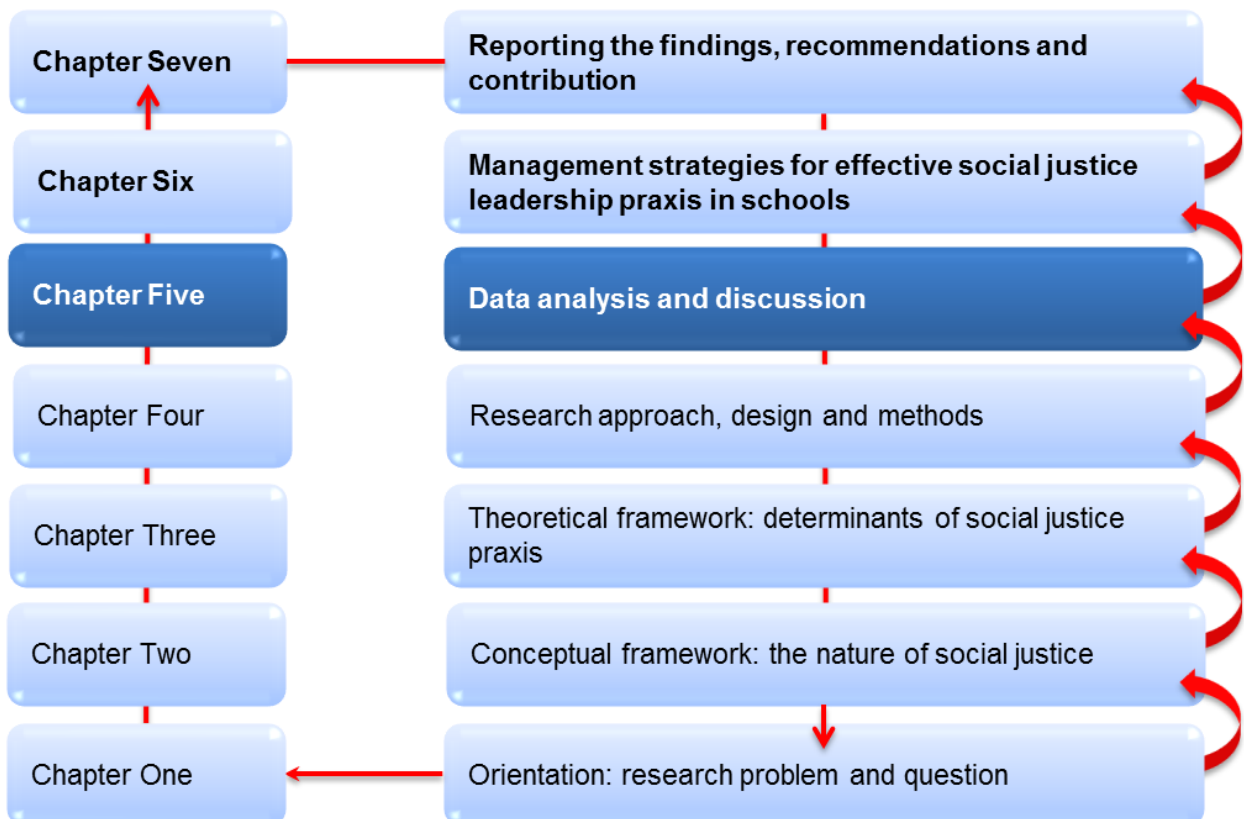

CHAPTER 5

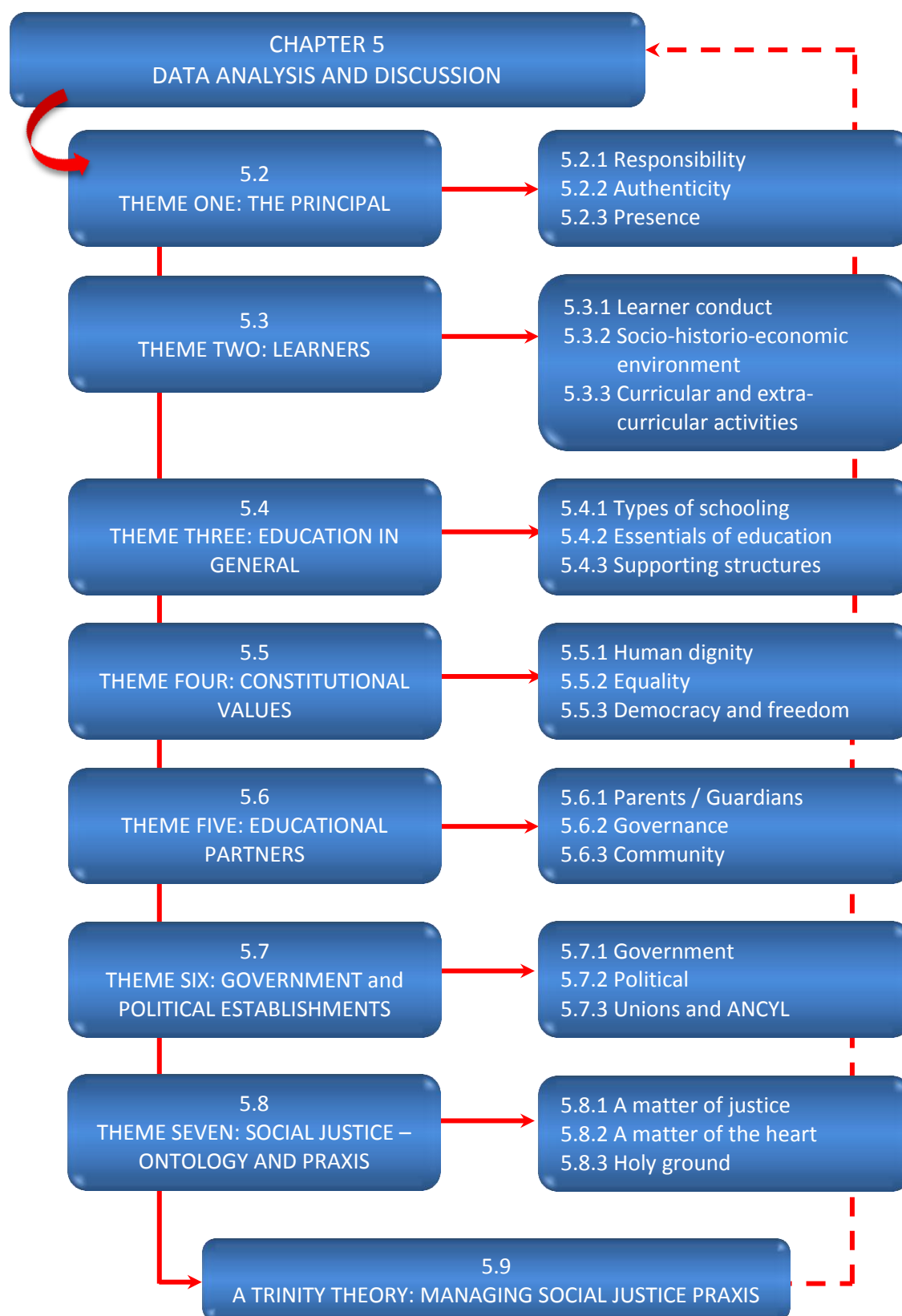
Data analysis and discussion



CHAPTER 5

LOGIC

Management strategies for effective social justice practice in schools



CHAPTER 5

Data analysis and discussion

Management strategies for effective social justice practice in schools

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives effect to the third research aim: **to qualitatively analyse effective social justice praxis in selected schools** (§1.4). The body of scholarship offered a theoretical setting to the research approach, design and methodologies and forms an integral part of Chapter Five. From the abstraction and crystallisation phase (§4.4.3) the seven themes are presented as data analysis and discussion of the qualitative data analysis. It is done in a comprehensible and interpretive format in accordance with the constructivist-grounded philosophical paradigm (§4.2). Each theme became a discursive conversation between data, analyses and theory and it is hoped that the findings (Chapter Seven) may offer new meaning and understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Each theme formed an elevated level for the next theme and was pivotal for realising the seventh theme, social justice ontology and praxis. The school principals and teachers' social justice praxis of responsibility, authenticity and presence (§5.2) co-determined the second tier, i.e. learners (§5.3) and the third tier, education in general (§5.4). The influence of constitutional values (§5.5) formed the fourth tier and not only determined effective social praxis of principals, teachers and learners, but was paramount to the fifth and sixth tiers, educational partners (§5.6) and the role of government and its policies (§5.7). The extent to which themes one to six were supportive of each other determined the extent to which social justice became effective or not, as praxis (§5.7). If one or all of the six foundational elements are dysfunctional, then social justice praxis in schools, in education, in society, and in government would fail.

The data analysis and discussion are based on Nieuwenhuis's (2010a:111) premise that a first level of interpretation should lay the foundations for an analytic understanding that begins to explain why things are as the data revealed. This process revealed how the data corroborated existing knowledge and how it brought new understanding to the body of knowledge. Moreover, the researcher is *ad idem* with Nieuwenhuis (2010a:111) as she searched for emerging patterns, associations, concepts and explanations (network heuristics, tables and discussion) in the data. She engaged in defining concepts and mapped the full range and nature of the phenomenon of effective social justice praxis, created typologies and found associations within the data that provided not merely explanations but were to develop strategies (Chapter Six). Nieuwenhuis (2010a:112) states that at this level of data analysis the researcher would be able to develop a framework to construct new meaning and understanding. The researcher constantly moved between existing theory and the insights gained from her data to find those aspects in the data that corroborated the theory as well as those aspects that may enhance or

question existing theory. In following these scholarly guidelines to present her data analysis, the researcher brought “multiple perspectives from the theory” to her study.

From the outset of this study the aim was to qualitatively analyse effective social justice praxis in selected schools and to report good practices. It was evident from the data analysis that it would be difficult to determine whether one school's praxis was better or worse than the other twelve who took part in the individual interviews and impossible to make such a distinction during the focus group interviews. In a sense this researcher felt that she would betray the trust that she had created in her rapport with the participants. She, in her letters to the principals and in her opening remarks, indicated that they were chosen because of their good social justice praxis. Furthermore, the interview questions were focussed on collecting these practices and the participants were selected according to predetermined criteria (§4.3.2.3). Therefore the analysis of the data was done accordingly: it focussed on good social justice praxis. The data analysis and reporting was therefore in line with §4.2.2 where the following is stated:

Therefore this researcher's interest was to understand knowledge claims on the phenomenon of effective social justice praxis departing from a qualitative constructivist grounded theory paradigm that provided the philosophical and paradigmatic grounding for the research design (§4.2.2).

The discussion of the data was not done according to racial categories. Reference to race was only done where relevant to the discussion and should be viewed as a historic setting rather than an attempt to determine whether social justice praxis was more prevalent in white or black schools. For this researcher, social justice praxis was not about black or white, privileged or disadvantaged. She believes that social justice is a constitutional right that all people from all walks of life are entitled to. Social justice praxis should not be captured by agents for political advantage but should be shared equally by all of society. In essence it was this praxis of school principals who, without regard for race, applied social justice to all learners and teachers in their schools. They based their management on principles of fairness, justness, equality and a deep regard and respect for people.

However, in a country that remains racially divided, the discussion would not reflect the reality if there was no reference to race. It would be dishonest not to refer to race at all or not concede that homogeneous black schools with black principals would have a different experience of racial diversity than white principals of racial and culturally diverse schools. The mere notion of homogeneous black should be questioned in a country consisting of at least eight ethnic groups not counting the large number of African immigrants, legal or not. Racial classification is becoming an extremely difficult concept and one that in years to come may become an impossibility. Similarly one could argue that it is a very difficult task to determine what a white homogeneous group would be.

