

**UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP IN POLICY AND AMONGST MATRIC LEARNERS IN THREE
KWAZULU-NATAL SCHOOLS**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the difference between the vision of citizenship within education policy and the actual experiences and understandings of citizenship by Matric learners. Citizenship as envisioned in policy is shown to differ significantly to citizenship as understood and experienced by the interview participants. The citizenship envisioned in policy presents the goal of an equal and united citizenry whereas interview participants described citizenship as unequal and hierarchical. In particular, the racial hierarchy enforced under Apartheid was found to dominate the learners' experiences of citizenship. Despite progressive legislation, distribution of opportunities remains heavily weighted in favour of those in high-income environments.

Education policies that determine the overall structure of the South African education system were selected for analysis. These are the Constitution, the South African Schools Act and the National Education Policy Act. These policies are analysed and a vision of South African citizenship is described as possessing the following characteristics.

- A common, equal citizenship in a united and transformed South Africa
- A citizenship encouraging and mandating critical engagement, dialogue, openness and transparency
- A citizenship founded on quality of life for all and developing the potential of each individual
- A citizenship in which both state and citizen are responsible and accountable and operate within the rule of law
- A citizenship underpinned by human dignity and freedom and security of the person
- A citizenship in which there is respect for difference and self-determination and in which 'unity in diversity' plays a key role

Matric learners were drawn from three different schools in an area of Kwazulu-Natal. Each of these schools represents a 'type' of school in South Africa: a former Model C school, an independent school and a school based in a rural or township area. The interviews aimed not only to understand citizenship from the perspective of these learners, but also to understand how experiences of citizenship varied depending on race, gender and class.

DECLARATION

I, Lara Diane van Lelyveld, hereby declare that this research thesis is my own original work, that all reference sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not previously, in its entirety or in part, been submitted to any University in order to obtain an academic qualification.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
Constitution	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996
CUMSA	Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa
DoE	Department of Education
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan
GNU	Government of National Unity
MEC	Member of Executive Council
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
NEPA	National Education Policy Act, 1996
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NETF	National Education and Training Forum
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PE	People's Education
RCL	Representative Council of Learners
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Plan
SACA	South African Citizenship Act
SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
SASA	South African Schools Act, 1996
SGB	School governing body
WPET	White Paper on Education and Training 1995

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1. INTRODUCTION

Citizenship, visions of it in selected education policies and experiences of it by Matric learners, speak to feelings of belonging and unity, quality of life and other important features of the lives of South Africans. This thesis examines the policy and practice of citizenship within the education system of South Africa.

South Africa's history since 1652 has been one dominated by white oppression. Citizenship in colonial and Apartheid South Africa was hierarchical and thus fundamentally unequal. The goal of an equal and fair country that sat at the heart of the Struggle was achieved with the establishment of equal citizenship for all in the post-1994, democratic South Africa. Citizenship in democratic South Africa is legislated as both united and equal. The practical realisation of this right, however, is shown to be uneven. Race, income and gender continue to affect individuals' experiences of citizenship.

The experience of citizenship¹ in South African schools differs in significant ways from policy. This thesis examines the former and latter independently of the other. The relationship between policy and practice is a complex one. Although policy and practice are interrelated in many ways, the implementation of policy is not necessarily comprehensive or accurate. Studying the *reasons* for any similarities or differences between policy and is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, in studying policy and practice independently of each other, it is still possible to gain an understanding of the social order of South Africa and the ways in which Apartheid-era characteristics continue to co-exist with the new democratic dispensation, albeit without the detail that a more comprehensive methodology would add.

¹ Citizenship in this thesis is understood as social citizenship and not the narrower concept of 'nationality' or other possible legal interpretations. This will be discussed in further detail in a later chapter.

In this thesis, literature on citizenship and differing experiences of it are analysed and from this a theoretical framework is drawn up. However, as this thesis is situated in an interpretivist paradigm with theory being seen as emergent, the theoretical framework ‘signposts’ possible findings, rather than determines what the findings will be.

This thesis has the following aims:

- to investigate how selected education policies envision citizenship
- to understand how Matric learners themselves experience and understand citizenship

Drawing from these aims, this thesis thus seeks to answer the following primary research question:

What is the vision of citizenship as identified in selected education policies and what are the experiences and understandings of Matric learners and how do these experiences differ based on race, class and gender?

In order to fully address the above question, the following sub-questions must be answered:

Question Number	Research Question
1	How do selected education policies envision citizenship?
2	How do Matric learners experience and understand citizenship?
3	In particular, to what extent do issues of race, class and gender impact learners’ experiences and understandings of citizenship?

Table 1 - Research Questions

In order to answer these questions as accurately as possible, it is essential that the learners’ ‘voice’ be given priority and thus closely listened to and represented. The goal of South Africa’s progressive legislation is that South Africans should experience citizenship, in their daily life, as equal and fair. In order to examine this personal experience and understanding of citizenship, it is essential that the individual citizen’s voice be given priority. The case study research design in an interpretivist paradigm provides the most appropriate environment for answering these questions and for giving the learners’ ‘voice’ priority.

Policies that define and determine the structure and purpose of the South African education sector are selected for analysis. All of the selected policies are Acts of Parliament, most of which serve as 'springboard policies', i.e. originating from that original Act are a number of subsequent Acts or policies. The policies selected for analysis are:

- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 106 of 1996)
- National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996)
- South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996)

These policies provide the framework for the South African education system. In analysing these policies, both the implicit and explicit ideas around citizenship are collated into a thematic understanding or summary of what citizenship in South Africa should be, according to South African lawmakers.

The above process addresses the issue of how policies envision citizenship, however, the issue of how citizenship is experienced and understood in practice must also be addressed. In order to do this interviews were conducted with Matric learners on the subject of citizenship. Race, class and gender were considered as possible divides along which the understanding and experience of citizenship may vary. It is through these interviews that the individual learners' voices were heard.

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter forms the introduction to this thesis. The eighth chapter forms the conclusion of this thesis. The ninth chapter contains the appendices and the tenth chapter contains the bibliography. The other chapters are briefly described below.

Chapter 2 - Historical overview of education in South Africa

In order to better understand the current context of the interview participants, it is important to explore the developments in the education sector. The effect of both colonisation and Apartheid on education in South Africa are considered in this chapter. Most of the available literature on the history of education focuses on the education of black people. This is notable

for two reasons. First, the often binary nature of race in South Africa appears to have been established early in South Africa's history and remains a social force. In this instance it can be seen in the precedence of certain history and the 'invisibility' of others. Second, the education of white learners is often only discussed as a foil for the experience of black learners.²

Chapter 3 – Literature Review

Literature on social citizenship and differing experiences based on race, gender and class, are discussed in this chapter. The information is synthesised into a flexible theoretical framework for this thesis. The interview schedule is based on this theoretical framework and both the policies and interview data are analysed in light of this framework and the guidance or 'signposts' it provides.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

This thesis operates within an interpretivist paradigm and this chapter discusses this chosen paradigm and its methodology. The discussion begins with an overview of the ontology and phenomenology present in this thesis, and then continues to describe the research techniques to be utilised, including semi-structured interviews, documentary and policy analysis and the analysis of interview transcripts. The context of the research area is also given.

Chapter 5 – Citizenship in South Africa as envisioned in selected education policies

Three education policies are selected for analysis. These three policies are analysed with the aim of distilling a comprehensive vision of what is considered ideal citizenship, or, in other words, the 'kind' of citizenship that policy is aiming for. This vision is presented through six themes or 'characteristics'.

Chapter 6 - Learners' understandings and experiences of citizenship

² In situations in which the education of white children is discussed it sometimes forms part of 'white-only' histories in which the white race is glorified. This is evidence of the 'invisible' norm of whiteness and the 'otherness' of blackness.

This chapter answers the second research question by describing the findings related to understandings and experiences of citizenship by the learners.

Chapter 7 – Differing experiences and understandings of citizenship by learners

This chapter answers the third research question by discussing the issues of race, gender and class and what impact they may or may not have upon the experiences and understandings of citizenship. The findings from Chapters 6 and 7 are brought together in the final section of this chapter.

This introduction has served as an outline of the chapters to follow and the goals to be achieved through this thesis. The next chapter will begin with an historical overview of education in South Africa.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief historical background of education in South Africa; with the primary focus being the concept of citizenship present throughout the various historical phases³. This provides an important context to both the policies selected for analysis and the experiences of the interview participants.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section consists of a chronological history of education in South Africa, which is divided, where possible, according to the key policies from each historical phase. The citizenship 'element' present in each phase will also be discussed within this first section. The second section of the chapter will summarise citizenship first in Apartheid South Africa and then in democratic South Africa.

Much of the academic writing on the pre-colonial time period is anthropological and presents a South Africa where people used non-formal education as a tool of socialization.⁴ Pre-colonial education aimed to prepare young people for their roles in adult society, which they were formally introduced to through rites of passage such as initiation. This education prepared men and women to play an active role in the affairs of the community (Keto 1990). There was a close and congruent relationship "between the training and the lifestyle which the young people encountered when they left their 'school'" (Keto 1990, 20).

It is to a South Africa with a slower rate of change, that formal western-style education was introduced with the arrival of the Dutch in 1652, and rapid change began to take place. The

³ Due to the nature of this historical overview and its necessary brevity, there are significant events in South Africa's history that are not discussed.

⁴ Many of these socialisation practices continue to the present day, not only in 'indigenous' households, but in all South African households. Initiation is still an important rite of passage in South Africa. South Africans still rely on non-formal education to socialize youth, although the methods are, arguably, more diverse. It is no longer only family members that educate through story-telling, as there are now the additional 'aids' of television, radio and film, along with far larger networks of influence.

non-formal education system continued, albeit constantly in flux, and continues to the present day, albeit in a variety of forms. This chapter, and this thesis, will focus on formal education only.⁵

2.2. A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.2.1. EDUCATION PRIOR TO APARTHEID

2.2.1.1. EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1652 – 1910

From the arrival of the first ‘settlers’ in 1652 and the establishment of trading ports and slavery, South Africa’s value as a colony ensured that colonial powers (Dutch, British, French and later Boers) fought for control of the Cape. The one constant, regardless of who held political power at the time, was the oppression and subjugation of the indigenous populations. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to elaborate on this colonial past, however changes in education as discussed below form only one part of the change of ‘South Africa’ from 1652 to 1910. During this time period, religious institutions played a dominant role in education. For missionaries, the purpose of education was to ‘save the souls’ or ‘convert to Christianity’ the indigenous peoples or ‘natives’.

Two assumptions which could be argued to have been present during colonial times are, first, the assumption by the ruling class that western formal education was superior to any other forms of education. Secondly, that this western formal education for colonists, ‘natives’ and indentured labour, be designed and decided on by the ruling classes. The education provided by the state, as is to be expected given the colonial context,

“sought to reflect and to transmit the political values, economic interests, cultural priorities and preferences of the European immigrant communities” (Keto 1990, 23).

Despite these rather fervent views there was a lack of formal organization of education and very little state intervention during this time (Hartshorne 1999).

⁵ In the following historical overview the focus is on the history created by the colonists as it is within this history that the roots of Apartheid can be found. This is not to say that other South African histories are irrelevant, but as the focus in this thesis is on the formal education system, this historical overview focuses on the processes which affected that.

During the early colonial years, Dutch religious education was usually simply transplanted to South Africa (Hartshorne 1999). The Dutch East India Company's education policy had two objectives. The first was to educate the children of slaves "in order to make them more valuable as economic assets to the Company" and to

"Christianise them in such a manner that they would willingly accept Dutch culture as superior to their own and view their place in the world in a manner that did not threaten the interests of the Dutch Empire" (Keto 1990, 27).

The second objective was

"to facilitate literacy among Dutch settlers and their children since the Dutch Reformed Church required the ability to read the Bible in order for one's soul to be saved in the next world" (Keto 1990, 27).

There are similarities between this education policy and what lay ahead in Christian National Education and Bantu Education. This was the beginning of a dual system, the establishment of ties between economic and political power and the deliberate absence of a common citizenship.

Education was no longer about continuity and stability, but rather about preparing suitable citizens for the new dispensation. As Keto (1990, 23) argues,

"This type of education emphasized the acquisition of skills by young Africans that adult Africans often did not possess; education ceased to be coterminous with the experience of social life in the African community, became future-oriented and relied heavily on the vicarious experience described in books and explained by teachers."

This reflects many of the critiques that the Eiselen Commission would raise a century later, including the distance between what is taught in school and what community life involves, and the beginnings of an African intellectual elite. These trends were labelled as damaging to the harmonious co-existence of colonised and coloniser.

From the early nineteenth century onwards, South Africa's history is dominated by the 'dual stream' of British rule and Boer Republics (Hartshorne 1999). During this time, there was a dramatic increase in the number of mission schools. Mission schools "educated more children (mostly African) in the 1840s than all other schools combined" (Keto 1990, 33). The quality of the education provided varied substantially, from schooling as a form of evangelism to renowned institutions such as Lovedale and Healdtown.

With regard to the interests of the colonized, state policy in the early 1800s can be described as “studied neglect” (Hartshorne 1999, 19). For the colonized, schooling was thought to be unnecessary and “the popularly held belief was that the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa would be happier without it” (Hartshorne 1999, 19). These are beliefs which would come to the fore during the Eiselen Commission and which, in some ways, go against Keto’s description of early colonial education as a ‘futures’ activity.

At this stage in South Africa’s history, most schools in South Africa could be considered private or independent schools. The state did, however, begin to harness the ‘controlling’ power of the mission schools. Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape in 1854, advocated “the use of the ‘honey’ tactic of educational hegemony instead of the ‘vinegar’ tactic of military conquest” (Keto 1990, 33). Missionaries and mission schools were given subsidies by the state and a system of inspections was set up. In this way, “missionaries became voluntary control agents” and the state supported their efforts financially (Keto 1990, 33). For the missionaries the primary goal remained Christianization, and education was often merely a means to that end.

From the very beginning, South Africa’s formal education, like its colonial society, was segregated. Colonialism depends on the process of ‘othering’ and then dehumanizing that ‘other’. The slavery and exploitation of indigenous peoples relies upon this process. Education, where it was available, taught the supremacy of white people and the inferiority of indigenous peoples. Where an indoctrination of inferiority was insufficient to quell dissent, the colonial powers could rely on physical oppression. There was no common citizenship at this time in South Africa’s history, not even amongst colonists whose loyalties were divided along linguistic and cultural lines.

2.2.1.2. EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA 1910 – 1948

The Frontier Wars of the nineteenth century and the South African War of 1899-1902 were the last 'colonial wars'. By the Union of South Africa in 1910, white colonists - increasingly predominantly Afrikaans - had effectively conquered and now formed the ruling elite of the territory now known as South Africa.

It is during this crucial period of time that much of the segregation associated with Apartheid was formalised. Perhaps most important, given the topic of this thesis, was the crystallization of identity along racial and ethnic lines. Colonialism had already set up a (more or less) dual system but this system was intensified and explicitly, actively legislated during the first half of the twentieth century. People identifying themselves primarily as isiZulu, isiXhosa, etc., i.e. along racial *and* ethnic lines, was shaped and determined by the "racially structured system of education" which "helped to naturalise an abnormal racial and ethnic consciousness" (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 44). Thus, the racial hierarchy, or hierarchy of citizens, was formalized.

As Cross and Chisholm (1990, 44) have argued, the origins of segregated schooling are

"intimately connected with the development of a segregationist social policy linked to the rise of industrial capitalism in the late nineteenth century South Africa."

South Africa's industrialization was "based on the expropriation of minerals, which for economic viability, had to rely on the cheapest form of labour" (Fataar 1997, 75). White workers were a complicating factor for the Chamber of Mines in this regard. The Chamber of Mines attempted to lower costs through skill fragmentation and replacement by unskilled (usually black) workers. This motivated white workers to unite not only along class lines, but along racial lines as well (Cross and Chisholm 1990).

Job colour bars were established and the ideology of segregation "soon became the dominant mediating mechanism for the existing economic and social forces" (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 46). Segregation served a number of purposes, including effective control over migrant workers, as required by mining and agriculture. More so, however, it

"dealt with the rapid proletarianisation of poor whites and poor blacks, with its increased possibilities of competition, conflict, miscegenation and unified class struggle" (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 46).

The use of state power resolved “conflicts thrown up by industrialization, always to the advantage of whites” (Fataar 1997, 75). Further building solidarity between white labour and white capital, education was used to build a unified white identity in order to lessen the chances of unified class struggle (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 47).

In terms of legislation, the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) released a report in 1905 that proposed many forms of segregation including the segregation of land, political representatives, education and so on (Cross and Chisholm 1990). The Report also advocated an “‘assisted evolution’ for Africans in a way which could not merge too closely into European life” (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 47). A number of Acts introduced in the first decade of the twentieth century, such as the Cape School Board Act of 1905 and the Transvaal Education Act of 1907 institutionalized “racial separation in education” (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 48). Further legislation in the form of the 1937 Children’s Protection Act excluded children of colour from the definition of “what a child liable to rights was” (Cross and Chishold 1990, 50). The hierarchy of citizenship, which began with the colonisation of South Africa, was made ever more comprehensive and compartmentalised through these and other pieces of legislation.

Many of the theories which had underpinned earlier policies and beliefs of the state (some of which were discussed earlier in this section) had strongly racist dimensions, specifically linked to views of the ‘inferiority’ of indigenous peoples to white colonists. These theories had changed by the 1920s to include “the concept of culture reconstituted by the new academic discipline of social anthropology” (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 48). This revised concept saw assimilation as ‘anticultural’ and instead supported ‘racial upliftment’ and ‘ethnicultural identity’ (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 48). This is a variation of an argument made a century before; that indigenous peoples would not only be happier without education, but that education would actually damage indigenous peoples.

Nevertheless, the demand for schooling during this time increased and missionary societies battled to provide adequate education, both in quality and quantity. This signalled the

beginning of the collapse of missionary education (Fataar 1997). Very few financial resources in the state system were made available for 'native education' with severe consequences, especially in the urban areas. Many children in urban areas grew up without any schooling (Cross and Chisholm 1990). The result of this was that "a violent youth sub-culture ... emerged in black townships" (Fataar 1997, 76).

Segregation was present in all sectors within education, including teacher education. During this time, universities and post-matric colleges were set up for white teacher education, whereas black learners who completed secondary school were *de facto* qualified teachers and entered the profession (Cross and Chisholm 1990).

White learners were controlled through ideology and bonds were forged between white labour and white capital. Complete racial segregation ensured that black labour and learners were controlled through repression supported by the legislation of fundamental inequality and segregation. It is during the first two decades of the twentieth century that

"the education system throughout the Union was divided into four separate, hierarchically different schooling systems: white education, Indian education, coloured education and native education" (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 49).

This comprehensively legislated 'hierarchy of citizenship' would become stricter still in the coming decades through the implementation of Christian National Education and Bantu Education. This comprehensive 'hierarchy of citizenship' present in many spheres of public and private life speaks strongly to an unequal citizenship, both in terms of policy and practice.

2.2.2. EDUCATION IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

The National Party was elected in 1948 on the back of an alliance of

"white agricultural interests, an emerging Afrikaner manufacturing class, the poor white labouring class and led by the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie" (Fataar 1997, 76).

The National Party's social policy showed an

“overt commitment to white supremacy as defined in the ‘Race Relations Policy of the National Party’, a policy document published in 1947 which called for a programme of ‘separate development’ or apartheid” (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 54).

Although in many respects Apartheid was a continuation of the policies and practices of the foregoing 296 years, it did have a unique character. For the first time, the territory of South Africa was ruled by a single cultural group – white Afrikaans-speaking people. This authoritarian rule was absolute, top-down, bureaucratic and attempted to govern all aspects of life in South Africa.

During the 46 years of Apartheid, there were dramatic changes in education. The most notable being the introduction of mass schooling with the quality of the school and the education determined by one’s race. Christian National Education shaped the curriculum for all South Africans, with Bantu Education designed specifically for black learners.

2.2.2.1. CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION: 1948; AND THE EISELEN COMMISSION AND BANTU EDUCATION ACT: 1953

During this time period, Christian National Education and Fundamental Pedagogics provided the philosophy for education while, in terms of ‘native education’, the Eiselen Commission and Bantu Education provided the practice.

As discussed briefly above, the 1940s, particularly in urban areas, brought a number of ‘problems’, including “unchecked African urbanization, its concomitant political militancy, and well-publicised crime waves” all of which “demanded a resolution from a government that recognized the fragility of South Africa’s recently emergent industrial society” (Kros 2002, 65).

In contrast to the Smut's government's vacillation, the National Party put forward proposals for strong state intervention and planning (Kros 2002, 65).

The ideas behind Christian National Education initially appeared in the context of the nineteenth century Boer Republics, and after the South African War in response to British attempts to anglicise Afrikaners (Kallaway 2002a, 2). These ideas were formalized by the Institute for Christian National Education which issued its base document in 1948 (Hartshorne 1999).

The primary social unit, according to Christian National ideology, was the nation; each nation being distinguished from the next by 'culture' (Cross and Chisholm 1990). Not only were Afrikaners the superior nation, they had a "divinely allotted task to 'guide' Africans to national (ethnic) identity" (Cross and Chisholm 1990, 53).

The basic principles of Christian National Education stated that education be based on the Christian gospel and that

"the cultural diversity of the South African population dictates that every cultural or ethnic group should have its own education system and schools" (Wolhuter 2011, 3).

Christian National Education not only limited the development of 'non-white' or 'inferior' peoples but also that of white peoples. Although those in privileged groups under an authoritarian regime lead lives in which their human dignity is respected to a far greater degree, they remain fundamentally 'unfree'.

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Native Education (1949 – 1951) otherwise known as the Eiselen Report, formed the basis of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Theorists of Bantu education saw education as "a mechanism for the reproduction of the social order" (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991, 4).

At the time, Dr Eiselen and many of his fellow commissioners saw themselves as "hard-working progressive reformers who were intent on improving Native Education" (Kros 2002, 54).

Eiselen's theoretical background was influenced by the tenets of the Berlin Missionary Society and he promulgated "ideas about attempting to preserve cultural and linguistic integrity without abandoning the perceived necessity for white trusteeship" (Kros 2002, 57). Using these ideas, Eiselen made the argument that the only way to protect African cultures was 'total separation' (Kros 2002). Furthermore, Eiselen warned against "the dangers of an African intellectual elite, as their aspirations could not be satisfied due to white prejudice" (Kros 2002, 61).

The Eiselen commissioners were focused on central planning as

"only by carefully planning the integration, co-ordination, and articulation of all component parts of the societal machine could schooling achieve precise efficiency" (Fleisch 2002, 44).

Efficiency and social planning were part and parcel of each other in their view. In all respects, "accountability was upward towards the minister, rather than downward toward civil society" and policy and planning were a matter best dealt with by the state bureaucracy's 'experts' (Fleisch 2002, 47). This bureaucratic culture was one of "secrecy, inaccessibility, and unresponsiveness to popular sentiment" (Fleisch 2002, 49).

Specifically connected to the 'ideal' citizen and in stark contrast to the present-day policies, the Eiselen Report put forward the following characteristics as desired within the 'Bantu people': "punctuality, a sense of duty, persistence, sociability, mannerliness, neatness, and reliability" (Fleish 2002, 41).

The introduction of Bantu Education was simultaneously the introduction of mass schooling for black learners. However, during the exponential growth in enrolment during the Apartheid years, as Fataar (1997, 77) points out, "expanded provision of schooling did not translate into quality schooling." Notably, this 'mass schooling' was all provided by the government. Mission schools and other private schools were no longer subsidized by the state and many closed. Others, particularly schools with an anti-Apartheid ethos, were funded by foreign governments and NGOs. In general, under Apartheid, private or independent schools formed a very small percentage of the total number of schools. This remains the case to the present day.

Although the Bantu Education Act legislated an unequal education system, the Eiselen Report upon which it was based was somewhat more multi-dimensional. An example of this is the elaborate critique the Eiselen Report made of the then-existing native education (Kros 2002). In fact, the “Eiselen Report strikes an oddly progressive note in its condemnation of the indiscriminate use of corporal punishment and its capacity for destroying pupil initiative” as well as the “critique of the economic inadequacy of the ‘reserves’” (Kros 2002, 66). However, some of the kinder aspects of Bantu Education,

“which stressed development and cultural respect, were perverted by the pragmatists of the National Party who had neither the will nor the revenue to devote to the idealist versions of apartheid” (Kros 2002, 68).

The thinking underpinning this ‘selective implementation’ resembles the minor reforms which lay ahead in the 1980s.

South Africa between 1953 - the introduction of the Bantu Education Act - and 1980 - the founding of the De Lange Commission - underwent dramatic changes. The number of protests increased substantially during this time. In response to these protests, the Apartheid government did undertake minor reforms, none of which was sufficient to quell the protests. The mass protests that took place between 1976 and 1980 forced the Apartheid government to take more drastic steps towards reform. This resulted in the formation of the De Lange Commission of 1980. Pressure also came from the business sector to reform education in the interests of ‘human resource development’. Kallaway (1984a, 19) states that,

“The state’s interest in gaining sufficient acceptability among blacks for apartheid policies in education is based on its need to avoid having to resort to force at ever more frequent intervals in order to maintain itself.”

This was the impetus behind establishing the De Lange Commission.

2.2.2.2. DE LANGE COMMISSION OF 1980 AND THE WHITE PAPER OF 1983

The De Lange Commission and Report were the Apartheid government’s most thorough attempts at education reform. Although the De Lange Report put forward a number of

recommendations (including the principle of 'equality') these recommendations were substantially watered down in the subsequent White Paper of 1983. Although many of the De Lange Report's recommendations were not heeded, "educational provision was expanded" although these minor reforms

"fell far short of students' educational and political demands, which increasingly were linked to broader issues of social transformation and the ending of apartheid" (Motala and Vally 2002, 178).

Notably, the De Lange Commission saw the reform of education as the *de facto* reform of the social system. In other words, as it was considered possible to reform the social system through education, it would not be necessary to reform issues external to education, for example, white political control or equal access to occupations (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991). The De Lange Commission's argument was "premised upon the assumption that the education system directly regulates entry into occupations" (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991, 8).

The De Lange Report was the first time that a government-sponsored investigation identified 'equality' and 'openness' as guiding principles (Hartshorne 1999). The Report itself spoke out against restrictions on access to education and provision of facilities based on racial discrimination (Hartshorne 1999). Although there were contradictions and flaws within the Report, it had the potential to substantially reform education. The White Paper of 1983 denied this potential. The state's plan in dealing with de-racialisation was to adopt "delaying tactics on all substantive recommendations for reform that emerged from its own commissions of inquiry" (Kraak 2002, 86). As Nkomo and Mokate (1990, 404) posit,

"any changes which occurred then were insignificant when it comes to education and improving the condition in particular of the African workforce."

The White Paper of 1983 was only one of the reforms to be instituted by the Apartheid government at the time. Another prominent reform was the introduction of tricameralism. Despite the rhetoric of the reforms and the 'winning hearts and minds' campaign, in reality, there were no material changes. As such - after the brief respite between 1980 and 1983 - from 1983 the protests escalated.

During this time period, white schooling continued largely unaffected by the protests. White schools were better resourced, had better-qualified teachers and were closely monitored by Department inspectors. Indian and coloured schools fared slightly better than black schools, in keeping with Apartheid's general 'hierarchy' of races.

