher responses were varied with the majority indicating that colleagues at their schools would welcome desegregation in respect of the teacher component. The responses obtained from actual experiences of teachers were also varied, and ranged from being welcomed to being treated with indifference and suspicion. In the majority of cases, learner responses to teachers were positive. The role of school governing bodies is significant in promoting desegregation. However, in the view of the respondents, there are deliberate attempts on the part of school governing bodies to resist desegregation.

The final chapter concludes the study with a summary of the main arguments presented in the thesis and the most significant insights gained from the methodology and data analysis phases. It reflects on the themes of teacher identity in desegregated spaces, identity-in-separation, territorialism and a multi-method transdisciplinary approach. This dissertation ends with the challenge of further openings, possibilities and promises of spatial perspectives to provide an alternative understanding of teacher desegregation.

CHAPTER 5

Significance: Conclusions and openings²¹¹

5.1 Introduction

This chapter commences with a brief summary of the study by referring to the main arguments presented and to each of the three layers of data collected and to the data that was yielded. Selected insights that have emerged from both the methodology and from the research data will be highlighted, the first of which relates to teacher identity. While this study did not explicitly seek to research teacher identity, the experiences within desegregated spaces that teachers chose to highlight provided insights into how they view themselves and how others view them. In the South African context, identities have been constructed by racism and apartheid (Moletsane, 1999:36), hence it is through this lens that South Africans view their world. This identity is not fixed but is constantly shifting in the light of developments that take place within and beyond the context of education. This glimpse into teacher identity is an attempt to obtain a partial understanding of how identity is shaped by, and shapes, the desegregated spaces occupied by teachers.

The second insight pertains to the practice of resegregation. This was a phenomenon that was observed and experienced by the majority of teachers in the study. While teachers could not easily transcend racial divides during the apartheid era and forge relationships with all, the era of democracy, equality and freedom of association sees the persistence of the practice of (re)segregation.

²¹¹ This draws its inspiration from Lefebvre's (1991) book "The Production of Space".

Thirdly, the effect of power on space in the form of territorialism is analysed, as well as how the practices of school governing bodies that are empowered to employ teachers, resist change and thereby render school spaces impenetrable to teachers of different races.

The fourth insight arose from the methodology. A review and reflection on the combined use of quantitative and qualitative methods, as well as the transdisciplinary approach which allows access to other disciplines all of which contributed to a deeper understanding of teacher desegregation, is presented.

5.2 Summary of the study

A summary of the thesis is presented by highlighting the main thrust of the arguments presented throughout the study and the three layers of the research process.

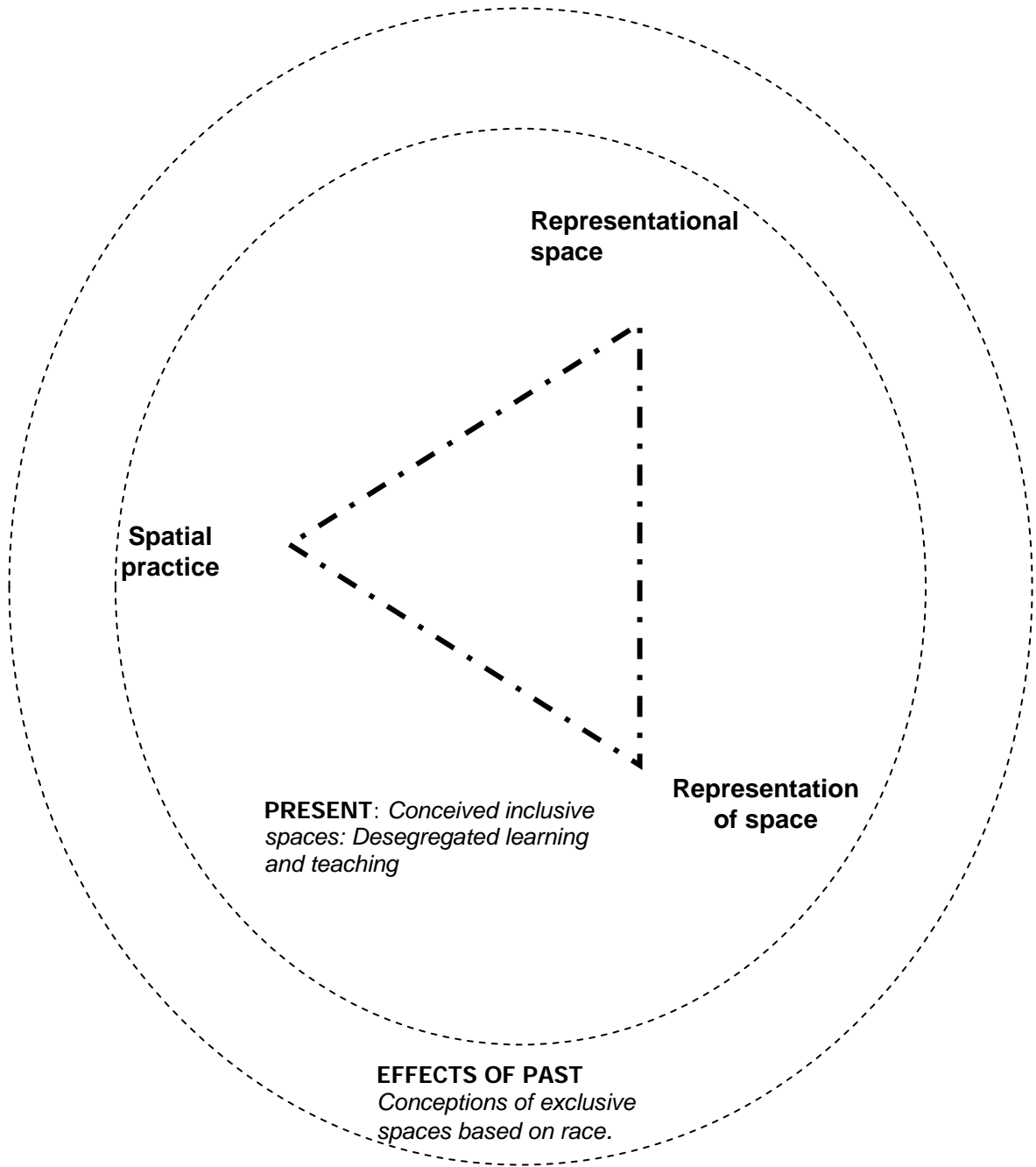
At the commencement of the study, it was suggested that teacher desegregation may not necessarily have or occurred to the extent or in the way envisaged in the Constitution of South Africa. South Africa's history of racial division in almost every facet of life, e.g. housing, schooling, freedom of movement and association with others has influenced "the spatial and social organisation of society" and the "geographical landscape... (physical, social and economic)" (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994:20) of the country. Through the enactment of the Group Areas Act of 1950, described as a "territorial system", there "was a legal transposition of inequality onto geographical space" (Storey, 2001:149). While the Group Areas Act impacted on the material spaces, places where people lived, the Population Registration Act historically marked bodies in terms of race. The combined effect of both these legislations, influenced "behaviour patterns, conditioning – what are sometimes called stereotypes" as

well the space within which the individual “situates his body” (Lefebvre, 1991:213). This history and the current conceived ideals of the country, as espoused in the Constitution, formed the broad framework against which the unfolding of teacher desegregation in KwaZulu-Natal, one of the provinces of the country, was studied.

A theory of space was used to provide an alternate way of understanding teacher desegregation. While Lefebvre (1991:66-67) supports the idea that space should be allowed “free rein” and should not be shackled down by preconceived theoretical ideas, an analysis of Lefebvre’s spatial triad is nonetheless presented as a theoretical framework. The three key concepts discussed by Lefebvre (1991:38-39) are spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces (or perceived, conceived and lived spaces respectively). Lefebvre believes that in order to obtain an understanding of the workings of space, space should not be fragmented, but one should instead be open to a transdisciplinary approach (Lefebvre, 1991). These key concepts are represented in Figure 5.1. The effects of the past on the present conceptions of space, spatial practice and representational space are further explained.