Another aspect that left an impression was that it was almost impossible to categorise the participants' schools in racial terms (Table 4.3). In all but one of the ex-Model C schools the racial demography leant towards a majority of black learners. For instance, white Afrikaans principals were managing schools that were either dual medium - English and Afrikaans - or primarily black. How does one then refer to such a school? Is it a white school because the principal is white, is it a black school because the principal is black or an Indian school because the principal is an Indian? Answering to a question which schools - black or white - were 'better' at social justice praxis in order to determine a trend, this researcher replied that none of the schools that took part in the interviews were white. Neither was she interested in determining a 'better' school because they were part of her studies precisely because they were good at social justice praxis. Her reflection afterwards was that she had to concede that there would inevitably be a contextualised difference in the social justice praxis between a principal of a solely black school and one of a multi-racial school, but their praxis of social justice would not be different, only their focus.

Instances where reference in the analysis and discussion were made to race were therefore deliberately chosen to show the development of social justice thinking and praxis amongst the participants. For example, if a female Indian principal of a previously 'Indian' school, that became a school attended by primarily black learners, told of her praxis, it would be significant to understand who she is in the changed context of a post-apartheid school. Similarly a white Afrikaans principal of a previously white Model C English school would be influenced by his or her own background and context. Equally, an overwhelming impression of the stories told by the participants was that they, black and white, had moved beyond race and ethnicity. In reading and re-reading the transcripts, but especially in hearing - auditory - and observation - sensory - this researcher came under the impression of the regard for the 'other' that came to the fore, a regard that formed an intrinsic part of each of the principals and deputies. They referred to the 'other' as 'child', seldom as learners or children whether white or black. Their intonation was one of empathy and love, and was heard when *petit récits* were told of hardship, discriminatory practices that prevailed in society at large and in schools. Tears came to the eyes of those who told these stories as did heartfelt resistance to past injustices. More importantly the pride with which their success stories were shared will ring true in this researcher's ears and mind for years to come. It was precisely these *petit récits* that she wanted to hear because there are good educational practices notwithstanding what the media is reporting about education. It will eventually, in the life and lives of those affected by good social justice praxis, be what they as learners will carry forward into the new society that South Africans of all walks of life are creating. This researcher believed that in finding these practices it is possible to bring about change through management strategies that recognise the importance of identifying and highlighting success and what is working well. This does not mean that problems and deficiencies do not exist. Rather, this notion of acknowledging success is about management

strategies and relationships that are evident when a critical recognition of injustices against mankind is pursued. Where oppressive arrangements and relationships in education are evident, a specific form of schooling should be introduced that respects and includes all learners: social justice praxis that embraces experiences from a diversity of perspectives. Such a school displays a social justice school climate that will allow critical discourse on difference, human rights and social justice. It will engender caring relationships among all role-players and will offer opportunities to develop self-affirmation and mental-emotional well-being (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987; Lewis & Moore, 2011; North, 2006:514-515).

In order to successfully fulfil aim three - to qualitatively analyse **effective** social justice praxis in selected schools - the network heuristic (Figure 5.1) displays the identified themes and sub-themes. This heuristic is based on Table 4.5 and Figure 4.5 and the themes are concurrently responsible for effective social justice praxis in schools. It was this good praxis of social justice that the researcher was interested in. She was not interested in social injustices although they were reported where found.

Please note that endnotes instead of footnotes were used to refer to Afrikaans quotes which were captured at the end of the thesis in [Addendum P](#), and these are available on the DVD.

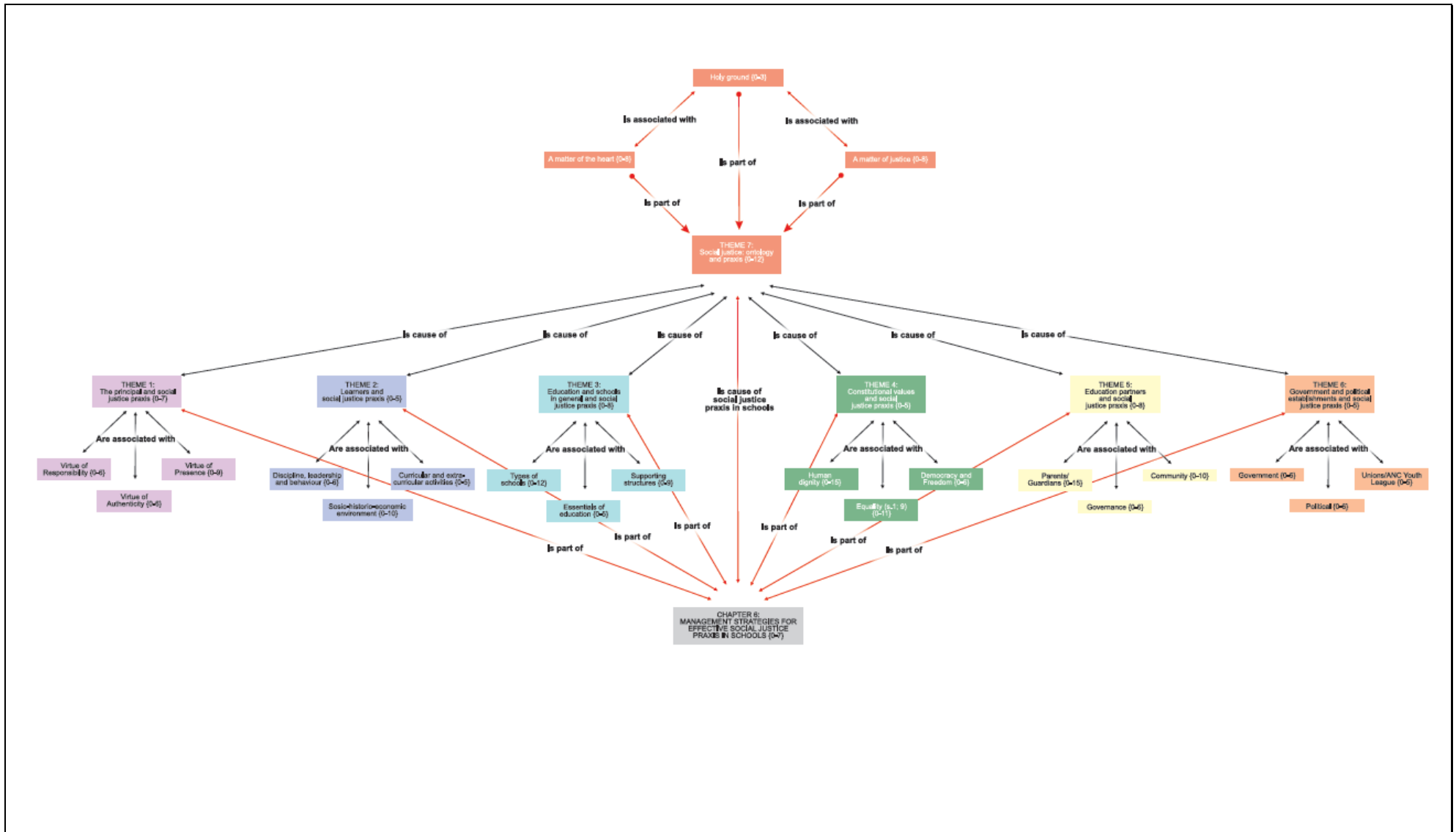


FIGURE 5.1: Network heuristic: social justice praxis

The data analysis and discussion include verbatim quotes in **English** and **Afrikaans**. The verbatim English quotes are presented in italics in the text. Afrikaans quotes are presented in an abbreviated and translated English format in the text. The original Afrikaans quotes are presented as endnotes in [Addendum P](#) (DVD), except where English phrases were used by Afrikaans speaking participants.

The data analysis and discussion of each theme are presented to the following algorithm: “Frequency table $\leftrightarrow$ Network heuristic $\leftrightarrow$ Data-analysis and Theory...”

Following is a discussion of the data analysis of the seven themes. Theme one, the principal, is an analysis of the principals’ views on effective social justice praxis.

5.2 THEME ONE: THE PRINCIPAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE PRAXIS

Social justice praxis (theme 7) is only possible if all six of the other themes are founded in effective social justice praxis. Moreover, the principal as school manager and leader is pivotal to the realisation of social justice praxis ($f=495$) and therefore forms the foundation on which the pyramid (Figure 4.5) was constructed. The data analysis and discussion of the first theme - the principal and social justice praxis - are presented in Table 5.1. The trinity of the principals’ virtue of responsibility ($f=237$), authenticity ($f=200$) and presence ($f=58$) is foundational to determine the principal’s social justice praxis (§3.4.3.2). From the data analysis, 23.5% of the quotations are related to this theme and are displayed in Table 5.1.

Theme 1 The principal and social justice praxis					
Virtue of Responsibility (§5.2.1)		Virtue of Authenticity (§5.2.2)		Virtue of Presence (§5.2.3)	
Role	151	Leadership style	150	Other aspects	35
Teachers	86	Change of heart	50	School	23
Sub-total	237	Sub-total	200	Sub-total	58
Codes: 47 (23.9%)				Total quotations 495	

TABLE 5.1: The principal: the virtue of responsibility, virtue of authenticity and virtue of presence

Principals as transformative leaders are leaders of an ethical tripartite school evident in the virtue of responsibility, authenticity and presence presented in the network heuristic Figure 5.2.