2.2.2.3. PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

One of the most dynamic movements at the time in South Africa was that of People's Education. This was a "decisive strategic shift in the education struggle" (Levin 1991, 117). There was a (hoped for) move away from education boycotts and rather a focus on working within the Bantu Education system to provide alternative education and transform the system from within.

There is no clear consensus on the definition of People's Education. As Motala and Vally (2002, 174) posit,

"It was defined variously as an educational movement, a vehicle for political mobilization, an alternative philosophy of education, or as a combination of all three. For the majority of South Africans, People's Education promised liberation from the effects of an unequal and disabling education system and was seen as providing the basis for a future education system in a democratic South Africa."

At the same time as the formation of People's Education, street and block committees and other examples of People's Power were established. It was the "capacity of the mass movement to render the townships ungovernable" which "led to a situation in which alternative organs could begin to be put in place" (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991, 11).

People's Education was formally adopted as a strategy at the National Education Crisis Committee's (NECC) Conference in December 1985 (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991). It was no longer sufficient merely to oppose Bantu education, it was now necessary to construct a new, alternative education (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991). Part of the analysis at the Conference made it clear that "it was necessary to break from the slogan 'liberation now, education later'" and propose "'people's education for people's power' precisely in order to link the education

struggle with the national liberation struggle” (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991, 11). Importantly, it was deemed necessary to get the learners back into the classrooms.

At the December 1985 NECC conference, learners were asked to return to school and the state was issued an ultimatum to meet the NECC’s demands within three months. These demands included,

“the withdrawal of the South African Defence Force from townships, the release of detained students, the repeal of emergency regulations, the constitution of democratic SRCs and the deferment of examinations” (Levin 1991, 124).

If government failed to meet these demands, the conference would meet again and decide on action. The demands were not met and the NECC reconvened in March 1986, and made the same demands and asked learners again to return to school and demand education.

Many students returned to school not only because they saw the possibility for better organization, but also because “the NECC undertook to give content to people’s education in the schools” (Levin 1991, 124). This involved setting up subject commissions in Maths, English and History to create alternative learning materials for People’s Education. Some of these commissions believed that,

“an alternative system of education could have substantial effects on ‘empowerment’, skilling and the production of the new person, in social conditions dominated by the old order” (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991, 12).

In other words, the NECC saw transformation of education as a way in which one could transform individuals who could then play a role in transforming the social system.

Crucially, the NECC “obtained a mandate to negotiate with the state for concessions in the educational field” (Levin 1991, 124). Conservative teachers’ association also joined with the NECC resulting in the state at that stage, then having the chance to negotiate with a moderate alliance. Again, the state missed the opportunity for reform and instead repressed the NECC. Government’s extreme repression during this period,

“prevented the full realization of the vision and goals of People’s Education and that the state’s response to PE was to attempt limited reform and to use repressive means where reforms failed to win support” (Motala and Vally 2002, 175).

The State of Emergency from 1985 to 1990 had severe repercussions for People's Education. The leaders of the NECC were imprisoned and the NECC *de facto* banned (Wolpe and Unterhalter 1991). Other mass democratic education organisations were also banned (Levin 1991). Unofficial teaching texts were prohibited in state schools. Schools were occupied and controlled by the South African Defence Force.

“There were reports of students being forced to write at gunpoint, of exam rooms being tear gassed, of students and teachers being arrested” (Weber 1992, 105; in Fiske and Ladd 2004, 49).

Although oppression and violence were present in colonial South Africa, the scale of oppression and violence was far greater under Apartheid. The rebellion against that oppression gained significant ground under Apartheid. The state education apparatus sought to indoctrinate feelings of inferiority in black people. People's Education, and indeed the entire anti-Apartheid movement, could be argued to be a rebellion against that and a drive towards self-determination. In a sense, the anti-Apartheid struggle can be presented as people wishing to redefine citizenship and what it means to be South African. During this time, however, the ‘hierarchy of citizenship’ as defined by Apartheid remained dominant.

2.2.2.4. CLASE MODELS, EDUCATION RENEWAL STRATEGY AND NEGOTIATIONS

The situation of the 1980s was untenable and change became inevitable. With the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990 and the unbanning of the ANC, political negotiations began in earnest. As Levin (1991, 129) correctly predicted, the

“De Klerk government seems willing to abandon white political domination in return for white economic domination. At the same time, however, it seeks a political solution formulated by political leaders over the heads of their respective constituencies.”

The negotiations were a political settlement that was “underwritten by a series of agreements, pacts and accords covering a variety of social spheres”, including education (Badat 1997, 9).

Generally, the negotiations around education were more about “incremental reform and reconstruction of structures and institutions” than the complete displacement of the old institutions (Badat 1997, 9-10).

Arguably, a factor contributing towards the incremental reform was the unpreparedness of the opposition in terms of policy-making. As Badat posits,

“Politically repressive conditions and the constant battle for survival by individuals and organisations meant a lack of physical and intellectual space where policies could be formulated” (Badat 1997, 22).

Furthermore, in the 1970s and 1980s there was no ‘due date’ for the dismantling of Apartheid and thus the focus was on defeating Apartheid rather than the development of policies for a post-Apartheid South Africa. From 1989 onwards through to the first years of democracy, there was an exponential increase in policy-making. Not only because there was now the freedom to do so, but because the ‘new South Africa’ needed dramatically different policies in order to exist.

The general shape of negotiations can best be shown in the transformation of white state schools into Model C schools, thus exchanging political domination for economic domination. In the late 1980s, House of Assembly schools could choose between four Clase Models. Most schools elected to become Model C schools, thus, parent communities took “full responsibility for the upkeep, finances and governance of their local schools” (Kallaway 1997, 46). Along with

“the self-governing and self-financing ethos of the Model C schools were large increases in school fees, effectively putting such schools beyond the reach of the majority of black students” (Badat 1997, 11).

In combination with the historical pattern of Apartheid residential areas “the only immediate beneficiary of the deracialisation of schooling was the small, emergent black middle class” (Badat 1997, 11). Generally, the crisis in formerly black education

“continued unabated, including what has come to be referred to as the ‘breakdown’ in the ‘culture of learning’, and the crisis of legitimacy for the structures of educational governance” (Badat 1997, 11).

Most of the negotiations and policymaking during this time period revolved around “issues of structure, finance and governance” (Greenstein 1997, 127). Some authors have pointed out and criticized how little attention was placed on curriculum reform during the negotiations (Badat 1997, Kallaway 1997).

One of the most prominent policy initiatives was the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) which was convened by the NECC in 1989. NEPI was a project lasting two years that

brought together 300 participants from a variety of fields, including academia, mass organisations, politicians, researchers and other relevant stakeholders (Badat 1997). The objective was “to generate policy options and their implications in the context of comparative educational experience” which were guided by the following five principles; “non-racism, non-sexism, democracy, a unitary system and redress” (Badat 1997, 23).

The NEPI Curriculum report saw non-racism as the centre of its work. The starting point of the report was that curriculum needed,

“to counter the legacy of the past, in which apartheid curriculum focused on diversity at the expense of commonality by putting exaggerated emphasis on cultural difference; it thus blocked the emergence of a common South African citizenship with common rights, responsibilities and entitlements” (Greenstein 1997, 128-9).

From this point of time onwards, the tension between unity and diversity – a central pillar in building a common citizenship – would become a principal issue.

The ANC’s solution to this conundrum was ‘unity in diversity’ which formed the centrepiece of the ANC Policy Framework which was released in January 1994. As Greenstein argues,

“Unity in diversity, an increasingly common but ambiguous concept, is presented as a magic formula that would reconcile contradictory principles, without seriously tackling their implications” (Greenstein 1997, 130).

This theme is further developed in a later chapter.

Starting in 1989, the Apartheid government undertook its own internal reform. The Department of Native Education developed CUMSA (Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa) in 1989, the last edition of which was published in 1994 (Greenstein 1997). It gives equal opportunities for all regardless of race, colour, creed or sex, but included no thorough rethinking of the curriculum. This theme - one of emotive rhetoric, but minor reform - can also be found in the Apartheid government’s Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS) which was issued in 1991/2. The Apartheid government, like the ANC, were influenced by the ideas of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international organisations (Kallaway 1997). The ERS was technocratic in its approach and informed the Apartheid government’s unilateral restructuring during the early 1990s (Badat 1997).

One negotiating forum that had tangible power was the National Education and Training Forum (NETF) which was established in August 1993 due to demands made clear through mass strikes in the education sector (Badat 1997). The NETF was aimed at,

“bringing together the government and the members of the National Education Conference with the objectives of calling a halt to unilateral restructuring of education and prompting a negotiated restructuring of education during the transition” (Badat 1997, 12).

Furthermore,

“The specific objectives of the NETF revolved around effectively addressing crisis issues in education, reaching agreement on the transition from apartheid education to a restructured system that redressed inequalities and contributed to development needs and building ‘agreement on core values and broad policy frameworks for a future system’” (Badat 1997, 13).

Perhaps the most important aspect was that the Founding Agreement of the NETF bound the government to act upon decisions reached by the NETF (Badat 1997).

After 1994, the NETF’s Curriculum Technical sub-committee started the process of ‘cleansing’ the existing curriculum with the result being cosmetic changes to the existing curriculum (Greenstein 1997). Given the time pressure, this is understandable. Significantly, this was the first educational reform since the Government of National Unity (GNU) took office.

From 1989 onwards, the political space to redefine citizenship and education was made available. This was an opportunity for the ideas of citizenship present in People’s Education to come through. However, the nature of the transition did not make this possible.

2.2.3. EDUCATION IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA 1994 – 2010

Fataar (1997, 80) warned that “providing schooling of poor quality could contribute to existing patterns of inequality in schooling in South Africa.” One could argue that this has happened in South Africa. Democratic South Africa, while having made substantial progress, has yet to ‘turn education around’.

Perhaps the most prominent policy topic during the first years of democracy was that of nation building; building a common South African citizenship based upon the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108, 1996). Given the centuries of the construction and reinforcement of a hierarchy of citizenship, it was essential to put significant effort into building a unitary state with common and equal citizenship in both policy and practice. During these early years there was

“an implicit notion that culture can be constructed from above; all that is needed is for the state to choose the right ingredients and the desired outcome will emerge” (Greenstein 1997, 137).

There have been a number of large, public nation-building projects, often centred around major sporting events, including the World Cups for both soccer and rugby.

Nation-building became an “official state doctrine”, with a “similar status to that of ‘non-racialism’ in ANC ideology” (Greenstein 1997, 137). Greenstein (1997, 137) argues that the vagueness of the term allows all to “retain ostensible loyalty to the new orthodoxy” even while it “frequently serves to obscure problems rather than clarify disagreements and allow open debate.” Furthermore, Greenstein (1997) differentiates between a *common citizenship* and a *national identity*, the former being the government’s responsibility, the latter, not. However, living in such a segregated South Africa has meant that it feels necessary to officially build a new national identity, given that the old identity was also built by the state.

The White Paper on Education and Training (WPET) released in March 1995 was the first substantial education policy put forward by the democratic government. The primary principle of WPET was that “all South Africans without exception share the same inalienable rights, equal citizenship, and common national destiny, and that all forms of bias.... are dehumanising” (Greenstein 1997, 132). Mutual respect was deemed essential.

In a language very similar to that of the ANC Policy Framework, which has become the standard formation, the WPET recognises diversity but subordinates it to the imperative of the unity of South African people. It is implied that the unity of the nation is strengthened by this recognition of diversity. As Greenstein (1997, 132) succinctly stated, “slogans, politically

appealing as they might be, are insufficient in coming to terms with complex realities.” As Badat (1997, 22) argues,

“it was also imperative to move beyond rhetoric and slogans and develop education policy options with the potential to address the major contemporary educational problems.”

2.2.3.1. CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA 1996

While the policies, acts and various pieces of legislation in place in the early 1990s were a combination of old and new, there was one all-new policy in South Africa: the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108, 1996). The Constitution is underpinned by three principles: freedom, equality and dignity. These are, in many respects, the opposite of the principles that guided Apartheid. During the drafting of the South African Constitution over one million contributions were received. It is in the Constitution that one finds the central understanding of citizenship and the vision of what it is to be a citizen of South Africa. The Constitutional Court is mandated to ensure that laws and policies are in keeping with the principles of the Constitution. This policy, theoretically, provides a clear framework upon which to base a fair and equal education system.

In an example of how the Constitution simultaneously supports equality and leaves space for (economic) differences, the Constitution protects the right to open independent schools:

“Everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that –

- a) do not discriminate on the basis of race;
- b) are registered with the state; and
- c) maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions” (Constitution 1996, S29(3)).

This is a significant right considering that under Apartheid it was very difficult to operate independent schools (Hofmeyr and Lee 2004). The growth of independent schools has been significant since 1994. In 1990 there were 103,854 learners enrolled in private schools. (Hofmeyr and Lee 2004, 150). In 2000, there were 256,283 learners in private schools, with the 2009 figure standing at 386,098 (Roodt 2011). Nevertheless, private school enrolment still forms a tiny percentage of the total enrolment in South Africa at only 2.1% (Hofmeyr and Lee

2004, 143). The sector of private or independent schools in South Africa is very diverse varying from traditional high-fee independent schools often with religious origins, to low-fee private schools offering an alternative to the public school system. Quality, fees and legality within the independent school sector varies considerably.

2.2.3.2. SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS ACT AND NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY ACT

In terms of direct changes to the education system, it is the South African Schools Act (SASA) and the National Education Policy Act (NEPA) that dismantled the Apartheid education system and created a unitary education system. Both of these policies, along with the Constitution, are discussed in great detail in the methodology chapter and in the policy analysis chapter in which the vision of citizenship present in these policies is distilled. For the purposes of this chapter, it is sufficient to state that the SASA and NEPA are in line with the Constitution and, indeed, use the Constitution as both the starting point and goal.

Preceding sections on the history of education have briefly discussed the state and quality of education at the time. South Africa's current education sector is not an equal one. Above, the independent schools in South Africa were briefly discussed. Today, former Model-C schools tend to be the most 'successful' state schools in South Africa in terms of Matric results, infrastructure and teachers (Roodt 2011). As will be borne out by the research, the education system in South Africa remains an unequal one despite the three policies analysed in this thesis and the central role of equality in each of them. South Africa is thus in a situation where the policies of citizenship are progressive and based on human rights, where in practice, this author suggests, this is not the case.

2.3. CONCLUSION

Citizenship as proposed and present in the South African education system has been discussed throughout the preceding historical overview. This section serves as a summary of those

discussions. As is clear throughout the historical overview, the ideas and practices of Apartheid extend back through the years of colonialism.

Perhaps primary among the characteristics of Apartheid education, is that of a hierarchy of citizenship based on race. The development of this phenomenon has been highlighted throughout the preceding historical overview. It is this which the democratic South Africa counters so eloquently through the Constitution and subsequent policies.

There are a great number of significant differences between Apartheid South Africa and democratic South Africa. As Hartshorne (1999, 6) points out,

“in an authoritarian, and particularly totalitarian, state, control of education tends to be harsh, tight and repressive. In such cases the emphasis is placed on the needs of the state instead of on the needs of the individual and the society of which he or she is a part.”

The education system present in South Africa today, at least in policy, is diametrically opposite to this, with a focus on transparency and openness. These principles are being challenged, however, in other policy areas within South Africa, most notably in that of media.

Under such a repressive regime, it is still possible for change to take place, as is evidenced by the dismantling of Apartheid. Despite the Apartheid regime’s totalitarian policies, as Hartshorne (1999, 7) argues, “in the end, education finds its outcome in the classroom and in the direct teacher-learner relationship.” Thus, it is possible for freedom fighters to grow and develop in such a regime. As Hartshorne (1999, 8) continues,

“Powerful as the state may be, it cannot completely control either teachers or learners, nor what happens between them in the day-to-day interaction in the classroom: they are part of society, and of society’s institutions and associations such as the family, churches, trade unions, the media, and community organisations of all kinds. These form the network and the matrix within which education systems exist.”

Schools (and communities) are sites of struggle, where both repression and freedom are possible, even under a regime such as Apartheid.

Although People’s Education was a progressive moment in an otherwise oppressive policy environment, People’s Education was unable to make the difference that it could have as the revolutionary principles present in People’s Education were not included in the policies of the

transition to democracy. In fact, the transition was marked by a lack of social democratic thought, and the growing influence of neo-liberal thought.

The initial halcyon days of democracy in the 1990s have been replaced by an increasing cynicism, at least in the media.⁶ One of the reasons for the difficulty in making the education system equal is the built-in time lag in education in both personnel and policy. There is no *tabula rasa* upon which a new, perfect education system can be written. Instead, the education system consists of an amalgam of past and present, despite a significant number of new and progressive policies.

There have been radical changes in the curriculum over the past decade with the ultimate goal of creating those 'good citizens'. Outcomes-Based Education can, in many ways, be considered a reaction against Christian National Education. However, an unequal and poorly trained cohort of teachers were unable to put this curriculum into practice effectively. Despite South Africa's progressive policies, many South African learners are not receiving education of a high quality.

This historical overview has given an indication of the historical origins of segregation and how – in terms of policy – a democratic South African government has sought to overcome that segregation. In particular, this chapter has aimed to highlight the development of a 'hierarchy of citizenship'. This hierarchy not only divided society into a system of 'white' and 'non-white' but placed 'white' *above* 'non-white'. Usually, 'non-white' is assumed to mean 'black' to the exclusion of people of other races.

While this chapter has discussed the history of citizenship in South Africa, the next chapter will review the literature on citizenship.

⁶ This is remarked on by several of the interview participants.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The primary research goal of this thesis is to investigate how citizenship is envisioned in selected education policies and how citizenship is experienced and understood by learners. This chapter serves as a theoretical framework for this analysis. As such, several relevant topics in the literature are explored in order to provide a framework for both the research questions and the thesis as a whole.

This chapter consists of five sections, the first being this introduction. In the second section, citizenship, or 'social citizenship' as it is often referred to in the literature, will be discussed as a concept along with the three primary 'types' into which it can be divided. The third section consists of a discussion on globalisation's effect on citizenship. In order to understand how experiences of citizenship differ, the literature covering the differing experiences of citizenship based on race, class and gender will be discussed in the fourth section. The final section, in conclusion, summarises the discussions in this chapter.

3.2. CITIZENSHIP

This section will discuss citizenship as described in the literature of, primarily, Social Policy. In particular the three primary 'types' that can be identified in citizenship will be discussed: liberal/social democratic, conservative/neo-liberal and socialist/left social democratic.⁷

⁷ There are also conceptions of citizenship that could be considered quite separate from the above categories. Bennett, Wells and Rank (2009) present an alternative conception of citizenship in that they divide citizenship into two possible paradigms: the dutiful citizen and the actualising citizen. The dutiful citizen has a sense of duty to conventional political involvement in the form of voting and keeping abreast with issues in the news. The actualising citizen is more concerned with embracing issues that "connect to lifestyle values, ranging from moral concerns to environmental quality" and participating in media creation (Bennett, Wells and Rank 2009, 106).

Perhaps the most all-encompassing definition of citizenship is provided by Faulks (2006, 123-4) who argues that,

“Citizenship is a political concept, defined by a package of rights and responsibilities, which expresses the form of social membership in a given political community. It is both a dynamic and contested concept, as rights and responsibilities change over time as the result of social struggle, economic change and shifts in governing ideology. Indeed, part of the appeal of citizenship as a political tool is its inherent flexibility.”

Citizenship can also be viewed as a form of membership, and the question can then be asked, ‘member of what?’. Osler and Starkey (2010, 243) argue that in a legal sense citizenship is “anchored in the rights and responsibilities deriving from sovereign nation states.” For Heater (1992, 25), the strength and health of a state requires “the cohesion that derives from the allegiance of its inhabitants.” There is broad consensus within the literature on these two ideas – a citizen is bound in a relationship with a state, and that state’s strength, for better or worse, relies on the cohesion of its citizenry.

Identifying the participants in the relationship (i.e. state and citizen) does not describe the nature or content of that relationship. Turner (1991, 3) posits that citizenship can be defined as the set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shapes the flow of resources to persons and social groups. An alternate description of this relationship is that of Delanty (2003, 602) who argues that citizenship is a learning process that involves “common experiences, cognitive processes, forms of cultural translation and discourses of empowerment” and not merely the “membership of a polity”. Citizenship is, however, not only about membership of a polity, practices, norms and so on, but also about feelings of belonging. The ‘emotion’ of citizenship can be found in nationalism, patriotism, national pride and so on.

Related to these affective issues is Bentley and Habib’s (2008, 11) assertion that being a citizen is a matter of choice; “a person is a South African because they want to be a South African – they live here and see this as home.” This points to a subtle distinction in the experience of citizenship. Citizens are legally bound to a state and obliged to obey the laws of that state, but their feeling of citizenship is a personal choice. The degree to which that ‘personal choice’ is

possible, however, depends on a number of factors including one's socialisation and the political dispensation. None of these factors are, however, static. As Osler and Leung (2011, 200) state,

“all cultures are constantly evolving and individual identities are shaped by a range of cultural and political forces and, indeed, by prevailing political propaganda.”

The feeling or identity of citizenship is not static, nor is it consistent. In order to gather the fullest possible vision of South African citizenship during the later chapter on the analysis of education policy, citizenship – as a concept – will be viewed in all its diverse and multiple meanings and interpretations.

3.2.1. FORMS OF SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

In this section, three broad 'types' of citizenship will be discussed. The categories below are idealised types and thus do not conform to political realities. Furthermore, citizenship in practice and policy can often consist of an amalgamation of seemingly contradictory aspects drawn from different categories of citizenship.

In conceptualising social citizenship for this thesis, there are three primary approaches: a liberal / social democratic approach (Marshall, 1975); a conservative / neo-liberal approach (Hayek, 1982; Murray, 1984) and a socialist / left social democratic approach (Titmuss, 1974; Dean, 2002; Lister, 1997) There are fundamental contradictions and dissonances within these categories. However, in order to simplify the analytical process, the varying approaches to social citizenship have been grouped as concisely as possible.

3.2.1.1. LIBERAL AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

Marshallian citizenship (1975), which falls within the broad parameters of liberal/social democratic citizenship, suggests that citizenship rights evolve from a basis of civil rights to then

include political rights and finally culminating in the addition of social rights. Marshall based this on the 'evolution' of rights evident in a study of modern British history, the result being a UK-centric model of citizenship. This model was presented as the process by which the citizenry accumulated rights culminating in mature citizenship with all three types of rights present.

Marshall identified a clash between inegalitarian capitalism and egalitarian citizenship. The role of the state in his model is to ameliorate the inequalities of capitalism but to leave social class otherwise intact as, it is argued, capitalism does benefit people from all social classes only at different rates.

Marshall's conceptualisation has been criticised by the 'left' for, among other reasons, not identifying the capitalist system as inherently unequal and set to only deepen those inequalities. Further critique comes from authors such as Esping-Anderson (1990), claiming that individuals need to be de-commodified from the capitalist labour market. Faulk's (2006, 124) critique of Marshall centres around "his focus upon the administration of rights by the agents of the state at the expense of the participatory aspects of citizenship."

A further concern is the absence of gender. Lister (1997) identifies a 'false universalism' which delineates citizenship around the 'male' with a privileging of work in the productive sector while overlooking work in the reproductive sector. There are similar concerns around race, where existing hierarchies of power (language, culture, etc.) remain undisturbed despite progressive legislation.

The critique of Marshallian citizenship from the conservative or neo-liberal approach is centred around a limitation of state involvement as it is argued that the state is overly and inappropriately involved in Marshallian citizenship, i.e. it does not limit its involvement to protecting negative freedoms (civil and political rights) and leaving all other matters to the market.

Marshall's social citizenship differs from the wider, liberal view of citizenship although they share similar tenets. The liberal conception of citizenship "focuses on the freedom and rights of the individual" (Heater 1992, 20). These freedoms and rights have been struggled for since the seventeenth century with ever-greater extension of the "definition and application" thereof (Heater 1992, 20). The result and significance of this is

"the gradual emancipation of the individual's life from arbitrary state oppression and the steady enhancement of the rights of the individuals vis-à-vis the state" (Heater 1992, 21).

While for many in South Africa the extension of equal citizenship has been experienced in policy, the situation in practice is different.

3.2.1.2. CONSERVATIVE AND NEO-LIBERAL SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

This form of social citizenship is epitomised by the work of authors such as Hayek (1982) and Murray (1984). The central tenets of this politically conservative form of citizenship are in close alignment with the economics of neo-liberalism. Politically, only negative freedoms are to be protected, in other words, only those rights which require the state to prevent certain occurrences, rather than to take action. Thus, the right of private property will be protected, but the right to housing will not be considered the task of the government, but rather that of the market.

There is arguably a symbiotic relationship between political conservatism and economic neo-liberalism. The state creates and protects the market in which economic activity is conducted, and political elites tend to act so as not to alienate the major commercial enterprises which dominate the state-created market. There is further discussion on this issue in a later section covering globalisation's effect on citizenship.

For neo-liberal social citizenship - to use Marshall's typology - it is only civil and political rights which should be protected by the state in order to defend individual freedoms. These individual

freedoms form the basis of liberal human rights. Any state action beyond the protection of these negative freedoms is seen as coercive. All matters beyond the ambit of 'negative freedoms' fall to 'the market' to provide.

This form of citizenship has ties to deficit understandings of citizenship i.e. failure in society is a result of the individual's poor character rather than a structurally unjust system. Biesta, Lawy and Kelly (2009, 7) define "conservative and neo-liberal ways of thinking" as those "in which individuals themselves are blamed for their social malfunctioning and are made responsible for working out a solution."

For Faulks (2006) in the 1980s the United Kingdom made the transition to neo-liberal citizenship, at the centre of which were market rights. These rights included "property ownership, consumer rights, and choice between service providers" which were more 'empowering' than "collectivist welfare rights" (Faulks 2006, 125). Along with these developments came a redefinition of the active citizen which now constituted someone who was a

"law-abiding, materially successfully individual who was willing and able to exploit the opportunities created by the promotion of market rights, while demonstrating occasional compassion for those less fortunate than themselves" (Faulks 2006, 125).

These values infiltrated the school system in which the purpose of education was redefined "in terms of individual choice and competition rather than as an expression and reproducer of community and common values" (Faulks 2006, 129).

3.2.1.3. SOCIALIST AND LEFT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

A third 'type' of conceptualisations of citizenship is the socialist or left social democratic social citizenship evidenced by the work of Titmuss, (1974), Dean (2002) and Lister (1997), among others. This form of citizenship labels the existing political and economic systems as structurally unequal and unjust. For this approach to social citizenship, it is considered a citizen's right to

seek and receive state support in the form of education, healthcare, pensions and so on. The idea of a 'welfare state' is linked to this conception of social citizenship.

There are, however, variations within this paradigm as how best to correct the inequality and injustices. For example, Offe (1984) sees the kind of social policy which ameliorates the effects of capitalism on a society's poorer citizens as reinforcing or supporting the capitalist agenda. Offe (1984) gives the example of state-provided education as controlling the entry of people to the work force.

There are, however, other 'left' scholars who criticise the views of Offe and argue that the rights in social citizenship can be of real value to citizens.