Lefebvre has pointed to the long-lasting effects of the past. Spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces that may be analysed at a particular historical moment, are influenced by the past. The present Constitution of South Africa upholds basic values and democratic rights, as opposed to the divisive legislation and practices that typified apartheid. While teachers in the study commented on some positive changes that have taken place, there are certain practices from the past that persist and continue to find expression in the day-to-day experiences of teachers.

Figure 5.1: Lefebvre's triad of space and the effect of the past²¹²



This may be attributed to the effects of history on space which are difficult to erase. This assertion is supported by Lefebvre (1991:165) who does not

²¹² This figure has been adapted from Grönlund (1999:7) who prefers the use of a circle instead of a triangle because the “ ‘corners’ ...get a more floating, ever shifting character”.

underestimate the difficulties of overcoming the past. He states that “no space ever vanishes utterly” and that “(t)he past leaves its traces; time has its own script” (Lefebvre. 1991:37).

The future of desegregation and the promise of integration may be experienced in what Evans-Pritchard (2005:29) refers to as “structural time” which refers to larger periods of time because it relates to changes that are necessary in the relationship of social groups. While there may be a tendency to believe that time is dynamic and may therefore hold the solution to issues related to desegregation, the reality is much more complex since time “is concealed in space” (Lefebvre, 1991:95-96).

The methodology was driven by some of the principles associated with a humanistic-sociological approach one of which is the importance of focusing on the subjective experiences of teachers. The ‘layered’ nature of social reality (Berger, 1985:34-36) was the motivation for the three layers of the research process, starting from the general and closing in on the particular. The first layer constituted a feasibility study that addressed the extent to which desegregation has occurred within the province in which all teachers in public schools were taken into consideration. The feasibility study also included a brief analysis of the experiences of four teachers who had moved to former white schools. This feasibility study provided the contour of the data, indicated the need to probe teachers’ views and experiences of desegregation more deeply, and confirmed the suitability of the use of a theory of space as a means to analyse desegregation. The second layer explored the views and experiences of two hundred teachers, while the third layer closed in on the direct and firsthand experiences of teachers who are employed at schools historically not designated to their race. The data was collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods in a complementary way.

The feasibility study that formed the first layer of the research, analysed the movement of teachers to schools other than those historically limited to their own race group. The main finding was that the majority of teachers are still employed at schools historically designated to them. In instances where teacher desegregation has occurred, there were experiences of alienation from the majority group who felt a violation of their space. In addition, teachers felt marginalised and ‘displaced’. The feasibility study indicated the contour of the data, the need to further explore the views and experiences of teachers and the appropriateness of a spatial perspective in the study of desegregation. In retrospect, the relationship between the feasibility study and that of the rest of the study indicated that findings were “markedly different but strikingly similar”.²¹³ The commonness “is a matter of ‘family resemblances’²¹⁴ that assert deep connections despite differences and without obliterating the distinctive qualities that are the basis for the value and identity” of each participant (Gardiner, 2006:13).²¹⁵

The second layer of the research analysed the ways in which desegregation is defined, understood and managed in the context of a democratic South Africa, and these are to a large extent expressed in spatial terms. Desegregation is viewed in terms of the breaking of barriers that have separated people to achieve a sharing of space in which people work and live together, and where people eventually feel a sense of belonging. Some of the obstacles to desegregation are the fear of crime, inaccessibility of schools, racism and the challenges posed by language. The prevalence of resegregation was attributed by the respondents to preference for one’s own race, common interests and a

²¹³ Darwin’s discovery on the Galapagos archipelago in 1835, that animal life on each island was similar in most respects led to explain this phenomenon in the following way: animal life on these islands was “markedly different but strikingly similar” (Gardiner, 2006:13).

²¹⁴ This term is used by Wittgenstein to describe the connectedness of groups, clusters and even categories (cited in Gardiner, 2006:13).

²¹⁵ This is an unpublished study of a project, Education 2000 Plus of the impact on schools of education policy since 1994.

sense of comfort which is derived from being with one's own race group.

The third layer of the study examined the pedagogic spaces that are produced as a result of interaction between teachers and learners. In the majority of cases, learner responses to teachers were positive. Teacher responses were varied with the majority indicating that colleagues at their schools would welcome desegregation in respect of the teacher component. The responses obtained from actual experiences of teachers were also varied, and ranged from being welcomed to being treated with indifference and suspicion. School governing bodies play a critical role in promoting desegregation, but at this level there are territorial attempts to resist desegregation as indicated by the respondents.

5.3 Teacher identity in desegregated spaces

Segregation is a spatial expression of racism in South Africa. Desegregation, which is obviously premised on the undesirability of segregation, is the process of eradicating segregation or of undoing what Delaney (2001:60) refers to as a "spatial violation". School spaces as places of employment for teachers are also subject to the process of desegregation. The intention was to understand teacher identity within desegregated spaces as experienced in the data since the influence of the context within which teachers find themselves has an effect on identity (Samuel, 2003:58; Soudien, 2003:273). This was done by analysing the ways in which teachers perceive the contexts or material spaces in the form of their schools and the "trivialised spaces of everyday life" (Lefebvre, 1991:288), the effect of the conception of these spaces as being appropriate locations for education as described in policy, and the ways in which these spaces are "lived" (Lefebvre, 1991:41). This mode of analysis will be explained before proceeding to explore its effects on teacher identity.

The perception of professional spaces is what Soja (1997:77) refers to as “real” space that has its origins in Lefebvre’s (1991:288) idea of spatial practice. This encompasses what Lefebvre (1991:288) refers to as the “trivialized spaces” of everyday life. This space is produced through history and changing geographies (Soja, 1997:77). The ways in which teachers perceive school spaces as either “desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden” (Lefebvre, 1991:288) will influence the way they respond within these spaces. In this study it was evident that the conception of spaces as desegregated places of employment was to a large extent shaped and produced by those with the power to do so. This space was referred to by Soja (1997) as the space of the imagination. This therefore incorporates ideas and thoughts about pedagogic spaces by, for example, policymakers, teacher unions and government. The ways in which teachers ‘live’ or negotiate the contradictions and tensions between ‘real’ and ‘imagined’ spaces in their everyday practices will provide insights into teacher identity.

The conceived pedagogic spaces - as envisaged by various laws and policies currently in effect - formed the contextual backdrop of this study. While these laws and policies were expected to shape practice and realities, the effects of history cannot be ignored. That the effects of history cannot be obliterated is supported by Lefebvre (1991:165) who declares that no space “ever vanishes utterly”. In other words, the conception of what constituted appropriate pedagogic spaces during the repressive apartheid era still leaves its traces on current practices.

The Constitution of South Africa, considered to be the highest law of the land, broadly determines the present conception of pedagogic spaces. Based on the principles and values of the Constitution, other policy developments also influence the conception of pedagogic spaces. The National Curriculum

Statement envisages teachers to be competent, dedicated and caring. They are, among others, expected to be mediators of learning, leaders, administrators and managers, lifelong learners, pastors, assessors and subject specialists. Learners are envisaged as being imbued with values and who show respect for democracy, equality, human dignity and social justice (Department of Education, 2003:5). Teachers are expected to create conducive learning environments that are democratic, disciplined, sensitive to culture, race and gender differences (Department of Education, 2000 a:49-50). In addition, eleven languages are accorded the status of being 'official'. These pedagogic spaces are the imagined and thought about spaces representative of the aspiration of the South African Constitution that forms the contextual backdrop of the research.