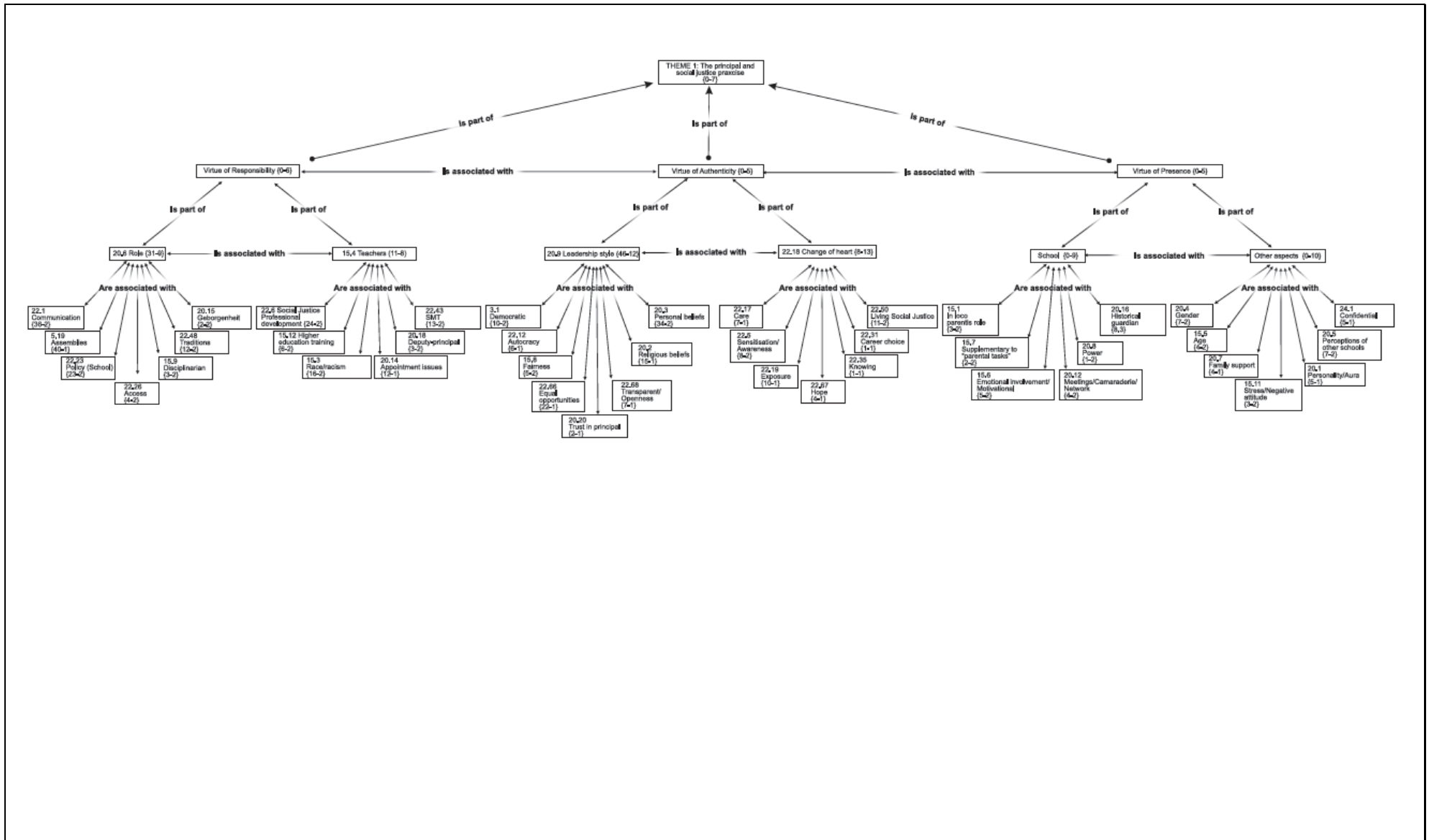


FIGURE 5.2: THEME 1 Network heuristic: Principal and social justice praxis

The discussion of the data analysis is done according to Starratt's (2009:82-89) model of a trinity of the virtue of responsibility, authenticity and presence. To this end, the principal as manager and leader is cardinal in determining effective social justice praxis in selected schools (Figure 4.5). The roles of being human, a citizen public servant, a teacher, a manager and an educational leader formed his or her actions of realising social justice praxis for him- or herself, the teachers, the learners, schools in general and educational partners, as well as the government. Brown's (2004:89-94) tripartite theoretical framework (§3.4.3.1) and Starratt's (1994:56; 2009:75-82) ethical tripartite school (§3.4.3.2) emphasise the idea of principals as transformative leaders (Blackmore, 2006:181; Brooks & Miles, 2006; Dantley & Tillman, 2010:23; Kose, 2009:630; Theoharis, 2007:221) (§3.4.4).

Although the seven themes and the resultant network heuristic was informed by the Atlas.ti's™ Frequency Table (§4.4.3, Step 15), the discussion will be guided by the network heuristic (Figure 5.2) only and not according to the table's numerical order.

5.2.1 Responsibility as social justice praxis

The virtue of responsibility lies with principals who understood that socially just activities informed their social justice praxis (Miller, 1999:5). Responsibility is divided into principals' role (§5.3.1.1) and their responsibility towards teachers and their social justice praxis (§5.3.1.2). The data analysis and discussion of the principal's role included matters such as communication, assemblies, school policy, access, discipline, *geborgenheit* and traditions. The responsibility towards teachers was about their professional development and higher education training, as well as matters of race and racism, appointment and promotional issues, and the role of the deputy principal and the School Management Team (SMT).

5.2.1.1 Role

A transformative political leader communicates the critical link between improved student achievement and professional development. As transformative cultural leaders, principals foster a culture of shared norms, values, and dispositions. This praxis builds trusting relationships and taking collective responsibility for all learners. They display praxis of risk taking, lifelong collaborative learning, and are reflectionists by heart on actions of social injustice within and beyond the school. They support a school culture where the reasons for change are established and where political support for this is fostered (Kose, 2009:633, 649-653) (§3.4.4.1). One such a principal emphasised doing right even when learners' behaviour was undisciplined, you would *not hold daggers, after all they are children... let us try and build him instead of tread him down* (P6, 266:266). The role of leadership for social justice requires that principals would question the status quo and unwaveringly create a dynamic, and safe, learning environment for all learners. These principals understood that they had to move their praxis from moral responsibility towards administrative / management matters to the leadership for social justice level (§3.4.3.2).

The role of leadership requires that principals will become advocates for social justice who will keep at the centre of their praxis issues of social justice juxtaposed against unjustness. These unjust practices are countered by addressing issues of race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation and other historically marginalising conditions in their schools. The praxis of social justice become an ethical responsibility (§3.4.1.1), albeit a difficult one¹ (P2, 359:359) (§3.3.3.2). Social justice praxis as responsibility was one of leadership² (P15, 79:85) by setting an example³ (P15, 85:85). The responsibility of being Head Teacher required special management and leadership talents⁴ (P15, 70:70). The impact of talented school principals who are dedicated to social justice praxis is well documented and is visible through setting direction, developing people and redesigning the organisation (§3.4.4.3). Leadership for social justice is value based and found in a positive work ethic, positive participation and positive conduct which do not need special talents⁵ (P15, 63:63). These values of respect, honesty, sincerity and actualising action⁶ (P12, 214:214) brought about a just school environment in which social justice would flourish. Such an environment will be characterised by a principal who will challenge and reform built-in norms, rules, and practices which are taken for granted (§3.3.1.2).

Communication as social justice praxis should be rational, critical and self-reflective to evolve over time into a culture of careful listening and cautious openness to new possibilities. This aspect of their praxis affords principals the opportunity to process complex information more readily and provides unique opportunities for growth, transformation and empowerment (§3.4.3.1). Communication media used by the principals included personal letters, meetings, openness and electronic media. One principal told about **letter-writing** as personal communication between learners and herself: *apologising for being disruptive in a class... asking forgiveness, and possibly to redeem ourselves* (P4, 248:296) and *... children write me letters just to tell me whether they like something, or whether they don't like something...* (P4, 248:296). Disagreeing voices were heard where *some do come to me and say but madam you know I didn't like the way you did it, you could have done it this way...* (P6, 113:115). **Meetings** as rational discourse platform opened up spaces for staff and learners to share, learn and communicate. In the process of weighing up supporting evidence and examining alternative perspectives, rational discourse validates meaning in that it assesses reasons and critically evaluates assumptions (§3.4.3.1) evident in *community meetings, like when the tribal authority calls a meeting* (P14, 20:20) where responsibility is shared to assist in meeting each other's needs (§3.2.3.5). Intervention and parent meetings were held if *kids are not performing well where we give parents the report* (P14, 23:23). These meetings afforded the opportunity to share in the skills that parents brought to the table *like raising the kids, talking to kids* (P14, 33:33). During parent meetings they would *talk about these things; organising small ... workshops; distribute ... policies; financial reports... in their own language... by going down, down, down to their level* (P8, 72:75). School principals had to develop **listening skills**⁷ (P15, 97:97), whilst another believed in **openness** in giving the teachers an opportunity to share their opinion about him⁸ (P15, 99:99) where he would be like a sponge

without defending himself. He would only react the following day by asking to discuss issues on an individual basis. This was a practice that required a great deal of trust and respect⁹ but overcame the pathology of silence and brought about mutual understanding (§3.4.1.2).

In an age of electronic media, the use of **ICT** as mode of communication came as no surprise. These included the use of telephone *depending of the nature... a SMS-system* (P7, 105:116); calling parents to inform them when their children were not bullying others¹⁰ (P15, 101:102); community radio... *to just cross-over your message to the community... two languages preferably, Setswana and English. That's where we advertise... our parent meeting, making the community aware of anything that comes into the school* (P7, 105:116). These practices emphasised that effective communication creates a harmonised environment that involved rational, critical conversations between learners, families and community members alike (§3.4.3.1; §3.4.3.2; §3.4.4.2).

Assemblies were of utmost importance¹¹ (P15, 236:236) in the management of social justice: assemblies were about *sharing a thought for the day... and it actually all revolves around this [social justice]* (P4, 68:68); asking *motivational speakers* (P16, 24:24) from their own community would reach the learners at their own level¹² (P2, 163:163) to discuss the dangers of drug addiction¹³, drug abuse¹⁴ (P2, 163:163), and in the *spirit of Ubuntu, the spirit of citizenship ... you'll not be vandalising* (P5, 34:34); as did another who made *certain announcements and you actually minute it by saying this and this... is not allowed... including ... [i]nitiation, [h]urting people because [i]f you initiate somebody it is against the South African Constitution... So the announcement is made...* (P4, 59:66). They told about their assemblies *we have assembly every single day and I would say its Christian based [yes], I read from the Bible, the message comes from the Bible, although I try and make sure that I don't offend anybody... But we've never had, ever, a child asking not to attend it... All these children attend out of own free will.* (P4, 232:234). Learning about religious traditions such as the *celebration of Diwali, the Festival of Lights and Hindu practices* (P6, 128:128) was part of how principals used assemblies to enhance mutual understanding. One principal was unwavering that his school was based on Christian values and therefore he would only invite religious leaders from the Christian community to the exclusion of Muslims because the SGB had the prerogative to determine religious policy. He required respect even if one did not understand the language when prayers were said¹⁵ (P12, 87:87). In itself this statement was exclusionary and discriminatory and one that did not apply a holistic approach to the management of social justice praxis to serve all students equally in a moral, ethical manner (§3.4.3.2). School principals who embraced their role and the virtue of responsibility made a stand against any form of discrimination to ensure the quality of life of their learners, teachers and parents (§3.4.3.2).

As custodians of **policy**, including **school policy**, school leaders regard policy as value based, and determine axiologically what the desired state to live by, should be (Nieuwenhuis et al., 2007:42). Leaders are cultural beings who bring values to bear on decisions of policy (§3.4.2.1). Principals as *custodian[s] of... policies* were responsible for sharing *information, programmes and*

policies of the Department (P14, 16:18) (§3.4.2.1). Policies were important¹⁶ (P12, 270:270) as it enabled social justice praxis¹⁷ (P1, 109:110), and were a starting point for actions that would otherwise not have been possible¹⁸ (P2, 298:301). One principal regarded policies as a *guideline* in compliance with *the Constitution of the country* from which *behavioural ... and performance policy* could be developed (P7, 55:59). Policies included *learners' code of conduct* (P8, 119:119), language (P9, 11:11), and a policy for private coaching¹⁹ (P12, 159:159). Policies provide clear boundaries²⁰ (P12, 272:272), authority lines for *report[ing], corrections... motivation or guidance* (P7, 61:61) and gave *direction* (P7, 50:51).

Notwithstanding policy imperatives of learners to attend schools in adherence to s.29 of the SA Constitution, **access** remained a problem. Principals' responsibility to enhance social justice would combat discriminatory practices to create access (§3.4.3.2). An example was of seven Aids orphans who could not afford school fees and were denied access at an affluent school. A girl of eighteen, appointed by the state as guardian, asked a principal to enrol her six siblings, and when asked why she excluded herself, she said she accepted her fate. The principal called a business woman, herself an orphan, who donated R15 000.00²¹ (P2, 49:49) and in so doing provided access to these orphans. Language barriers existed where interviews were held to determine learners' English proficiency²² (P3, 181:184) and one reported limited access in a black township school where *parents are not even willing to understand if you say there is no space here* (P7:119:132). These three stories attest to the problematic nature of access policies such as school fees, language and space. In complying with procedural or administrative policies, principals and teachers, at a deeper level, often failed to grasp that, although these policies are valid, they may in themselves hamper social justice praxis (Nieuwenhuis, 2010c). In all three examples compliance with the policies was faultless but the application in praxis did not address or change the underlying assumptions, values and beliefs bordering on exclusion (§3.2.3.5). In two of the three cases the responsibility to provide **geborgenheit** was neglected. The concept *geborgenheit* means “‘guaranteed security’, ‘shelter’, ‘belonging’ and ‘reassurance’ found in a remark that principals needed to act like a father or grandfather²³ (P12, 20:20). This notion links to two legal principles, namely the principle of acting like a diligent *pater familias* and teachers who stand in *loco parentis*²⁴ (P12, 22:22) (§3.4.4.1).