Titmuss (1974) was a leading thinker in social policy and created the concept of 'diswelfare' in which the capitalist system created 'diswelfare' for working-class and poorer peoples of a population. There is thus an obligation of the state to respond to these 'diswelfares' as they created the circumstances which reduced the life chances of these individuals. However, Titmuss advocates a universal application of these citizenship rights on the basis that this contributes to social solidarity within society.

3.3. CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBALISATION

Thus far in the chapter, the differing 'types' of citizenship have been discussed. Citizenship, however, is not only determined by these conceptual and abstract ideas, but also by global historical trends. In the instance of citizenship – with the central role played by states in citizenship – historical trends such as globalisation have a profound effect on the concept of citizenship. The work of Rizvi and Lingard (2010) and their approach to globalisation act as a framework for the discussion in this section on globalisation's impact upon citizenship.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010, 22-23) argue that globalisation is contested notion that

“refers not only to shifts in patterns of transnational economic activities, especially with respect to the movement of capital and finance, but also to the ways in which contemporary political and cultural configurations have been reshaped by major advances in information technologies. It is a concept that is used not only to describe a set of empirical changes, but also to prescribe desired interpretations of and responses to these changes. Within this mix, globalisation, affects the ways in which we both interpret and imagine the possibilities of our lives.”

Globalisation also provides a paradigm through which it is possible to understand “the various ways in which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 25). Although globalisation is, in many ways, made possible by technological improvements, there is an historical precedent. Colonialism “sought to bring communities across vast distances into a singular political space, controlled and coordinated from a centre” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 25). One of the primary motivators of colonialism was the acquisition of capital. This is also true of globalisation as will be discussed below.

One of Rizvi and Lingard’s (2010, 22) primary theses is that policies are no longer determined solely by national bodies; but instead “are forged through a range of complex processes that occur in transnational and globally networked spaces.” In the 1990s, social theorists claimed that sovereign states had lost much of their authority over both their territories and citizens, however, in the present decade with the discourse of ‘security’ and ‘war on terror’,

“it has become clear that many powerful states, such as the United States, have reasserted their authority; and that national policy authority is indispensable in coordinating and controlling global mobility, interactions and institutions” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 29).

Furthermore, the interests of the ‘security discourse’ are closely linked to those of global capitalism (Rizvi and Lingard 2010).

As was briefly discussed in an earlier section, capitalism within national boundaries requires a state to provide the required legal framework. This is also the case with global capitalism which

“requires strong, reliable nation-states, which do not pose great risks to global economic activity but can influence and coordinate the behaviour of their citizens” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 29).

Two of the ways in which the neoliberal global agenda is advocated are through, first, presenting it as the only option, and secondly, through pressure from international organisations and agreements (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). The particular view of education most prevalent in globalisation discourse, in other words the

“so-called neoliberal view of education, is widely promoted by most intergovernmental and many non-governmental organisations and is readily embraced by national systems” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 22).

When globalisation is discussed or expressed it is “in a language that is increasingly magisterial, demanding the implicit consent of national governments and ordinary people alike” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 36).

Globalisation of economic activity not only requires the cooperation of states, but also the creation of “social subjects sufficiently invested in its operations, as well as cultural practices predisposed towards its products and services” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 28). Although globalisation is, thus, often seen as a move towards conformity - which in many ways is true - it is also true that

“the globalised world is fundamentally heterogenous, unequal and conflictive, rather than integrated and seamless. It is experienced differently by different communities, and even individuals, and is sustained and created by people and institutions with widely different histories” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 24).

With the increased movement of people and communication technologies,

“the assumption of discrete national formations can no longer be taken for granted, as there is now an ever-increasing level of cultural interactions across national and ethnic communities” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 30).

Plural and hybrid identities, that are not necessarily tied to a territory, are possible. A nation state representing the geographical and cultural boundaries of ‘a people’ is increasingly irrelevant. A national identity is, in fact, “highly controversial and arguably unachievable” (Faulks 2006, 133). For Jansen, Chionel and Dekkers (2006, 193) the current public sphere is a “melting pot of local and regional communities, national traditions, global networks and virtual realities”. In their analysis, the ‘nation-state’ and “traditional civil society” are still prominent sources of identity, but they “have lost their paramount position” (Jansen, Chionel and Dekkers 2006, 193).

However, reactionary or xenophobic politics can also result from globalisation’s increased interconnectedness. As argued by Bentley and Habib (2008, 4) globalisation

“has the effect of both promoting the shift to a cosmopolitan tradition, and simultaneously undermining this through creating the conditions for its losers to return to a politics of the local.”

Rizvi and Lingard (2010, 30) argue that

“issues of economic and political globalisation are inextricably linked, and that public policy, including education, is now increasingly required to serve the interests of global capitalism.”

Education has traditionally played an important role in nation-states as it carried “the narratives of the nation” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010, 30). It is thus important to consider how globalisation and its varying effects impact upon education in South Africa.

For Rapoport (2010, 180) the impact of globalisation on citizenship and citizenship education has been clear, not only by

“infusing a more distinct global perspective but also by challenging the core principles and foundations of citizenship as an idiosyncratically nation or nation-state related concept.”

International organisations themselves are producing materials on democratic and active citizenship and citizenship education (Buck and Geissel 2009).

The concept of citizenship has been affected by globalisation in a variety of ways. Although the effect of globalisation has been studied extensively in other areas of the world, this is not necessarily true of South Africa and thus it is difficult to ascertain the influence of globalisation on South African citizenship.

3.4. DIFFERING EXPERIENCES OF CITIZENSHIP

Following the above sections, and in order to allow a full discussion on citizenship, it is necessary to discuss the ways in which experiences of citizenship may vary. Considering the history of education in South Africa as discussed in an earlier chapter, it has already been argued that there was a hierarchy of citizenship based on race in colonial and Apartheid South Africa. Altering such a well-established social system has provided democratic South Africa with a significant challenge.

For Bentley and Habib (2008, 6), the

“big challenge in this agenda is how to ensure redress, promoting the political and socio-economic affirmation of those who were historically excluded, while simultaneously retaining the commitment of the descendants of those who were historically advantaged.”

The processes of reconciliation, redress and transformation provide a number of challenges in this sense, as in the creation of a more equal South Africa privileges that were held by white people can no longer be held exclusively by that group, nor can society be expected to 'equal out' of its own accord, instead the status quo must be challenged (i.e. processes such as affirmative action are necessary to move towards a more equal society).

It is not only along racial lines which differing experiences may be identified. Although each person's experiences and understandings are unique, it is possible to identify 'markers' along which divisions and differences can commonly be found. For Jansen, Chionel and Dekkers (2006, 192) the

"differences in class, sex, ethnicity, age, and so on, bring about differentiation and unevenness in the distribution of options between social categories – both in their chances of realizing options as well as in developing wants, needs and desires upon which options depend."

This is one of the key barriers to the experience of equal citizenship by all.

In South Africa, the

"harsh inequalities in the educational environment and its continuing raced, gendered and classed character, all show limited redress in the form of redistribution of wealth and educational outcomes, despite explicit policies to achieve it" (Chisholm 2008, 231).

As an example, the changes to the education system during the transition including "freedom of movement, new fee structures and the introduction of choice in selecting schools" resulted in great flux within the system, and a pattern of movement that can be summarised as children moving 'up the hierarchy' of schools, for example, white children moving to private schools, Indian and coloured children moving to white schools and black children moving to Indian and coloured schools (Chisholm 2008, 234). The changes are no longer so clearly defined along race lines, but the broad trend remains. Chisholm (2008, 259) argues that

"social and economic inequalities persist, that education plays a key role in reproducing these and that while race continues to play a role both in exclusion and in redress, economic inequalities and new pro-choice policies have reinforced unequal educational outcomes."

For the purposes of this thesis, three primary 'divisions' will be considered. These are race, gender and class. Each of these 'divisions' will be briefly discussed below.

3.4.1. GENDER

Gender, in other words, the divide between that which is constructed as male and female has an impact on the lived experiences of citizens. Although it is a relatively recent phenomenon, feminism, and particularly the 'problematizing' of gender has opened up new avenues for analysis, in both academia and in society.

Many traditional societies (and arguably modern societies too) are patriarchal and have clear ideas on the 'role' of women. This role is usually linked to the home, or private sphere, while the role of men takes place in the more public sphere, particularly the world of work and politics (Lister 1997). This has changed significantly since the start of the twentieth century, but there are ways in which sexism and patriarchy persist. For example, while women are now allowed to work in the public sphere, there is a pay gap. Men are paid more than women for the same kind of work at the same level. This is true for many developed and developing countries.

Furthermore, the high levels of violence against women, particularly in South Africa, speak to a culture which allows for the 'ownership' of women, or, at least, one where misogyny is prevalent. Women are often not granted the same respect as men and in the workplace will have to work harder to earn the respect which might be accorded as a matter of course to a man (Nussbaum 2000). The literature suggests that gender might be a key determinant in identifying differences between the experiences and understandings of individual interview participants.

3.4.2. RACE

Although racism, discrimination, colonialism and emerging democracies are not unique to South Africa, this country's particular set of circumstances is. Bentley and Habib (2008, 9) argue

that “race as an aspect of identity is foregrounded in many respects as the key marker of inequality – political, economic and social.” Both Bentley and Habib (2008), and Hammett and Staeheli (2010) found that redress and affirmative action have, in some cases, had adverse effects in that they have not promoted a more cohesive society, nor have the benefits been equally shared. An example of this can be found in Bentley and Habib (2008, 24) in which,

“some within the African community, for instance, felt that the inclusion of coloureds and Indians within the affirmed group enabled these citizens to unfairly monopolise the openings afforded to the redress project. Entrepreneurs within the coloured and Indian communities lashed back, claiming that these racial groups are once again the targets of discrimination.”

Under colonial and Apartheid rule, citizenship was based on the ideals of ‘white citizens’ and ‘black subjects’ (Staeheli and Hammett 2010, 669). Equal citizenship is an idea found in the liberal tradition and is one of the founding principles of a democratic South Africa. When South Africa made the transition to democracy, every South African, by law, possessed equal rights and shared a common citizenship. This thesis will examine the ways in which the experiences and understandings of citizenship by interview participants differ along racial lines.

3.4.3. CLASS

Under Apartheid, ‘race’ and ‘class’⁸ were, in many ways, interchangeable. Under a democratic dispensation, that is no longer the case. However, in such an economically unequal society, class could be considered a key determinant of the understanding or experience of citizenship by learners.

In a society in which economics have such a significant effect on the life-chances of individuals it is important to consider class. For example, in Bullock *et al’s* (2010) study in the United Kingdom, education (particularly after the age of 16) significantly increased a child’s chance of escaping poverty. Aside from known challenges (such as poor learners placing more emphasis on social acceptance than learning within the school), an additional challenge comes in the lack

⁸ Class is a complex concept with multiple possible meanings. For the purposes of this thesis, ‘class’ is used to represent the level of income or wealth.

of out-of-school activities for poor learners. In the study, Bullock *et al* (2010) found that learners who took part in out-of-school activities know,

“how to develop and sustain supportive educational relationships, how to work with others, make sense of, and build on other’s expertise [and] appear to be vitally important in improving life chances”;

these children in turn

“may stand a better chance of success in terms of developing transferable skills, valuing on-going learning and [ultimately] gaining rewarding employment” (Bullock *et al* 2010, 105).

In this thesis, learners from three economically different schools are interviewed to attempt to understand the influence this has on their views and experiences of citizenship.

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. As an interpretivist study tends to be emergent in its development of theory, the goal of this chapter is not to present a concise theoretical framework, but rather to provide a theoretical framework which ‘illuminates’ the general landscape of citizenship.

Through a discussion of the ‘types’ of social citizenship, it is possible to understand more fully the values and principles present in these different conceptions of citizenship and thus better equip the researcher for identifying the relevant themes during the documentary analysis and the analysis of interview transcripts. These conceptions of citizenship are, however, affected by historical trends (albeit in ways which are not always clear). These discussions focussed primarily on citizenship as an abstract concept rather than the practical ramifications of citizenship. Although citizenship has predominantly been spoken of as a ‘universal’ concept to this point, the experience of citizenship varies depending on a number of factors, including race, class and gender.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the methodology for this thesis. This includes the documentary analysis of education policies, the interviews with learners and the analysis of those transcripts. This thesis operates within an interpretivist paradigm and this chapter will discuss this thesis' particular approach, including the epistemology, ontology and methodology of this thesis and the use of the case study approach. In terms of research techniques, two main methods are being utilised, the first, documentary analysis influenced by Critical Discourse Analysis and the second, semi-structured interviews. The analysis of the interview data will also be discussed.

As is central in any research, the matter of ethics is examined carefully, including the issues of informed consent, confidentiality and *primum non nocere*. The twin measures of any study, validity and reliability, will also be discussed. The positionality of the researcher as a middle-class white female will be reflected upon as both a mitigating and aggravating factor in conducting this research, and in the analysis thereof.

4.2. METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION – EPISTEMOLOGY, ONTOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

Any research paradigm can be viewed according to three categories: ontology, epistemology and methodology. Ontology is the nature of reality, according to the paradigm in question. Epistemology is the relationship between that reality and the researcher undertaking the study. The methodology discusses the actual methods and techniques utilised in a study.

Positivism, based on early Greek thought and developments during the Enlightenment amongst others, was the default research paradigm with its tenets of an objective, external reality that

can be known, which could be studied by a researcher who stands separate and overcomes their subjectivity by avoiding bias. The research proceeds

“through a logicodeductive process of hypothesis testing involving the operationalization, manipulation, and analysis of variables” (Jacobson et al 2007, 2).

While positivism maintains prominence in the natural sciences, it has become less dominant in the social sciences where positivism’s

“application to the study of human behaviour where the immense complexity of human nature and the elusive and intangible quality of social phenomena contrast strikingly with the order and regularity of the natural world” (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 11).

Positivism, and science, have been criticised for taking a ‘mechanistic’ view of human behaviour and not giving adequate space to issues of choice, individuality and morality.

Possible research paradigms can be roughly divided into positivism and post-positivism. Post-positivist paradigms, such as interpretivism and critical theory, approach the issues of ontology, epistemology and methodology from a diametrically opposite position to that of positivism. Post-positivists operate in a world of multiple and shifting meanings, with less emphasis on an external, law-like reality. The epistemology of post-positivists is one of interpretation with “meaning” existing only in interpretations of experiences, which are themselves already interpretations. Positivism’s ‘objective researcher’ is an impossibility in post-positivism.

Possible research techniques can be divided into qualitative and quantitative techniques. Qualitative techniques involve research that cannot be quantified, such as that done through focus groups, interviews, etc. Qualitative research provides the tools to explore and understand the meaning that individuals or groups attribute to a particular social problem or question (Creswell, 1994). This kind of research also allows the researcher to look at both individual and social behaviour in describing the meaning of lived experience (Creswell, 2007).

In quantitative techniques, ‘quantity’ or the statistical analysis of data plays a central role. This is true of large surveys, questionnaires, censuses and so on. It is possible to make use of both

quantitative and qualitative techniques in an effort to promote the triangulation of data and thus increase the validity and reliability of studies.

Two of the most prominent post-positivist theories are interpretivism and critical theory. Critical theory focuses on issues of politics and power, and approaches research from an emancipatory stance. Critical theory research is explicitly transformative and seeks to redress issues of inequality and discrimination through the research process. Feminist research often operates from a critical theory paradigm, as well as work done by educational theorists such as Paulo Freire.⁹

At the very centre of the interpretivist approach is the individual and the aim of understanding the subjective experiences of that individual in context. In order to do this and “to retain the integrity of the phenomena being investigated, efforts are made to get inside the person and to understand from within” (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 21). For Duff (2008, 113) and many other researchers, one of the strengths of this approach is its flexibility in remaining “accountable to the unfolding data and situation.” This focus on the individual, while a strength of interpretivism, is also a weakness as it can neglect the external or structural forces that shape actions and events (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 26).

In keeping with the basic tenets of this paradigm, researchers are not considered ‘blank slates’; but rather individuals with a unique culture, history and worldview. This has ramifications for the positionality of the researcher which will be discussed in a later section. For the researcher, there is “no location where the researcher can base herself to do research which is outside or beyond the social world” (Delamont 2002, 8). Furthermore,

reality is understood to be socially situated and the investigator and the participant to be engaged in a mutual process of constituting knowledge (Jacobson et al 2007, 2).

⁹ It is important to note the ways in which this thesis does incorporate certain elements of critical theory. This can be found in the problematizing of gender, race and class. However, the methodology of the thesis is comprehensively interpretivist in its approach.

The “reality” experienced by the researcher and participant is a mutually constructed one, with extensive misunderstandings, half-truths and issues not made visible. This provides serious challenges to validity and reliability in an interpretivist study.

The research process in an interpretivist study is one of continuous review and feedback, an iterative process that remains flexible and constantly self-reflexive (Jacobson *et al* 2007). In this emergent inquiry, “the study design and process are shaped by an iterative interplay among research questions, data collection, and analysis” (Jacobson *et al* 2007, 1). This process, as mentioned above, does not include only the researcher, but also the participants as the “interpretive research process is collaborative: researchers immerse themselves in participants’ worlds seek to understand and ‘give voice’ to their perspectives” (Jacobson *et al* 2007, 2). The imposition of the researcher’s views or other views and structures must be resisted as this hampers the understanding of the participant’s views at the centre of the study.

4.3. RESEARCH DESIGN – CASE STUDY APPROACH

The case study approach as a research design is a flexible approach which can be adapted to many different kinds of research. For this thesis, a case study research design provides the opportunity for in-depth research which allows for the participants’ ‘voice’ to be given precedence.

Due to the flexible nature of the case study approach it is important to specify the parameters of the cases used in this thesis. There is some disagreement on what constitutes a ‘case’. Gerring (2007, 19) defines a case as a “spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time.” A *case study* is the intensive study of that case, “where the purpose of that study is – at least in part – to shed light on a larger class of cases (a population)” (Gerring 2007, 20). Issues of representativity are critical in the case study approach and are discussed below.

In further defining the case study, Stake (2003, 141) argues that “with its own unique history, the case is a complex entity operating within a number of contexts – physical, economic, ethical, aesthetic, and so on.” In other words, “the case has working parts; it is purposive; it often has a self. It is an integrated system” (Stake 2003, 135). There is no consensus on where to draw the boundaries of a case for use in a case study. Each researcher draws the lines where they are most appropriate for their particular context.

There are a number of reasons for utilising the case study approach. As Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2010, 253) argue, the case study

provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles.

Perhaps more important for the purposes of this study, is the depth of analysis offered by the case study approach. This depth can be seen as “the detail, richness, completeness, wholeness, or the degree of variance in an outcome that is accounted for by an explanation” (Gerring 2007, 49). For Gerring (2007, 1), “the case study – of an individual, group, organisation or event – rests implicitly on the existence of a micro-macro link in social behaviour.”

However, the case study does provide a specific set of challenges. Gerring (2007, 6) summarises the criticisms made of the case study;

A work that focuses its attention on a single example of a broader phenomenon is apt to be described as a ‘mere’ case study, and is often identified with loosely framed and nongeneralizable theories, biased case selection, informal and undisciplined research designs, weak empirical leverage (too many variables and too few cases), subjective conclusions, nonreplicability, and causal determinism.

Furthermore, Gerring (2007, 53) argues that in the interpretivist paradigm, the findings made depend upon what the researcher is searching for, and what the researcher searches for depends (in some ways) on what the researcher expects or hopes to find.

In this thesis, three cases will be selected, each case representing a Matric class from a certain ‘type’ of school. For this thesis, South African schools have been divided into three categories: private/independent, former Model C, and township/rural schools. This is not to say that these categories are accurate or the boundaries between them clear and distinct. The categorisation

is based on the author’s personal experience, feedback from education experts, what has been learnt through academic texts, and in the media.

4.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

The goals of this research and the research question have been discussed briefly in the introduction to this thesis but it is important to restate and expand upon them in this section.

The following research goals are identified:

- to investigate how selected education policies envision citizenship
- to understand how Matric learners themselves experience and understand citizenship

Drawing from these goals, this thesis thus seeks to answer the following primary research question:

What is the vision of citizenship as identified in selected education policies and what are the experiences and understandings of Matric learners and how do these experiences differ based on race, class and gender?

In order to fully address the above question, the following sub-questions must be answered:

Question Number	Research Question	Answered in Chapter:
1	How do selected education policies envision citizenship?	Chapter 5 – Citizenship in South Africa as envisioned in selected education policies
2	How do Matric learners experience and understand citizenship?	Chapter 6 – Learners’ understandings and experiences of citizenship
3	In particular, to what extent do issues of race, class and gender impact learners’ experiences and understandings of citizenship?	Chapter 7 – Differing experiences and understandings of citizenship by learners

Table 2 - Detailed Research Questions

4.5. SAMPLING

As has already been mentioned, the sampling for this study has significant ramifications for reliability and validity, and the generalizability of the individual cases. This section will discuss the sampling technique used in this thesis. The selection or sampling of education policies for analysis is discussed in a later selection.

As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2010, 100) argue,

“the quality of a piece of research stands or falls not only by the appropriateness of methodology and instrumentation but also by the suitability of the sampling strategy that has been adopted.”

In order for validity and reliability to be maximised it is essential that the sampling technique selected be appropriate and defensible, but primarily explicitly defined and utilised. For this research, each stage of sampling used a different sampling strategy. For explanatory purposes a table showing the various sampling strategies used is included below. However, in the remainder of this section, the sampling strategies are discussed in more detail and the limitations and actual implementation of these strategies explored.

Area	Sampling strategy	Sample(s)
Selection of Region	Convenience sampling	uMngungundlovu District, Kwazulu-Natal
Selection of schools	Voluntary sampling	Midlands High School, Vula High School, Mercy College
Selection of participants	Quota sampling	Please see Appendix A for full list of participants

Table 3 - Table showing sampling strategies utilised

For the selection of the research area, a convenience sampling strategy was used. All three cases are drawn from schools in Kwazulu-Natal, in the uMngungundlovu District. This province and district were selected as it is the area in which the researcher resides and thus physical access to the schools is easiest. Permission was sought and received from the provincial Department of Education to conduct this research. All schools in the district that met the criteria were invited to take part in the research. The schools needed to be co-educational and teach Matric learners. The strategy used to select schools could be identified as a volunteer sampling.

Letters of introduction were sent to all qualifying schools for which contact details could be found¹⁰. In a sense, the selection of the schools was very simple as Mercy College, Midlands High School and Vula High School were the first and only schools to respond to the letter of introduction. Each school represented one of the ‘types’ of schools identified above.

It was decided to draw the sample of learners from Grade 12 as Matric learners are in their final year of school and are (for the most part) legally adults. These learners are also considered the ‘born free’ generation. In other words, they are the first generation to be born in a democratic South Africa. It is for these reasons that it was decided to interview this particular cohort.

For the selection of the participating Matric learners, it was thought that the most appropriate sampling technique would be quota sampling. Quota sampling seeks to, as far as possible, represent significant characteristics of the population (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 114). This would result in each group of 10 Matric learners¹¹ representing their Matric class in terms of gender, race and class. Given the small sample size of each of the three cases, this representativity is essential in order to promote the reliability of the findings.

However, when the negotiation process with the ‘gatekeepers’ at the participating schools began, it was asked that only demographic characteristics be taken into account in selecting the learners, however, it is clear that in practice this did not take place. Each school selected the participants themselves with the researcher having very little influence on this selection. In the case of Vula High School, the Head of the English Department selected the learners. It was unclear on what basis the learners were selected, and the teacher was vague when asked for further details. The impression was given that the learners were selected at random with the only proviso being that the genders were balanced in the sample. In the case of Mercy College, the sample was not balanced in either race or gender. A second set of interviews were done

¹⁰ There were some schools that proved impossible to contact as their contact details were not available through the Department or any of the researcher’s contacts.

¹¹ The final number of participants is shown in Appendix A.

with two Grade 11 learners as in the first sample the deputy principal had not selected any black female learners. The deputy principal was not available when the researcher hoped to enquire as to how the sample was selected. In the case of Midlands High School, the marketing manager and history teacher selected the participants. Although the sample was approximately balanced in terms of gender and race, there was an issue in that no black female learners had been selected. A second round of interviews with two Grade 11 learners were done in order to correct this sampling error. After the interview at Midlands High School were complete it became clear that most of the selected learners filled leadership positions at the school either as prefects or as top academic achievers, or both.

In practical terms the lack of transparency in the sampling process results in the impossibility of the sample being considered representative of the individual population or case. Delamont (2002, 84) argues that “what is crucial about sampling is honesty and reflexivity”. To support this it is essential to “record how the sample was drawn, and to think carefully about how the selection/recruitment has affected the data collected from them” (Delamont 2002, 84). In order for the goals of reliability and validity to be served it is essential to state the lack of transparency in the sample selection and the difficulty in ascertaining to what extent the sample represents the population, or not. Due to the small size of the sample it is difficult to present a summary of the participants as across the samples there are very few common characteristics. It is for this reason that the participants are listed as individuals in Appendix A and not summarised within the main text of this thesis.

4.6. CONTEXT OF SCHOOLS

Although it is possible to divide South African schools into three ‘types’, there is significant variation within those types. For this reason, it is important to give a detailed context for the three participating schools. All of the information listed below is drawn from a questionnaire completed by an individual involved in the administration of the school. This background thus relies on self-reporting and has in no way been verified through other sources.

4.6.1. VULA HIGH SCHOOL

Vula High School was established in 1979 as the first high school in that particular 'location'. There are now three high schools in that area. Originally, the school fell under the 'Natal Department of Education and Culture', according to the deputy principal. Currently, Vula High School is a Section 21 school meaning that their SGB is relatively independent and carries more responsibility than that of a Section 22 schools. There are about 1200 learners enrolled at Vula High School with 167 being Matric learners. All staff are paid by the Department of Education and Vula High School has recently been made a 'no-fee' school. Vula High School has a relatively high Matric pass rate and offers a variety of subjects at Matric level. Some of these subjects are 'non-designated subjects' which do not count towards university admission.

Matric Subjects	English	isiZulu	Mathematics (Literacy and Core)
	Business Studies	Accounting	CAT
	Economics	Consumer Studies	Life Orientation
	Life Sciences	Physical Sciences	Geography
	History	Travel and Tourism	
Matric Pass Rates	2011	78%	
	2010	81%	
	2009	75%	
	2008	86%	
	2007	92%	
Extra-Murals	Athletics	Basketball	Drama
	Debating	Choir	Soccer
	Music	Netball	Community Projects

Table 4 - Matric subjects, Matric pass rates and Extra-murals at Vula High School

The only sports facilities available at the school are netball courts. These courts are used to play basketball and netball. There are two small flower gardens near the front office. The school does not have a library, but does have two computer centres with a total of 50 computers. There is a ratio of roughly 3 female learners to 2 male learners. The school's ethos is, according to the deputy principal, one of constantly growing and encouraging the learners.

4.6.2. MERCY COLLEGE

Mercy College is an independent school established in 1999 in response to a felt need for a Christian, co-educational high school in the area. The school has a total of 307 learners of which 78 are Matric learners. The fees per annum for the Matric year are R50,445. For all the years covered in the contextual questionnaire, Mercy College has maintained a 100% Matric pass rate and offers only 'designated subjects'.