One needs to ask how these conceptions, ideas or thoughts about space influence teacher identity, particularly the identity of those who are employed at schools that were historically unattainable places of employment and teacher practice. Entry into these new and previously unknown pedagogic spaces produced varying responses among the participants, depending on the ways in which they interpreted and understood the conceptions of space. The euphoria associated with the advent of democracy in South Africa is experienced by some of the teachers. For others, race is disregarded, while others found the transition more difficult because of a combination of issues like their own uncertainties, race, racism and language. This reflects how teachers understand and act on their "value commitments, personal backgrounds and professional interests in the context of change demand" (Jansen, 2003:119). For many of the teachers in the study, racism is a dehumanizing reality with which they have to contend and to which they respond differently. Soudien (2003:282) observes that "the systematic experience of living as a black or as a white person in South Africa conditions and mediates much of the professional imperatives that

teachers have to work with.” Language, conceived of as an important right and resource in the Constitution, is in terms of the realities experienced by teachers viewed as a problem, particularly by those who teach at former African schools where the dominant language is IsiZulu. In addition, there is also a legacy of disregard for previously marginalized African languages. These are challenges for which teachers seem ill-prepared. However, the ability to speak IsiZulu in the context of former African schools enhanced the degree to which teachers were able to insert themselves into these spaces.

The idealised conceptions of space described in policy statements are tempered by the realities that prevail at schools and how teachers perceive schools. Former African schools are perceived to be places to be feared because of crime and violence, and former white schools are associated with racism. Pain (2000:369-372) observes that there is also a general tendency to fear stereotypical ‘others’ who are marked out by, for example, their colour. Teachers in the study experienced real fears during teacher strike action, or when they were victims of crime or intimidation. The expectations of teachers under these types of conditions impact on the “emotional basis” (Jansen, 2003:119) for teacher identity. Teachers are expected to cope and survive under these kinds of pressures.

How teachers gained entry into these previously impenetrable spaces provides an insight into the feelings of apprehension, fear, uncertainty, or on the other hand the joys of seeking better opportunities through promotion. While in terms of the conception of space all places should be equally accessible and attainable for all irrespective of race, not all teachers viewed their entries into space in this imagined way. For some, employment at schools provided the opportunity for promotion for others it was a chance for employment, and others were forced to accept positions as a result of the policy of teacher

rationalisation. For most of the teachers, racial identities were prominent within desegregated schools. There were instances where learners or parents objected to teachers of a particular race. In these cases, it is obvious that teachers' racial identities supersede that of their position as a professional teacher in the eyes of parents and the learners concerned. In most cases, however, learners accepted teachers with ease. In terms of the role of the teacher in the implementation of policy, Carrim (2003:314) observes:

“Educators²¹⁶ are expected to ‘reproduce’, perpetuate and foster among the learners the vision of the state and to meet the output expectations the whole of society...have of them...(E)ducators become...positioned as reproducers or purveyors of human rights, citizenship and democracy. Ironically, however, the human rights of ‘educators’ themselves seem to receive little or no attention. ‘Educators’ are not viewed explicitly as subject of human rights, that is as people who are in need of human rights protections themselves”.

This is evident in the ‘real’ spaces of the schools at which teachers are employed. How teachers ‘live’ or negotiate the tensions and contradictions between what is experienced as ‘real’ and what is imagined in the ‘conceived’ spaces of a new South Africa, vary. There are those who continue to occupy the position of outsiders at schools; some choose marginality and use it creatively to offer resistance; others are ejected from these spaces or are agents of the transformation of spaces; while others are absorbed into, and embraced by, the pre-existing spaces which appear to be permeable. In the last instance, teachers became part of the process of production of real spaces that are allied to the imagined spaces of the country.

²¹⁶ The term ‘educator’ is used to “indicate the professional and worker characteristics of teachers” (Carrim, 2003:313).

Some teachers are easily accepted into previously forbidden spaces. There are those who succeed in counteracting their marginality and alienation through the learning of others' culture and language, and others join the staff at social gatherings which foster better inter-relationships. For others, the stress caused by crime and violence led to complete obliteration of their professional identities as they had to either apply to be medically boarded from the profession, or leave the school out of fear. There are also remarkable instances when teachers use their positions in the margins to offer resistance to subjugation by voicing their objection to the ways in which they were treated. Soudien (2003:273) acknowledges the significance of the exercising of choice insofar as teachers decide what it is they will accept or not. Teachers' professional identity in the pedagogic space of the classroom where they are in a position of power and where they have created a space for inclusion as it is conceived in the Constitution, differs from the identity they have when interacting with other teachers. Within the confines of the classroom, racial identities are fairly passive and professional identities are affirmed, whereas racial identities are foregrounded and heightened outside of it, for example, in the staffroom in the company of colleagues where material space and place get contested. It is evident that identity is influenced and shaped by internal and subjective factors, as well as external factors, for example on the judgment of others. Their professional identities within the classroom when interacting with learners and when in the staff room with teachers, are diametrically opposed. This may be attributed to the tensions between the history and the present, and teachers have to straddle widely differing spaces simultaneously.

5.4 Identity-in-separation²¹⁷

One of the insidious and sometimes overt ways in which racism manifests itself is through voluntary - or through what may erroneously be construed as spontaneous - resegregation. The notion of spontaneous or natural resegregation of people into racially identifiable groups clearly demonstrates the negation of race as a social construct in the views of the teachers studied.

That racial identity among teachers is persistent and active is evident in the way teachers resegregate. There appears to be no doubt that teachers derive a sense of comfort, support and security from similarity. However, no questions are raised about why this should be the case and why race should be the determining factor and not, for example, gender or class. The idea of identity-in-separation is so deeply internalised that this is unwittingly perpetuated through the continued production of divided spaces. In order to obtain a better understanding of this phenomenon, it became necessary to tread within the boundaries of the field of social psychology and the views expressed within this discipline about the grouping of people (Myers, 2005; Michener et al, 2004).

Grouping together is a spatial and psychological affirmation of the human need to gravitate towards a group. While participants in the study were at pains to explain the human or natural need to group, there was a silence regarding why this occurred on racial lines. This re-grouping is indicative of racial alliances and may be viewed as a mutation of segregation. Resegregation has as much potential as segregation to alienate people. This phenomenon needs to be more thoroughly interrogated if it is to be understood, challenged or resisted.

²¹⁷ This term is used by Shutte (1994:114).

Resegregation is a spatial response to the power of similarity and at the same time, the power of difference. By succumbing to the power inherent in a sense of similarity, one but inevitably affirms difference. Resegregation among teachers, as observed by the participants, is based on race and is especially evident in interaction in staff rooms, which is the “junction point” for teachers. “Abstract space” as described by Lefebvre (1991:56-57), is a highly complex space within which there is an unspoken dialogue. This dialogue constitutes a silent agreement among the actors that there should be no aggression, no violence among them. However, there should also be no transgression within these spaces. Inasmuch as the actors determine the rules of that space, the space too, determines or conditions the behaviour of the individuals or groups. Abstract space takes into account the need for what Lefebvre (1991:56-57) calls “proxemics” which refers to the maintenance of distances among people.

The spaces of resegregation may unwittingly become spaces within which divisions are more deeply entrenched, and differences heightened. It has the potential to continue the production of spaces that have been existence in South Africa under the oppressive white regime against which the marginalized offered strenuous resistance.

The phenomenon of resegregation, instead of being viewed as a negative offshoot of desegregation, may be transformed by those individuals or groups who feel marginalized in their places of employment, into a strategic position from which they as individuals or groups may develop an understanding of perceived and conceived spaces. It can be used to provide a sense of solidarity and power to resist and challenge practices that dehumanize and marginalize, such as territorialism.