Being the custodian of the school's **traditions** was evident in the *petit récits* told where learners *wear the bashers... which is a very o_l_d tradition which is [one] the black boys have bought into* (P3, 95:95). Traditions form part of a school's culture, history and current practices and showed ownership, cohesion, inclusion and shared identity. Alumni should return in kind what they received [*perhaps maybe a cash donation; you know something like that* (P6, 250:253). Wearing togas²⁵ (P3, 285:292) or a doctoral toga²⁶ to assemblies (P12, 200:204) was reported. This notion of being the custodian of a school's traditions was not found in the literature study.

Principals had a responsibility to act in an authentic manner towards teachers.

5.2.1.2 Teachers

Particularisation and generalised assumptions of **race** and **ethnicity** create an environment with no common language. Rather these assumptions hamper meaningful dialogue and defeat the very nature of inclusivity and social justice (§2.3.3.7). Instances of how these hampered the building of a social justice culture was a principal who said that white teachers had not yet moved beyond racial and racist biases but needed to switch/alter their minds to understand and accept all children without paying attention to race or ethnicity²⁷ (P1, 14:14). This notion was shared by colleagues who said learners accepted cultural diversity but not yet the teachers²⁸ (P1, 15:15) as it was not the children who commit social injustices but adults²⁹ (P16, 42:42). An example of the lack of understanding of cultural diversity was evident in the actions by a female teacher who seized a hat from a black schoolboy's head (P1, 15:15), not understanding that in the black tradition such behaviour of a woman was deplorable³⁰ (P1, 25:25). Changing hearts and assumptions may be found in some sort of cultural or symbolic change such as creating an environment in which conscientisation of disrespecting actions are pointed out. It is in creating a school environment in which an atmosphere towards valuing the other's identities is enhanced and cultural products of marginalised groups brought to the fore. This is a process in which everybody's sense of self will change (§3.3.3.3). Notwithstanding the wish for a change of heart, the principal of an English school with a majority black learners referred specifically to white Afrikaans-speaking teachers *[t]hey arrive here and they don't leave ... and they're scared when they come here, but once when they walk into our class and they see respect ... Because we're teaching respect for one another* (P4, 360:362) their attitudes changed. These stories of disregard countered by the transformational power of respect are in themselves not going to change schools. In a broader sense it is about addressing issues of race, ethnicity and social class and other areas of difference found in the hidden curricula that needs to be challenged. It is also about the notion that *when I walk into my class I teach, that's what I'm here for, not for all this admin stuff* (P3, 133:133). Actively taking a stance against racial assumptions should enhance the process of building multicultural and multiracial schools that move beyond assumptions and mere tolerance (Marshall, 2004:6) towards actions of essential social justice (§3.3.2.1).

Principals indicated that they were not aware of any **professional development** plans or actions that specifically addressed social justice praxis³¹. One said that it is important for monoracial and monolingual schools to attend courses to prepare them for teaching a diverse learner population³² (P1, 103:103). He told about an incident where he left a conversation in which it was apparent that his colleagues [white/Afrikaans] did not know or understand the reality of a diverse South Africa and therefore courses would help to address this problem³³ (P3, 128:131). He did not have the answer to what form the training should take, but 'we' need teachers, schools, school principals and management teams who want to do the right thing for our country³⁴ (P1, 110:110). Although the body of scholarship discussed human rights at length, the concept of 'doing the right thing' was not encountered. Koopman's (2005:70) notion of

individual sacredness (§3.2.2.2) and Garforth's (1979:168-169) idea of right versus wrong (§2.2.3) could be read in this regard. Other developmental opportunities were subject related: personal development and HIV/Aids courses³⁵ (P1, 60:60) that brought about a change of heart. This change of heart is about becoming astute activists, ready with strategies and taking up the multitude of responsibilities to make schools socially just and equitable (§3.4.1.4). An acting principal said that her predecessor was the principal for ages but did not provide any succession training³⁶ (P9, 183:183).

Developmental opportunities were provided by the **principals** themselves such as learnership teaching-practice were provided to young unqualified students who became teachers and who were warned that drinking and school girls were off limits³⁷ (P12, 263:264). Teacher learnership training exists in South Africa (Mawoyo & Robinson, 2005:109) and is defined as a work-integrated approach to learning to gain qualifications, which includes both practice and theory (FASSET, 2004). Teachers at post-level 1 and 2 demanded to share the agenda of the SMT and would report back at a general staff meeting, because they claimed that they outnumbered the SMT³⁸ (P16, 48:48).

At the level of **extra-curricular** responsibilities an old tradition of productions and choirs were revived where a principal told how it provided opportunities to recognise and develop his staff's talents as well³⁹ (P3, 197:200). In addition to professional training, one principal specifically talked about his view on teachers' professional conduct and that they, as professionals, had to follow a dress code; a professional manner of being spoken to, and addressing each other. No learner was allowed to call teachers by their names or nicknames and Mr. Polla became Mr. S⁴⁰ (P12, 202:202).

A principal believed that **departmental** intervention was needed to create *awareness, impact* (P3, 132:133) and *empower[ment to bring about] commitment and passion* (P5, 119:119). At least one credited the department for providing *workshops, interaction, schools were given the Manifesto on Values* (§3.2.3.2) and *this new curriculum it is so much of value-orientation [and the] Advanced Certificate in Education... they are preparing you for this [social justice]* (P5, 130:139). This statement was countered by Mestry and Schmidt (2010:355) who did not list social justice as one of the foci of the ACE programme, rather it was on "pedagogy, learning, finance, human resources, educational law, and policy." Another principal said that he did not want to criticise the department but believed that they should be more inclusive of those previously white schools considered not to have problems and excluded from professional development opportunities⁴¹ (P1, 103:103). Social justice courses *would be valuable because there is no way you can run an institution like a school... without practicing social justice* (P13, 248:248) and that a specific course for the management of social justice practice would *definitely ... help schools a lot ... for instance ... at school level ... in order for you to perform, you need to have your labour peace, which I think it has got an impact on this [social justice]* (P8, 299:300). The need for professional development for

principals to manage social justice praxis was evident in the reported discourse. Scholars agree that social justice leadership should assess individual and institutionalised practices rooted in low expectations, deficit thinking, marginalisation and cultural imperialism. It should facilitate moral dialogue and deepened awareness (Brown, 2004; 2006; Kose, 2009:630) (§3.4.4.1).

Teachers were and still are experiencing racism in **appointment practices**. Assumptions that black teachers are not as good as their white counterparts was evident in the remark of one principal who suggested that application forms should not include the candidates' names or surnames. This would ensure that the best teacher for the position was appointed⁴² (P1, 8:8). These racial assumptions should be juxtaposed against moral and ethical principles that will challenge questions on race and class discrimination and will award each teacher his or her rightful place in the ranks of what is considered good teaching (§3.4.2.5). Gender and employment equity *versus* affirmative action and merit should be a balancing act. As a HoD at a coloured school, one principal told of an incident where two of her coloured male colleagues were unexpectedly promoted to ensure that she was not in a 'higher' position than her peers⁴³ (P9, 99:99). This opens up the debate around employment equity and affirmative action, and a balancing act of respect for difference (§3.3.3.2). An Indian female principal told how she had had a hard time being appointed but did not ascribe it to racist or religious biases but *some aspects of discipline* (P6: 10:23). One reference to non-South Africans was *we have Sotho's... we've also got Zimbabweans...and your Venda's...* (P8, 39:39) but denied any form of xenophobia (P8, 51:57). There is the example of the simultaneous appointment of a White male principal and a Coloured deputy whose personality and demeanour changed the staff's mind⁴⁴ (P1, 61:61) and attitudes⁴⁵ (P1, 63:63). They were able to appoint the best candidate⁴⁶ (P1, 64:64), whilst at another school, the black SGB preferred to appoint white teachers⁴⁷ (P2, 331:331). These descriptions are about a balancing act of respect for difference and the need for development (§3.3.3.2). Deputies were required to show absolute loyalty⁴⁸ (P12, 79:79); being part of the community *my deputy principal stays here; she's born here and bred here* (P14, 77:79); *we cannot all be managers ... and if there is one, we must all support that person* (P14, 70:70). A female principal said *[b]ut I've been running the school as a deputy for many years. Principals are just there in person, but it's actually the deputies who are digging the ground work, the spade work and so on* (P6, 9:9). Another said that he had no support whatsoever from his deputy and of the undermining role he played⁴⁹ (P3, 192:196). These examples were about recognising multiple contexts, social, cultural, political, within which education and leadership reside (§3.4.2.5).

A principal conceded that the perception of black teachers who were not able to teach successfully was not totally invalid. A major problem were perceptions that black teachers were inferior and not trusted by white colleagues or parents. He disagreed with this sentiment but acknowledged that they were able to teach in English but not in Afrikaans. He said that cross-pollination from Afrikaans teachers to black learners occurred but Afrikaans learners did not benefit being taught by black English and indigenous language speakers. He required that his

Afrikaans teachers, to whom English was a foreign language, would teach their subjects in English as well because theirs was a *multiracial* school⁵⁰ (P12, 110:112). Some were born to teach and would never have disciplinary problems regardless of who they taught⁵¹ (P1, 84:84).

Principals had the following to say about the racial and gender composition of the **SMTs**: fifty-fifty⁵² (P2, 331:331); *two HODs... to assist with some of the administration tasks* (P3, 120:124); *[my] SMT was also female, four of them and he's now the male there..., the school was being led by all-female team* (P6, 113:113); acknowledging that the *issue of male came up, uhm but then we looked in terms of equity, you know, it is a more female SMT... perhaps getting a male... may help* (P6, 194:194). Another said with regard to female, male equality *[t]hat is where we are still lacking... With learners we don't have a problem, with teachers... the staff we don't have..., but we are having a problem in the management... the ratio doesn't balance* (P8, 122:129). His work relationship with the SMT was *good, good* (P8, 292:293). At a combined school, the principal said they were five members in the management team, two were officially HoDs and two co-opted members as phase leaders⁵³ (P9, 59:64). Another said *our SMT we are... three women, three men in our SMT* (P13: 220:220). The minutes of SMT meetings were available for the staffs' perusal⁵⁴ (P16, 47:47).

The analysis and discussion of the subtheme - virtue of responsibility - included two clusters, i.e. role and teachers. Role (20.6) ($f=31$) addressed communication (22.1) ($f=36$); assemblies (5.19) ($f=40$); school policy (22.23) ($f=23$); access (22.26) ($f=4$); disciplinarian (15.9) ($f=3$); traditions (22.48) ($f=12$), and *geborgenheit* (20.15) ($f=2$). Teachers (15.4) ($f=11$) included professional development (22.6) ($f=24$); higher education training (15.12) ($f=6$); race/racism (15.3) ($f=16$); appointment issues (20.14) ($f=12$); deputy-principal (20.18) ($f=3$), and SMT (22.43) ($f=13$).

A synthesis of the virtue of responsibility is presented next.

5.2.1.3 Synthesis

The data analysis and discussion on how the principals viewed the virtue of responsibility focussed on their role and on teachers' social justice praxis.