Matric Subjects	English	Afrikaans	Mathematics (Literacy and Core)
	Business Studies	Accounting	Drama
	Art	History	Life Orientation
	Life Sciences	Physical Sciences	Geography
Matric Pass Rates	2011	100%	
	2010	100%	
	2009	100%	
	2008	100%	
	2007	100%	
Extra-Murals	Athletics	Basketball	Drama
	Debating	Choir	Soccer
	Public Speaking	Netball	Community Projects
	Annual leadership training	Math and Science Club	Hockey
	Religious clubs	Tennis	Swimming
	Equestrian	Art Club	Squash
	Chess	Rugby	Cricket

Table 5 - Matric subjects, Matric pass rates and Extra-murals at Mercy College

Mercy College only appoint practising Christians to the staff and incorporate Christianity into the school day through prayer meetings and devotions, but also into the curriculum.

Mercy College has a rugby field, two tennis courts, a soccer field, netball court, hockey field and a basketball court. There is a school library which is updated regularly and which now also makes use of Kindles. There is a school hall with lighting and sound equipment. All school grounds are landscaped and there are a number of flower gardens and trees. Mercy College has a ratio of 45 female learners to 55 male learners. In terms of demographics, 59% of learners are

white, 31% are black, 7% are coloured and 3% are Asian. Eleven learners are offered full or partial bursaries.

4.6.3. MIDLANDS HIGH SCHOOL

Midlands High School is a state school established in 1967 which under the Cluse Models voted to become a Model C school. Currently, Midlands High School is a Section 21 school. There are 518 learners enrolled in the school with 94 being Matric learners. Currently, the school employs a total of 35 teaching staff, 19 of which are paid by government funds. The remaining teachers are employed by the SGB. Midlands High School has maintained an almost perfect Matric pass rate over the last few years. Fees per annum at Midlands High School are R17,200. The ethos of the school is one of excellent, all-around education, according to the principal.

Matric Subjects	English	Afrikaans	Mathematics (Literacy and Core)
	Consumer Studies	Accounting	Life Science
	Engineering Graphics	Physical Science	Geography
	Visual Art	History	Life Orientation
Matric Pass Rates	2011	100%	
	2010	100%	
	2009	99%	
	2008	99%	
	2007	100%	
Extra-Murals	Athletics	Rugby	Drama
	Squash	Choir	Soccer
	Public Speaking	Netball	Community Projects
	Annual leadership training	Cricket	Hockey
	Religious clubs	Tennis	Swimming

Table 6 - Matric subjects, Matric pass rates and Extra-murals at Midlands High School

Midlands High School has soccer, hockey, netball, cricket and athletics fields. There are also tennis and netball courts. There is an outdoor swimming pool. There is an updated library and the learners have access to 36 computers. The school hall is equipped with lighting and sound equipment and the grounds are all landscaped. The split between male and female learners is

roughly 1:1 and the racial demographics are not known by the principal. Fourteen learners are offered full or partial bursaries.

4.7. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

The two research techniques utilised in this study are documentary analysis of policy documents and semi-structured interviews with Grade 12 learners. This section will discuss these two research techniques in detail.

4.7.1. DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

The analysis of documents provides unique challenges to a researcher. At a basic level, a document is a text written or compiled by an individual or group. As Prior (2003, 4) states, a document is a product; “it is a work – often an expression of a technology.” However, documents are not only subject to complex processes in their production, but also in how they are consumed. As Prior (2003, 4) elaborates, “documents are not just manufactured, they are consumed” and in that process are

“manipulated in organised settings for many different ends, and they also function in different ways – irrespective of human manipulations.”

The documents that will be included in this study are Acts of the South African Parliament and thus a particular kind of document that has undergone (and continues to undergo¹²) a unique production and consumption process.

In studying official documents Prior (2003, 15) recommends that one look at the “rule-driven procedure that lies behind the production process.” This is, however, not practical for the purposes of this thesis. The research question the documentary analysis seeks to answer is, “how do selected education policies envision citizenship?” In order to answer this question, the selected education policies must be analysed with the goal of discerning how citizenship is understood in these policies, both in any explicit statements on citizenship and in more implicit

¹² As Acts of Parliament are continually updated through amendment acts, the texts studied in this thesis are current as of November 2011.

ways. This particular form of policy analysis seeks to identify the range of themes or issues considered to form part of a South African citizenship.

The documentary, or policy, analysis was completed before the interviews began. The reason for this was to ensure that the data collected during the interviews utilises both the analysis of policies and the theoretical framework from the literature review to inform topics to be discussed and questions to be asked.

Documents are written with an audience in mind, and policy documents have an array of audiences which they need to serve. McCulloh (2004, 47) argues, in terms of policies, that there are a “plurality of meanings ascribed to the text among different categories of readers”. Thus, what a teacher identifies in a policy, will differ from what a principal does. This thesis focuses on the content of the policies directly while not taking into consideration any of the various and differing documents or other forms of communication through which the policy is mediated to ‘lower’ levels within the education bureaucracy.

4.7.2. SELECTION OF POLICIES

In selecting policies for analysis, education policies which provide the definitive framework for the South African education system were selected. For this thesis, the three most appropriate policies for analysis are:

- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 106 of 1996)
- National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996)
- South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996)

The Constitution is the supreme law of South Africa and all laws and policies must be drawn up and implemented within the bounds of what is considered ‘constitutional’. Section 2 of the Constitution states that the “Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic; law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid, and the obligations imposed by it must be fulfilled” (Constitution 1996, S2). Therefore, it is not only about *not* contravening the Constitution, but also about

actively working towards the fulfillment of its goals. It requires both the protection of rights (negative freedoms) as well as positive action to fulfill rights (positive freedoms). The Constitution applies to every aspect of public and private life.

In this particular policy analysis, it is argued that the Constitution is the primary determinant of what constitutes citizenship in South Africa. The Constitution determines the tone and content of all South African legislation. In this matter, it is important to note that in terms of how the Constitution is interpreted and the ways in which rights may be limited, this may only be determined by that which is “reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom” (Constitution 1996, limitations: S36(1) and interpretation: S39).

Another important piece of legislation is the National Education Policy Act (NEPA) (DoE, 1996a). NEPA acted as a framework document showing the new direction of national education policy. In relation to citizenship the most important aspects were the affirmation of the fundamental rights of each individual, in a number of areas including language rights, freedom from discrimination and access to education. All education policy to be designed as a result of NEPA must conform to “certain principles” (NEPA 1996, S2(a)). These principles are listed in Section 4 of NEPA and reiterate or specify many of the rights present in the Constitution.

The detail of educational policy and practice was set forth in documents subsequent to NEPA including, most importantly, the South African Schools Act (SASA) (RSA, 1996b). SASA is one of the most significant documents as it dismantled the Apartheid education system and promoted access, quality and a degree of democratic governance in the schooling system. For example, it instituted parent participation through the creation of School Governing Bodies in all public schools.

Furthermore, all three policies are ‘springboard’ policies – policies which mandate the creation of several additional and more specific policies. For example in Section 12(3)(b) of SASA, the

Minister of Basic Education is tasked with determining, the norms and standards for governance and educator provisioning for public schools, which once drawn up, becomes a standalone policy.

4.7.3. INTERVIEW PROCESS

Interviewing as a technique

“marks a move away from seeing human subjects as simply manipulable and data as somehow external to individuals, and towards regarding knowledge as generated between humans, often through conversations” (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 349).

This is in keeping with the interpretivist paradigm in which this research is situated. As the ‘voice’ of learners is seen as primary, interviews are ideal as they allow participants to share their interpretations of events and environment and further elaborate their individual point of view (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2010, 349). Furthermore, it is important to view the interview as a construction, jointly built by the interviewer and interviewee (Duff 2008, 133). It is for this reason,

“the data are generated by means of social interaction between interviewer and interviewee and cannot necessarily be taken as decontextualized, independent facts or observations. Each interview has, and is, its own discourse context, which also evolves over the course of the interview and from one interview to next” (Duff 2008, 134).

There may be many reasons for variance including the particular quality of the connection between the interviewer and interviewee, which may result in better or worse data. (Duff 2008, 134)

This thesis makes use of semi-structured interviews with a particular focus on ensuring the ‘voice’ of the learner is heard. Open questions are used to stimulate conversations around issues of citizenship. Follow-up and probing questions are then used to further investigate and develop the participants’ answers.

There are different kinds of interviews that can be used in a qualitative study. These vary from a more informal, conversational interview (where there are no fixed questions), to a closed quantitative interview in which both questions and possible responses are fixed. In order to

balance the joint imperatives of giving precedence to the learners' voices, but maintaining some consistency across the interviews, a semi-structured interview style was selected.

4.7.3.1. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

These semi-structured interviews were conducted either as focus groups (this was done because Midlands High School preferred this approach) or as part of small groups of 2 to 4 participants. Participants felt more comfortable being interviewed with a fellow learner. Where possible, learners were given the choice of being interviewed individually or as part of a small group. All learners, in this situation, chose to be interviewed in a small group.

All of the interviews were conducted in English. The learners interviewed from Vula High School spoke English as a second or third language. While the learners were in many instances able to express themselves with relative ease, some of the analysis of tone must be done so cautiously. For example, hesitancy in giving a certain answer could be the result of a variety of factors, for example hesitancy relating to the content of their answer or to their uncertainty around the language used to express their answer.

All of the interviews were recorded with a small digital recorder. Most of the participants did not appear to be conscious of the recorder. There is one exception, where Faye reminded the researcher to switch the recorder off after the interview was complete. As this was the only comment on the presence of the recorder, it is difficult to calculate to what extent the recorder played a role in the answers given by the participants.

4.7.3.2. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The interview began with an overview of the purpose of the research and what the participant could expect from the next 45 – 60 minutes. This was a revision of the information on the

consent form and information letter. The confidentiality of each interview was reiterated at this point in the interview.

Before the interview commences, each participant is asked to complete a short form. Below is a table showing some of these basic questions.

Question	Rationale for question
Year of birth	This was important for a later question relating to the significance of being 'born free', i.e. born in a democratic South Africa.
Race, gender and religion	These questions were marked as optional but all participants completed this section without question
Matric subjects	Although not central to this thesis, it would be interesting to compare the subject choices of learners by school. Unfortunately, the sample was too small and diverse for any meaningful quantitative analysis.
"What are your first thoughts about school when waking up in the morning?"	This question was included as an 'ice-breaker' but provided some of the most illuminating responses, including the general finding that those at Vula High School proved to be the most enthusiastic about school, whereas Midlands High School and Mercy College learners expressed very little happiness at the prospect of school.

Table 7 – Selected questions on participants' basic information form

The questions from this point of the interview onwards focussed on answering two of the research questions. In answering the question, 'how do Matric learners experience and understand citizenship', questions were asked about what it means to be a South African citizen, what that citizenship should entail and what it actually does entail in practice, other people's views on citizenship, the significance of being 'born free' and the differences between this generation and others. Participants were also asked if citizenship or the Constitution were discussed in school and if so, when and how. They were also asked to choose which values (as present in education policy) were, in their opinion, essential.

In answering the next research question, 'in particular, to what extent do issues of race, class and gender impact learners' experiences and understandings of citizenship?' learners were asked to conduct three 'thought experiments'. In these thought experiments they were asked to imagine their lives if they were born a different race, gender and class. They drew on the

experiences of people they knew, from what they knew of current affairs, and how they view people who are different to themselves.

The 'vision' of citizenship used in the interview schedule was collated from a summary of themes and ideas identified through the policy analysis process. The values from which learners were asked to choose the most important, were also drawn from this policy analysis process. The full interview schedule, including the citizenship 'vision' and the selected values, can be found in Appendix B.

4.7.4. DATA ANALYSIS

The recordings were transcribed *verbatim* and formed the primary data for analysis. The analysis of interview data is, however, both an iterative and interpretive process. Although many themes were identified through the literature review and policy analysis process, other themes emerged from the interview data thus inviting a re-analysis of policy and of the available literature.

An initial step in the data analysis process is the transcription of the recorded interviews. The process of transcription itself is a step in the research process that requires care as "there is the potential for massive data loss, distortion and the reduction of complexity" (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 365). The interview is a social process, and as such there is a danger of the transcription becoming "solely a record of data rather than a record of a social encounter" (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 365). Methods to ensure that the transcription does not become 'one-dimensional', include keeping detailed field notes¹³ and beginning the analysis of data early in the interview process. As the data is qualitative, the analysis of the data is

"more of a reflexive, reactive interaction between the researcher and the decontextualized data that are already interpretations of a social encounter" (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 368).

¹³ Although field notes were kept, these did not form part of the primary data for analysis, but rather acted as a support when necessary.

Through careful transcription and field notes it is possible to maintain more of the 'social encounter' and thus provide higher quality interpretation and analysis.

The primary task of analysis according to Delamont (2002, 180) is to seek patterns through coding and finding themes in the data and then cross-checking those themes and codes to ensure that the data are both valid and reliable. Due to the particular nature of semi-structured interviews and open questions it is possible that

“the important text passages are not always found in the direct context of the question that was asked; the aspects that the interviewer introduces are frequently only taken up later in more explicit form, or else they turn up (again) in response to a different question within a quite different context” (Schmidt 2004, 255).

The data analysis thus considered the interview as a whole and did not seek answers only in responses to certain questions. Furthermore, data was not analysed once and then considered complete, but rather repeatedly analysed, often identifying different themes and issues each time.

The themes, issues and codes identified through the analysis evolved throughout the research process. These codes should not only emerge from the data, but also be relevant to the research topic and contribute to answering the research question. Delamont (2002, 177) argues that

“the codes should be relevant to the foreshadowed problems, the developing hypotheses, and the social science agenda in the researcher’s head.”

Particularly as many 'open-ended questions' are present in the interview schedule, the analysis of the data could not be done “according to a pre-determined catalogue of topics [as] this can only be partially designed before the data are collected” (Schmidt 2004, 253). This echoes an earlier topic, i.e. the iterative nature of data analysis.

4.7.4.1. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The technique used to analyse the policies most closely resembles Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is one of the results of the transformation within linguistics beginning in the 1970s, varying from interactional linguistics to critical linguistics, underpinned by an increasing interest

in questions related to society (Rogers *et al* 2005, 365). Initially, the goal of combining social theories and linguistic work was done by a disparate group of scholars; this however changed in the 1990s during a symposium in Amsterdam with Fairclough, Kress, van Dijk, van Leeuwen and Wodak (Rogers *et al* 2005, 366). The result of their interdisciplinary work defined many of the central tenets of CDA.

Summarised in Rogers *et al* (2005, 370) are the common tenets of CDA according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997). These are:

- “Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse is situated and historical.
- Power relations are partially discursive.
- Mediation of power relations necessitates a socio-cognitive approach.
- CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm that addresses social problems.
- Discourse analysis is interpretive, descriptive, and explanatory and uses a ‘systematic methodology’.
- The role of the analyst is to study the relationships between texts and social practices.”

A more concise definition of CDA, according to van Dijk (2003, 352) is that CDA is a

“type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.”

Further, van Dijk (2003, 354) shows how CDA joins social theory and linguistics by pointing out how CDA bridges the divide between “language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication” or the ‘micro-level’ of the social order, and “power, dominance, and inequality” or the ‘macro-level’. Bridging this gap is an epistemological necessity as van Dijk (2003, 354) argues that “in everyday interaction and experience the macro- and micro-level (and intermediary ‘mesolevels’) form one unified whole.” Rogers *et al* (2005, 366) provides a similar definition of CDA as

“an attempt to bring social theory and discourse analysis together to describe, interpret, and explain the ways in which discourse constructs, becomes constructed by, represents, and becomes represented by the social world.”

In terms of policy analysis and the role CDA can play, Taylor (2004, 432) argued that

“CDA is of particular value in documenting multiple and competing discourses in policy texts, in highlighting marginalized and hybrid discourses, and in documenting discursive shifts in policy implementation processes.”

Consequently, the documentary analysis section of this thesis utilized selected tools and strategies drawn from CDA, but also informed by the general discussion on documentary analysis in a preceding section.

4.8. RESEARCH ETHICS

In terms of formal ethical clearance, this thesis obtained ethical clearance from Rhodes University before fieldwork began. The thesis proposal was also approved by the Rhodes University Higher Degrees Committee. The proposed fieldwork was approved by the Kwazulu-Natal Department of Education. The primary purpose of the ethical review system in research is to “emphasise the vulnerabilities of human subjects and the need to balance the benefits of knowledge generation against the risks of harm” (Jacobson et al 2007, 2).

Beyond the approval by government and university authorities, the most critical aspect is informed consent. As all the participants are minors, informed consent by both the parents and participants was necessary before the interviews could take place. Although informed consent is suggested by a signed consent form, there are informal considerations around informed consent. Jacobson (*et al* 2007, 3) sees “investigators working in interpretive and other emergent inquiry paradigms” as arguing “that consent should be viewed less as a contract and more as a relationship-based covenant.” Thus, beyond the signed consent form, the author must share a relationship based on trust with the participants. Although a signed consent form may be present, a participant may at any time withdraw from the research process. The participants in this study were not compelled to take part either by teachers or the author. Before the interviews commenced, the voluntary nature of the interviews was reiterated. Most of the learners demonstrated either curiosity about the interview or were nonchalant. No participants chose to withdraw from the research process.¹⁴

¹⁴ For the purposes of this study, the concept of informed consent utilised is that of Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2010, 55). The informed consent form and information provided to the participants and the participants’ families is included in Appendix C.

In further discussing both the formal and informal ethical issues, O’Leary (2004, 52) argues “responsibility for the dignity, respect, and welfare of respondents, both mentally and physically, is central to research ethics”. Although there are many rules and guidelines available for ethical considerations, the most essential ethical tool is the researcher themselves. As Duff (2008, 146) argues,

“Regardless of rules or guidelines that a researcher’s institution, funders, or journal editors may have regarding research ethics, there must be an overriding commitment among researchers to protect the well-being of their research participants and respect their confidentiality, privacy, safety, and other legal and human rights.”

In further developing this concept of a ‘researcher as a tool of ethics’, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2010, 73) argue that

“Ultimately, it is researchers themselves, their integrity and conscience, informed by an acute awareness of ethical issues, underpinned by guideline codes and regulated practice, which should decide what to do in a specific situation, and this should be justified, justifiable, thought through and defensible.”

Throughout the research, the researcher/author¹⁵ has remained reflexive and sensitive to the needs and feelings of the participants. This has proved to be an ongoing process that has resulted in many participants leaving the interviews energised and wishing to continue conversations around citizenship.

Within the field of ethics, there are a number of key principles, one of which is *primum non nocere*, or ‘first do no harm’. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2010, 67) give an example of this principle in effect by saying that “subjects ought not to leave the research situation with greater anxiety or lower levels of self-esteem than they came with.” In other words, the goals of the research should not be placed above the wellbeing of the participants. As O’Leary (2004, 52) argues, “the interests of the researched take precedence over any other research goals.” For example, before many of the interviews started, the author discussed with the participants how to maintain a balance between expressing opinions fully and honestly, and preventing hurting the feelings of fellow participants. In interviews where personal issues were discussed, before the interview was closed there was an informal ‘debriefing’ on how best to deal with the emotions brought up in the interview.

¹⁵ The term ‘author’, ‘researcher’ and first person pronouns are used interchangeably in this thesis.

Another central ethical issue is that of confidentiality which, “involves protecting the identity of those providing research data” (O’Leary 2004, 54). Anonymity, which takes this a step further and “refers to protection against identification from even the researcher”, is not possible in this study and was not promised to participants (O’Leary 2004, 54). Although it is not possible to ‘hide’ the identity of participants from their fellow learners, pseudonyms and the obscuring of identifying characteristics of both the participants and the participating schools will ensure that confidentiality is maintained. Only the author has access to the real names of participants.

As has been highlighted previously through feminist methodology, there are power dynamics present in the research process that must be carefully managed. O’Leary (2004, 43) argues that

“both the integrity of the knowledge produced and the well-being of the researched are dependent on the ethical negotiation of power and power relationships.”

Jacobson (*et al* 2007, 2) develops this, arguing that “power has long been understood to be at the root of ethical peril in research.” The best way to manage this is to ensure that the participants rights are respected and that the researcher remains reflexive at all times. This, once again, relies not on formal processes but on a personal commitment by the researcher. Issues around power dynamics are also discussed in a later section on positionality of the researcher.

4.9. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

As is appropriate, validity and reliability have been discussed in many sections of this chapter. This is, in fact, one of the strategies to ensure that validity and reliability are maximised: to include it in every step of the research process. As Freeman *et al* (2007, 27) states

“quality is constructed and maintained continuously throughout the life of a research project and includes decisions that researchers make as they interact with those who they study and as they consider their analyses, interpretations, and representations of data.”

For Freeman *et al* (2007, 29) then, “validity cannot be defined in advance by a certain procedure but must be attended to at all times as the study shifts and turns.” It is thus important to have a flexible and reflexive approach to validity and reliability.

Validity and reliability are contested not only in their content but in the terms chosen to represent them. Terms such as rigour, credibility, trustworthiness, relevance and plausibility are occasionally used in place of the terms this thesis uses (Freeman et al 2007, 26). The challenge remains, however, to define what exactly is meant by validity and reliability. For Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2010, 149),

“reliability can be regarded as a fit between what researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched, i.e. a degree of accuracy and comprehensiveness of coverage.”

The degree to which this can accurately be established is contested. This thesis prioritises the ‘voice’ of the learner and attempts to understand individual learners’ opinions from their individual viewpoint. As the author/researcher is fundamentally ‘external’ to the learner, the extent to which the author fully comprehends the learner’s view is limited. Furthermore, as the perspective of another is essentially unknowable in its entirety, it is impossible to measure the reliability of this thesis, when what would constitute ‘absolute’ reliability, validity or accuracy is unknowable.

A difficult challenge is that no research technique is perfectly valid or reliable in and of itself. Just as correct ethics vary depending on the context, so do validity and reliability – there is no one standard by which the reliability and validity of all studies can be judged. One of the best strategies is to minimise bias as far as possible. The most common sources of bias are

“the characteristics of the interviewer, the characteristics of the respondent, and the substantive content of the questions” (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2010, 150).

This can be managed through vigilant reflexivity. For example, several of the learners interviewed presented viewpoints which the author personally disagreed with. However, these personal opinions of the author were identified as bias and not allowed to influence the thesis or the interview itself. The same is true of learners with which the author shared common opinions. This too, is a form of bias, and was managed as such.

Another strategy in increasing validity and reliability is to be open and accountable in order to “safeguard against ‘fraud’” (O’Leary 2004, 51). Researchers are

“encouraged to admit to any shortcomings and outline any limitations within their research process, thereby protecting themselves from accusations of fraud or misrepresentation” (O’Leary 2004, 51).

The researcher has already done this in this thesis. Repeatedly analysing the data ensures that each conclusion drawn is based on the evidence and not on what the author would expect or hope to see. The limitations of this study in terms of scope are made clear thus preventing fraudulent claims in terms of the generalizability of this thesis' conclusions.

4.10. POSITIONALITY OF RESEARCHER

In the service of reflexivity, and thus validity and reliability, it is essential for the researcher to be open about their positionality. In other words, the particular characteristics of the researcher and how the researcher's "attributes affect both how others see you, and how you see the world" (O'Leary 2004, 43). Developing this, further issues of power must be considered, through "recognising the power and privilege associated with your own attributes, set within your research context" which can be viewed as "the first step in the negotiation of power" (O'Leary 2004, 44). Power dynamics must thus be acknowledged in order to be managed and negotiated effectively. All aspects of the research process must be reflected upon "in light of the assumptions and biases of the researcher" (O'Leary 2004, 47). Thus, each decision made by the researcher during the research process, from conception of the thesis topic to the submission of the final thesis, was reflexively examined taking into consideration the researcher's unique positionality.

Although the researcher's characteristics and so on, are sources of bias and conflict, the researcher remains their own best research instrument, provided that the researcher remains aware and reflexive throughout the research process (Delamont 2002, Jacobson et al 2007). In considering the characteristics of this researcher that might have an impact upon the research, one can identify a number, including race, gender and class. I am a white, middle-class, young woman; brought up in a nuclear family of white middle-class individuals. I have a tertiary education and English is my home language. There are, of course, many other characteristics which can be listed, but these are more easily managed in terms of perceptions. For example, the pro-choice views of the researcher would not be mentioned or alluded to in an interview.

Considering the diversity of participants in this thesis, my identity would render me in some instances an 'insider' (for example, with other women, or white people) and in others an 'outsider' (for example, with male participants or black participants). My identity has the potential to both hamper and aid my research, dependent on how the participants view me. Those participants who see me as an insider may make assumptions around my beliefs. As both an 'insider' and 'outsider' during the interviews, the potential for misunderstandings was present with all participants and I would often ask for the participant to clarify their point to ensure that I accurately understood their opinions.

Although I remained 'present' and 'aware' during the interviews, it was not possible to manage my positionality to the extent that it made no impact upon what the learners shared during the interviews. Some of their impressions cannot be foreseen by the researcher, or could be given unwittingly. O'Leary (2004, 49) gives the example of how "the words we use to speak to respondents can be easily be misunderstood and misrepresented." Not only did the participants respond to me as the individual described above, but also in ways that I cannot predict, manage or know.

The tools available to the researcher in managing validity and reliability are the same as the ones used to manage the positionality of the researcher: self-reflexivity and awareness of perceptions, power dynamics and the many other variables present during the research process. The particular 'position' or possible 'positions' or 'impressions' of the researcher must be identified, examined and thus managed to limit bias.

4.11. LIMITATIONS

Several limitations present in this thesis have already been mentioned. However, it is important to provide a summary of them here.

In terms of the sampling present in this thesis, there are two limitations. First, the size of the sample limits the generalisability of any findings. Second, the sampling technique used did not allow for a reliably representative sample to be collected. This does limit the reliability of the findings.

In terms of limitations around the interviews, the average length of each interview was 50 minutes and this did not provide sufficient time to gather highly nuanced opinions and to tease out contradictions within the participants' responses. This has limited the quality of the data.

4.12. CONCLUSION

This chapter has put forward the methodology for this thesis. The chapter began with a 'macro' perspective discussing issues of phenomenology and ontology and closed with the more 'micro' issues such as positionality of the individual researcher. For a study to be considered coherent and reliable, it is essential that the tools utilised by that study are appropriate to the research questions and that there is congruence between research questions and tools. This thesis is situated in an interpretivist paradigm and made use of data collection and analysis tools appropriate to that paradigm and suitable for answering the research questions.

5. CITIZENSHIP IN SOUTH AFRICA AS ENVISIONED IN SELECTED EDUCATION POLICIES

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to answer the following research question: ‘how do the selected education policies envision citizenship?’ The selected education policies were analysed using documentary analysis and selected CDA techniques. The full text of the three policies was coded and analysed with the aim of identifying the implicit and explicit ideals of citizenship. The aim could be further described as uncovering the ‘ideal’ South African citizenship, or the kind of citizenship policy aims to achieve. This understanding of citizenship is presented thematically, below. Thus, the values, principles, rights and responsibilities of individuals as presented in the policy text will be examined and summarized¹⁶.

The selection of the three policies has been discussed in an earlier chapter. The selected policies are listed below, followed in parenthesis by the abbreviation to be used throughout the thesis:

- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Constitution)
- South African Schools Act, 1996 (SASA)
- National Education Policy Act, 1996 (NEPA)

These three policies have been selected as they provide the overarching framework for the education system in South Africa.¹⁷ The complete rationale for the selection of these policies can be found in an earlier chapter.¹⁸

¹⁶ As this study centres around learners, it is appropriate to note that the Constitution states that “(1) Everyone has the right – (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible” (Constitution 1996, S29).