5.5 Territorialism

Spatial powers are not external to our lives but part of our everyday worlds and the ways in which we imagine them, in the home, at work and in the neighbourhood (Westwood, 2002:101). Westwood (2002:101) points out that demarcated borders (such as those used during apartheid through the enactment of Group Areas legislation) and “territory are not natural but political and therefore generated and sustained by power relations.” One of the ways in which power in space may be exercised is through territorialism.

The historical designation of schools for the exclusive use of each race group appears to be deeply internalised and entrenched among South Africans, and as an inevitable consequence led to heightening of the ‘inside-outside idea’ (Carmona et al, 2003:98). Any manifestation of territorialism is a strategy by people to defend “themselves both physically and psychologically” (Carmona et al, 2003:98). It is therefore apparent that the strong identification with a particular territory influences people’s behaviour. In apartheid South Africa experiences of territoriality were linked to race. The clear demarcation between ‘us’ and ‘them’ through apartheid is expressed as follows by Soja (1997:87):

‘We’ and ‘they’ were – under apartheid – “dichotomously spatialised and enclosed in an imposed territoriality of apartheid ...and other trappings that emanate from the centre-periphery relation”.

Teachers have identified the mechanism that is intended to democratize participation in education, namely school governing bodies, as being resistant to change. School governing bodies that comprise of teacher, learner and parent stakeholders determine the appointment of teachers. According to some of the participants in the study, the minimal extent to which desegregation has

occurred can, in part, be attributed to principals and to school governing bodies. They feel that the school governing bodies use their powers to resist and prevent change.

The failure on the part of school governing bodies to promote the appointment of teachers of various race groups may stem from a sense of territorialism and an unwillingness to surrender spaces over which they exercise control. This may be motivated by a need to protect an area from infiltration by those who are perceived as outsiders. Most of the teachers in the study are of the view that insider-outsider designation is based on race. In addition to race, admission to outsiders is denied on the basis of racism, fear of dropping of standards through the appointment of African teachers at schools not formerly designated to Africans, and unwillingness to change. This results in the obvious exclusion of those considered undesirable and inhibits employment opportunities for teachers as a result of race.

The influence of an identified space as intended for a particular group and the behaviour of people within that space exert a bi-directional influence on each other. In other words, people's perceptions of space influence their behaviour in space. The historical perceptions that schools 'belong' to or are intended for a particular race continue to manifest itself in the employment of teachers.

5.6 A multi-method transdisciplinary approach

This insight emanated from the methodology phase and arose again during presentation of data phase. Both these phases are closely interrelated. The methodology was driven by the selection of the ways considered best suited to answer each of the critical questions and which was underpinned by a humanistic-sociological perspective with its emphasis on the human as its

central concern. In order to obtain an enhanced understanding of the topic being researched, quantitative and qualitative methods were used. The data was analysed using a spatial perspective. In addition, there was a tendency to delve into other disciplines such as history, geography, social psychology and law to obtain an enhanced understanding of teacher experiences. This trans-disciplinary approach was inevitable since space pervades everything that is related to human endeavour.

At the very outset, there was a need to assess whether this study into teacher desegregation was a feasible one. This was done by ascertaining the extent to which teacher desegregation was realised in the province as well as studying the experiences of a few teachers who had moved to schools other than those historically associated with their own race. This layer may be described as exploratory and provided both a quantitative measure of the extent of desegregation and a qualitative insight into teachers' experiences. It is at this point in the study that the similarities and differences between the feasibility study and the findings of the rest of the research are apparent. This demonstrated the idea of "family resemblances" (Gardiner, 2006:13) cited earlier in this chapter (Section 5.2) that show deep connections despite differences and simultaneously shows the uniqueness of each individual's experience.

Having gained a broad perspective on developments in teacher desegregation within the province, the survey questionnaire sought to provide a closer and more detailed insight into teacher definitions of and views on desegregation. The survey questionnaire required both quantitative and qualitative responses. It also helped to identify themes and ideas that needed further elaboration. The purpose of this layer of the study was for exploration and discovery.

In the third layer towards intensification of data, in which richer data was elicited, interviews with teachers who are employed at schools that are historically not of their own race group were done. This formed the major part of the qualitative dimension. During this layer of the study, direct and personal contact was made with individual teachers. This phase of the study was the most intense and served as confirmation for data which was generated during earlier phases of the research. The quantitative study was useful for the discovery and identification of significant themes which were further explored during the qualitative phase.

During the earlier stages of the study, it was believed that the quantitative and qualitative approaches would separately answer the different critical questions. However, during the data analysis phase, a great deal of overlap in the data obtained by both methods was observed. While a certain degree of commonality was intuitively predicted, the extent thereof was unanticipated. The consequence of this was the presentation of the data as a coherent whole comprising of related themes, all of which adequately address and do not compromise the critical questions. This led to the conclusion that it is neither possible nor advisable to draw “a hard-and-fast distinction between qualitative and quantitative studies. The difference is not absolute; it is one of emphasis...Some investigations could be strengthened by supplementing one approach with the other” (Best and Kahn, 1993:211-212). Since both qualitative and quantitative researchers are concerned about the individual’s point of view (Denzin and Lincoln 1998 a:10), it became evident that the findings from the use of both these approaches complemented each other and served the purpose of triangulation. The qualitative data provided ‘richer, more vital’ (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004:871) and more in-depth details of teacher attitudes and experiences than the quantitative data. The combined use of both these methodologies provided a deeper and broader understanding of the

research area than would otherwise have been obtained if either one had been used exclusively. The quantitative dimension provided the groundwork for further exploration during the qualitative part of the study.

Triangulation of the data was achieved through the use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. In addition to the above, triangulation was achieved by the use of what Janesick (1998:46) calls “interdisciplinary triangulation.” She is of the view that the use of other disciplines such as art, sociology, history dance, architecture may inform the research process. What was originally construed as a weakness of being unable to contain the study to one discipline, with forays into other disciplines such as geography, history, law, and social psychology, ultimately enhanced the understanding of desegregation.

The use of the multi-method, transdisciplinary approach led to an enriched and better-informed understanding of teacher desegregation. It also allowed for triangulation of the data.

5.7 Conclusion...and openings

This study has provided a comprehensive qualitative insight into teacher experiences in spaces previously restricted to them by virtue of race. Related issues, which have emerged from the study, are also deserving of future attention by researchers and are outlined below. In addition, this study concludes with a reminder of what Lefebvre considers to be the real purpose of a revolution in spatial terms.

Firstly, this study is limited to one of the nine provinces. This subject may be researched in other provinces to ascertain in what respects similarities and differences with respect to teacher desegregation may exist.

Secondly, the issue of teacher identity within historically forbidden spaces was addressed only peripherally. This is worthy of further and more exhaustive research. The effects of race and racism have been highlighted in this study and these inevitably influence teacher identity. How class and gender shape, and are shaped by space, deserves further investigation.

Effective and significant desegregation, and thereby integration, among the teacher workforce is one of the ideals broadly envisaged by the constitution of the country. The change from a repressive regime came as a result of what is described as a “non-bloody revolution” (Samuel, 2003:254). While conceding the power of the past, Lefebvre (1991:54) provides a stark reminder of the real purpose of a revolution, which is to “produce a new space”. Failure to do so results in a failure to change “life itself”. The process of producing new spaces or of realizing the potential of newly conceived spaces is a complex challenge for all teachers who aspire to the ideals and vision of a new South Africa.