As Head Teacher, **responsibility** culminates in social justice praxis visible in a positive work ethic, participative management and conduct towards a diverse learner and teacher corps (§2.3.2.4; §3.2.3.3; §3.3.1.2; §3.3.3.2; §3.4.1.1; §3.4.1.2; §3.4.2.1; §3.4.3.1; §3.4.3.2; §3.4.4.1; §3.4.4.2; §3.4.4.3; §3.5) evident in:

- authentic communication in the form of letter-writing, meetings where opinions were shared as reflective praxis, and the use of ICTs such as SMSs and community radios,
- assemblies which set the tone for a culture that embraces diversity, respect for cultural and religious practices and traditions and are actioning strategies for social justice praxis,
- being the custodian of value-based policies to guide, correct and motivate behaviour,

- which access policies remain problematic where a means test excludes learners from more affluent schools and where language tests and the lack of sufficient space still exclude learners,
- realising social justice praxis as *geborgenheit* to provide security, shelter, belonging and reassurance in acting like a *pater familias* and standing in *loco parentis*, and
- being the custodian of the school's traditions bring about a sense of belonging to the past, the present and the future.

The principal's responsibility towards **teachers** became apparent in an awareness of (§2.3.3.7; §3.3.2.1; §3.3.3.3):

- removing oneself from conversations that show little common language and meaningful dialogue in the diverse reality of South Africa;
- actions that defeat the very nature of inclusivity and social justice of white teachers who have not yet moved beyond racial and racist biases versus learners who have;
- social justice praxis that is about a change of heart visible in cultural or symbolic change as individuals and as collective, and
- nurturing a culture of respect towards each other to address issues of race, ethnicity and social class and other areas of difference.

The principal's responsibility extends to include **professional development** of teachers specific to social justice praxis (§2.2.3; §3.4.1.4; §3.4.4.1):

- No official professional development opportunities on social justice praxis are currently provided by the two departments of education.
- It will prepare teachers and principals from mono-lingual and mono-cultural schools to teach a diverse learner and parent population.
- Such opportunities will make schools socially just and equitable and will enhance the notion of doing the right thing for our country as good citizens.
- Work-integrated practices will enable young professionally unqualified students to enter the teaching profession.
- Principals need to provide succession training.
- Social justice courses are fundamental to the management and leadership task of principals as is the responsibility to ensure labour peace.

Teachers are prone to race and racism found in **appointment issues** apparent in views that black teachers are inferior to white colleagues and should be countered by (§3.3.3.2; §3.4.2.5):

- ensuring the best candidate is appointed in becoming 'colour, name and gender-blind';
- eradicating ongoing discriminatory and prejudiced practices and sensitising gender and employment equity versus affirmative action requirements, and
- creating a culture of respect for difference.

This section completes the reporting on the role and responsibility of the principal. The following section reports on the virtue of authenticity of the school principal.

5.2.2 Authenticity as social justice praxis

According to Starratt (2009:82-89) the virtue of authenticity promotes school improvement. Educational leaders for social justice move from acting from without - virtue of responsibility - to acting from within with integrity and authenticity (§3.4.3.2) displayed in the network heuristic (Figure 5.2). This sub-theme has two clusters, the principal's authentic leadership style (§5.3.2.1) and change of heart (§5.3.2.2) presented concurrently with the virtue of responsibility and presence.

5.2.2.1 An authentic leadership style

An authentic leadership style paid tribute to **recognition and positive reinforcement** (§2.3.2.3). Exposure to others could eliminate marginalisation in breaking down prejudices⁵⁵ (P1, 124:124) or recognition in the form of a badge to a learner who offered to sweep the class, an act that built *[p]ositive reinforcement*⁵⁶ (P2, 187:191) of that which is good, bringing about **ownership**, and an ability to empower (§2.3.3.4). Affirming ownership, a female principal said, she would tell the parents *you know what, this is not my school, it is yóúr school, it is yóúr school and 'I'm working for you! You are my boss, you must come and tell me if I do something wrong'*⁵⁷ (P2, 324:326). However, the literature on service leadership is mostly commercialised (Svafa & Strother, 2006), but could also include the joy of being of service (Kirby, 2007:47) (§3.2.1), none the less one that should be advanced (Van der Walt *et al.*, 2010:35) (§2.3.3.5). A principal did caution against having too many 'bosses'⁵⁸ though (P3, 186:187).

There is also the reality in a school system such as South Africa's that **trauma** will be part of the ethic of authenticity that the principal has to fulfil and needs to be reported in full. One tragedy, quoted at length is included (P5, 66:68):

[w]e, we had a lot of problems 2000 ... it should be last year sometime... One of our female educators who was brutally murdered ... we were traumatised, the whole township, it wasn't a very good thing... it, it nearly derailed us of our objective of schooling and teaching and what, what. But because of that close-knittedness where we say, okay fine, when things are like this, we need to, to sit back and say okay fine, where did we go wrong? And then we told ourselves to proceed... It's not every learner, it's not every individual in the township who has this ... attitude towards educators ... it were learners who were drop-outs ... and not from our school.

His reply to the researcher's question on which strategies he employed to turn the ship around was:

[w]hat, what we did we had had people from all this sister departments. We had a cleansing ceremony, and from that really for now, Idilette, we didn't, we have not experienced any major fight, whatever, since that time. We had a traditional, we have religious people, and where you have all these people coming to ... (school's name) okay this is enough. Even the departmental people who were here, say okay fine this how a school should be, we shouldn't do this and this, and this and this. That was an isolated issue, an incident which should not tarnish their image. So... it means if you're going to be derailed, if you're thinking of revenging, if you're thinking of what, it means now it must change and try to focus on what is the major purpose of coming to

school ... Which is to get education, to become a better person, to develop, to acquire knowledge...

It was difficult to establish whether this aspect could be addressed by a caring management style, such as the one described by Oliva *et al.* (2010:288) (§3.3.3.3). Another principal reported that the Department visited the school to determine employee wellness and the principal talked about work-related **stress** coming to the fore *...many teachers are here for many years and I just heard one, commenting this morning, that she is so stressed and she is so tired* (P6, 98:103). The literature study did not specifically address employee wellness or stress-management as a principals' authentic management style.

Adherence to reporting lines was doing your duty, one principal said. His dictum was observing, reporting and reacting because he regarded the observers as his eyes on the ground, who, if they can solve a problem, should address it, if not, then report it to a higher authority - not to a peer, which was gossiping⁵⁹ (P12, 93:93). Another principal talked about (P14, 71:71):

...a protocol ... You kids ... I cannot solve your problems, please, start from the class room [ja] so that at least some get resolved in the classroom and it helps them, they do, do learn the skill of problem solving at their own accord ... If, ... they encounter some problems, then they go to the class teachers, the class teacher will take it via the Grade Head, the Grade Head HOD. It will take time to come to me, and definitely it's a strategy that I've done diplomatically ... By the time it reaches me it has been done long time ago ... The only thing that I'll be receiving is a report...

These two stories were examples of a participative strategy where teachers and learners collectively took responsibility to solve problems (§3.3.3.1) in an authentic manner. Principals who embrace the virtue of authenticity will be transformational and motivational leaders (§3.3.3.2). Even if it was possible to be all things to all people, the principal needs the **trust** of his followers. A child who came to a principal's office, white or black, must trust you to talk frankly and openly⁶⁰ (P15, 34:34) and trust that you will make the right decision⁶¹ (P16, 88:88). Building trusting relationships needs acts of respect, trust and care as an authentic principal (§3.4.3.2) who was open to democratic decision-making strategies (§3.3.3.2) in creating a platform to air opinions⁶² (P16, 58:58) showed (P14, 71:71):

I sometimes over tea ... I let them just talk about me, talk to me about me ... and I'm not going to respond. That helps one to reflect ... as they speak, you note some points, but there is like I'm not doing well, there I'm not doing well. He would then after reflecting on what was said come back some t_i_m_e... you over a tea you respond, but not to the entire..., you sift what is good, ... out of what they are saying, and then you embark on developing ... strategies, that's how I grew up in this school ... say but I heard you talking about this, but this approach was not right, the person will change. But if you become rude and stand in the street and talk, he..., he or she will react the same way. Inculcating a tradition of respect by growing like that, we, we nurture one another, and even our kids are like that.

Notwithstanding the consultative ideal, principals believed that they will have to be **autocratic** (P5, 86:86), will make a call⁶³ (P1, 41:41) with net a bietjie (little) autocratic... (P7, 152:157). This is done because *I want everyone to be developed, né... in a very, very transparent manner* (P7, 152:157) because *to a certain extent... you need as leader to... to become a little bit... firm, fair ja, fair, fair, firm and fairness I think ...* (P13, 138:140). These styles demonstrate that principals are

cultural beings who bring values to bear on their decision making and policy execution praxis (§3.4.2.1).

Living social justice was found in lived examples set by the teachers to equally care for everyone⁶⁴ (P9, 170:170), one that permeates the very fibre in an all embracing praxis from the moment you enter the school grounds until you leave it⁶⁵ (P16, 91:92). By exposing learners they were offered the opportunity to develop, for example, trips to the sea especially learners who never before had the privilege brought tears to his eyes⁶⁶ (P1, 73:73), supported by the notion *we need... to take them out, just to expose them* (P8, 216:218). Exposure and representing one's school was discussed where the principal told about excursions where there always would be trouble when they returned. But he said that children started to believe in themselves because of inherent human dignity and he couldn't remember when last they had any problems. The learners believed that wherever they went, they could act with human dignity and compared their conduct with that of others⁶⁷ (P15, 33:33). One principal believed that you would be better equipped if you were exposed to injustices yourself and told of his own background. He was marginalised, confronted with drug abuse and poverty and how these experiences equipped him to be super-sensitive for these aspects of social justice⁶⁸ (P16, 14:14) and how more readily he would be to see injustice and turn it around into social justice opportunities⁶⁹ (P16, 15:15).

Principals should be able to look towards the future⁷⁰ (P15, 103:103) to *uphold hope and fairness and, and, and uhm respect so it's still... and it's the centre of everything* (P4, 13:13). Hope is an element of teaching which is a prophetic possibility to facilitate a visioning process (§2.3.3.5) through praxis of integrity, fairness and acting in an ethical manner (§2.2.4), correlated with an example where a school's motto changed from one of being a school of excellence to one of being a school of opportunities⁷¹ (P16, 100:100) (§3.3.3.1). The virtue of authenticity was found in what they said about their **religious beliefs** and how it influenced their management strategies in providing a visioning process based on critique, possibility and on hope (§3.3.3.1). Principals frequently referred to the intervention of God⁷² (P1, 61:61) with regard to their appointment at a specific school⁷³ (P1, 63:63). A more ecumenical approach was found in *the values that you have, whether you're a Muslim, whether you're a Jewish person or whether you're a Christian ... whatever your religious affinity is ... everybody has the same moral and, and, and values that we uphold* (P4, 26:26) (§3.2.2.2). Citizenship is a part of existing in modern society where people are co-opted in the function and obligations of citizenship (§3.2.1) evident in **personal beliefs** about education as this discursive dialogue between the principal and deputy principal shows: providing a *happy environment ... conducive to learning so that the end product that we send out... can contribute to the world, and contribute to South Africa* (P4, 209:222) and 2: *[s]o ... because that's our business, developing and actually transforming these girls into young ladies... So that is our core... 1: [w]e tell them we are preparing you for the outside world ... You're gonna work with different people, you have to have respect ... for all cultures, all races, all ...* (P4, 29:32). Similarly another principal said

doing our duty of educating the nation (P6, 135:135) ... that's what we should do when we are in teaching (P6, 155:158).