NEPA reiterates this right, stating that “every person” has the right to basic education and “equal access to education institutions”(NEPA 1996, S(4)(a)(ii)).

¹⁷ Although the policy texts have been studied as a whole, there are certain sections that more directly relate to the question asked above. The most pertinent sections are highlighted in Appendix D.

¹⁸ It is important to note that findings of the policy analysis are presented thematically. Although all three policies were signed into law in either 1996 or 1997, their policy chronology – for the purposes of this thesis - is not as important as the *content* of

5.2. THEMATIC SUMMARY OF CITIZENSHIP AS PRESENT IN THE SELECTED POLICIES

5.2.1. A COMMON, EQUAL CITIZENSHIP IN A UNITED AND TRANSFORMED SOUTH AFRICA

Considering South Africa's history, which is largely one of divisions and significant differences between groups, this theme is arguably the one most central to the 'new South Africa' and the one that provides the most significant break from the past. From the opening line of the Constitution, the value of unity and a common citizenship are given precedence. The first line of the Constitution's preamble reads, "We, the people of South Africa" thus not only presenting a united South African citizenry, but also presenting the Constitution as a document which originates from and belongs to 'the people' (Constitution 1996, Preamble).

The preamble further reiterates this by stating that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity" (Constitution 1996, Preamble). The preamble goes on to identify goals which the Constitution aims to achieve, including "every citizen is equally protected by law" and "build a united and democratic South Africa" (Constitution 1996, Preamble). Many of these are reiterated in the founding values of the Constitution listed in Section 1. It is stated that one of the founding values upon which the Constitution stands is "universal adult suffrage" and "a national common voters roll" (Constitution 1996, S1(d)). This gives practical parameters to the common citizenship now legislated for all South Africans.

The goals in the preamble and the founding values in Section 1 are expanded upon by Section 3 of the Constitution which states specifically the nature of South African citizenship:

- "(1) There is a common South African citizenship
- (2) All citizens are –
 - (a) entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship; and

the policies. These three policies – as a whole – provide the framework for South African education. In all decisions, lawmakers must take all three policies into consideration. It is for this reason that the findings are presented thematically as the three policies essentially form an integrated whole.

(b) equally subject to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship” (Constitution 1996, S3).

This section presents a South Africa of equal citizens; one in which privilege and responsibility are shared equally. This is both a dramatic shift away from Apartheid-era legislation and an ambitious goal for a newly democratic country.

Along with two other values – namely freedom and dignity - equality is identified as one of the founding values of the Constitution (Constitution 1996, S1(a)). In the Bill of Rights, Section 9 has come to be known as the Equality Clause. This clause states that “everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law” (Constitution 1996, S9(1)). Unfair discrimination is prohibited by Section 9 and is expressed thus:

“The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth” (Constitution 1996, S9(3)).

A similar clause can be found in NEPA, however, it is arguably more expansive than the Equality Clause. In its prohibition of unfair discrimination, NEPA states that every person has the right

“to be protected against unfair discrimination within or by an education department or education institution on any ground whatsoever” (NEPA 1996, S(4)(a)(i)).

While the Constitution defines the basis upon which unfair discrimination is prohibited, NEPA leaves the issue open-ended instead stating that unfair discrimination may not take place “on any ground whatsoever”. These rights speak strongly to a citizenship founded on values linked to generally ‘left-leaning’ values and ideals.

Both NEPA and SASA translate the right of equality into practical policy outcomes. For example, one of the directive principles of education policy in NEPA states that policies should be

“endeavouring to ensure that no person is denied the opportunity to receive an education to the maximum of his or her ability as a result of physical disability” (NEPA 1996, S4(d)).

There is thus a drive to ensure that there are no barriers to accessing opportunities. The state must prevent obstacles to the education of learners, and also promote learners’ access to education. Considering South Africa’s history, SASA’s statement that school attendance is compulsory from the start of the school year in which the learner turns 7 to the age of 15 or the end of Grade 9, whichever occurs first, is significant as under Apartheid compulsory schooling was extended only to white learners (SASA 1996, S3(1)). In a democratic South Africa,

compulsory school attendance presents an 'enforced equality'. The best interests of the child are of paramount importance as stipulated in Section 28(2) of the Constitution. Thus, a child must attend school.

The preamble to SASA states that the aim of the Act is "to provide for a uniform system for the organisation, governance and funding of schools" (SASA 1996, Preamble). Thus, not only are individual rights identical, but the school system itself should be both unitary and, arguably, uniform (in quality), thus providing each learner with – it is assumed – equal experiences and opportunities. There are, however, different ways in which the 'uniformity' mentioned in SASA can be understood. It may refer to the quality of education, class size, infrastructure, support from government and so on. In a uniform system of schools, it is unacceptable for there to be differing levels of quality.

One particular area which must be discussed is that of finance. A prominent issue under Apartheid was the funding of schools which showed in real terms the differences between white, black, coloured and Indian schooling. On this issue, SASA states the following:

"The State must fund public schools from public revenue on an equitable basis in order to ensure the proper exercise of the rights of learners to education and the redress of past inequalities in education provision" (SASA 1996, S34(1)).

To this end, the relevant norms and standards policy divides public schools into quintiles with the poorest quintile receiving a proportionally larger portion of state funds, with the amount from state funds decreasing for each richer quintile. The issue of redress is covered later in this section, but it is important to note here that the goal of achieving equal rights involves a process of redressing past imbalances. In the instance of school funding, there is fair discrimination in the allocation of government funds in order to achieve future equality.

In terms of funding which is sourced from the parent body, the issue of school fees presents a situation in which the equality of schools is impacted by pre-existing privileges. SASA states that,

"school fees may be determined and charged at a public school only if a resolution to do this has been adopted by a majority of parents attending the meeting,

set to discuss the school budget (SASA 1996, S39(1)). This permits schools with a wealthier parent body to charge high school fees, thus allowing for the employment of additional staff and the purchase of better equipment and facilities. Although the payment of school fees is considered compulsory, no child may be barred from school on the basis of an inability to pay fees. Legal action may be taken against non-paying parents (provided that the parents do not qualify for exemption from fees) but the learner is in no way to suffer. SASA explicitly states,

“A learner may not be deprived of his or her right to participate in all aspects of the programme of a public school despite the non-payment of school fees by his or her parents and may not be victimized in any manner, including but not limited to the following conduct:

- a) suspension from classes;
- b) verbal or non-verbal abuse
- c) denial of access to –
 - i. cultural, sporting or social activities of the school; or
 - ii. the nutrition programme of the school for those learners who qualify in terms of the applicable policy; or
- d) denial of a school report or transfer certificate” (SASA 1996, S41(7)).

The rights of the child, in particular the right to education and dignity, are not to be compromised due to a parent’s inability to pay school fees. This speaks to the supremacy of the best interests of the child in all matters related to the child as stated in Section 28(2) of the Constitution.

Mention has already been made of redress or the process by which past inequalities are addressed. The preamble of the Constitution states that the people of South Africa “recognise the injustices of our past”; that South Africans “honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country” and that one of the goals is to “heal the divisions of the past” (Constitution 1996, Preamble). In order to overcome the systemic inequality present in South Africa after 342 years of colonial and Apartheid rule, reconciliation (the harmonious integration of society and the healing of past conflict) and transformation (the creation of a more equal and representative society through fair discrimination) are required.

This goal is reiterated in the preamble to NEPA which states that

“Whereas it is necessary to adopt legislation to facilitate the democratic transformation of the national system of education into one which serves the needs and interests of all the people of South Africa and upholds their fundamental rights” (NEPA 1996, Preamble).

The directive principles of education policy listed in NEPA include a mandate that education policy work towards

“achieving equitable education opportunities and the redress of past inequality in education provision, including the promotion of gender equality and the advancement of the status of women” (NEPA 1996, S4(c)).

Another directive principle centred around reconciliation is that of “cultivating skills, disciplines and capacities necessary for reconstruction and development” (NEPA 1996, S4(g)). The preamble to SASA also addresses the need for transformation: “Whereas this country requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision” (SASA 1996, Preamble).

The issue of economic inequality is given attention in the Constitution. The protection of positive freedoms and rights, albeit with only ‘progressive realisation’ of those rights, presents a significant boost to economic equality, or at least to lessening inequality. Furthermore, the protection of trade unions, demonstrations and the rights of squatters - all of which are considered legal by the Constitution - further promote economic equality.

There are, however, ways in which a *de facto* form of inequality is supported. For example, through the Constitution’s allowance of a dual education system, in the form of independent and state schools. The Constitution states that

“everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that –
(a) do not discriminate on the basis of race;
(b) are registered with the state; and
(c) maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions” (Constitution 1996, S29(3)).

This right is reinforced in NEPA where one of the ‘directive principles’ states that “every person” has the right “to establish, where practicable, education institutions based on a common language, culture or religion, as long as there is no discrimination on the ground of race” (NEPA 1996, S4(a)(vii)). Although both NEPA and the Constitution prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, discrimination on the basis of wealth is, arguably, allowed. Public schools

are prohibited from refusing admission to children who are unable to pay school fees, but independent schools are not similarly bound. While in theory the existence of independent schools is defensible based on freedom of expression and freedom of conscience, in practice, it allows for an economically unequal system. As some state schools can be perceived to be of a lower quality, those parents who can afford the high fees of most independent schools appear to prefer to enrol their children in these schools.

5.2.2. A CITIZENSHIP ENCOURAGING AND MANDATING CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT, DIALOGUE, OPENNESS AND TRANSPARENCY

The political rights present in South Africa's common citizenship, i.e. universal adult suffrage and a common national voters roll, arguably constitute democracy in South Africa. The preamble of the Constitution repeatedly refers to democracy and its related ideals particularly that of openness. As democracy in this political sense is limited in schools¹⁹ the primary focus of this theme will be on so-called democratic values such as openness, transparency, critical engagement and dialogue.

The preamble of the Constitution presents a South Africa which embraces the ideals of openness. Considering the secrecy and concealment of the Apartheid regime, an important step for democratic South Africa is creating a society which is open and transparent. The Constitution states that

“everyone has the right of access to – (a) any information held by the state; and (b) any information that is held by another person and that is required for the exercise or protection of any rights” (Constitution 1996, S32(1)).

The Constitution not only mandates an open and transparent society in which citizens are able to access information, but also one in which those citizens are able to express their grievances.

¹⁹ Parents are elected to take office in school governing bodies (SGB) and learners are elected to the representative council of learners (RCL) but this is the full extent to which schools are democratic.

The Constitution states that “everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions” (Constitution 1996, S17).

This is translated to the education system in two ways by NEPA which states that one of the directive principles of education policy should be that of “encouraging independent and critical thought” (NEPA 1996, S4(i)). Another ‘directive principle’ present in NEPA is that of

“ensuring broad public participation in the development of education policy and the representation of stakeholders in the governance of all aspects of the education system” (NEPA 1996, S4(m)).

Thus, NEPA encourages the development of independent and critical thought in the education system, but also that the education policies put in place are developed through public participation and stakeholder involvement. This suggests an education system which is open, inclusive and transparent.

In the sectors within the school where democracy may be practiced, i.e. RCLs and SGBs, these bodies have limited power. Beyond the existence of an RCL and mandating that the MEC of Education in each province determines the functions of the RCL and procedures for establishing, electing and running the RCL, there is nothing further stated in SASA. There is significant potential for critical engagement through and by the RCL, however, nothing of this kind is legislated through SASA. Based on SASA, the RCL is a democratic body elected by the learners, but which is largely powerless to take any action in an official capacity. Due to the MEC’s influence, this might vary in both policy and practice from province to province.

Although the democracy of ‘majority rule’ is limited in schools, democratic values are mandated. The afore-mentioned limited democracy within schools presents a possible debate on whether it is possible to enjoy democratic values without practicing democracy itself. The literature review suggests that teaching democracy is ineffective if learners are not able to practice it in a true sense.

5.2.3. A CITIZENSHIP FOUNDED ON QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL AND DEVELOPING THE POTENTIAL OF EACH INDIVIDUAL

One of the goals of the Constitution is to “improve the quality of life for all citizens and free the potential of each person” (Constitution 1996, Preamble). The issues around quality of life are specified in the sections of the Bill of Rights referring to socio-economic rights – i.e. Sections 26 and 27. These socio-economic rights include the right to housing, healthcare, food, water and social security. These rights define the kind of life which citizens are constitutionally entitled to. This is in keeping with a generally ‘left-leaning’ view of citizenship.

However, beyond quality of life, the less tangible goal of ‘freeing the potential of each person’ is also present in the preamble. The ‘directive principles’ in NEPA reiterate this goal by stating that the education system be enabled to “contribute to the full personal development of each learner” (NEPA 1996, S4(b)). There is no mention of this goal in SASA. Indeed, beyond the above two statements, the process of achieving this goal is not made clear nor is the goal made more quantifiable in the selected policies.

It is possible to interpret the ‘freeing of potential’ as the development of an individual’s talents. One of the ‘directive principles’ of NEPA tasks education policy with “recognising the aptitudes, abilities, interests, prior knowledge and experience of students” (NEPA 1996, S4(h)). The Bill of Rights does make clear that “every citizen has the right to choose their trade, occupation or profession freely”(Constitution 1996, S22). Given the job colour bars of Apartheid South Africa, this is an important policy. One of the primary ways in which potential was limited under Apartheid were the racially determined occupations. Removing these barriers promotes the development of a more equal South Africa.

5.2.4. A CITIZENSHIP IN WHICH BOTH STATE AND CITIZEN ARE RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE

All three of the selected policies refer to responsibility and accountability on the part of both the citizen and state. The clause on citizenship in the Constitution makes reference not only to equal rights for all citizens, but also that citizens are “equally subject to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship” (Constitution 1996, S3(2)(b)). Although the ‘duties of citizenship’ are not stated *per se*, the Constitution does provide a clear set of laws which all people living in South Africa are obliged to adhere to. In several instances in the opening sections of the Constitution it is made clear that the Constitution is the supreme law of South Africa. Section 2 states that

“This Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic; law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid, and the obligations imposed by it must be fulfilled” (Constitution 1996, S2).

In a subsequent section of the Constitution, it is stated that “the state must respect, protect, promote and fulfill the rights in the Bill of Rights” (Constitution 1996, S7(2)).

An example of how responsibility and accountability are put into action can be found in NEPA. The Minister of Basic Education is tasked by NEPA with the monitoring and evaluation of education. The provision of education alone is insufficient and requires that the quality of that provision be both equitable and of a satisfactory standard. In Section 8(6) of NEPA it states that

“If a report is prepared in terms of subsection (5) indicates that the standards of education provision, delivery and performance in a province do not comply with the Constitution or with the policy determined in terms of section 3(3), the Minister shall inform the provincial political head of education concerned and require the submission within 90 days of a plan to remedy the situation” (NEPA 1996, S8(6)).

This is an example of how the rule of law is maintained through holding those in positions of power accountable.

An example of how a school’s accountability cannot be removed is given in the following clause from SASA. No child may be refused admission to a public school on the basis that their parents have “refused to enter into a contract in terms of which the parent waives any claim for

damages arising out of the education of the learner” (SASA 1996, S5(3)(c)). This clause shows that accountability remains with the school.

The levels and kinds of responsibility which individuals, schools and the state bear, do vary. An example of this is the distinction made between Section 21 and Section 22 schools. This distinction originates from SASA and refers to differences between the functions of school governing bodies. Should a school governing body meet the criteria, it may apply for Section 21 status which allows that SGB to take on additional functions, such as maintaining school property, determining the extra-mural curricula, the purchasing of textbooks, and so on. Section 22 school governing bodies have limited functions, with tasks such as the purchase of textbooks performed at a higher level. The image presented in the policy is of a bureaucracy which holds itself accountable and which manages the power granted to state schools with the aim of maintaining a high standard and protecting the best interests of the learner.

5.2.5. A CITIZENSHIP UNDERPINNED BY HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM AND SECURITY OF THE PERSON

Human dignity is identified as one of the three founding values underpinning the Constitution (Constitution 1996, S1(a)). The right to dignity is, in fact, one of only two non-derogable rights, the other being the right to life (Constitution 1996, S37(5)(c)). The clause on the right to dignity in the Bill of Rights reads as follows: “everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected” (Constitution 1996, S10).

Human dignity underpins many other rights in the Constitution. For example, freedom and security of the person includes the right, “not to be treated or punished in a cruel, inhuman or degrading way” (Constitution 1996, S12(e)). The prohibition of slavery, servitude and forced labour is also premised on the right to dignity (among other rights) (Constitution 1996, S13).

NEPA makes no direct reference to human dignity or the protection thereof, but SASA does make several references to it. In SASA, initiation practices are prohibited in an amendment added in 2002 (SASA 1996, S10A). The definition of ‘initiation practices’ provides an implicit justification for the prohibition of initiation practices based on the right to human dignity and freedom and security of the person. An ‘initiation practice’ is any act which involves admission to or continued membership of a group, club, etc. and that

- “(a) endangers the mental or physical health or safety of a person;
- (b) undermines the intrinsic worth of human beings by treating some as inferior to others;
- (c) subjects individuals to humiliating or violent acts which undermine the constitutional guarantee to dignity in the Bill of Rights;
- (d) undermines the fundamental rights and values that underpin the Constitution;
- (e) impedes the development of a true democratic culture that entitles an individual to be treated as worthy of respect and concern; or
- (f) destroys public or private property” (SASA 1996, S10(3)).

A similar justification, while not stated in the policy text, could be argued for the prohibition of corporal punishment also present in SASA (SASA 1996, S10).

5.2.6. A CITIZENSHIP IN WHICH THERE IS RESPECT FOR DIFFERENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION AND IN WHICH ‘UNITY IN DIVERSITY’ PLAYS A KEY ROLE

Although equality is one of the centerpieces of South African education policy and quality is expected to be of a satisfactory standard, this does not require complete uniformity. There is respect for difference and space for self-determination. An instance in which this is clear across all the policies is that of language. The Constitution states that:

“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” (Constitution S6(2)).

The Constitution mandates the establishment of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) to drive this process (Constitution 1996, S5). In terms of language in schools, in an amendment to NEPA made in 2011, it is stated that “every learner” has the right “to be instructed in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonable practicable” (NEPA 1996, S4(a)(v)). Furthermore, “every person” has the right to “use the language and participate

in the cultural life of his or her choice within an education institution” (NEPA 1996, S4(a)(viii). A clause in SASA states that

“the governing body of a public school may determine the language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law” (SASA 1996, S6(2)).

However, “no form of racial discrimination may be practised in implementing policy determined under this section” (SASA 1996, S 6(3)). There is thus an attempt to balance individual and group rights.

Language, along with other aspects, forms part of an individual’s culture. The Constitution states that

“everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights” (Constitution 1996, S30).

Furthermore, in section 31(1), these rights are extended to cultural groups as well. In a similar vein, the Constitution states that “everyone has the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion” (Constitution 1996, S15(1)). For example, those holding high positions in government and the judiciary are required to either take an oath or make a solemn affirmation when taking office, thus granting space for their individual religious views. These allowances provide practical support for the ideas of ‘respect for difference’ and ‘self-determination’.

There are many other examples of this across all three policies. For example, religious observances may take place at state events provided that a number of conditions are met, including the voluntary nature of the observance. This is also true of schools. SASA states that,

“subject to the Constitution and any applicable provincial law, religious observances may be conducted at a public school under rules issued by the governing body if such observances are conducted on an equitable basis and attendance at them by learners and members of staff is free and voluntary” (SASA 1996, S7).

Although a uniform education is explicitly identified as a goal of policy, homogeneity in terms of identity and culture are not. Instead, there is support for the individual and their unique attributes. This speaks to the value of each individual citizen as superseding any ideas of a

utilitarian citizenship. Theoretically, it could be argued that because of these rights (and others) each individual learner should feel 'heard' and supported.

5.3. CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified six characteristics of South African citizenship as put forward in the selected education policies. These characteristics are:

- A common, equal citizenship in a united and transformed South Africa
- A citizenship encouraging and mandating critical engagement, dialogue, openness and transparency
- A citizenship founded on quality of life for all and developing the potential of each individual
- A citizenship in which both state and citizen are responsible and accountable
- A citizenship underpinned by human dignity and freedom and security of the person
- A citizenship in which there is respect for difference and self-determination and in which 'unity in diversity' plays a key role

The majority of these themes are established in the Constitution and then either reinforced or given practical parameters in SASA and NEPA. The research question asking 'how do selected education policies envision citizenship?' has been answered with a list of 'characteristics' describing this citizenship and including the values, principles and rights identified in the selected policy documents.

6. LEARNERS' UNDERSTANDINGS AND EXPERIENCES OF CITIZENSHIP

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide both a description and analysis of the participants' understandings and experiences of citizenship. As discussed in a previous chapter, a group of (mostly) Matric learners were interviewed - either in groups of between 2 and 4, or as part of a focus group. The demographics of the participants are listed in a table included as Appendix A. Although the same theoretical framework is used, the education policies and the learners' interviews are analysed as discrete units and not in reference to each other.

This chapter identifies key citizenship themes present in the interviews. Although some themes might appear 'broad' or somewhat contradictory, the individual concepts identified are grouped based on the outcome of the analysis, and how the learners responded to and presented these concepts. A comprehensive and coherent view of citizenship did not emerge from the interview process. This might be due in part to the limited size of the sample, the semi-structured nature of the interviews or the wide-ranging views of learners. In order to respect and prioritise the voice of the participants, this somewhat 'jumbled' thematic analysis must be adhered to.

6.2. FINDINGS ON THE EXPERIENCES AND UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP

Due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews, discussions would often veer away from the question asked and into other topics. In order to present the clearest summary of the interview findings possible, the findings below are grouped thematically and not based only on responses to the relevant question in the interview schedule.

6.2.1. IDENTIFYING AS SOUTH AFRICAN AND FEELINGS ABOUT THAT STATUS

When questioned on what they consider their nationality to be, almost every learner stated that they were South African. Although the content of the answers were uniform, the tone with which the answers were given did vary. Generally speaking, there were three ‘tones’ that predominated across the samples. Some learners were nonplussed by the question, as though the answer were an obvious one or the question a trick one. This was true of Amy and Faye, for example. Some learners answered the question with an element of disinterest or listlessness, the cause of which is difficult to discern. This is true of Mzamo, Thando and Sam, for example. Some learners stated their nationality as South African with a tone showing pride and joy. In one or two instances, learners’ body language showed these feelings by sitting up a little bit straighter and leaning forward slightly. Nkosinathi, James and Sean all expressed their nationality proudly.

Most of the Midlands High School participants were unhesitant in defining their nationality as South African. When asked if everybody living in their area was South African, David answered for the group by saying that

“I think everybody, at least in our school, I think everybody, they’re South African. I think everyone is South African.”

Nhlakanipho and David tried to explain that they are not necessarily conscious of their ‘South Africanness’ and do not think in terms of South African or non-South African. It emerges early that in this sample the divides of class, race and gender are significantly more prominent than that of nationality or any other possible divide.

When the participants were asked how they feel about being South African, most were generally positive about being South African. The reasons for this, however, varied significantly. One unique and notable response came from, Amy, a Mercy College learner, who felt proud to be South African because of a kind of ‘exoticism’ attached to that identity. She said that,

“I guess, because people don’t know, especially people from like overseas, they don’t know a lot about your country and they think, ah, you know, ‘you live in the jungle’ kind of vibe.”

This comment was followed by laughter and a remark by Faye saying that “[we’re] actually quite civilized, you know”. Faye does speak about embracing the history of the country and Amy feels proud of South African heritage, but the ‘exotic’ appeal of South Africa is notable.

Other learners were proud to be South African because of the history of the country and what has been overcome. However, this was a view shared predominantly by black participants across all three schools. White participants, when expressing pride would speak of South Africa as ‘home’ and of South Africa’s ‘heritage’, but would not specifically mention Apartheid or the Struggle against it.

It appears that many of the black participants feel a sense of ownership of South Africa’s history. This is often expressed in subtle ways such as the use of certain pronouns. For example, Thando, a Mercy College participant, shares:

“With the history it carries, I think I’m proud to be South African... Like before, you wouldn’t have Sam sitting next to me, kind of thing, and I’ve gone like, we’ve done quite a lot to achieve what we have now. So, I think I’m actually proud to be South African.”

Thando speaks of what ‘we’ have achieved in South Africa and thus shows a sense of ownership and belonging that is not often present in the views of white participants.

The participants from Vula High School – all of whom were black - were proud to be South African because of the country’s achievements. Noxolo is proud to be South African because of the “development” since 1994. Sinethemba is proud to be “born in a generation where it’s a democratic country.” Similarly, Nokwanda is proud to be South African because of the country’s history and its position as a “free country”. Mthokozisi is proud to be South African because “we treat each other equal.” Nkosinathi is proud to be a South African citizen because of what South Africa offers its citizens. He argues the uniqueness of South Africa by saying,

“Imagine which country you can find free water, free electricity, free housing. Even people boycott for free housing.”

Some, such as Nkosinathi, were, overall, positive about South Africa’s future despite an expressed scepticism of the intentions of politicians.

In some interviews, patriotism was discussed. Thando and Mzamo, from Mercy College, both felt patriotic, but both express this view hesitantly. Mzamo tries to explain his awareness of those who have suffered before him, and how his role in society must have a similar function, but will require something different. He finishes by saying that,

“I know they suffered and everything, but I think it’s mine, I think I have a role in South Africa... I think I have a role to change, as it is right now, I will change it. I will not die for my country, unless it is something worth dying for.”

None of the white participants express this desire to do something to improve South Africa, or feel this sense of obligation. This could be linked to the feelings of ‘ownership’ which black participants felt but which were not felt by white participants.

The issue of sport in South African identity was an issue which came through very clearly in the Mercy College and Midlands High School interviews. This was mentioned by participants of both genders, although somewhat more often by male participants. Sanjay, a Midlands High School participant, took issue with this focus on sport, however when discussing how conscious one is of one’s nationality.

Sanjay: “I think, towards that question, we don’t really think about it unless there is a sporting event and then... everybody is South African, we’re all national, we’re all patriots, but I think apart from that people are more worried about what their Facebook status is when they wake up in the morning.”

Sanjay argues that a South African identity is only strongly felt during sports games, perhaps suggesting the possibly intermittent feelings of patriotism for many white participants.

6.2.2. FEELINGS OF UNITY OR ‘US’ AND ‘THEM’

Identifying as South African does not guarantee feelings of ‘belonging’ to the country or of a sense of unity. In the analysis of interview data, the use of pronouns is helpful in understanding the extent to which learners understand their ‘belonging’²⁰. In the preceding section, an example of this has already been given.

²⁰ It is, however, important, due to the varying English language ability of the participants, to not read too deeply into this choice of pronouns.

One of the most common phrases in which ‘belonging’ or ‘allegiance’ could be identified was in the phrases: ‘our government’ or ‘the government’. An example of this is Mthokozisi’s – a Vula High School participant - assertion that “our government” provides funding for tertiary education through NSFAS. Another example is this statement by Noluthando:

“due to Apartheid some of us are uneducated so they can’t access everything they want.”