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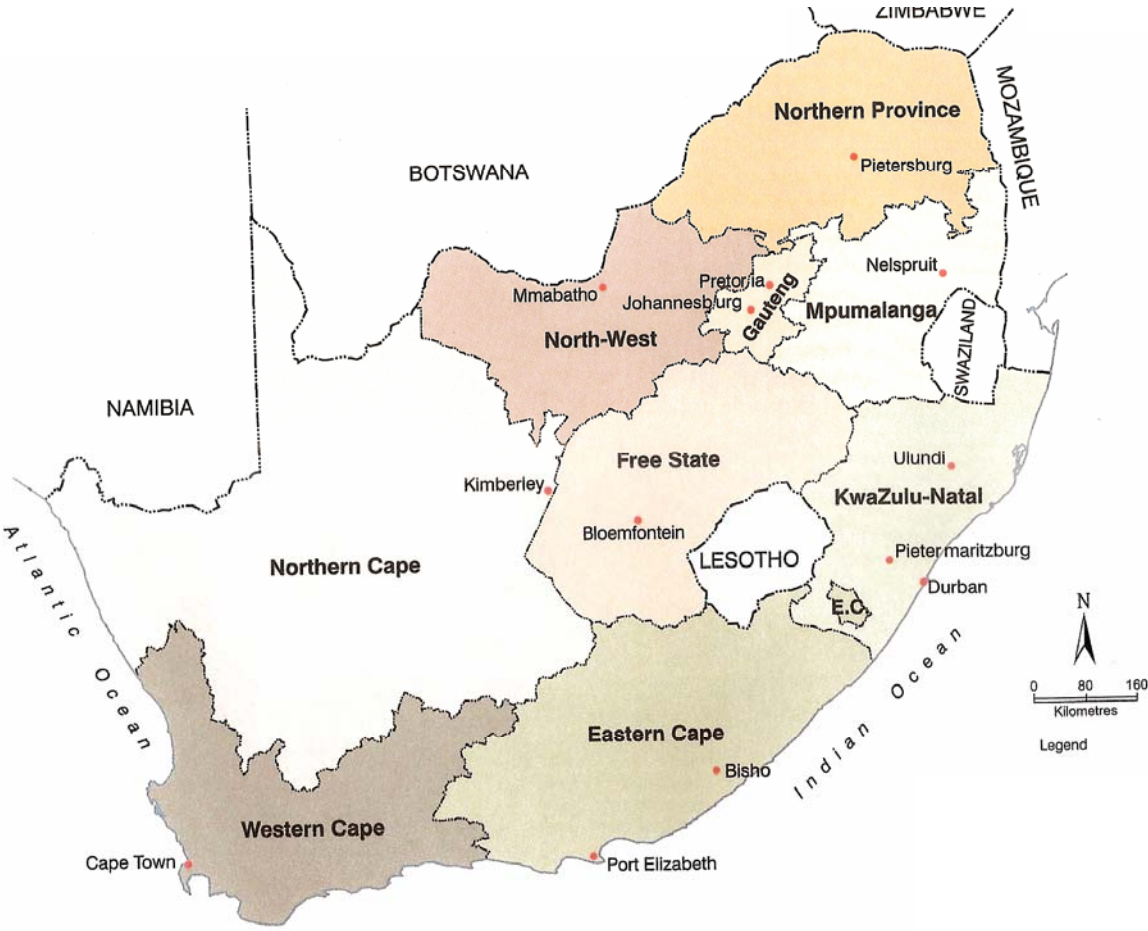
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Appendix 1: Map of South Africa



Republic of South Africa

(Adapted from Bot et al 2000:11)



PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI
PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
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INHLOKHOHOVISI **PIETERMARITZBURG** **HEAD OFFICE**

Enquiries:
Imibuzo: Sibusiso Alwar
Navrae:

Reference:
Inkomba: 0041/05
Verwysing:

Date:
Usuku: 2005/06/17
Datum:

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to serve as a notice that **Ms Nirmala Balkaran** has been granted permission to conduct research with the following terms and conditions:

- > That as a researcher, he/she must present a copy of the written permission from the Department to the Head of the Institution concerned before any research may be undertaken at a departmental institution.
- > Attached is the list of schools she/he has been granted permission to conduct research in however, it must be noted that the schools are not obligated to participate in the research if it is not a KZNDoe project.
- > **Ms Nirmala Balkaran** has been granted special permission to conduct his/her research during official contact times, as it is believed that their presence would not interrupt education programmes. Should education programmes be interrupted, he/she must, therefore, conduct his/her research during nonofficial contact times.
- > No school is expected to participate in the research during the fourth school term, as this is the critical period for schools to focus on their exams.

Dr B. H. Mthabela
Director: Research Strategy, Policy Development and Education Management Information Systems



APPENDIX 3: Confidentiality statement for survey questionnaire

Dear Respondent,

Permission to conduct study and confidentiality statement

Project title:

This study explores the extent to which racial desegregation among teachers in KwaZulu-Natal schools has taken place.

Project aims:

This study will highlight the experiences of teachers who are teaching at schools where racial desegregation among teachers has occurred and it also intends to find ways to promote desegregation, and by implication, integration among teachers.

Names of investigator and supervisor:

This research is conducted by Ms N Balkaran who is currently enrolled for a Doctorate in Education. She holds a Masters Degree in Education. (specializing in Teacher Education) from the now UKZN (Westville campus). Her contact number is 082 825 3361.

The supervisor for this study is Professor R Sookrajh. Should you require any further information about this study, Prof. R Sookrajh may be contacted at the UKZN (Edgewood Campus). Her cellular number is 084 549 4853.

Your participation in this study:

I am interested in the views of teachers from various parts of KZN to ascertain their views on racially mixed staff rooms, and their responses to being employed at schools, other than their own, which are historically white, African, coloured and Indian.

Should you agree to participate in this study, you will be required to fill in a survey questionnaire. This should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. There will be no costs incurred by you. Your participation will be completely anonymous. At any point during the filling in of the survey questionnaire you may feel free to withdraw from participation, or should you wish to consult with others about permission to participate in the study, you may do so. Should you decide to not fill in the survey questionnaire you will not be disadvantaged in any way. Your participation is appreciated.

Yours faithfully

N. Balkaran
Registration no. 9804049

Date

APPENDIX 4: Confidentiality statement for interview

Project title:

This study explores the extent to which racial desegregation among teacher components at public schools in KwaZulu-Natal has taken place.

Project aims:

- (i) This study will provide tacit information on the prevailing situation with regard to the racial composition of the teacher component at schools.
- (ii) It will highlight the experiences of teachers who are teaching at schools where racial desegregation among teachers has occurred.
- (iii) The study also intends to find ways to promote desegregation, and by implication, integration among teachers.

Names of investigator and supervisor

This research is conducted by Ms N Balkaran who is currently enrolled for a Doctorate in Education. She holds a Masters Degree in Education (specializing in Teacher Education) from the now UKZN (Westville campus).

The supervisor for this study is Professor R Sookrajh. Should you require any further information about this study, Prof. R Sookrajh may be contacted at the UKZN (Edgewood Campus). Her cellphone number is 084 549 4853.

Your participation in this study

I am interested in the experiences of teachers from various parts of KZN to ascertain their experiences at schools where there are racially mixed staff rooms. You have been identified to participate in this study since you are employed at a school where there is a degree of racial desegregation among teachers.

Should you agree to participate in this study, you will be interviewed. This should take approximately 40-50 minutes of your time. These interviews will be audio-recorded. There will be no costs incurred by you. Your participation will be completely voluntary and anonymous. At any point during the interview, you may feel free to withdraw from participation should you wish to do so.

Should you wish to consult with others about permission to participate in the study, you may do so. Should you decide not to participate in the interview, you will not be disadvantaged in any way.