In managing potential difficult situations and promoting inclusive cultures and practices allowed principals to build positive relationships and foster social justice praxis (§3.3.4.2). Without respect for the diversity of humankind such a situation may become disastrous. Regarding different cultural habits a principal described a situation where a teacher packed a container to the brim at a function and her white colleague who reacted with shock and disdain, claiming 'that is not our culture.' The principal addressed the situation and found that in the perpetrator's culture, you have to take the leftovers, otherwise it is an indication that the food was no good. 'It empowered our staff, we laughed about it, we cried about it'⁷⁴ (P15, 88:88).

It is this kind of respect that ought to bring about a change of heart, the second of the sub-cluster of the virtue of authenticity as management style.

5.2.2.2 Change of heart

Principals used the words change of mind, change of heart, turning on a switch in one's head⁷⁵ as examples of the mind-shift that is needed when dealing with social justice praxis. Social justice is in essence about equal and juristic fairness, based on a religious obligation to perform charity and philanthropic acts, goodness towards the other and formal institutional justice, but within the bounds of a specific norm or value and deeds of kindness and repairing the world (§2.2.3). One said his commitment and change of heart was *[i]a its life-long, it gradually becomes part of you... when you do it...; took care of the environment we've been talking about respect... and these learners...like skills, you develop them, okay... when the siren goes, we go to that class, we pick up whatever is there. What do we do? You want to inculcate that skill of listening and responding to the siren, simultaneously clean ... your immediate environment...* (P5, 141:143). Another told how glad she was to live through the transition from apartheid to a democratic dispensation⁷⁶ (P15, 87:87) a sentiment shared by another who said *I think everything we do is built on the awareness and respect ...* (P4, 16:16). A Black principal said *during the assembly you, you want to concretise them, you want to make them aware that we are from different angles in life and then we should be very careful so that at the end of the day we are driving our ship into this capricious waters of life, that at the end you manage to pass without hush maybe hurting, disrespecting, steeling, bullying, whatever ... You, you want to accept, you want live, you want to share...* (P5, 28:28). The idea of living social justice was evident in the words *... you try and live it* (P3, 135:138) and social justice became praxis when the deputy said *where in another school I would think I'll remember to teach social justice, here... 1: [i]t's all the day... 2: that's every day... it is our bread and butter... [i]ts part of, I read the question where you ask were your staff prepared for social justice education? If you teach here that's your business that's what you do* (P4, 329:334). It is Biblical *... [Matthew 6:11] used in the context of social justice basically it's, it's, it's our daily bread, uhm we live with it, we live it, every time everywhere you are, for as long as you're living with people, you must uhm encounter social justice* (P14, 101:101). Being a Hindu, one principal said *[b]efore even reading the Constitution and books and things like that, we*

were born with these things, you know when you are brought up as a child, these things are instilled in us. Some of these things... our parents don't have to talk about it... you are brought up in that environment you know that I need to respect... Fairness and non-discrimination was ascribed to her cultural upbringing [w]e were brought up in that way... to respect people. Because when I was young, I lived in a huge cottage which, which the landlord subdivided and we were Indians, Coloureds, Blacks, you know together, so we used to sit and eat out off each other's plates (P6, 275:277).

Deeds of kindness were evident in helping children to enter the labour force because on leaving school, learners might end up stealing and not caring for their family⁷⁷ (P2, 136:136). One principal empathetically told how teachers took care of a learner who had an epileptic fit because they cared for children of all race groups⁷⁸ (P1, 71:71). It is this change of heart that he was talking about⁷⁹ (P1, 110:110). Entrance to the workforce and being valued links to the notion of creating human capital so that learners and teachers become productive citizens⁸⁰ (P16, 68:68). Human capital should become a lifestyle of commitment to one's community even if it was an ideal that was often not found in the community. Contrasting values between schools and community was referred to in taking shortcuts to get rich⁸¹ (P16, 68:68) where social capital should become the norm⁸² (P16, 69:69) (§3.3.3.2). Another aspect that needs to be reported was the notion of teaching learners the value of **self-worth**⁸³ (P15, 126:126). All of these practices show a shared synergy on values amongst all role-players (§3.3.3.2; §3.4.2.1; §3.4.3.2).

The analysis and discussion of the subtheme, virtue of authenticity, included two clusters, **leadership style** (20.9) ($f=46$) and **change of heart** (22.18) ($f=13$). Leadership style included democratic autocracy (22.12) ($f=6$), fairness (15.8) ($f=5$), equal opportunities (22.66) ($f=22$), trust in principal (20.20) ($f=2$), transparent/openness (22.68) ($f=7$), religious beliefs (20.2) ($f=15$), and personal beliefs (20.3) ($f=34$). Change of heart was found in care (22.17) ($f=7$), sensitisation/awareness (22.5) ($f=8$), exposure (22.19) ($f=10$), hope (22.67) ($f=4$), knowing (22.35) ($f=1$), career choice (22.31) ($f=1$), and living social justice (22.50) ($f=11$).

A synthesis of the virtue of authenticity as social justice praxis and change of heart is presented next.

5.2.2.3 Synthesis

The virtue of authenticity and principals' social justice praxis were evident in an authentic leadership style and a change of heart. An **authentic leadership style** pays tribute to recognition, positive reinforcement and exposure to break down prejudices (§2.2.4; §2.3.2.3; §2.3.3.4; §2.3.3.5; §3.2.1; §3.2.2.2; §3.3.3.2; §3.3.3.3; §3.3.4.2; §3.4.3.2; §3.4.2.1). It allows for:

- **Ownership** of schools is shared by principals, teachers, learners and parents alike; principals became service leaders who know how to manage trauma, practiced reflection, involve officials, traditional and religious leaders, and cleansing ceremonies.

- Reporting lines are found in inclusive praxis of observing, reporting and reacting, a protocol, building trusting relationships, creating platforms for teachers to air their views based on mutual respect, democracy and openness.
- Teaching becomes a 'prophetic' possibility in a democratic environment where hope, fairness and respect are practiced, integrity, fairness and acting in an ethical manner to attain excellence and where equal opportunities are actualised.
- The purpose of education centres on citizenship, transformation and educating the nation to adapt in a diverse world.
- In managing potentially difficult situations and promoting inclusive cultures and practices, it allowed principals to build positive relationships and bring about a change of heart.

Social justice is in essence about equal and juristic fairness based on religious convictions of performing charity and philanthropic acts of goodness and deeds of kindness towards the other to repair the world (§2.2.3; §2.3.1.1; §3.3.3.2; §3.4.4.4):

- Principals' vocabulary include change of mind, change of heart, turning on a switch in one's head, a mind-shift that require a life-long commitment.
- Principals developed a critical consciousness and respect in living through the political transition from apartheid to a democratic dispensation.
- Social justice praxis guides teachers and learners through the capricious waters of the diversity found in modern life without getting hurt or being disrespectful.
- The praxis of social justice as a lived concept is important because it is our daily bread; educationists in the broadest sense should be breathing social justice praxis without thinking, doing the common good that allows for a praxis that is truly effective.
- Deeds of kindness and empathy towards children in physical or emotional need were also mentioned.

In attending to all learners equally and ensuring social justice praxis, educational leaders have to become more present in the organisational arrangements at school.

5.2.3 Presence as social justice praxis

The virtue of authenticity is intrinsic to the calling of teaching; it is energising and serves to ground the virtue of responsibility. Educational leaders should become critically present and aware of school structures and processes, power relations, and being critically present in how they interact with learners and staff. The virtue of being authentic (§5.2.2) and responsible (§5.2.1) becomes evident in being present in the school and lives of learners, teachers and community (Starratt, 2009:82-89) (§3.4.3.2). This sub-theme was also subdivided into two sub-clusters, the virtue of **presence in schools** (§5.2.3.1) and **other aspects** (§5.2.3.2).

5.2.3.1 The virtue of presence in the school

The principals' *in loco parentis* role meant that they should act in the place of and with the parent to ensure learners became dedicated South Africans⁸⁴ (P12, 213:213). In the absence of parents the principal and teachers had the legal obligation to take care of the child, a responsibility that should protect the vulnerable, develop potential, and provide opportunities to exercise associational, intellectual and emotional capacities (Liebenberg, 2005:147; Roos *et al.*, 2009:111-112). And where better a place to provide such an environment than in education? In such an environment respect for human potential and receiving it forms the spirit of an institution (§3.2.2.2). Not strictly referring to the *in loco parentis* role, a principal of a Special Ed school told of learners who, en route for hearing tests, wanted a hug. He saw it as a reciprocal relationship and gave a sense of 'I belong here'⁸⁵ (P15, 124:124). Principals saw their role as supplementary to that of the parents⁸⁶ (P1, 74:74). School principals should act on issues of inequity and infringement of social and constitutional rights (§2.3.2.5) and should be *someone who can influence the learners positively; can contribute to the growth of the learners positively, and value their work as educators. That is a good teacher* (P, 59:59). In being present and involved in the lives of learners was extended by the story told by a principal who went into a squatter camp from where his learners came. He went looking for learners who were absent which afforded him the opportunity to get to know the learners' socio-economic circumstances. He said everybody in the squatter camp knew his little black car and in time the community would tell him who were not attending school. This meant that he was present in the community and able to get valuable information⁸⁷ (P15, 135:135).

This kind of presence was expanded in building **networks**. An Indian female principal told of exclusion, racial and gender discriminatory practices she encountered during her first few principals' meetings which consisted of *male, I think uhh the white schools; there are very few female principals... Yes!!! [laughing]. You know when we go to ... principals' meetings, then you have this group of white principals you know, sitting on their side and they have their...* (P6, 25:27). She told that this exclusionary practice was continuing in athletics circles *they call it the inter-league... white schools participate* but she mentioned that *the white male principals have now slowly ... involved the white female principal and put her into their sort of league...* (P6, 27:31). Her remark that *white schools participate* was an indication that school athletics events were still exclusionary. Her words '*sort of league*' echoed being an outsider and a feeling of exclusion as did so *[they] have their own little you know... [camaraderie] ... Ja, going to the you knows exclusion of other people*. Disturbing were her words that *they've included her [white female principal] and put her now to host it next year, and she's telling they want ... to see if a woman can do it*. This account touched on the notion of an 'old boys club,' where members served as gate keepers to information *... the white principals and the old males and she says to me, you know they, they sit and they plan how they're going to run things for the year and where do they buy their stock from and how do they recruit their staff and things like that*. Notwithstanding the bleak picture she painted, she did say *Uhh but at the same time you know, if*

you ask them for assistance, they, they assist you. So in that way I, I think they're opening up a bit now ... and getting the[m]... to understand that women principals are also there and we are equal to them and if not better, better than them. But it's taking, taking [time] time ... its taking time, I don't think they, they see us as their equal as yet (P6, 27:31). She saw herself as very forward... I sit with them, I talk to them, they've invited me to join SAOU and they told me uhh I hope you don't mind me at the Broederbond (laughing)... and they invited me to join SAOU... and they briefed me about their annual do that they have, going to PE and they ... other races are joining them now and they've welcomed me as well. So I make it a point, I talk to all of them, if I don't know something, I phone them and you know, we, we communicate... sort of... so they're not all that bad, but I think they're so used to their old... old... Uhm the guys are (P6, 34:39). This *petit récit* is in discordance with the EFA which included social justice principles of access, education of good quality, eliminating gender discrimination and the achievement of gender equality (§3.2.3.4).