Considering South Africa’s history, it is possible to infer that the ‘us’ Noluthando refers to are black South Africans, while the ‘they’ used shows a generational divide between Noluthando’s generation and that of her parents.

Other phrases also utilized the ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy shown above, albeit in discussions on different topics. Faye – a white Mercy College participant - speaks of the South African people as ‘them’ and does not seem to identify herself with that group. In the below quote Faye speaks out strongly against a perceived apathy amongst South Africans.

Faye: “But not just people in power, the people of South Africa need to speak up... they really need to say something because it is their country after all and there’s a lot more of them than there are people in government.”

Although divisions within society are, to a degree, inevitable, in instances where a participant speaks of ‘South African’ people and excludes herself from that group, it is possible to identify a level of disunity. The divides in understandings and experiences of citizenship are not only to be found in the differing quality of education, for example, due to class, but also in the ways in which participants speak of themselves and each other. This gives us an insight into the *feelings* of disunity, not only the practical parameters of a lived inequality.

6.2.3. FEELINGS ON BEING ‘BORN FREE’

A significant majority of participants were born in 1994.²¹ Participants views on being ‘born free’ illuminate issues around the ‘hierarchy of citizenship’ identified through the theoretical framework. These views also speak to how the participants view reconciliation. Although the participants’ views varied, they tended to be similar along racial lines.

²¹ All participants were born between 1992 and 1996. The average year of birth for the sample is 1994.

Participants from Vula High School had similar opinions on their 'born free' moniker. Noxolo felt that "maybe if I was born in 1980s, my life would be different 'cos of the pain I would have experienced." Sinethemba speaks about he now has an opportunity to get an education which he feels that his parents did not. Noluthando shares this views, saying that,

"It makes a difference because if I was born like 1950s, I would be struggling in education. After learning Bantu Education help us careers, we were, there were just few careers that we have to stick to like teaching and policing. There were no accountants to be black. There were no, like careers that you earn like a lot of money, no. If you were black, you didn't have that chance and I was born in '93 so as I grow things change, like after '94, things change. Schools are, there are no more Bantu schools and if you are black you can go to a multi school, like in a white school. Ja, even those who are born in 2000 are now, they are more, they are more lucky than us..."

She then speaks further on how the situation continues to improve. All of the participants from Vula High School express joy and gratitude at being 'born free'.

Mzamo, a Mercy College participant, feels that being born in 1994 is "something amazing" and that "we didn't have to suffer as much as people that were born before." Thando, a fellow Mercy College participant, argues that the change is a process and 'things' didn't just stop in 1994. Although all the black participants view the transition to democracy in a positive light, for some their enthusiasm is somewhat dampened by their perceptions of irresponsible and corrupt leaders and politicians.

In contrast to the views of black learners, learners of other races have less unanimously positive feelings on being 'born free'. Sudesh and Sam – Mercy College participants - do not feel any particularly strong emotions about being born in 1994. Faye, another Mercy College participant, has mixed feelings on being 'born free'. While she views it positively and suggests that people's responses to democracy were, "woah, something new" she also expresses irritation,

"But in the same way, it's actually really annoying for us because like, even opposite races and stuff, well, not opposite races²² but like other races, they keep bringing up the Apartheid thing even though they themselves weren't in it. So we get put under the same kind of pressure that people did earlier."

Amy concurs with this by saying that

"it's irritating when they claim to be underprivileged and they were born in the same year as you. And you're like, really? We all grew up with the same privileges, it's not like you had to go to a non-white school or whatever."

²² This is a telling 'slip' and is indicative of the (mostly) subtle oppositional relationship of white and black participants.

This conversation is followed up by a description of how they don't automatically 'see' race the way their parents do. Faye and Amy show a common tendency among white participants: they complain about the process of reconciliation but profess themselves not to be racists. The above quotes could also indicate an apparent ignorance of the durable nature of structural inequality. Although learners born in 1994 all have the same rights, their lived experiences are very different and often determined by the effects of Apartheid.

The issue of unity – or more accurately, the issue of disunity and the reasons for those divides - was discussed by all participants to some extent. Sean and James from Mercy College were the most outspoken in their yearning for a united South Africa. Sean reiterates this view throughout the interview saying things such as, "I wish, I truly wish that there was a united sort of nation." Others are aware of the disunity in South Africa but feel that it is inevitable and will not change. Faye says that,

"There's always different classes of people, like in a country. There'll always be people that like, stick together there and stick together there. There's always going to be some kind of divide."

Amy echoes this comment later in the interview, but says it relates to both gender and race divides. Amy argues that there is always going to be some form of hatred or dislike based on a person's race or gender. Mzamo is similarly pessimistic saying that "racism will never stop." He speaks about racism as a virus that is spread by each successive generation. Sean views racism and 'racialisation' of society in a similar way to Mzamo as can be seen in this quote.

"When we were small... the first eight years of life... we didn't really care, we just lived like normal people [i.e. did not see race]... as you get older, you get more influenced from your family ...[including "history", "the world", etc.]... then you start becoming more racial, more separated, then you become enlightened... on how it was and how it is now and you become more knowledgeable on politics and then you get more opinionated."

The tendency amongst learners was to describe the divisions within South African society as if not exactly inevitable, then certainly somewhat permanent. Many of these learners are thus caught between a (usually longed-for) idealised concept of citizenship and a related unity, and the lived experience of differences, divides and disunity.

6.2.4. CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND POSSIBLE FEELINGS OF DISSATISFACTION WITH SERVICE DELIVERY AND GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

One of the most common themes in the interview data is criticism at the lack of policy implementation or service delivery. Learners from Midlands High School and Mercy College spoke passionately about the importance of putting policies into practice. Faye, in speaking about the Constitution, argued that,

“Like it’s all well and good to have this amazing vision and stuff, and seriously, it is a very good vision, but if you’re not coming through on it, then what’s the point.”

Sanjay took a very similar approach saying that, “this is just all good in theory. If you look at the practicalities...” which he did by giving the example of poorly resourced schools. Sanjay argued that

“there’s Matrics who don’t have teachers or books. So how can we go on about how awesome citizenship is and we’ve got this Bill of Rights when we don’t enforce it.”

Sean, a Mercy College learner was so disillusioned that his opinion on the Bill of Rights is that “it’s like almost rubbish to me, actually” because “the scars [of Apartheid] still remain.” He sees this as the result of a lack of delivery on the part of government. However, Sean is also one of the most vocal opponents of affirmative action, a measure that aims to ‘heal’ some of those scars.²³

Interestingly, learners from Midlands High School and Mercy College could often see their ‘privilege’ but in other ways identified themselves as ‘discriminated against’ or the victims of ‘reverse racism’.

In the interviews, many Midlands High School and Mercy College participants suggested that the South African government could not be trusted to stick to the laws or act responsibly. Other participants – often black participants - identified “selfishness” on the part of *individual* politicians as a significant problem. Nkosinathi was vocal in his abhorrence of the ethos many politicians seem to operate by.

²³ Learners would often contradict themselves during the interviews. There is, unfortunately, insufficient data for a reliable analysis of this phenomenon.

Nkosinathi: "The only thing that is a problem is that this country is run by politicians. They only. I can say, that they are selfish. Politicians are selfish."

Samkelisiwe argues that it is important to stand up to politicians but expands this by saying that "we should also speak everything we believe in an open society." Noluthando has a similar opinion feels that "majority speaks" and

"the voice of the people are important. If you say that no, your leadership is not our style, you don't lead the way that you should be, so if we vote against you, you will be eliminated."

Despite the above support for speaking out on important issues, a majority of participants felt powerless to effect any change or to engage critically with government. For example, Sinethemba shares his feelings of powerlessness,

"I'll see like a political man or something doing something wrong. I won't have a say in that 'cos I don't have the power to say something. Even if I do something, they won't believe 'cos, like, they take me as a nobody, so. They won't accept or agree with me."

Sinethemba feels that whatever decision is made by the 'political man', "you have to go with it". The participants of Midlands High School all felt this powerlessness, but argued that it applied to all hierarchies, both within school and outside of it. They felt that the only way to be taken seriously and to be listened to was if you were presenting an issue *en masse* or already held a powerful position.

There are, however, those - predominantly Vula High School participants - who view the South African government less negatively. Mthokozisi has mixed feelings saying that,

"some of them [politicians] are doing corruption. And you can't prove that they are doing that. And some are doing great, creating opportunities for all people."

Others view the work of government in an even more positive light. Nokwanda feels that

"government, our government here support people who are coming from a bad background. He give pensions to those children who don't have parents, ja, also give pensions to those who are disabled."

Interestingly, later in the interview, Nokwanda argued that the government was not working hard enough to care for street children so her positive views above are not ones that apply to all government work.

Sheraz, a Midlands High School participant, felt that his fellow participants could not just 'complain' but should suggest solutions. Incidentally, many of the Vula High School participants

suggested possible plans which the South African government could implement. Both Nokwanda and her interview partner, Ngcebo suggested several possible plans the government might implement to improve the situation for South Africa's poorest. One of Ngcebo's plans related to those people not living in adequate shelter,

"Government need to do a research and employ those people who are educated in Department of Housing, actually in all departments, so that they can take a good responsibility for citizens in our country and given them equal, you know."

Many of the plans Ngcebo and Nokwanda suggested centered around the employment of people. The reasons for the prominence of employment in their plans were not probed due to time constraints. One possible reason, however, is presented by Samkelisiwe who sees employment as an equalizer and that,

"to make everyone equal, government should employ our parent because they didn't have education... so that we can be on the same level."

The learners thus present a wide-ranging collection of opinions on the topic of government performance. An interesting avenue for research would be to try ascertain the source of these opinions – is this disappointment a learnt behaviour from parents or teachers? Regardless, this section speaks strongly to a support for critical engagement by all participants, but disillusionment on their potential impact. It is possible that they see this as linked to their 'value' as citizens.

6.2.5. ENTHUSIASM AND INTEREST IN TOPICS RELATED TO CITIZENSHIP

Some of the media coverage on South African youth presents them as apathetic and uninterested in politics, yet the interview data contradicts this view. The tone of most of the participants, and in some cases their actual words, communicated an enjoyment of and engagement with the conversations around citizenship. Nkosinathi asked if the researcher could return to discuss these issues further. The first Midlands High School focus group did not want to leave the interview when the bell rang, but asked to remain and continue the discussion. This was also true of the follow-up focus group. Those participants who left without

comment often did so with an air of exhaustion. Their full engagement in these “prickly issues” as Sam labelled them, had seemingly drained them.

However, this passion on the part of the learners appears to have limited outlets. When asked if the participants have conversations on these topics, the majority replied that they either rarely or hardly ever took place. When asked with whom the conversations would take place, a majority of the learners replied that it was with their families. Faye describes it as a, “very like a personal thing”. A minority - of which Noxolo and Sinethemba are an example - did not discuss these issues with anyone.

Samkelisiwe – a Vula High School participant - said that they talk about rights a little bit in class but she is unsure of what her parents’ opinions on these issues would be. In instances where these topics were discussed in class, Life Orientation, History and Business Studies were the most common subjects in which these conversations were said to take place. David felt that they discussed this kind of “controversial stuff” in Art, but this was the only mention of Art throughout the fieldwork phase.

About two thirds felt that these topics were not discussed in school or were only minimally discussed. This was true of Thando, Sam, Mzamo and Sudesh. Although Faye and Amy did discuss these issues “a bit” with their friends they were “hardly ever” discussed in class. When discussing the Constitution in particular, Thando said that, “we had a test on it and we had to learn for like two lessons or something.” This limited engagement with the Constitution and Bill of Rights and the limited number of conversations around citizenship were present across all three schools, both genders and all races. This suggests that the goals of the Constitution are not a priority in classrooms, where the ‘content’ subjects such as Physical Science and Geography are given more attention. While the sample size is so small, that the participants were universally and unanimously interested in these topics, suggests that there is significant potential in South African schools to further develop and grow this aspect of citizenship. If learners were better informed and able to engage with these issues regularly, it is possible that

their feelings of 'disempowerment' and despondency on engaging with the 'big issues' would be lessened.

6.2.6. FEELINGS ABOUT AND EFFECTS OF APARTHEID

Participants spoke of two different conceptions of Apartheid, but did not necessarily identify the distinction between the two themselves. Apartheid was spoken of as both a political regime and a form of socialization of which racism formed only a part. Many participants grappled with a situation in which Apartheid lay in the past, but was still present. One way in which they made sense of this situation was speaking of the 'scars' or 'effects' of Apartheid. There were also discussions on racism as a 'social disease' or 'virus' spread from one generation to the next.

Given the subject matter of the interviews, it is perhaps to be expected that Apartheid was mentioned in most interviews from the first minutes of the interview. At Mercy College, and to a lesser extent Midlands High School, there was a feeling of fatigue around the topic. In discussing Apartheid's consequences, Sean shared that "it is, there are scars from Apartheid and I know you probably, that's like the last thing you wanted us to do is bring up the whole Apartheid thing."

There is a frustration on the part of white learners and some black participants that the past still has such an impact on the present. Sean and James feel that both white and black people are 'stuck in the past'. That past, is, however, one that they do not want to be personally blamed for.

James: "'Cause I know a lot of white okes who'll be like hectically racist. But I know a lot of white okes who'll be, like, for black people in any argument. And then, but now, I know a heck of a lot of black people who'll say, 'ja, but Apartheid put you where you are now' and I'm like actually, I wasn't here."

They follow this up by saying that the blame lies with their progenitors, not with them personally. This is a common belief amongst the white participants from all schools. They do

not wish to be personally blamed for Apartheid nor told that their success is due to their skin colour.

However, white participants were somewhat aware of the continued levels of inequality in South Africa. Many of the white participants made vague comments on this. For example, Sean said,

“I don’t think it’s been leveled at all. And that’s very unfortunate because it kind of stands against what South Africa is supposed to believe in”

Yet, he followed this statement up by speaking about how as a white male he needs more points to be admitted to university and implied this was a form of discrimination.

The topic of reconciliation (and thus the task of dealing with the aftermath of Apartheid) was discussed at length by Midlands High School participants. Sakhiso said that,

“I think coming out of Apartheid, people wanted to level the playing field, I think, and they had to do something or else it was going to carry on being unfair.”

Mary responded to this by saying that “they’re overcompensating now”, a view which was supported by other white participants in the group. This discussion continued and the consensus the participants reached seems to be that there should be a different way to transform South Africa. Sakhiso argues that “it has to happen” but that “they need to go about it in a different way”. The participants are unable to suggest a solution in which everyone benefits. Sanjay suggests, somewhat jokingly, that he and his peers are the collateral damage. Sakhiso, later in the interview and at this stage somewhat frustrated, says: “someone is always going to get hurt, and it’s just unfair.”

Affirmative action was one of the most common topics covered by white learners, although black learners also had opinions on this topic. The opinions varied from pro-affirmative action views, to those which were less supportive. However, all the opinions hinged around an understanding of what is fair, albeit rather different understandings. In discussing employment, James feels that “specifically as a white person, [I] feel that we are feeling the effects of Apartheid even though we didn’t have anything to do with it.” Nkosinathi, a participant from Vula High School, feels that “employing blacks only, it’s kind of discriminative... yes, everybody

deserves to be employed.” Mzamo, a participant from Mercy College, when discussing affirmative action says that, “I hate that law. I really hate that law.” Sam shares with his fellow participants that bursaries at Mercy College are only available for learners of colour. Mzamo’s response to this is “damn, that’s racist”. Sam feels that were he to be a black learner he might work less hard because he feels that as a black person his chances of admission or selection are much higher. He claims to have seen this amongst some of his black peers. He does, however, say that it is difficult to make generalisations because “everyone is just so different”.

The Midlands High School learners seem to agree that race should not be used to determine access to university, employment or any other institution. Janine speaks about how a black hockey player from an independent school is given preference over her in Kwazulu-Natal hockey team trials despite having received more intensive coaching and had access to better facilities. All of the Midlands High School participants feel that the most important intervention is in the poorer or ‘township’ schools as that is truly where the transformation must take place. Ben, in particular, thinks that

“BEE [meaning affirmative action, sport quotas, etc.] is a stupid excuse to draw attention away from the bad education of other schools. ‘Cause they have terrible schools, like people aren’t getting educated at them and then they have the opposite, where people who are getting educated aren’t getting allowed to go through.”

Ben further argues that “they showing how they helping them in universities, but they not helping them in the first stages of their education.” Interestingly, the Midlands High School participants seemed to be aware of the degree to which race and class intersect in affirmative action and how the learners in ‘township’ schools remain the ‘losers’ in the present situation.

Regardless of the particular content of the participants’ opinions on Apartheid and its effects, all opinions were voiced with passion, be it positive or negative. Apartheid has affected the participants’ concept of themselves and others in ways which they are not always fully aware. The citizenship which they experience is one which is founded in democracy, but which exists in a South Africa in which Apartheid is still, in many ways, visible. This tension is one which none of the learners are able to resolve.

6.2.7. PRESSURE TO CONFORM AND THE FREEDOM TO BE ONESELF

Some participants responded strongly to the presence of 'self-determination' and 'unity in diversity' in the interview. Many then balanced this against the expectations to conform from friends and parents. In general, participants felt that there was support for the concept of diversity and "being oneself" although there is limited belief that in practice one is allowed to be different.

Nokwanda thinks that "we're allowed to be different, because we even different in our culture and stuff, and races also." Nkosinathi likes being South African because of the differences between people. In terms of different sexual orientations, only one learner directly mentioned homosexuality. In response to a question on respect for difference Nkosinathi shared that,

"Well, what I think is that, ah, in our community, there is this sex issue. Gender issue. There are gays and lesbians, even in this school. We accept them. Ja, we don't discriminate against them. We just love them and care for them."

From this point on, Nkosinathi became increasingly emotional and did not feel able to continue discussing this topic.

Many of the discussions centred around a pressure to conform to social norms. Sean felt strongly that there are limitations around 'identity' and 'image' and how one presents oneself. Amy and Faye did not have a response to the question on self-determination and respect for difference, but later in the interview spoke passionately about the pressure to fit in and conform to social norms. Faye shared the following during the interview:

"It creates such a divide, being different. So that also affects your identity because you have to, like, change for others."

"There's unsaid rules, kind of thing, that you have to follow."

"It's become a norm to be two-faced, actually. No one speaks their minds."

"It's all so fake."

Female participants from Midlands High School echoed the above sentiments, but to a significantly lesser extent. Black participants from all three schools spoke about the particular roles assigned to each gender, with a majority of those participants either advocating or accepting those roles as correct.

In discussions around supporting the full potential of an individual, the conversation was often centred around supporting an individual's talents. The participants from Vula High School were approximately equally divided in their views on this issue. In terms of supporting talent and developing the full potential of learners, some expressed that their community does 'try' and that teachers and parents do what they can, but their means are limited. Others, believed that not enough was being done to support learners.

Noxolo felt that in townships, "if you're good at something, you don't usually get support." Others had similar opinions but made specific mention of the lack of resources. Ngcebo argued that there were insufficient resources in their community to encourage the talent within residents. The lack of sports grounds at school was identified as a barrier for the development of their talent and potential.

Ngcebo: "Even black schools, should also have a rugby sports ground because there are some blacks who are interested in rugby but the problem is that they do not have sports ground."

Nokwanda spoke about the lack of resources available in school. Vula High School had a computer lab, but it was insufficient for their needs. Nokwanda argued that they should also have a biology lab, soccer fields and a consumer studies classroom. There were no such comments at Midlands High School or Mercy College about the lack of resources at their schools. However, most of the Midlands High School participants felt that people living in rural areas had access to fewer resources, attended schools that provided a poor quality education and that this lack of support was a critical situation.

In practice then, the support of one's potential or talents is determined by the quality of resources available to that individual. Usually, this is determined by that individual's class. Although many of the learners supported the ideas of 'self-determination', in practice, on a local level, some felt that this was not possible as there were pressures to conform to social norms. In terms of citizenship, this means that class often determines to what extent one's potential is supported.

6.2.8. VALUES FELT TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT BY PARTICIPANTS

In the final question of the interview, the learners were asked to identify the two values that were of the highest importance, and the value of least importance from a set of flashcards. The principles on the flashcards were taken from an earlier version of the framework identified in the preceding policy analysis chapter and thus do vary slightly from the present version. The principles listed on those flashcards are listed below:

- Democracy
- Social justice and equity; reconciliation
- Non-racialism and non-sexism
- Ubuntu (human dignity); respect
- An open society
- Accountability and responsibility
- Rule of law

In this previous version of the values, 'rule of law' and 'accountability and responsibility' were separated as can be seen above. In the interviews, 'rule of law' was consistently identified as the least important principle, whereas 'accountability and responsibility' was more often identified as one of the most important principles across all three schools.²⁴ The participants presented a variety of reasons when stating that 'rule of law' was the least important value. Nkosinathi felt that "a person can have his own law" implying that morals could be more important than the laws of the country. In a similar sense to the way they are used in an earlier section, laws are argued to be questionable both in their content and how they are used. Noluthando argues that it's "not that all laws are right." Mthokozisi says that rules are sometimes "misused" by people. Noluthando questions the lawmakers themselves and whether they take into consideration the effects their laws will have. She feels that those making laws "make them as they choose them, they don't think about how they are going to affect the other people." Sean concurs with this saying that while he agrees that it "good" to abide by laws he questions if, "the people who make the laws, are they making the right laws?"

²⁴ Due to the small sample size, the quantitative data is statistically insignificant.

This tendency to see rule of law as the least important value applied evenly across all three schools.

This can be compared to the belief expressed earlier in the same interviews that abiding by the laws would result in a fairer, better South Africa. Noxolo felt that “if we stick to the rules and the laws, it will help to a better world and this is what we want, a better world.” Nokwanda felt that if people were sticking the rules, there would currently be a different South Africa. She argued passionately that

“if we respected the constitutional law that say we mustn’t do this and that, like rape, crime and stuff, the country wouldn’t be like this. It’s so corrupt right now, because of we not listening to the fact that we have been given the laws that are here to protect us so people are against that that’s why the whole country is so corrupt.”

Mthokozisi, Samkelisiwe and Nkosinathi all agree with this principle. Ngcebo speaks along similar lines to Nokwanda but adds that in developed countries, the citizens do “follow the laws of their countries”. This presents a definite ambiguity on the issue of laws and their moral rightness.

In the discussions on values, ‘accountability and responsibility’ was strongly supported by participants from all schools. Noluthando felt that people must be held accountable for their actions. This view was held by a majority of participants from all three schools.

In their analysis of the values mentioned above, ‘dignity’²⁵ was often selected as one of the most important and non-negotiable values that should be present in South African schools and society. Noluthando argued that

“everyone have to be respect and you have a responsible to respect others. So if you respect each other, we’ll live in peace.”

Amy agreed with this view saying that “if everybody respected everybody in society, then it would just be easier to get on and do whatever we have to do.” Participants had different

²⁵ As ‘dignity’ and ‘respect’ were listed on the same flashcard, these terms were used interchangeably in the interviews. It is not possible to ascertain if this was the case solely because of their joint presence on the flashcards or if ‘dignity’ is understood to be the same as ‘respect’.

conceptions of what respect is and how one obtains it, be it because of inherent worth as a human being, or something that is gained through merit or authority.

6.3. CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified the primary themes which emerged during the analysis of the interview data. The themes do not closely align to the categorisation set forward in the policy analysis section, nor does it correlate with the theoretical framework. However, as this research focussed on the importance of the learners' voice, it was important that the data analysis be emergent and not forced to conform to an existing conception of citizenship. Despite this, several important themes were identified through the analysis. These are:

- Identifying as South African and feelings about that status
- Feelings of unity or 'us' and 'them'
- Feelings on being 'born free'
- Critical engagement and possible feelings of dissatisfaction with service delivery and government performance
- Enthusiasm and interest in topics related to citizenship
- Feelings about and effects of apartheid
- Pressure to conform and the freedom to be oneself
- Values felt to be the most important by participants

In summary, the above conception of citizenship only answers the second research question, i.e. 'how do Matric learners experience and understand citizenship?' The third research question, i.e. 'in particular, to what extent do issues of race, class and gender impact learners' experiences and understandings of citizenship?' will be answered in the next chapter. Only once both of these questions have been answered will it be possible to present a more comprehensive description and analysis of how Matric learners experience and understand citizenship.

7. DIFFERING EXPERIENCES AND UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP BY LEARNERS

Through the literature review, three possible ‘divides’ were identified along which experiences of citizenship might vary. These are race, gender and class. In order to directly address this issue, a particular set of questions was included in the interview schedule. Each participant was asked to imagine their lives if certain circumstances had changed. The participants are asked to imagine three scenarios, one in which they were born a different gender, another in which they were born a different race, and finally a scenario in which the average income of their families was either much higher or much lower²⁶.

7.1. RACE

One of the most common ‘hierarchies’ discussed was the perceived hierarchy of race. White male and female participants tended to see ‘whiteness’ as a disadvantage when seeking employment or admission to university. Ben, a participant from Midlands High School pointed out that if one was a “female, black cripple” one would have better opportunities than a white male. The subtext was that as a black woman you have more ‘value’ than a white male. David was concerned that this perceived racial hierarchy went against “this whole equal citizenship thing”.

There was an alternate perception of this racial hierarchy with black people being below white people. ‘White’ was often seen as ‘better’ or the ‘norm’ by black learners, sometimes as a subtext to their words or in instances where those participants would speak out against white people being more respected than black people. This is something that white participants also noticed. For example, Sam pointed out, “I noticed, like, in society, how black people are looked

²⁶ Although ‘class’ and ‘income’ are different concepts, for the purposes of this thesis they are used interchangeably. South Africa does not have a class system in the British sense, but rather one based specifically on income.

down upon”. Although the ‘arrangement’ of the races in the racial hierarchy varied depending on the participants’ opinions, the presence of a racial hierarchy of some kind was clear in most of the participants’ responses. This speaks not only to the gap between policy and outcome, but also to the extent to which Apartheid-era ideas about citizenship persist.

This is, perhaps, the clearest finding in the interview data, that race remains the most prominent and divisive issue in South Africa in the opinions of all the participants. Furthermore, race remains, for these participants, psychologically-speaking, an essentially binary relationship, one is either black or white. When asked to imagine their lives if born a different race, participants tended to imagine themselves as white or black. No one imagined their lives as Indian or coloured (two of the other Apartheid-era races) or any other race or cultural grouping. This could be identified as evidence of the binary understanding of race, largely due to Apartheid-era socialization and education.

In terms of the unequal status quo of Apartheid remaining in force, Noxolo argues that,

“you know, in the past they [white people] had opportunities. It’s helping them now to have more opportunities than considering them in the past. Even though we [black people] have power now, I mean, like equal power, it’s like they have more because in the past they had.”

This is an opinion shared by Sinethemba who says that,

“they [white people] were rich before but now they seem to be getting much more richer. It must be equal. Blacks and whites. But that’s not the case.”

Noluthando felt strongly that white people still saw themselves as being superior, or more powerful than other South Africans. These Vula High School participants thus present a picture in which white South Africans remain privileged, rich and ‘better’.

Noluthando argues a slightly different point saying that “they think still that they can overpower our country again” and that “they still don’t treat others the way as they should.” The Constitution does not grant anyone superior powers or status, and this is something that she argues white people do not see or believe. Mthokozisi says that “in some areas, the people are not treated equally. Some of them are well treated and some are not.” Although Mthokozisi does not state it in the above quote, the preceding discussion in the interview covered how

Noluthando believed that white people see themselves as ‘better’ than other people and with the above quote, Mthokozisi is agreeing with her.