N. Balkaran
Registration no. 9804049

Date

APPENDIX 5: Survey Questionnaire

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. PERSONAL DATA

1.1 Gender:

M	F
---	---

1.2 Age:

1. Between 20-30	
2. Between 31-40	
3. Between 41-50	
4. Between 51-65	

1.3 Race:

1. African	
2. Indian	
3. Coloured	
4. White	
5. Other	

1.4 At which of the following institutions did you receive your schooling?

1. Former African school	
2. Former Indian school	
3. Former coloured school	
4. Former white school	
5. Private school	
6. None of the above	

1.5 At what type of institution did you receive your tertiary education?

1. Former African college/university	
2. Former Indian college/university	
3. Former coloured college/university	
4. Former white college/university	
5. Private college/university	
6. None of the above	

Appendix 5: Survey questionnaire

2. OCCUPATIONAL CONTEXT

2.1 Type of school at which you are **currently** employed:

1. Former African school	
2. Former Indian school	
3. Former coloured school	
4. Former white school	
5. New school	

2.2 Indicate by means of a cross or crosses, the type of school/s at which you were previously employed.

1. Former African school	
2. Former Indian school	
3. Former coloured school	
4. Former white school	
5. New school	
6. Not applicable	

2.3 The region in which your school is located.

1. Ethekekwini	
2. Ukhahlamba	
3. Zululand	
4. Pietermaritzburg	

2.4 How were you appointed to your school?

1. Applied for level 1 teacher post.	
2. Applied for applied.	
3. Was in excess at previous school and transferred to present school.	
4. Applied for transfer.	
5. Applied for school governing post.	
6. None of the above.	

2.5 What position do you hold at your school?

1. Level 1: Teacher	
2. Level 2: HOD	
3. Level 3: Deputy Principal/ Principal	
4. Level 4: Principal	

2.6 The learner racial profile at your school is best described as

1. Mainly African	
2. Mainly Indian	
3. Mainly coloured	
4. Mainly white	
5. Comprising of one race group	
6. None of the above	

Appendix 5: Survey questionnaire

2.7 The teaching staff at your school comprises of the following number of teachers in each of the race groups.

RACE	NUMBER
1. African teachers	
2. Indian teachers	
3. Coloured teachers	
4. White teachers	
5. Other race groups	

2.8 The racial profile of the school management is as follows (cross the applicable box):

POST	African	Indian	Coloured	White	Other
1. Principal					
2. Deputy principal 1					
3. Deputy principal 2					
4. HOD 1					
5. HOD 2 (if applicable)					
6. HOD 3 (if applicable)					
7. HOD 4 (if applicable)					

3. PERCEPTIONS OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION

3.1 What do understand by the term “desegregation”?

3.2 Do you think that desegregation at school level has happened successfully in South Africa? Provide a brief motivation for your answer.

3.3 What are your feelings towards teaching in each of the following contexts?

TYPE OF SCHOOL	Agreeable	Neutral	Disagreeable
1. Former African school			
2. Former Indian school.			
3. Former coloured school.			
4. Former white school.			

Appendix 5: Survey questionnaire

3.4 Which of the following will **encourage/has encouraged** you to teach at a former **African** school? Tick the applicable box or boxes.

1. Promotion	
2. Commitment o uplifting others	
3. An offer of financial incentive	
4. I will not consider/ have not considered teaching at a former African school.	

3.5 Which of the following will **deter** you from teaching at a former **African** school? Cross the applicable box or boxes.

1. Fear of crime	
2. Inaccessibility	
3. Racial bias	
4. Fear of racism	
5. Nothing deters/ deterred me from teaching at a former African school.	

3.6 Which of the following will **encourage/has encouraged** you to teach at a former **Indian** school? Tick the applicable box or boxes.

1. Promotion	
2. Commitment o uplifting others	
3. An offer of financial incentive	
4. I will not consider/ have not considered teaching at a former Indian school.	

3.7 Which of the following will **deter** you from teaching at a former **white** school? Cross the applicable box or boxes.

1. Fear of crime	
2. Inaccessibility	
3. Racial bias	
4. Fear of racism	
5. Nothing deters/ deterred me from teaching at a former white school.	

3.8 Which of the following will **encourage/has encouraged** you to teach at a former **white** school? Tick the applicable box or boxes.

1. Promotion	
2. Commitment o uplifting others	
3. An offer of financial incentive	
4. I will not consider/ have not considered teaching at a former white school.	

3.9 Which of the following will **deter** you from teaching at a former **Indian** school? Cross the applicable box or boxes.

1. Fear of crime	
2. Inaccessibility	
3. Racial bias	
4. Fear of racism	
5. Nothing deters/ deterred me from teaching at a former Indian school.	

Appendix 5: Survey questionnaire

3.10 Which of the following will **encourage/has encouraged** you to teach at a former **coloured** school? Tick the applicable box or boxes.

1. Promotion	
2. Commitment o uplifting others	
3. An offer of financial incentive	
4. I will not consider/ have not considered teaching at a former coloured school.	

3.11 Which of the following will **deter** you from teaching at a former **coloured** school? Cross the applicable box or boxes.

1. Fear of crime	
2. Inaccessibility	
3. Racial bias	
4. Fear of racism	
5. Nothing deters/ deterred me from teaching at a former coloured school.	

3.12 How do you think teachers at your school will respond to teachers of other race groups teaching at your school? Cross the applicable box or boxes.

1. They will be welcomed.	
2. People will be indifferent to them.	
3. I think they will not feel a sense of belonging at the school.	
4. They may experience racial confrontations.	
5. Teachers will be neutral.	

3.13 Have you personally experienced any of the following at your school? Cross the applicable box or boxes.

1. Alienation from others on the basis of race.	
2. I was treated like I did not exist because of my race.	
3. I experienced racial confrontations.	
4. I was welcomed and accepted as one of the team.	
5. Teachers of a race group tend to form their own cliques.	
6. I was unaffected by race or culture of teachers or learners.	
7. I experienced none of the above.	

3.14 Elaborate on the above response if necessary/ or provide details of general critical moments experienced.

APPENDIX 6: Interview Schedule

1. How did you come to be appointed at this school?
2. Provide a brief description of the school.
3. Describe your personal feelings about being part of a racially desegregated staff.
4. How were you received at the school (by colleagues) on your appointment?
5. How do the learners respond to you?
6. Do you experience any kind of alienation through discrimination?
7. Provide a brief description of the community served by the school.
8. What response do you get from the parent community?
9. What practices can inhibit desegregation and integration at your school?
10. Describe any critical moments.

APPENDIX 7: Researcher's biography

Since the researcher's subjectivity is inevitably and undeniably an influential factor in any study, I believe it is vital to provide a brief biographical account about myself. By doing so, the reader may decide how and to what extent this has influenced the study.

The following brief autobiographical text may offer some insight into how my experiences may have "filtered" the data. It is also presented since qualitative researchers "self-consciously draw upon their own experiences as a resource in their inquiries. They always think reflectively, historically and biographically" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1985: xi).

I am a South African female of Indian descent. This sense of who I am is not constant but seems to change depending on the circumstances with which I am faced. For instance, during the apartheid era, I considered myself Indian rather than South African. With the changing times and an effort by the new government to foster a feeling of common nationhood which embraces rather than excludes diversity, a new sense of belonging to this place called South Africa has emerged.

I was born in an area which was proclaimed an Indian residential zone, surrounded by a joint family all of whom occupied one property. I vaguely recall being forced to leave the place and all family members sought accommodation in different areas. I attended Indian primary and secondary schools. My tertiary education was also at a college for Indians. Thereafter, my appointment as a teacher was inevitably to an Indian school. Further study took place mainly through correspondence. My only meaningful associations were with Indians. All "other" race groups were foreign.