Power and being a **historical guardian** were also evident in the stories told. One principal regretted becoming 'Sir' and was no longer called by his first name⁸⁸ (P3, 167:168) because of his principal-position. As historical guardian he regarded himself as custodian of a house that also was home to well known Afrikaans authors André P Brink and Elsabé Steenberg; furnished with century-old furniture⁸⁹ (P3, 255:261). Maybe not as historical guardian but as a principal who was asked by the department to apply for the position of principal, he was part of history-making during the unrest period prior to and post-apartheid. He was present at this specific school where Caspers patrolled the streets and marches against the school were the order of the day⁹⁰ (P12, 33:48). This meant that when he started at the school he received a call from a commander of the riot squad asking him how many Caspers he would need at the beginning of the school year, upon which the principal asked 'Caspers?', and said 'we are missing each other,' that is an ambush vehicle. He said 'this is an educational institution. You are policemen, and for good measure riot police. You work with criminals. We work with children. They do not belong together' needs reporting⁹¹ (P12, 191:199). He told of black parents who were not allowed to enter the school grounds, but had to use the intercom at the gate, no black mother, up till his appointment, was ever allowed to set foot in the principal's office (as was the case with the deputy principal as well) and he was told that the previous principal said that no blacks will ever set foot in his school⁹² (P12, 72:72). These encounters are related for the need to improve praxis that would focus on learner outcomes of minorities, economically disadvantaged and others who have not traditionally been served well (Marshall & Oliva, 2010:6) and who need a greater ethic of care (Starratt, 2009) (§2.3.3.5), one that this school indeed was doing.

The following section is a discussion of the **other aspects of the virtue of presence**.

5.2.3.2 Other aspects

Gender discrimination is an aspect that still needs attention even where the Constitution and documents such as the EFA, to be reached by 2015, supports the elimination of gender discrimination and the achievement of gender equality. One female principal, who had been

acting principal for almost twelve years, told that she was in a *very unique* position. *Because my governing body made no secret of the fact that they were looking for a male ... but ... all things taken into account I was a better candidate.* She shared her personal feelings of being discriminated against: *ja I feel I was treated unfairly* (P6, 10:23). These experiences were shared by a female principal at a rural, combined Afrikaans school who said that the previous principal was a typical male chauvinist who believed that women were inferior to men⁹³ (P9, 185:185).

Age as determinant of the presence of the school principal came to the fore where an older principal said that he thought that being too young a principal is detrimental to learners and yourself, a principal should not be younger than forty, preferably forty-five⁹⁴ (P12, 21:21). On the age of teachers one said that the divide between older staff and young learners was too big *[t]he biggest problem that I see is that we are getting staff members that are getting older with young children the divide is becoming bigger and bigger* (P3, 60:60). Older and younger staff assisted each other and even gender divides were crossed where *[s]ome men and some women they do believe that their territories need to be protected, like being men you must always be heard as you speak, rules and commands should be taken from you, however ... we are gradually developing, because most of my staff, ... they are in the middle age* (P14, 48:48). The literature study did not specifically refer to age as a discriminatory factor.

One or two principals referred to their **personality** or **aura** as part of how they perceived themselves as being present in a situation and how it ensured success. One regarded himself as a comfortable, peaceful and lenient principal, maybe not stern enough⁹⁵ (P1, 55:55), another that the learners were wary of her because of her aura and being strict⁹⁶ (P9, 87:91), by sternly looking at learners and staff they kept silent with the subtext of being in control⁹⁷ (P12, 210:210). Both these principals, as did others, indicated that they would not be able to perform their task if it was not for the support of their **spouses**. One principal sang the praise of her husband who prepared food and helped with odd jobs⁹⁸ (P2, 385:389), a supportive husband⁹⁹ (P9, 186:187), and a wife who visited congregations¹⁰⁰ (P12, 220:220). Strategies to also be present in the lives of their family to sustain and nourish themselves were important for them (§3.4.4.5).

Principals of integrated schools said about their **colleagues** who were still teaching at mono-cultural schools that she pitied principals who sat on a 'pure white island,' because they have not yet travelled the road to integration and diversity, they do not understand anything of how nice it can be¹⁰¹ (P2, 365:365). In the same focus group one principal said that in the area where he worked, you would find certain schools that were still deliberately excluded by other schools and although he did not state that it was race discrimination, the prior discussion was in the same spirit and it would be fair to state that he referred to race discrimination and exclusion¹⁰² (P16, 58:58). Matters of **confidentiality** were raised as being ill, apartheid's wrongs, overcoming professional jealousy by soaring like an eagle who weathered a cyclone of professional jealousy or corporal punishment, (P12, 3:9; P3, 140:140; P14, 68:68; P4, 278:278) and one said *I must say this, I wish I wasn't on the tape, but it is good for one to hear it.*

The analysis and discussion of the subtheme, the virtue of presence, included two clusters, the **school** and **other aspects**. The school linked to in *loco parentis* role (15.1) ($f=3$), supplementary parental tasks (15.7) ($f=2$), emotional involvement/motivational (15.6) ($f=5$), meetings/networks (20.12) ($f=4$), power (20.8) ($f=1$), and historical guardian (20.16) ($f=8$). Other aspects included gender (20.4) ($f=7$), age (15.5) ($f=4$), family support (20.7) ($f=4$), stress/negative attitude (15.11) ($f=3$), personality/aura (20.1) ($f=5$), perceptions of other colleagues (20.5) ($f=7$), and matters confidential (24.1) ($f=5$).

5.2.3.3 Synthesis

The discourse with regard to the virtue of presence in the school is evident in the in *loco parentis* role that implies a moral and legal duty to take care of the child (§3.3.3.2; §3.4.3.2):

- Principals' caring and motivational role is one of self-sacrifice to ensure the well-being of learners and teachers; a praxis of intentionality, optimism, respect, trust and care;
- Being present in learners' life worlds creates awareness of social injustices in visits to squatter camps gave insight into learners' social and economical Umwelt, and
- Community involvement of being co-responsible for learner success.

Although the EFA includes social justice principles of access, education of good quality and eliminating gender discrimination (Van Deventer, 1998:55; Van Deventer & Van der Westhuizen, 2000:236) (§3.2.3.4) this kind of presence is difficult to achieve:

- Environments that still is known for marginalisation, gender and racial exclusion and discrimination mostly associated with white Afrikaans male principals, and
- These practices ought to be dismantled by challenging the old boys club and confronting the gate keepers to ensure support for female principals.

As historical guardians (§2.3.3.5) principals took care of artefacts and made history by transforming schools and a community ripped apart by racial conflict:

- Taking a stance that teachers work with children whilst riot police work with criminals;
- Opening access to black parents;
- Education is the mother of all vocations, and
- Social justice education for all learners by being present and conveying a strong message of moral leadership.

Although not in a discriminatory sense, age is relevant in:

- Being appointed as principal because it ensures maturity, and
- Crossing the divide between older staff members and younger learners.

Concurring with the literature, the support of spouse and family is important (§3.4.4.5) in how principals perceived their personality and aura: comfortable, peaceful, lenient, strict or stern.

Diversity-management theory encompasses praxis that values diversity through a process of specific actions by people in management positions (§3.3.3.2):

- Principals who are not yet part of a diverse school environment remain a concern;
- These principals still have a long way to go to understand and praxis social justice and the richness it incurred, and
- Two NW Province district officials subjectively or overtly shared this concern: after receiving the selected names of the principals according to the criteria (§4.3.2.2), the absence of principals from exclusively white Afrikaans schools needs to be reported.

Matters of confidentiality entailed learner discipline, appointment issues and apartheid:

- Corporal punishment although abolished, was still prevalent;
- Being appointed as principal at the same school where you started was extremely difficult but in comparing himself to an eagle the principal said he would soar the skies to avert a cyclone in order to reach its destiny;
- As an epitaph to the pivotal and foundational role that the principal as strategist for social justice plays, the view of a principal on apartheid was *[o]ff the record. My God apartheid was wrong! If it wasn't...*

Following are parameters for the development of management strategies regarding principals and social justice praxis.

5.2.4 Parameters for the development of management strategies

From the data analysis and discussion above it seems that management strategies (§6.4.3) need to be developed for:

- An authentic leadership style and a positive work ethic
- Participative management and conduct towards a diverse learner and teacher corps
- Authentic communication, common language and meaningful dialogue on social justice
- Social justice school traditions from the past to inform the present and the future
- Citizenship, transformation and educating the nation to adapt to a diverse world
- Geborgenheit to address issues of race, ethnicity, social class and other
- Social justice education towards all role-players
- Professional development opportunities/courses on social justice praxis

Following are concluding remarks to theme 1.

5.2.5 Concluding remarks

The data analysis and discussion on the virtue of **responsibility** focussed on principals' **role**, their own and their teachers' social justice praxis. This virtue was evident in the principals' regard for a positive work ethic, participative management and conduct towards a diverse learner, teacher and parent corps. Their authentic communication embraced diversity, respect

for difference and diverse cultures and religious practices and traditions. Principals regarded themselves as custodians of value-based policies to create an environment of *geborgenheit* and where principals stood *in loco parentis*. Principals were custodians of the school's traditions which created a sense of belonging to the past, present and future. Responsibility towards **teachers** was apparent in an awareness of discriminatory conversations with colleagues that showed little common language and meaningful understanding of the diverse reality of South Africa. A change of heart, as individuals and as collective, should occur in the cultural and symbolic transformation to eradicate issues of race, ethnicity and social class and other areas of difference. Regrettably, teachers were still subjected to racial discrimination in appointment practices and evident in perceptions of black teachers being inferior to their white counterparts. Principals ensured that they were race and gender-blind when they appointed the best candidate in teaching positions. Although principals regarded professional development opportunities, specific to social justice praxis, as their responsibility, they reported that no departmental courses were currently offered that focussed on social justice. Moreover the selection process for professional development courses was discriminatory as it excluded those principals whom the department still regarded as being from the advantaged white, male group. Social justice development opportunities provide a heightened sense and orientation towards social justice practices and would prepare teachers to teach in a diverse landscape. Such courses were regarded as fundamental to the management and leadership task of principals.

The virtue of **authenticity** and principals' social justice praxis were evident in an **authentic leadership style** and a change of heart that paid tribute to recognition, positive reinforcement and sensitisation. Principals, teachers, learners and parents alike took ownership of schools in an environment in which they all became service leaders. As such they were able to manage trauma, affect praxis of reflection and inclusion in conducting cleansing ceremonies and paid attention to stress management. A protocol of inclusive praxis of observing, reporting and reacting was followed and was an example of a school culture where trusting relationships existed. These relationships were built on democratic principles based on a tradition of mutual respect, democracy and openness tempered by a bit of autocracy. Social justice practices ought to bring about a **change of heart** in a democratic environment which venerates hope, fairness and respect and is one in which teaching becomes a prophetic possibility through integrity, fairness and acting in an ethical manner. In these environments schools will attain excellence however defined and would provide equal opportunities to all learners. Education was centred on citizenship, transformation and practices of educating the nation's children to succeed in a diverse world. Social justice is in essence about equal and juristic fairness based on religious convictions of performing deeds of kindness towards the other to repair the world (§2.2.3). In having lived through the political transition from apartheid to a democratic dispensation principals developed a critical consciousness and respect that would guide their social justice

praxis through the capricious waters of the diversity and social injustice. Social justice praxis was a lived concept that provided daily bread, was breathed and practised.