Participants at Mercy College were vocal in their identification of racist behaviour on the part of the school.²⁷ In describing racism at Mercy College Mzamo said that “they think we don’t see it, but we see it.” Sudesh supported this view saying that, “I think it’s easier if you’re black to get in trouble at this school.” Some of the Mercy College learners described a situation in which a white learner was not given detention, while a black learner was, when both had broken the same school rule, i.e. been late for class. When the learners questioned the teacher in whose classroom this took place, his response was “there’s a difference”. The interview participants were stunned by this and were left feeling somewhat hopeless. Thando said that, “now we just laugh about it. There’s nothing we can do”. This is an opinion which Mzamo shares, stating that “we can’t do, we can’t stop this.”

Although less commonly mentioned, there are instances in which the participants were not conscious of their race. For example, Mzamo shared,

“I know I’m black, but how some of my friends treat me, I just forget that I’m black.... You just act yourself, I don’t think race has anything to do with.”

There are thus instances in which learners feel free of ‘race’.

James and Sean are two of the white participants who are most vocal on the division between white and black. They speak about how they know very few black people, either at school or outside of it. Sean feels that he knows all of the white learners at Mercy College, but would not, for example, “say, one of the Grade 9 black kids came in, I wouldn’t know their name.” They speak about how the learners at Grace College socialize along racial lines. They do say that these kind of racial cliques are not unique to Grace College and give examples of experiences of their friends in other schools. For example, Sean shares that:

“I have friends in other schools and, they all white kids, I’ll be honest, and they don’t hang out with black guys, they just don’t.”

²⁷ Except for two white participants, all the Mercy College participants who have examples of racist behavior self-identified as black, Indian or coloured. The other white participants from Mercy College did not identify their school as racist.

During one of the interviews at Midlands High School, the participants were asked to define race. They suggested several possibilities, including the colour of one's skin. David, in particular, tried to explain how 'race' could also be 'culture'. To do this, he explained how there are 'Indian white people' and 'white black people' and so on. His fellow participants try to assist in this explanation, but they are unable to further develop the idea. This is, however, a key distinction in considering one of the major finding of this chapter, namely that it is 'white' which is seen as guaranteeing a 'good life' rather than simply being wealthy. It is to the scenario of being white that poorer black participants most strongly reacted, in comparison to imagining their increased family wealth.

In the scenario in which learners were asked to imagine their lives as a person of a different race, most of the Vula High School participants felt that it would be 'easier' to be white and that they would have 'better' lives. Some went as far as to say they'd prefer to be white. For example, Noxolo said that,

"It's just that, you know, if you white, it looks like your life is very easy."

"It's just that I'd like to be white. I'd like to be white, honestly."

Noluthando argued that white people

"have more opportunities, that's a fact. If you are born white, obviously most of the whites are rich so you won't, I won't be struggling in life. From crèche, even now, I have a better education, like going to multi²⁸, I'll have more access into, um, like from now I'll know if I have a space in institutions where I will be studying. I'll even afford to study across the country. Whites have more opportunities in everything because they are the ones that are put first before the black."

Mthokozisi imagines that his life would be "good" as a white person as his parents would have had sufficient income to invest money in his education from birth and save money for future studies. Noluthando argued that white people have a 'head start' and that it is very difficult for black people to catch up. Noluthando also felt that white people are more respected by both other white people and black people,

"They will respect you more because they think if you have the money you have the power. Whereas I know it's not right. 'Cos even if you don't have money, but you may have more sense than those who have money but if you white they treat you with respect."

²⁸ 'Multi' refers to either a 'white' school or a school in which the student body is 'multiracial', usually a school which could be considered a formerly 'white' school.

Noluthando further argued that,

“They think everything that is said by white is true. It’s because of Apartheid, so they still struggling to face the fact that white is not always right.”

Interestingly, the participants quoted above had far stronger reactions to imagining their lives as ‘white’ in comparison to imagining their lives as ‘wealthy’. Ntokozo, a participant from Midlands High School said that,

“I know for a fact that black people look at white people a different way than they looking at a black person... Like, a black person, okay, I know this might sound bad, but a black person will give a white person more respect.”

After he said this there was murmuring agreement from the group on this issue, from participants of all racial groupings, which is somewhat surprising given the statements made by the white participants in the group. Thando, a participant from Mercy College feels that

“because everyone else is trying to be white, ‘cos it seems like it’s the more superior race, kind of thing. I think that’s really destroying us as a nation ‘cos obviously everyone’s like, every race, culture is different to each other, but in most cases, a white race is more superior and other races are like, down looked, looked down upon.”

Thando also feels that “sometimes I do still feel that certain people still look down upon me. Like if you achieve something, like wow, he’s black.” Mzamo, a participant from the same school, feels that Apartheid severely damaged black people,

“I honestly think what happened in Apartheid cannot be fixed right now through these different laws, legislations and this BEE thing. Honestly, Apartheid really screwed up black people, if I had to say.”

Throughout the interview, Mzamo very passionately expresses his hatred of Apartheid and its consequences for South Africa.

Much of this data speaks to the disunity found in South Africa, particularly around issues of race. Although the laws have changed and legal barriers to opportunities have been removed, the colonial and Apartheid message of ‘white supremacy’ and ‘black inferiority’ remains present in the daily interactions of South Africa’s ‘born frees’.

Many of the white participants felt that if only their race changed and the other circumstances of their lives remained, there would be no difference in their experiences. Faye felt that, “it wouldn’t make much of a difference, if everything else is the same, it wouldn’t make a

difference.” Amy agrees with Faye. Sanjay was more hesitant and suggested that if income remained the same, “sometimes it [race] doesn’t make a difference.” Very few participants from Vula High School felt that being a different race would not make a difference. Nkosinathi feels that the “colour of skin doesn’t matter” and that “in this community we don’t pay much attention to what colour of skin, we accept you as you are.” In this sense, he does not feel that being born white will make much difference. Mthokozisi feels that one is treated is determined by how they treat others,

“I think I’ll be treated the way I treat others. If I treat them in a good way, they’ll treat me in a good way. If I treat them in a bad way, they do the same that I do to them.”

Initially Nokwanda and Ngcebo claimed that their lives would be the same, were they to have been born white. They stated that this was the case because things had changed since Apartheid. However, as their discussion continued they began to identify ways in which their lives would be different if they had been born white. Nokwanda imagined that if she were born white her family would have always lived in the suburbs, and that her life would have gone “very much faster”. She gives the example that an eighteen year old white woman would already have her own car and her own flat, whereas that would not be the case for a black woman of the same age. Ngcebo’s views then veer closer to that of Nokwanda’s. Ngcebo speaks about the wealth attached to being white,

“My life will change a bit because most of the white people, they live in suburbs and they have big sites, you know. And nowadays, a site to build a house cost lot of money and when I’m selling this house with the big site, I’ll be so filthy rich. Because the house is so expensive, that was built by the government of the time.”

He summarises, “I’ll be rich if I were white.” Several participants share this opinion; that being white results in one being rich.

For Thando, a black participant from Mercy College, he feels that there would be less pressure on him if he were white.

“If I was white, there’d be so much more lee-way at home. I think about all my friends, if they want to take a gap year, it’s like easy for them. It’s like you don’t have to think about it, it’s like your choice. But at home, it’s be like, being black, you like pushed to like achieve more, you have to do it, kind of thing”

Sakhiso, a participant from Midlands High School, feels that only his culture would change. As Sheraz then argues, “but then culture changes everything else, in a way.” Sakhiso also initially feels that his friends would be the same. Ntokozo disagrees with him. Unfortunately, this is a conversation that takes place alongside the main conversation and thus the details are not picked up by the recorder. Later in the interview Ntokozo does say that “when you get into an environment you tend to stick to the people you can relate with the most.” At this stage of the interview I point out how the participants have seated themselves around the table, which is in racial groups. Some had already noticed this, such as Sheraz, but many were surprised and had not noticed it before then.

Sheraz argues that a significant difference would be the language. Sheraz describes it as “difficult” to approach a group when they are speaking a different language. When Sheraz played soccer, he was the only “non-Zulu soccer player” and when he’d walk home with his teammates after school, “they would try to speak English, but slowly-slowly they’d go back to speaking Zulu, not because they wanted to discriminate against me, but just because it’s...” At this stage Sheraz is not sure how to explain it and stops speaking. Interestingly, Sheraz is the only person interviewed overall to raise the issue of language and how it can be a barrier.

There are those learners who feel that they would have better opportunities if they were black. This is true of, for example, Mary, Janine and Faye. A frequent follow-up question was to query if in the opinion of the learners, racism had, in fact, become worse. Many of the white learners responded that it had. They understood racism as ‘black-against-white’ rather than the more common understanding of ‘white-against-black’.

When white participants imagined themselves as black, they either felt that they’d have better opportunities or that their lives would remain the same. Black participants responded very strongly to the question of imagining their lives as white. This could be argued to speak to the inability of some white participants to fully identify their privilege and the ways in which the message of ‘white superiority’ has remained present in South African society. Regardless, race

is proven to be the most prominent issue across all the interviews and is the area in which there appears to be the most division.

7.2. CLASS

Class has already been mentioned in the preceding section. The conversations on class were less heated than conversations on race and gender, across all three schools. There were, however, still some strong opinions. One of the discussions was centred around the extent to which race and class continue to overlap, or not. Sam feels that,

“it’s partially influenced, at least in South Africa, by Apartheid because a large majority of disadvantaged individuals, and like poor people, are black people, people of colour. And that I think is largely due to Apartheid because they didn’t have access to the kind of education that white people had, and work and so like finances and stuff like that.”

Mzamo asks the group why there appear to be no poor white people. Thando believes that he has only seen two white beggars. The implication of this is that the number of black beggars is countless. It is indeed telling that Sam suggests the white beggars have mental disabilities or mental health issues that resulted in them being on the street. The same kind of explanation is not offered for the presence of black beggars. Nhlakanipho, however, feels that many of the issues in South Africa are now predominantly that of class, rather than race.

There was some discussion amongst the Midlands High School participants as to what constituted ‘poor’. Participants from Vula High School, who many of the Midlands High School participants would consider to be ‘poor’, were asked to define their income status. Sinethemba described his family as, “okay, because, like, I don’t go to bed on an empty stomach. They do their best for us so there’s food on the table.”

For wealthy participants who were asked to imagine their lives if their families were suddenly to lose wealth, they battled to imagine the situation. When asked to imagine what their actions would be if their parents were to be retrenched, both Faye and Amy had an ‘all hands on deck’

mentality. In that situation, they would both get part-time or full-time jobs depending on what the circumstances were. It is interesting to compare this outlook, where it is implied that all one must do to get a job is simply want one, with the outlook of many Vula High School participants in which their parents are unable to find work because there are no vacancies. This speaks to the level of disconnect between people of the same generation but different circumstances. It also reinforces the earlier idea of the life of a white person being easier, i.e. jobs will appear when needed and no difficulties in finding work are to be expected.

Noxolo felt that it would be easier if her family were wealthier because money would be available to purchase items that the family needed. They would be able to pay for university. Tertiary education is the most common expenditure identified by Vula High School learners in imagining how they would spend their newfound wealth.

Not only do poorer people appear to have fewer opportunities, some Vula High School learners felt that poor people are looked down on. Sinethemba explained it,

“Especially here in townships, people who both their parents are working, have cars and stuff, they tend to look down on people that are poor.”

This is one of the few instances during the interviews in which wealth is seen as granting value to the owner. That it is possible for wealth to grant value speaks to the experience of citizenship and how life is easier for those with money, not only in terms of access to opportunities, but also in terms of how others treat you.

There were one or two participants across the school who felt that their families had experienced both wealth and poverty. Thando explained his feelings in this way,

“Well, I think my parents have had both ends of the spectrum, so the way they handle me, raising me up and stuff, I think it wouldn’t be that much different as what I am now. But I think, opportunity-wise, education-wise, and all that kind of, like, things that most privileged people would have, I wouldn’t have that. But I think like raising me up and creating who I am now, wouldn’t change.”

In situations where participants from Vula High School were asked to imagine their lives if they were richer, many felt that their lives would not change within the family dynamic. Noluthando, for example, would continue to do chores,

“Whether you are rich or you are poor, but others you get maid, but I see as pointless, because if you are a girl or if you are a member of the family, you have to do chores, that you still have to do. So that you can get those skills, you can be a real man or a real woman. So money, or money, that doesn’t change anything.”

This relates to the issue of roles assigned to the specific genders, particularly in the families of black participants.

For Nkosinathi he would still live the same life. He argues that,

“being rich doesn’t mean that you have to change the way you look, change the way you talk and even your lifestyle.”

He says this in a tone that shows a degree of resentment or distaste for those that do change their identities if they become wealthy. Nkosinathi is critical of what he perceives as wasteful spending by boys his age living in his community. He says that they spend all their money on their friends, buy alcohol and drive their parents’ cars and “go for girls”. He thinks they should save their money for tertiary education as he would “save it for the future purposes”.

In terms of the South African economy, Thando feels that is not possible for everyone to be rich or ‘well-off’; that a degree of inequality is inevitable.

Thando: “I think in society, not everyone is gonna like have the same opportunity. We will get people that like won’t be rich, or have the best car, or whatever. It’s harsh to say that, but it’s, like, it’s life.

This somewhat reluctant acceptance of the capitalist system can be compared to Nokwanda’s full support for the capitalist system. Nokwanda sees capitalism and the attendant need for money to support oneself as a motivation to

“other people who doesn’t like school, to go to school so that one day they can be employed so that they will have money and for those who have money who live in suburbs and go to private schools and go to private doctors”

A similar view is shared by Ngcebo who feels that “when I focus on my studies, I’ll be able to get my own millions in the years that will come.” There is thus general support for, or at the least, understanding of, the economic system with differing feelings on how ‘inevitable’ inequality may be.

There is, however, support for social welfare provided by the state, particularly from Vula High School participants, but occasionally also Midlands High School participants. Noluthando

supports South Africa's progressive taxation system saying that although companies don't want to pay tax, they should, saying "they should pay tax but others say it's pointless, whereas it helps the poor ones". Midlands High School learners spoke about the critical need for more comprehensive intervention in the early years of education by the government.

There is also an awareness of the poverty cycle and how those who are poor will likely remain so. Mthokozisi feels that

"in developing countries, I believe that if you are poor, you still stay poor. And if you are rich, you will stay rich. Those who are poor have to struggle to reach a wealth, so if you don't have money you have to work hard so that you can have something."

Sudesh argues for affirmative action (which he calls BEE) as he feels that "a cycle is created... that can't be broken without something like the BEE, cycle of poverty." There is thus an understanding of how a person may become 'stuck' in poverty.

In summary, participants argue that class makes a significant difference to one's life chances. In this section, how one gains access to wealth has been discussed and whether this is possible for everyone to achieve. Class is presented as the 'gatekeeper' for opportunities in many ways. The extent to which race and class continue to overlap has been raised several times, but proved challenging for the participants to determine. In terms of experiences and understandings of citizenship, it is not necessarily 'rights' which determine these experiences, but often class has a significant effect. In other words, the inequality in South Africa is maintained through differential access to opportunities and quality of opportunities based on one's class. If the responses from participants are compared based on the school they attend, there are a few ways in which their opinions are similar. While the school one attends does have an effect on your opportunities, it does not necessarily have as great an impact on your opinions as your race and gender do.

7.3. GENDER

When asked to imagine how their lives would be different and how they would be the same if they had been born a different gender, most of the participants were able to answer this

question with ease, with only a few participants being unsure what this imagined life would be like.

There were some differences in understanding what it means to be either male or female in South Africa. David, a participant from Midlands High School argued that, “I don’ think you can define gender in South Africa as any one thing.” Despite this, Sanjay argued that,

“in South African culture, across the spectrum, girls are usually associated with taking the backseat when it comes to most things in life. Being a girl, and having to adapt to that, it would be quite hard... girls are normally associated with the house, guys are more with the corporate kind of thing. I wouldn’t be able to handle being a girl.”

This was certainly in evidence throughout the interviews. Amy summarized her imagined life as a man by saying that, “I think we’d just get the upper hand.” Faye agreed, saying that, “just being a guy gets you places.”

Many of the participants argued that the lives of boys are more ‘free’ and less controlled.

This view was present across all three schools. Noluthando felt that as a boy her life would be much easier. She states that boys have more free time than girls as the majority of chores are the responsibility of girls. Noluthando believes that if she were a boy she’d use her free time for “focusing on my studies”. Noluthando identifies a benefit of these chores, as they provide skills that one needs for life. The belief that black women perform the majority of chores was held by almost all black participants across all three schools. Noxolo feels that if she were to be a man, “my life would be different because I would be doing something that men fail to do, like protect women.” She felt that she’d be a better man than the men she knew.

In seeing what happens in his family home, Sudesh felt that “girls are more protected. So I think I have more freedom as a guy and I think it would be worse if I was a woman.” As a boy he can do “whatever I want” but his parents “won’t let [his sister] go anywhere”. Mthokozisi felt that as a girl his “life would change because if I were a girl, I would have to sacrifice a lot.” Mthokozisi thinks that parents prevent girls from doing things that they might want to do, like visit friends or go to parties. There seems to be a perception that girls bear more burdens of ‘home life’, and that they are kept closer to the ‘private’ world of the home whereas boys are

free to roam more 'public' domains. This connects with findings in the literature review of women being tied to the personal area of the home whereas men traditionally tend to dominate the more public arenas outside the home.

James felt that "as a girl, I'd be so fearful". He speaks about misogyny, and how women are not treated as people, but more as 'dogs', the implication being that women are just "there for me to have sex with" and are just "objects". Sam speaks about how women are more physically vulnerable to assault and rape based on what he has read in the newspapers and seen on television. Sam feels that "I don't think I'd like to live with that kind of thought, that that [rape] could possibly happen."

Sam also speaks about a common male view that women are less capable and can only do certain jobs. Faye speaks about the 'slut-stud' double-standard and how a man is not ostracized for promiscuity because "he can't control himself" whereas a woman with similar behavior is ostracized. Sean believes that

"there's no respect [for girls]. A lot of girls don't really have respect for themselves and that's sad and the other way around, guys don't have respect for girls and the world doesn't do anything to help that, you know, get better."

Mzamo feels that he knows,

"what girls go through, everything, like, pregnancy and... like other stuff, and I don't want to feel the same pain as girls. And girls won't have the equal rights as guys... and you'll be treated derogatorily."

Sakhiso and Nhlakanipho feel that it would be much more difficult to be both black and female. This is also present in the literature; i.e. the double bind of being both female and black. Furthermore, the generally 'lower status' and less respect afforded women comes through clearly in the learners' opinions and speaks to a situation where men experience 'fuller' citizenship than women do.

For Mary, it is difficult for women to gain respect in the public sphere,

"being a woman today when it comes to official things like tertiary education and stuff, you're advantaged because women were disadvantaged in the past... whereas you're still disadvantaged in the subconscious mind-set of society, you're still not on that equal level with men."

Yashmitha agrees with Mary, as she says that although women are now more equal, “we’ve got to work so much harder to earn the respect, and those positions as what men would normally just be handed.” Faye also feels that men have an easier life. Faye speaks about the pay gap between men and women.

There are some participants who feel that their life would be the same if they were to be a different gender. If he were a girl, Ngcebo feels that “in my own opinion, life would be normal because in a democratic country everybody is recognized.” He discusses how in the past women were not given equal opportunities, but that they now are. Nokwanda agrees with Ngcebo and states that her life would also be the same were she to have been born a boy.

Although Nkosinathi felt that his home life would remain unchanged if he were a girl, how he was viewed in the community might change depending on “how people see you as a person, as an individual”. He added that “maybe sometimes they don’t respect you. They don’t treat you well. Sometimes they do.”

There were, however, some positive opinions on the present day lives of women. Some participants felt that rights for women were present and, to varying degrees, enforced. Noxolo said that the Bill of Rights was ‘good’ “because now women have power you know. Because of these rights they can do whatever they like. In the past, they couldn’t do it.”

Sinethemba feels that now girls are given more opportunities than boys. Despite this, he would not necessarily rather be a girl. Nhlakanipho feels that,

“Women in South Africa, they’ve sort of taken the bull by the horns. They’ve commanded their own destiny, really, ‘cause you find, like women in the corporate world, you find women in Parliament who really take the lead.”

In connection to the strict gender roles already mentioned in a largely negative way, Thando and Nhlakanipho, from Mercy College and Midlands High School respectively, both feel that men and women have different roles in society and it is important that those roles are adhered to. Both of these participants see these gender roles as ‘inevitable’ and ‘correct’, thus justifying the treatment of women.

Much of this discussion has focused on the lives of women with relatively little attention paid to the lives of men. It could be argued that this is evidence of how the 'male' is considered the invisible norm, with the 'female' being compared to that norm and found different. It could also be argued that the participants are aware of gender dynamics and how the lives of women are more constricted, more limited and more vulnerable to physical violence. All participants are acutely aware of these challenges facing women, but some argue that these strict gender roles have a place. It can be argued that citizenship in South Africa, while equal in terms of rights, is experienced differently depending on your gender.

Thus in all three of the above sections, it has been shown that the experiences of citizenship differ depending on one's race, class and gender. If these three 'categories' were to be collated, we could make the following arguments based on the learners' opinions. Generally, if one is white, male and rich one is afforded respect by those around, one has opportunities and lives a public and relatively free life. If one were to be poor, black and female, life would involve limitations in terms of access to the public realm, less respect from those around her, fewer opportunities and higher chances of being a victim of violence. Although the three divides are discussed separately above, these are artificial separations. In practice, these divides will often compound either advantages or disadvantages. For example, a white, wealthy woman has a materially different life to a black, poor woman. This is evidenced through the reluctance in particular of black men imagining themselves as black women in the thought experiment.

7.4. DIFFERING EXPERIENCES AND UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP BY MATRIC LEARNERS

In this chapter and the preceding one, the understanding of citizenship found in policy and the experiences and understandings of learners have been presented. This final section serves as a summary of these findings. These findings are presented through the following themes

- A common citizenship as compared to a hierarchy of citizens

- Reconciliation and ‘reverse racism’
- Gender inequality
- Transparency, openness and trusting the law and state
- Being ‘born free’, belonging and reasons for being proudly South African

Due to the limited size of the sample, and the widely diverging individuals who participated, it has proved difficult to identify key themes which are true for a majority of the participants. Due to this limited sample size, the benefit and accuracy of a detailed comparison of policy and practice is restricted. However, there are some areas in which important findings have been made. Many of these findings have been discussed throughout this thesis, and are presented here in summary form.

7.4.1. A COMMON CITIZENSHIP AS COMPARED TO A HIERARCHY OF CITIZENS

All three of the selected policies envision a South Africa in which all citizens share a common and equal citizenship. One of the most prominent findings in the interviews was that in practice this is not the case. Participants describe the hierarchical nature of South African society in which people are not treated equally and dependent on one’s individual characteristics one may be treated with more respect. Some black participants shared how black people they know respect white people more, simply because they are white. ‘White’ stands not only as a cultural norm, but as something ‘superior’. This is a result of centuries of socialisation and legislation placing ‘white’ above ‘black’.

Connected to this finding is the binary nature of race. Although Apartheid created four racial categories, the discussions around race were of a binary nature – focusing solely on white and black. Other races were rarely discussed during the interviews.

The same kind of hierarchy can be applied to gender and class, albeit to a lesser extent. Men are more respected than women according to the participants and wealth can gain one respect from those in one’s community. This speaks to ways in which value is accorded not based on

the rights of human dignity and equality, but rather on individual characteristics. Participants presented a situation in which one's individual characteristics determine the kind of citizenship one experiences.

7.4.2. RECONCILIATION AND 'REVERSE RACISM'

Many white learners expressed fatigue on issues related to Apartheid and shared a feeling that they were not personally to blame for Apartheid and nor was their 'success' a result of this political regime. This denial resulted in many white participants having negative views of reconciliation and transformation. While those white learners acknowledged that the majority of poor people were black, they did not necessarily see that the chances of a white person being rich as very high. Some white participants from Mercy College felt that they were discriminated against. Considering the actual state of South Africa, it is remarkable that these levels of denial are possible. The divide between white and black participants seemed strong with only a few participants having interracial friendships. Furthermore, the relationship between the two 'sides' showed less empathy and understanding than is suggested by the moniker 'born free'.

7.4.3. GENDER INEQUALITY

A majority of the participants were outspoken in their 'progressive' views on gender. The lives of women were presented as less free, less secure and less likely to be respected. While the policy documents are relatively voluble on the issue of racial redress, they are less so on the issues of gender. Although race was consistently the most emotive issue for learners, gender was the issue on which most learners agreed. There was an almost universal support for women's rights and feelings against what could be labelled misogyny. During the thought

experiments a majority of the boys felt very negatively about being born a girl, instead of a boy. For the girl participants, a majority felt that their lives would be more free as boys. This is the only issue discussed during the interviews on which there is universal agreement across all three schools. It is interesting that given such outspoken views on gender inequality and violence against women, that the levels of violence against women remain so high. Due to the small sample size, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this finding, but it does highlight a possible avenue for future research and the consideration that there might be a 'generational' divide in terms of how gender is viewed.

7.4.4. TRANSPARENCY, OPENNESS AND TRUSTING THE LAW AND STATE

Many participants spoke positively of laws such as the Constitution and the goals that they encompass, but there seemed to be a general distrust of the implementation of these laws and, in some ways, the laws themselves. Participants tended to mistrust government or government officials (depending on the race of the participant). These participants were also sceptical about other authority figures, including school administration. Some participants felt that they were not 'listened to' or 'taken seriously' and that they had little say in influencing local affairs. Some described themselves as 'powerless' when faced with those in positions of power. This goes against what was found in the policy analysis which argues that learners should feel heard and valued.

7.4.5. BEING 'BORN FREE', BELONGING AND REASONS FOR BEING PROUDLY SOUTH AFRICAN

There were very clear racial divides in three particular areas of the interviews. Despite policy's views that South Africa is a united country (or should be), the actual experiences and feelings of participants were very different. Black participants felt joy at being 'born free', were proud to

be South African because of South Africa's transition to democracy and showed their sense of belonging with phrases such as 'our people' and 'our government'. The opposite was true of white learners. They were proud to be South African because of the country's beauty or its status as 'home' (thus, more of a geographical bond), felt 'mixed feelings' about being 'born free' and did not express their sense of *belonging to* South Africa, its government or people. This disunity is visible in other aspects of this research, including the often negative views of reconciliation held by white participants.

This chapter has both presented the findings in response to the third research question, and synthesised the findings of the second and third research question. The understandings and experiences of citizenship by learners do vary depending on race, gender and class. This is one of the most significant findings made by this thesis.

8. CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to answer the following primary research question: *What is the vision of citizenship in selected education policies and what are the experiences and understandings of Matric learners and how do these experiences differ based on race, class and gender?*

In order to answer this question as coherently as possible, this thesis began with a brief historical overview of education in South Africa. The origins of segregation were identified and the ways in which this segregation became ever more comprehensive were discussed. In understanding segregation under Apartheid and the ways in which people's lives were limited through this regime, it is possible to identify a 'hierarchy' of citizens: 'white' was argued to be superior to 'black'. This is an important finding as it illuminates the present day citizenship issues identified by both policy and the participating Matric learners.