Appendix 7: Researcher's biography

After the democratic elections in South Africa, a single unified Department of Education was set up and my appointment to the Department as a subject advisor was a significant point in my career and personal development. I am part of a sub-directorate called Teaching and Learning Services which provides academic advice and support to schools in a given district. The racial profile of the personnel in this component is mainly white. There are several African personnel and I am the only Indian employed there. The district in which I am employed and service, comprises mainly of former African schools, most of which are rural. This was the first time that I began to interact meaningfully on an inter-racial level. I have developed many close alliances and friendships with colleagues of all races. I think that my ability to speak Afrikaans allows me to entrance into the minds and hearts of many of my Afrikaans speaking colleagues. I regret my inability to communicate in isiZulu, however, fortunately for me, my isiZulu-speaking colleagues are multilingual and communication has never been hampered. I realise that we all have a common thread of humanity that binds us together. This is not to say that we do not have instances of victimization or racism. It is there, but very subtly so.

As part of this sub-directorate, I feel like I've overcome the bounds of my previously limited experiences and found my place in the new South Africa. Despite all of this, I am still very much aware of race. It seems to be a part of who I am. It colours the lens through which I view the world. At the same time, I am aware that race is a social construct and that race can be constructed in various ways, and it can and needs to be continuously interrogated.

APPENDIX 8.1: Interview transcript

Interview with Harriet, a coloured female teacher employed at a former white school

1. How did you come to be appointed at this school?

I applied for a position and when I went for the interview they were very impressed with me.

2. Provide a brief description of the school.

The learners are predominantly white. You get quite a few Indian learners at the school and there are quite a number of black learners at the school. The educators are majority white. It's a huge staff and majority is white, a few Indian teachers and even fewer coloureds, and Zulu teachers are appointed to teach Zulu. They wouldn't be appointed to teach any other subject.

The school is situated in central _____. It is very well resourced. It is a very affluent school. It has huge facilities like a big swimming pool and rugby field. It has an exceptionally good media centre.

3. Describe your personal feelings about being part of a racially desegregated staff.

I must admit that the colleagues I work with in my department are very accommodating and helpful and really made me feel at ease. However, to the rest of the staff I was like a non-entity. I was treated like someone picked off the streets to come and teach there as though I had no experience, as though I'm

Appendix 8.1: Interview transcript

not equipped enough or adequate enough to fit in the school community and I also find that I didn't get much support from management. It's like you're thrown down the deep end and you must swim. Because even though I had teaching experience every school has its own dynamics and I really felt I didn't get the support I would have been given in a school in the community I come from.

3.1 Do you think this can be attributed to race?

Yes, absolutely. I would say so. I would still feel that some people feel that black people are not adequate or good enough to teach in their schools.

4. How were you received at the school (by colleagues) on your appointment?

Initially, I would say that because it is such a huge staff it didn't really matter. It's like you're just a number in the school. I didn't really feel like I made a difference to the staff. It was like I was just there. I just feel that I was appointed and needed to do my duty and that was it. I didn't feel like I made a contribution to the school.

4.1 How did this differ from your previous school?

At my previous school, I felt more at home because we were of the same race. The majority were of the same race. I could identify with and relate to people. I felt very comfortable in that environment and I felt if I needed assistance or if I needed someone to help me that I could ask anyone whereas in this school I didn't feel that way. I feel that I just need to stay in my little cocoon and not bother anyone. I don't have any regrets about being at this school. For me it

was a wonderful experience to integrate with others and it is an excellent school.

5. How do the learners respond to you?

Excellent. One thing I admire about learners is they are really exposed to this multicultural integration and you find that they respond to each other so well. They can tease about race and it doesn't become hostile when they do. They joke about each other's race and they accept and treat all teachers the same. It doesn't matter whether you are white or black or whatever so we're all treated the same. The learners have accepted that we're all just teachers or human beings. They don't have any issues about a person of another race teaching them.

6. Do you experience any kind of alienation through discrimination?

Yes. My opinion is that upward mobility is still reserved for whites only. I find there is a reluctance to appoint people of colour into senior positions. Even the top management structure of the school is all white and you find that even when positions come up, it's like there is underhandedness. It's very underhanded and the next thing you know is that so and so is the subject head or HOD and then I find that black people feel that here is a problem at the school.

6.1 Is there any other kind of discrimination that you experience?

If you walk into the staff room you still find whites sit with whites, blacks with blacks, Indians with Indians and that's just the way it is. Even when we have functions that should be encouraging us to integrate it still turns out to be the same groups that are together. There's no change in that.

7. Provide a brief description of the community served by the school.

Very affluent community. Learners come from very wealthy homes. It's very mixed as well. Like I indicated, you get quite a large number of white and Indian parents so it's very multicultural.

8. What response do you get from the parent community?

I don't have much contact with the parents but the number of occasions that I do, I find they are a little bit more accommodating or should I say more accepting of you as a teacher. I don't think the parents have issues with people of colour teaching their children. They treat you like a professional and also acknowledge and appreciate what you do. So that's a plus at the school.

9. What practices can inhibit desegregation and integration at your school?

There are practices that inhibit desegregation. The school is very culturally orientated. They focus a lot on rugby only and all learners are compelled to attend the rugby match and I mean the learner population has changed and you find learners even in grade 8 saying: "But why are we still focusing on the past. We should look to and celebrate the future." And I mean those are children who have already made this observation. They also find that not all the cultural activities that take place are supported by everyone. Yet they are compelled to support it when the white culture is promoted.

Soccer is not promoted in the same way as rugby. Absolutely not. There is a clear cut distinction. The school has exceptionally good soccer and basketball players yet rugby is still put on a pedestal even though they might not be winning

the rugby matches but because they believe that that is the school culture or the most important. Everything revolves around rugby.

10. Describe any critical moments

When I started at the school, initially I found it strange that the principal would stand outside my room without my being aware of it. It was like he was actually listening to me to check whether I can teach. I found that to be such an invasion of my professional integrity. I also found that I just couldn't understand why he would do that and when I found out from my colleagues, I mean white colleagues discovered that that didn't happen to them and I found that such a suspicious act.

On another occasion the headmaster walked into my classroom unannounced and I found that an unacceptable practice because why would he single me out and I told him I do not approve of him walking into my room without my inviting him. He said: "Why? Do you think I'm spying on you?" I said, "Yes, I do think so." He wasn't too pleased with my response but I just felt I was not treated as a professional – as though I was treated with suspicion when I came to the school. White colleagues haven't experienced what I have so that to me was really a critical moment.

There are many other issues like where people treat you badly. Like once I asked for keys because we have vehicles and the man took the keys and threw it at me and I found he treated me like I was just nothing. I found that very embarrassing and I spoke to the principal about it. I said, "I don't take this very lightly. I don't appreciate being treated in that fashion." So he addressed the matter. But it hasn't changed much because from the smiles you get, you can

Appendix 8.1: Interview transcript

see whether someone is genuinely smiling with you. That's just the way it is, but I have to persevere and move on.

APPENDIX 8.2: Interview transcript

Interview transcript: Buhle

Interview with Buhle, an African female teacher employed at a former Indian school

1. How did you come to be appointed at this school?

I came through Rationalisation and Redeployment. I was declared in excess. Then I was a teacher at a special school. Through my experience as a teacher, I was declared in excess.

2. Provide a brief description of the school.

You know I'm finding it difficult because when I came here the majority of the learners were Indian. Then there were very few Blacks. Now 99% of the learners are black. We have majority of Indian teachers and approximately 10 African teachers. There is no problem with resources. We have everything here and the location is in town.

3. Describe your personal feelings about being part of a racially desegregated staff.

When I came I was the only black teacher. What made me leave the staffroom was when I came here I was pregnant and allergic to smoke. I decide not to be in the staff room not because my colleagues were unfriendly.

4. How were you received at the school (by colleagues) on your appointment?

The way I was welcomed when I came here. You know I was pregnant and in November the lady teachers held a baby shower for me without my knowing. I was welcomed with warm hands.

But now I don't use the staff room. Then after that, after having more and more blacks coming to our school...you know there was this thing, they don't like the Indians. Some people say that when they (Indians) see your face they pretend as if they like you, you know, but they pretend. And what I observed when I was using the staff room is that the teachers that are not there, you know, my colleagues say negative things about the teachers.

5. How do the learners respond to you?

You know the Indian parents and learners were happy because I came here as a guidance teacher but the black parents and learners were not happy at all. There was a time they wrote a memorandum to the principal and said that they don't want a black teacher. They've taken their children to an Indian school because they wanted their children to learn and I'm here to drop the standard. Really, they were not happy at all.

And you know. One child told me when I was trying to give an instruction, "Hey, I was never, ever instructed by a black teacher. What are you telling me? I'm not gonna do it." This was an African child.

5.1 Why do you think they have this idea?

I think this thing was coming from the parents because they think that as an African teacher, when you are the only one in a school like ____, you are here to drop standards.

5.2 How did the Indian parents respond to you?

Indian parents- they have no problem. You know some of the parents when they were looking at my lessons they phoned the principal to find out about me. Even today, when I'm walking about in town, they ask me, "Are you still at __? You know my son/daughter will be graduating through your guidance." I used to guide and help a lot in career guidance. I used to enjoy guidance and sexuality education and the learners learnt a lot from my lessons.

6. Do you experience any kind of alienation through discrimination?

In the past everything was fine. Things changed when more and more black teachers came to the school. Then we started having this thing where the African teachers sit together and the Indian teachers sit together and even when we are given duties I noticed that they make sure that they put so and so as friends and maybe they put one Indian teacher – maybe the one employed by the SGB – not a state paid teacher.

6.1 Is there a kind of difference in the kind of duties allocated?

Yes. When we have athletics they made sure that the Indian teachers sit at the table, the majority of them, and the ones who have been here for a long time. They will be scorekeepers and all the black teachers will be given the duties where

you have to stand with the flag in the sun and you find that the other teachers are sitting in the shade and doing their work.

6.2 From which person does this discrimination come?

From the sports organizers. Unfortunately, we African teachers are not at the forefront but we always work under instruction. We are told, “Here is the duty roster. You do this and that.”

6.3 Does this kind of discrimination happen only in sport?

Even in functions, e.g. fundraising. We black teachers are not at the forefront. Maybe it’s because we are not business minded. And really as black teachers when we are asked to fundraise - maybe there are tickets for a deb’s ball. You know African parents. It’s difficult for them to come here for evening functions. Then we black teachers end up not selling the tickets.

There are teachers who have majored in Languages – ok, those teachers teach grades 11 or 12. They know that from the time they’ve come here – they specialize in English or Afrikaans maybe - I’m just using an example. There’s one black teacher here who’s employed as an English teacher. When she came here she was in the English department for six months. She was then given something else to teach and every year they keep changing teachers.

6.4 Why do you think this has happened?

Really, I don’t know why that is happening. I’m the one – you know when I came here, maybe they didn’t have confidence in me. I was given guidance and you know they don’t take guidance as an examination subject. Then I had to tell my

deputy principal that I'm a Biology teacher and my other major is Zulu. How can you say you don't have a Biology teacher? Biology is my major and at the present moment, I'm teaching 5 different subjects, one of which is Home Economics in grade 11. Home Economics is not my major. The Home Economics teacher asked me to assist her and I agreed. I'm doing Consumer Studies - it's not my major also. I teach Biology. It's my major so I'm not complaining. I teach Life Sciences and grade 8 Natural Sciences. You know it's too much.

7. Provide a brief description of the community served by the school.

We have learners from ___ and _____. And majority come from rural areas. I think parents like _____. When they look at results like 96% and 99%. They like good results.

8. What response do you get from the parent community?

Parents are not supportive. Black parents discriminate. Once, I noticed a learner with hair extensions and I cut these. The parent phoned the school immediately. She wrote a letter to the principal and complained about my behaviour. She came here and we were able to sort out the problem. If you do anything as a black teacher, the black parents will come and fight with you but if you do anything as an Indian teacher, they just remain quiet. I think black parents don't like us to be here - black parents that is.

9. Describe any critical moments.

You know when I came here my colleagues accepted me. Except the parents. But when it comes to my colleagues I didn't have any problems. If there were any problems it started when we had more and more blacks coming in.

9.1 What problems were there?

What I noticed – there are those people who don't like other racial groups. Just like one time at the meeting one of the black teachers pointed out that Indians are not straightforward people and you know he said it at a staff meeting. He also said that black parents and teachers in this town ask him how he works with Indians and how are the Indians. They tell you that you cannot understand the Indians. I don't know why they say these things but I never experienced anything here at school.

APPENDIX: 8.3: Interview transcript

Interview with Deshni, an Indian female teacher employed at a former Indian school

1. How did you come to be appointed at this school?

I was in excess at my previous school and was thus redeployed.

2. Provide a brief description of the school.

The school ___ Junior Secondary is in Umlazi. It is a predominantly black school, both in terms of learners and teachers. I was the only other race- Indian. The school is in the heart of Umlazi, also known as the most notorious section in Umlazi. Council houses as well as shacks surround the school. The buildings are modern and boast a Science Lab, computer room and a brand new admin block.

3. Describe your personal feelings about being part of a racially desegregated staff.

It was definitely not pleasant. I always felt very uncomfortable. This was compounded by the fact that I was unable to speak the Zulu language. I was always the one to initiate a greeting or a conversation, which was always answered in monosyllables. Despite my presence, they would only converse in their mother tongue. Meetings would begin in English and invariably Zulu would be spoken and then I would be remembered.

4. How were you received at the school (by colleagues) on your appointment?

The principal and deputy seemed polite initially. The rest of the staff looked at me very suspiciously.

5. How do the learners respond to you?

Learners were very arrogant.

6. Do you experience any kind of alienation through discrimination?

Absolutely.

7. Provide a brief description of the community served by the school.

The community was a low income group. There were a lot of unemployed parents.

8. What response do you get from the parent community?

Very poor response. There was hardly any interest shown towards their children's progress and welfare. With corporal punishment being rife in the school, by both teachers and the principal, parents felt that discipline and progress in the classroom was being taken care of.

9. What practices can promote/inhibit desegregation and integration at your school?

Appendix 8.3: Interview transcript

For one, the school boasts a 100% pass rate in the matric exam. Through careful observation, I found that pupils were being given extra time to complete their papers, and teachers whose subjects were being written were the invigilators. Who are they kidding at the end of the day? The fact is that staff found it difficult to accept me because of my being Indian. How were they expected to teach their learners otherwise? Aren't we supposed to be the role models?

10. Describe any critical moments

The most critical moment I experienced was on 22/02/200 at 7.15. I had parked my car and had just alighted when I was confronted by a gunman, who pointed his firearm on my forehead, whilst another youth appeared from behind me and demanded that I hand over my car keys. I resisted, but he snatched it anyway, together with my schoolbag and handbag. The gunman noticed my cell phone and was about to snatch it when I broke into a run and started screaming for someone to help me. Fortunately, I wasn't shot at, but both youths took away my car. Although I was physically unharmed, I have since been diagnosed with severe post traumatic stress disorder. Since the hijacking, I have been receiving regular psychiatric treatment to help me cope. My ordeal has shattered my life and left me a nervous wreck. Some of the drastic changes that I had to endure include being unable to drive my car, without being accompanied by my son or husband, getting nervous and neurotic in public places, being terrified of being alone- especially at home. I am even afraid to venture into my garden.

My present condition has also taken a toll on my family. From being a very independent and vibrant person, I have become an introvert. Because of the stress and demands being placed on my husband as a result of my hijacking, he underwent heart bypass surgery in October 2003. My marriage of 30 years ended in divorce in November 2005. Two years ago, I requested to be medically

Appendix 8.3: Interview transcript

boarded, but this decision is being dragged by the Department of Education despite letters from my psychiatrist.