The primary research question above was divided into three sub-questions:

- How do selected education policies envision citizenship?
- How do Matric learners experience and understand citizenship?
- In particular, to what extent do issues of race, class and gender impact learners' experiences and understandings of citizenship?

The first question was answered in Chapter 5. It was found that citizenship as identified in the selected education policies could be described through the following characteristics:

- A common, equal citizenship in a united and transformed South Africa
- A citizenship encouraging and mandating critical engagement, dialogue, openness and transparency
- A citizenship founded on quality of life for all and developing the potential of each individual
- A citizenship in which both state and citizen are responsible and accountable and operate within the rule of law
- A citizenship underpinned by human dignity and freedom and security of the person
- A citizenship in which there is respect for difference and self-determination and in which 'unity in diversity' plays a key role

This citizenship, arguably, describes the goal set by the South African government for what citizenship *should* be. Much of the content of this vision of citizenship can be identified as being fundamentally opposite to Apartheid-era legislation's vision.

The second research question is answered in Chapter 6. A sample of Matric learners drawn from three different 'types' of school are interviewed on their experiences and understandings of citizenship. In this chapter, their conception of citizenship is defined. Due to the small sample size (and a number of other factors) the understanding of citizenship identified in response to this research question is not a cohesive one. While the understanding of citizenship found in policy is comprehensive, this is not true of the findings made through the interviews with learners. However, a number of key themes were identified and these are presented in Chapter 6. Perhaps the most critical finding, and certainly the one which was most agreed upon by all participants, is the presence of a 'hierarchy' of citizenship where value is not shared equally by all, but rather determined by that individual's 'characteristics'. This is a theme which was further expanded upon in later chapters.

The third research question (which was answered in Chapter 7) speaks to the differing experiences of learners depending on their race, gender and class. It is in this section of the interviews that there was the most confluence and agreement. It was felt that white people live an 'easier' and more respected life. This was also felt to be the case for men who were described as living lives that are more 'free' than their female peers. Class, or income, also determined the life-chances of individuals, in particular around the development of their talent or potential.

The content of the selected policies has only been altered slightly through Amendment Acts since their signing into law. The primary material of the selected policies has thus been in force for approximately 16 years. There are many barriers in South Africa to the full and comprehensive implementation of policy. The partial implementation of these policies is visible in the experiences and understandings of interview participants. There remains a marked gap between policy and practice. The most critical gap identified – which is most pertinent to this

thesis - is that of citizenship. Citizenship in policy is one of equality and uniform opportunities; however, in practice citizenship is found to be hierarchical and thus fundamentally unequal.

Race remains a critical and divisive issue in South Africa. For some white participants there was a feeling of 'fatigue' around the issue of Apartheid, but the legacy of Apartheid was visible in all the findings. Some learners parroted phrases such as 'proudly South African' and the 'rainbow nation', but these feelings of warmth and belonging did not extend to descriptions of their experiences. Although black learners described their lives as 'more free' and 'better' than that of their parents, their experiences speak of a society in which Apartheid's 'scars' (as one participant named them) are not only visible but still effect the daily life of South Africans.

Although race remains the primary line along which divisions are found, the issues of gender and class also had an effect. The participants felt that men were given more respect than women. Furthermore, women were bound to far stricter rules and expectations than men were. Men were given a degree of independence which was not available to female participants.

In terms of class, it is interesting to note that when offered the option of being either rich or white, most black participants would prefer to be white. Most felt that being white would automatically result in being wealthy, but that as a white person they would be more respected than as a wealthy black person.

8.1. IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

As this thesis did not aim to directly compare policy and practice any rigorously supported policy or research implications are difficult to identify. Possible areas for future research include more large-scale studies with similar research questions as this thesis. This could provide insight into how the schooling system contributes to the ideas of a 'good' citizen and the ways in which policy is not being implemented fully. A comparison between primary and secondary schools would also contribute to the field. Perhaps the most important area for future research is an

investigation into how the policies are translated into being in the classroom. As identified in the history chapter, it is what actually takes place in the classroom which determines the outcome for most learners.

8.2. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

In terms of policy implications, there are several issues around the distance between policy and practice. The 'hierarchy' of citizenship which is actively legislated against in the Constitution would appear to be present in the lives of all the participants. In particular, the divides of race, gender and class persist in affecting the life-chances of children. This is counter to what the Constitution could be argued as standing for. Policy makers need to better understand how people conceptualise citizenship in order to create the 'lower-level' policies which will ensure that the goals of the Constitution are achieved. In a similar way, it could be argued that schools need to better listen to student 'voices' and respond to their needs more directly.

8.3. CONCLUSION

This thesis has described a vision of citizenship as present in selected education policies and described the experiences and understandings of citizenship by learners and how this varies depending on race, gender and class. The primary finding is that there is a mismatch between policy's vision for South Africa and what the 'born free' generation actually experiences. Most significantly, what should be experienced as an equal and united citizenry is, in reality, hierarchical and not united. Interview participants did not describe themselves as belonging to a single group of people and were acutely aware of differences and divisions amongst South African citizens. This particular understanding of divisions in society closely resembles the divides established and enforced in colonial and Apartheid South Africa.

9. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE OF PARTICIPANTS

School	Name	Birth Year	Gender	Race	Religion	Morning school thoughts
Vula High School	Noxolo	1993	"Female, of course"	Zulu	Christian (although initially thought Zulu)	" I was thinking about what am I going to study today and what am I going to achieve today"
	Sinethemba	1994	Male	Zulu	Christian	"I thought about what I'm going to learn today or if I'm going to get a hiding or something"
	Nkosinathi	1994	Male	Black	Nazareth	"Studying hard so that I can have better results. How to overcome my difficulties."
	Samkelisiwe	1995	Female	Black	Christian	"How it would be like, and hoping to see all my subject teachers"
	Noluthando	1993	Female	African	Christian	"What subject am I going to deal with. Check my timetable."
	Mthokozisi	1993	Male	Black	Christian	"Have I done all the homework. I should not be late for the morning class."
	Nokwanda	1992	Female	Black	Seventh Day Adventist	"Paying attention to all my teachers for a day and willing to do all my school work so that I will pass."
	Ngcebo	1994	Male	Black	Christian	"I love school"
	Nonkululelo	1994	Female	Black	Christian	"Sometimes it is hard to wake up but I need to go to school so that I can achieve my goal and my future."
	Sthembiso	1994	Male	Black	Christian	"Achieveing my dream"
Mercy College	Amy	1994	Female	White	Christian	"Another day at school. More work. I hope today will be good. I can't wait for the weekend!"
	Faye	1995	Female	White	Christian	"Tackling yet another day, hope this is better than yesterday! I do NOT want to be in school anymore."
	Juan	1994	Male	White	Christian	"I hate my life"
	Terence	1994	Male	White	Christian	"This sucks. I would rather sleep in."
	James	1993	Male	White	left blank	"Oh, no!"
	Sean	1994	Male	White	Christian	"I can't believe I have to do this" and how I am ALMOST there.
	Thando	1994	Male	Black	Christian	"Almost there!"

	Mzamo	1994	Male	Black	Christian	"Catch up sleep in class. Great, looking forward to see friends"
	Sudesh	1994	Male	Indian	Christian	"Ah, I have to wake up for school."
	Sam	1994	Male	White	Christian	"Only a few months left!"
	Mbali ^	1996	Female	African, black, of course	Christian	"Will I learn anything and who will be the first moody person to approach me"
	Michelle ^	1995	Female	Coloured	Christian	"I hate school so I'm not going to lie, I wake up the morning and I feel sad about school"
Midlands High School	Nhlakanipho*	1994	Male	Black	Christian	left blank
	Yashmitha	1994	Female	Indian	Hindu	left blank
	Sanjay*	1993	Male	Other (born Mauritius)	No Religion	"How am I going to lead the school today?"
	Mary*	1994	Female	White	Christian	left blank
	David	1994	Male	Caucasian	left blank	"I'm tired of school. Seriously, seriously tired."
	Janine*	1994	Female	White	Christian	left blank
	Sheraz*	1994	Male	Middle Eastern	Bahai	"bored... discouraged"
	Ntokozi	1994	Male	Black	Christian	"3 more months to go"
	Ben*	1994	Male	White	N/A	"I have so much work to do"
	Sakhiso	1994	Male	Black	Christian	left blank
	Amanda ^	1995	Female	"I'm a mixture of Mozambican, Zulu and coloured as well, so I'm not sure. I'll just say white."	Christian	"Sometimes I'm quite keen for school, so long as maths isn't the first lesson"
	Zamo ^	1995	Female	African	Christian	"I can't believe I'm waking up and going there"

* These learners were interviewed twice.

^ These learners were Grade 11 learners interviewed in order to ensure demographic representativity.

APPENDIX B – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE INTERVIEW

Start time	
Location	
Date	
School	

* Read out loud

OPENING

ESTABLISH RAPPORT

Thank you for your time and allowing me to interview you today.

RECORDING

Is it alright with you if I record what we say? This is so that when I am finished with the interview, I am able to accurately present your opinions in my thesis. I promise that I will be the only person to listen to the recording.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF INTERVIEW

*As you already know the main objective in interviewing you today is **to find out about your opinions on and experiences of citizenship**. The topics we're going to cover include citizenship as you understand and experience it, how you understand citizenship in school and outside of it and any differences in how people you know experience citizenship.*

FORMALITIES

*Remember, there are **no right or wrong answers** here. Your opinion and experiences are the most important part.*

*This interview is **strictly confidential**. That means that everything you tell me will be kept a secret. In order to use your opinions in my study though, we are going to give you a pseudonym to protect your identity. When I write about you in my study, I will use that **pseudonym** and no one will be told your real name. We'll decide on your pseudonym later.*

Remember that at any time during the interview, you are **free to leave** should you wish to, with no consequences. Do you give me permission to **quote** you, using your pseudonym, in my thesis. Is this alright with you?

If you don't understand how I've phrased a question, please ask and I'll reword the question or present it differently.

The interview is going to take about 45 to 60 minutes.

Questions or concerns raised by the learner; Their response to the above

First I'd like to ask you some basic questions, just to get to know you a little bit better

Name of learner		Chosen pseudonym	
Year of Birth		Gender (optional)	
Race (optional)		Religion (optional)	
How long have you been at this school?		Which subjects are you doing for Matric?	
When you wake up in the morning, what are your first thoughts? About school?			

How do learners experience and understand citizenship in certain schools and beyond the school environment?

What is your nationality?

How do you **feel about being** South African?

Prompts:

why have you **included/excluded** certain people?

Is it **important to feel South African**, to feel like a citizen?

Do you think **your friends also/don't feel** South African?

What does feeling like a South African mean?

There are many different ways to **define** what it is to be a citizen, and to be a South African. This is one possible definition (**handover a flashcard with the definition printed on it**). Let me give you a chance to read it.

What do you think of it? Work through it paragraph by paragraph...

Citizenship in South Africa, in its broadest sense, entitles all people living in South Africa to the rights and freedoms enshrined in the Bill of Rights.

This includes a united citizenry sharing a common citizenship, with equal access to and protection of rights and freedoms such as human dignity. Reconciliation and transformation are seen as the processes by which those goals can be met.

Although the envisioned citizenry is a united one, there is respect for difference and space for self-determination. Furthermore, each individual's right to the fulfillment of their potential is supported.

A process of critical engagement with each other and with the State is seen as essential to the sustained health of South Africa's democracy and the support for an open society.

There are, however, limitations to this in the form of discrimination based on wealth and limitations based on age.

Supporting this vision and making it possible is the rule of law and its consequent accountability and responsibility, on the part of both the State and citizens. The considered and ethical adherence to legislation is seen as the way in which rights are fulfilled and protected.

Prompts:

What would you add/take away?

Are there parts that are more important than others?

*How would **you define** citizenship?*

*We've discussed citizenship in a very broad sense, the idea of it, but we haven't spoken about **how people live their lives everyday, as citizens.***

If you look around you in school, do you see the citizenship that we have discussed? If you think about your family and home, do you see the citizenship that we have discussed?

Prompts:

What would you add to the definition of citizenship based on everyday experience?

What is missing from everyday experience that is included in the definition?

In classroom? Different teachers? Assembly? With peers? With friends?

*We've discussed your opinions on citizenship, but we haven't discussed how **others view it.***

*Do you think your **friends** have a different definition/understanding/opinion or do you share the same or similar views?*

*Do your **family** have the same views as you or different views?*

*You were born in (year). That means that you were born in a democratic South Africa. **How do you feel about this?***

Prompts: How do you think your life is different to your parents and teachers because of when you were born?

What gender, class and race **differences** are there in learners' understandings of citizenship?

Possible quick discussion on what these terms mean.

*There are many ways to 'categorise' people – one of them is based on **gender**, i.e. if they are men or women.*

*Do you think that **gender makes a difference if we look at how people live?***

Prompts:

*If you think about your friends and family who are boys/men/women/girls, do you think that **the life of a citizen that we've talked about is easier for them**, or more difficult?*

In what ways?

How has your gender affected your life?

Do you find it easy to be friends with people boys/girls?

*You defined yourself as _____ ? Do you think **race** makes a difference to how you live your life?*

Prompts:

*If you think about your friends and family who of different races, do you think that the **life of a citizen that we've talked about is easier for them**, or more difficult?*

In what ways?

*Do you find it easy to be **friends with people from different race groups?***

Money is a very sensitive and difficult issue. Do you think that **living the life we talked about for a citizen is more difficult or easier for you because of money?**

Prompts:

If you think about your friends and family who are richer or poorer than you, do you think that the **life of a citizen that we've talked about is easier for them**, or more difficult?

In what ways?

Do you find it **easy to be friends with people who are richer or poorer than you?**

Citizenship is something that we **learn about all the time**.

In school, you can learn about citizenship **in any subject** – a poem in English class can teach you about compassion and how a maths teacher treats the learners can also be a lesson in dignity and respect.

What have you learnt about citizenship in school?

Prompts:

Important lessons?

At what age did these lessons take place?

Do your ideas from school match up with your home ideas?

Have you learnt about the **Constitution** and the **Bill of Rights**?

What do you know about it?

What do you think about the values in the Constitution? (equality, freedom, dignity)

Who do you think should live according to these ideas?

There are many **education policies that the governments put out**. One of them talks about the **values** that should be present **in education**.

I've printed all of those values on these **flashcards**.

I'd like us to just quickly define each one. Then rank them – which is most important?

Prompts:

Which do you wish there was more of?

Do you see them in action around you at school?

Do you see them outside of school?

How do they affect you?

Do you see it in your friends?

Do you see it in your teachers?

- *Democracy;*
- *Social Justice and Equity; Reconciliation*
- *Non-Racialism and Non-Sexism;*
- *Ubuntu (human dignity); Respect*
- *An Open Society;*
- *Accountability and Responsibility;*
- *Rule of Law;*

End time	
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APPENDIX C – CONSENT FORM AND INFORMATION LETTER

Title of Study:

Understanding citizenship in South African schools: A case study of three Kwazulu-Natal schools

Details of participant / learner:

Name of Participant / Learner	
Name of School	
Postal or Physical Address	
Cellphone number of Learner / Participant	
Cellphone number of Parent / Guardian	

To be completed by the parent/guardian and learner:

Please tick the boxes on the right to confirm that you have read and agreed to the following:

1	I confirm that my child and I have read and understood the interview information included in the covering letter.	
2	My child and I have been given information regarding the purpose of the research and have been given the researcher's name and a contact number and email address if I require further information. <i>(All included in the covering letter)</i>	
3	My child and I both understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that my child is free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	
4	All personal information provided by my child will remain confidential and no information that identifies my child will be made publicly available.	
5	My child agrees to participate in this research. I give permission for my child to participate.	

Signed (by learner/ participant / child)		Date:
Print Name		
Signed (by Guardian or Parent)		Date:
Print Name		

Hello!

Lara van Lelyveld

P O Box 781
Howick
3290

T: (033) 330 3189
laravanlelyveld@gmail.com

24 October 2012

Dear Parent/Guardian and Learner,

Rhodes University Masters Degree Research: Understanding citizenship in South African schools - A case study of three Kwazulu-Natal schools

I am presently completing a Masters Degree in Social Policy at Rhodes University that examines learners' understandings of citizenship. **I would like to ask permission to interview your child as part of this research project.**

This thesis compares the ideas and ideals of citizenship as envisaged in education policy to the realities of learners and their experiences of citizenship. I have interviewed learners from very different backgrounds, both economic and social. As the experience of citizenship can vary based on economics, gender and race, I hope through my research to capture some of the many and varied understandings of citizenship.

The interview will be once-off and take approximately 45 - 60 minutes. The location and timing of the interviews will be arranged at the learner's convenience. Claire Adderley has kindly offered the Howick Museum as a possible venue for the interviews. It will be a group interview, with all the participants being either friends, or already known to each other. The content of the interview will include questions on the learners' opinions on citizenship, life at school, the Constitution, the lives of South Africans and values in education. The interview is not 'knowledge-based'; instead the aim is to understand the learners' personal opinions.

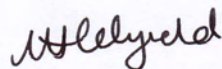
This research has been approved by the Rhodes University Higher Degrees Committee and has been granted ethics clearance. The Kwazulu-Natal Department of Education has formally approved this research project.

As a matter of course, all information will be kept confidential and the identity of the research participants will not be revealed in the thesis or other presentations. Upon completion of the research, feedback can be given to the learner in whichever format is most convenient to the learner.

For further information, or if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Warmest regards,



Lara van Lelyveld

(The above information letter is an example only. The information letters sent to schools and parents were tailored to their individual requirements)

APPENDIX D – SECTIONS IN POLICY MOST DIRECTLY RELEVANT TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Content of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996		
Chapter	Sections	Contents
-	-	Preamble
1	1-6	Founding Provisions
2	7-39	Bill of Rights
3	40-41	Co-operative Government
4	42-82	Parliament
5	83-102	The President and the National Executive
6	103-150	Provinces
7	151-164	Local Government
8	165-180	Courts and Administration of Justice
9	181-194	State Institutions Supporting Constitutional Democracy
	182-183	Public Protector
	184	South African Human Rights Commission
	185-186	Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities
	187	Commission for Gender Equality
	188-189	Auditor-General
	190-191	Electoral Commission
	192	Independent Authority to Regulate Broadcasting
9	193-194	General Provisions
	195-197	Public Administration
10	195-197	Public Administration
11	198-210	Security Services
12	211-212	Traditional Leaders
13	213-219	Finance
14	231-243	General Provisions This includes: International Law and other matters
SCHEDULES		
1		National Flag
1A		Geographical Areas of Provinces
2		Oaths and Solemn Affirmations
3		Election Procedures
4		Functional Areas of Concurrent National and Provincial Legislative Competence
5		Functional Areas of Exclusive Provincial Legislative Competence
6		Transitional Arrangements
Annexure A, B, C, D 6A, 6B		Amendments to Schedule 2 of the Previous Constitution
7		Laws Repealed
Sections relevant to the understanding and definition of citizenship in this study		

Contents of National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996	
Sections	Title
-	Preamble
1	Definitions
2	Objectives of Act

3	Determination of national education policy by Minister
4	Directive principles of national education policy
5	Consultation on national education policy
6	Consultation on legislation
7	Publication of national education policy
8	Monitoring and evaluation of education
9	Council of Education Ministers
10	Heads of Education Departments Committee
11	Consultative bodies
12	Allowances and remuneration of members of subcommittees and consultative bodies
13	Administrative functions of Council, Committee, and consultative bodies
14	Amendment of Act 76 of 1984
15	Short title
Sections relevant to the understanding and definition of citizenship	

Contents of South African Schools Act 84 of 1996		
Chapter	Section	Content
-	-	Preamble
1 Definitions and Application of Act	1	Definitions
	2	Application of Act
2 Learners	3	Compulsory Attendance
	4	Exemption from Compulsory Attendance
	5	Admission to public schools
	5A	Norms and standards for basic infrastructure and capacity in public schools
	6	Language policy of public schools
	6A	Curriculum and assessment
	6B	Non-discrimination in respect of official languages
	7	Freedom of conscience and religion at public schools
	8	Code of conduct
	8A	Random search and seizure and drug testing at schools
	9	Suspension and expulsion from public schools
	10	Prohibition of corporal punishment
	10A	Prohibition of initiation practices
11	Representative council of learners	
3 Public Schools	12	Provision of public schools
	12A	Merger of public schools
	13	Public schools on State property
	14	Public schools on private property
	15	Status of public schools
	16	Governance and professional management of public schools
	16A	Functions and responsibilities of principal of school
	17	Governing body serving two or more schools
	18	Constitution of governing body
	18A	Code of conduct of governing body
19	Enhancement of capacity of governing bodies	

	20	Functions of all governing bodies
	21	Allocated functions of governing bodies
	22	Withdrawal of functions from governing bodies
	23	Membership of governing body of ordinary public school
	24	Membership of governing body of public school for learners with special education needs
	25	Failure by governing body to perform functions
	26	Recusal by members of governing body
	27	Reimbursement of members of governing body
	28	Election of members of governing body
	29	Office-bearers of governing bodies
	30	Committees of governing bodies
	31	Term of office of members and office-bearers of governing bodies
	32	Status of minors on governing bodies of public schools
	33	Closure of public schools
	33A	Prohibition of political activities during school time
4 Funding of Public Schools	34	Responsibility of State
	35	Norms and standards for school funding
	36	Responsibility of governing body
	37	School funds and assets of public schools
	38	Annual budget of public schools
	38A	Prohibition of payment of unauthorized remuneration, or giving of financial benefit or benefit in kind to certain employees
	39	School fees at public schools
	40	Parent's liability for payment of school fees
	41	Enforcement of payment of school fees
	42	Financial records and statements of public schools
	43	Audit or examination of financial records and statements
44	Financial year of public school	
5 Independent Schools	45	Establishment of independent school
	45A	Admission age to independent school
	46	Registration of independent school
	47	Withdrawal of registration of independent school
	48	Subsidies to registered independent schools
	49	Declaration of independent school as public school
	50	Duties of Member of Executive Council relating to independent schools
51	Registration of learner for education at home	
6 Transitional Provisions	52	Transitional provisions relating to schools other than private schools
	53	Transitional provisions relating to private schools
	54	Transitional provisions relating to governing bodies
	55	Transitional provisions relating to immovable property of certain schools
	56	Transitional provisions relating to public schools on private property
	57	Transitional provisions relating to private property owned by religious organization
7 General Provisions	58	Expropriation
	58A	Alienation of assets of public school
	58B	Identification of underperforming schools
	58C	Compliance with norms and standards
	59	Duty of schools to provide information
	60	Liability of State
	61	Regulations
	62	Delegation of Powers

	63	Repeal and amendment of laws
	64	Short title and commencement
Schedule 1		Laws repealed
Schedule 2		Amendment of Educators' Employment Act, 1994, by section 63
Sections relevant to the understanding and definition of citizenship in this study		

APPENDIX E – QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETED BY PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

Research Project	Citizenship Education in South African schools: A study of three schools in Kwazulu-Natal
Researcher	Lara van Lelyveld
Contact Details	033 330 3189; laravanlelyveld@gmail.com

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

About the research project

This project discusses the understanding of citizenship found in South African education policy and learners' experiences and understandings of citizenship.

Rationale for this questionnaire

Learners from your school participated in the interviews forming a central part of this research project. In order to ensure that an accurate context is given for the learners' answers, this questionnaire is being circulated to the schools. General background on the school as well as questions around infrastructure and activities are included.

Completing the questionnaire

This questionnaire can be completed by any staff member familiar with the administration of the school. Please complete the questionnaire electronically and then email to laravanlelyveld@gmail.com. As this questionnaire is electronic, please feel free to use as much space or as little space for the answers as you would like. The questionnaire should take about 15 - 25 minutes to complete.

Confidentiality

Both the school's name and the name of the person who completes the questionnaire will remain confidential. Both will be identified only by pseudonyms in the final study. The researcher (i.e. Lara van Lelyveld) will be the only person to see the completed questionnaire.

Questionnaire completed by (title and surname)	
Designation	
Name of School	

When was the school established? Why was the school established?

If the school existed in the early 1990s, which Clase Model did the school adopt? (Model A, B, C or D) or did the school fall under “Bantu Education”?
Is the school currently an independent school? If the school is a public one, under which Section does the governing body operate – Section 21 or 22 of the South African Schools Act?
How many learners are enrolled at the school?
How many Matric learners are enrolled at the school?
How many teachers are employed by the school? If applicable, please indicate how many teachers are subsidised by governing body funds.
Please list the subject choices available in Matric
Please indicate the Matric pass rate for the following years.
2011 2010 2009 2008 2007
How much are the school fees per annum? If boarding facilities are available, please list the boarding fees as well.
Does the school have policies on the following issues? Please mark the topics on which the school has a policy with an ‘x’.
<input type="checkbox"/> Race <input type="checkbox"/> Gender <input type="checkbox"/> Governance <input type="checkbox"/> Sexuality <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Discipline / school rules <i>Please list any policies which the school has but which are not stated above:</i>

Using only five words, how would you describe the school?
What is the ethos of the school?
How many sports fields are there on the school premises? Please indicate the purposes of the field. For example, soccer, hockey, etc.
Are there any indoor sport facilities such as squash courts? Please list.
Is there a swimming pool? If yes, how many and are they covered / heated/ outdoor, etc.?
Are there any tennis, netball or basketball courts? Please list.
Does the school have a library? How would you describe the library?
Does the school have a computer lab(s)? If so, how many computers are available for learners in total?
Does the school have a hall? What equipment does it have? For example, chairs, lighting, sound, etc.
Does the school have gardens? Please describe them. For example, are they food gardens, landscaped gardens, flower beds, etc.?
If there are any facilities that are on the school premises but which are not listed above, please list them here.

Please place an 'x' to indicate which co-curricular activities are provided by the school		
<input type="checkbox"/> Ballet or other form of dance	<input type="checkbox"/> Drama / Productions	<input type="checkbox"/> Music classes
<input type="checkbox"/> Public speaking	<input type="checkbox"/> Debating	<input type="checkbox"/> Community projects
<input type="checkbox"/> Annual leadership training	<input type="checkbox"/> Tennis	<input type="checkbox"/> Squash
<input type="checkbox"/> Athletics	<input type="checkbox"/> Swimming	<input type="checkbox"/> Chess
<input type="checkbox"/> Math / Science club	<input type="checkbox"/> Choir	<input type="checkbox"/> Netball
<input type="checkbox"/> Basketball	<input type="checkbox"/> Equestrian	<input type="checkbox"/> Rugby
<input type="checkbox"/> Hockey (please indicate gender)	<input type="checkbox"/> Soccer	<input type="checkbox"/> Cricket
<input type="checkbox"/> Religious clubs or groups	<input type="checkbox"/> Art/Craft club	<input type="checkbox"/> Outdoor / mountain club
<input type="checkbox"/> Sailing	<input type="checkbox"/> Canoeing	<input type="checkbox"/> Rowing
<i>If there are any co-curriculars that your school offers but are not listed above, please list them here:</i>		
Please describe the gender demographics of the school.		
Please describe the racial demographics of the school.		
How many children are offered full or partial bursaries to attend the school?		
Please feel free to share any comments or additional thoughts below		

10. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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