The discourse with regard to the **virtue of presence in schools** was evident in the *in loco parentis* role that infers a moral and legal duty on teachers to take care of learners that was about a deeper sense of proactive responsibility as a parent would. This presence created awareness of social injustices through visits to squatter camps where communities and learners experienced social justice in action as collaborative partnerships of care and responsibility for learner's success. Although social justice praxis included adherence to the principles of access and non-discrimination towards women, this kind of presence was difficult to achieve because of an environment that still is known for its marginalisation, gender and racial exclusion and discriminatory practices, which ought to be dismantled to ensure support for female principals. As historical guardians, principals took care of artefacts, were aware of apartheid's past but also of a transformed future that focussed on the best interest of the child. Education was regarded as the mother of all vocations where leadership should be nurtured. Principals should not be younger than 45 when appointed because of the demands that social justice praxis made. Personality and aura played a role in how principals perceived themselves and the support of spouse and family was important. Social justice praxis cannot be separated from diversity and taking a stand against discriminatory practices and attitudes was needed. No principals from exclusively white Afrikaans schools took part in this research and the participants claimed that these schools still had a long road to travel towards an understanding of and valuing of the richness that social justice praxis incurred.

The learners formed the second level in education to accomplish effective social justice praxis.

5.3 THEME TWO: LEARNERS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE PRAXIS

Learners formed the second layer of the pyramid (Figure 4.5) and as such built on the broad base of social justice praxis created by principals who strive towards the realisation of the virtues of responsibility, authenticity and presence. Basic education is primarily about learners and their cognitive, and importantly, social development. Developing people is a fundamental task of school leaders (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2009:46-47) and is essentially linked to citizenship (Nieuwenhuis *et al.*, 2007:5). The data analysis and discussion of the second theme - learners and social justice praxis ($f=424$) - were grouped into three sub-themes (Figure 5.1), i.e. learner conduct ($f=235$) (§5.3.1); socio-historio-economic environment ($f=113$) (§5.3.2), and curricular and extra-curricular-activities ($f=76$) (§5.3.3). The data analysis shows that 20.5% (Table 4.5) of the quotations were related to this theme, abbreviated in Table 5.2:

Theme 2 Learners					
Learner conduct (§5.3.1)		Socio-historio-economic environment (§5.3.2)		Curricular and extra-curricular (§5.3.3)	
Learner discipline	93	Race and racism	61	Curricular activities	47
Learner behaviour	77	Socio-economic environment	52	Extra-curricular	29
Learner leadership	65				
Sub-total	235	Sub-total	113	Sub-total	76
Codes: 57 (20.5%)			Total quotations 424		

TABLE 5.2: Learner conduct, socio-historio-economic environment and curricular and extra-curricular activities

Learners and their education manifested in three sub-themes related to their conduct, their context and teaching and learning presented in the network heuristic Figure 5.3.

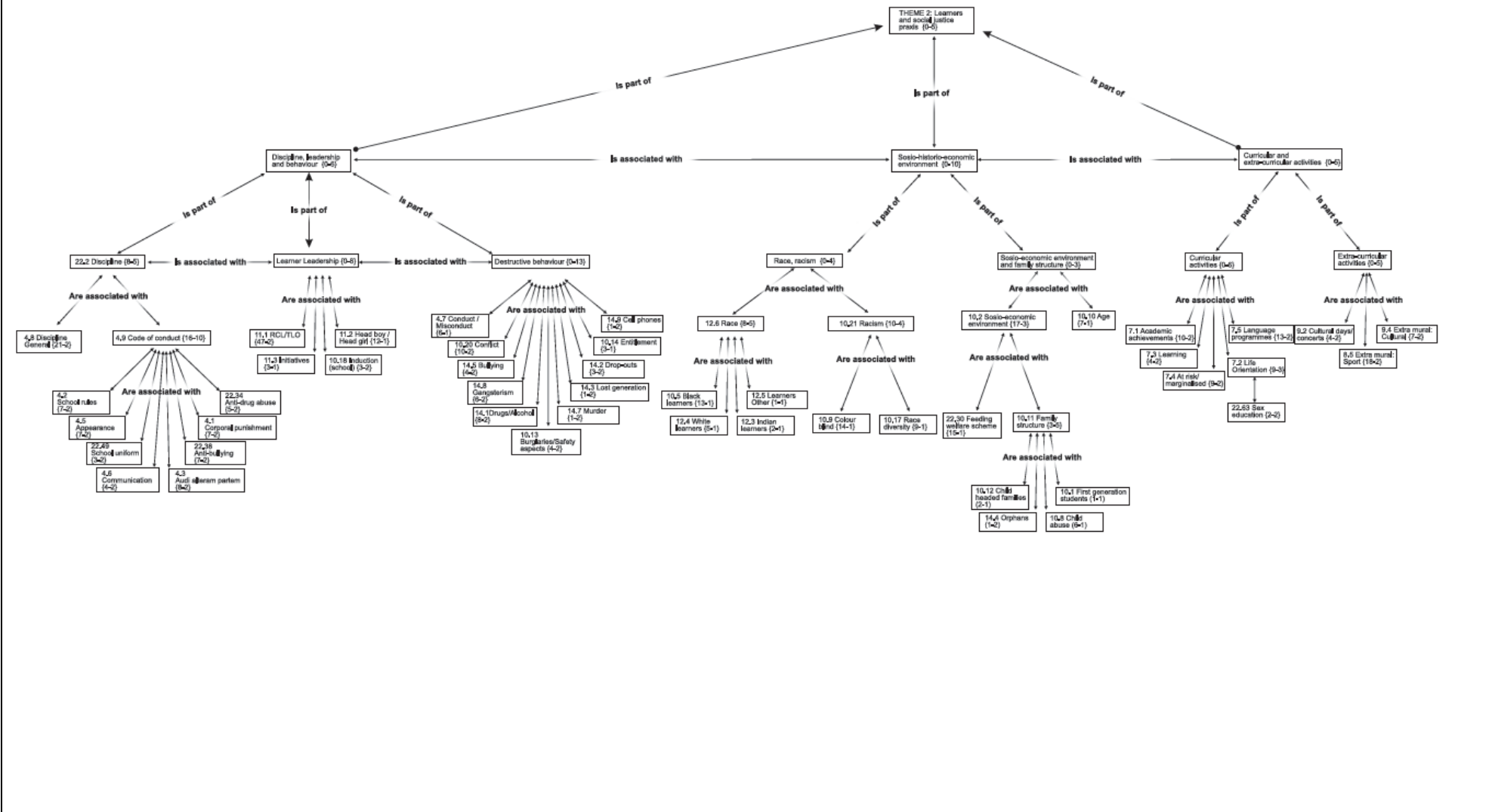


FIGURE 5.3: THEME 2 Network heuristic: Learners and social justice praxis

5.3.1 Learner discipline, leadership and behaviour

The first sub-theme, learner discipline, leadership and behaviour, was subdivided into learner discipline (§5.3.1.1), learner leadership (§5.3.1.2), and destructive behaviour (§5.3.1.3) and discussed according to the network heuristic (Figure 5.3).

5.3.1.1 Discipline

Discipline is the mother of education, one principal said, and we needed to start there¹⁰³ (P12, 211:211). With regard to **discipline in general** one of the major themes was racial and cultural difference. Traditional methods of classroom discipline no longer worked because black learners, although born after apartheid, had learnt how to use numbers in their favour whilst white learners would not have the support of peers¹⁰⁴ (P1, 82:82). **Fairness** and discipline was a *sine qua non* to black learners in disciplinary matters as they despised injustice¹⁰⁵ (P1, 84:84), but all learners had changed and were questioning instructions¹⁰⁶ (P1, 19:19). Teachers had to adapt because this changed reality is what propelled them to an ethical and just praxis towards the marginalised (§2.3.1.1). Learners had to follow **cultural** practices of showing remorse when disrespectful: *one boy was saying e_e_e_mhizo I'm sorry... When you're sorry, in our, in our culture, you, you, you do like this... Say, sorry emhizo* (teacher), *so... always apologetic approach, not s_o_rry emhizo* (P5, 168:169) affirming that instilling customary practices should be part of a code of practice and discipline (§2.2). Teachers had to recognise and respect black learners' propensity to sing, dance and move when glad, sad or feeling good¹⁰⁷ (P1, 19:19). Differences in handling discipline were found in dealing with learners of your own culture *vis-à-vis* others. At racially diverse schools, principals reported that both black and white teachers' disciplinary measures differed when dealing with learners from the 'other' race groups. One believed that white teachers succumbed to white political guilt¹⁰⁸ (P2, 278:280) and were more lenient towards black learners than their black colleagues would be¹⁰⁹ (P2, 275:275). One black deputy noticed that white learner's would prefer his punishment whilst the black learners chose the white principal's admonishments. This meant that learners accepted their cross-cultural authority in being respectful to authority and not to race¹¹⁰ (P12, 103:103). **Corporal punishment** might have been beneficial in the past but principals agreed that it was detrimental to their own career and glad that it was banned¹¹¹ (P1, 100:100). **Disciplinary praxis** included a red book to record transgressions, trace frequency of offences and used during disciplinary hearings¹¹² (P2, 242:251). Amusing was learners who would sing and dance when punished to clean the toilets¹¹³ (P2, 242:251) regarded as community service¹¹⁴ (P2, 252:255). This notion is aligned with punishment that should include community service, restitution and shame and is an example of moral re-education (§2.3.3.6).

School rules were adapted to accommodate relationships and appearance¹¹⁵ (P1, 27:27) and should be read together with the **Code of Conduct for Learners** (South Africa, 1996c). Principals indicated that a learner code of conduct is *everywhere* (P4, 36:36); *inculcate[d] ... during*

our interaction with the parent, mother body... (P5, 76:76); the supreme law (P7, 6:6); that each and every learner should have... [their] dignity respected (P7, 8:8). Every learner who is admitted at our school will come with the parent ... the parent will be handed ... the code of conduct and both the learner and the parent will have to sign a commitment to the code of conduct (P8, 240:240). A disciplinary committee (P6, 233:241) was responsible for learner conduct¹¹⁶ (P16, 23:23). Learners were allowed to choose their own classroom rules because then they would follow them¹¹⁷ (P15, 121:121). Accepting a fair code of conduct is aligned with the notion that human dignity finds pride of place, although extremely fragile, in the discordant relationships that exist in education (§3.2.2.2).

In instances of misconduct **procedural fairness** was practiced where principals involved *the channels that need to be followed... a tutor ... If a tutor cannot handle the case, it... comes to me and then we try and solve it* (P3, 109:112). The channels involved *parents or guardians, so they are represented; hearings are very formal; the SGB convenes... a disciplinary committee; all parties are invited... gives ... their input; witnesses are invited and called up* (P6, 233:241). These procedures included *verbal warnings; written warnings; the final written warnings and followed the code of conduct and uhh when I am issuing them with a charge sheet ... I explain to them, this is what you are charged for, and this is when the proceedings are going to take place, and please come along with your parent or your guardians, to assist you in your hearings and you may bring along witness as well* (P6, 233:241). These procedures affirmed the literature findings with regard to discipline according to the Guidelines to SGBs (South Africa, 1998) and are an attempt at promoting positive discipline. It builds a culture of reconciliation, teaching and learning and mutual respect in a socially just school environment (§3.2.2.2). Without the **audi alteram partem** principle the Code of Conduct for Learners would become nil and void: *we have to hear the other side of the story* (P6, 233:241). One principal said that he followed *a hierarchy... you listen and according to the facts... and then you give the ruling* (P3, 39:42). *Listening to both sides, sometimes it's very difficult, because teenagers also tend to lie to stay out of trouble. What we believe is... accept the responsibility thereof and also the consequences and learn from the mistake* (P3, 39:42). The literature study affirmed the importance of cultivating responsibility and creating a culture of respect, equality and human dignity (§3.2.2.2). One principal made notes of what both parties said because he believed you should be fair to all¹¹⁸ (P2, 308:308) although his staff often found it difficult that he listened to the learners' side of the story and were admonished when they were wrong¹¹⁹ (P2, 305:305).

With regard to **appearance** or the **school's dress code** ethnic hairstyles dominated the discussion: *the code of conduct of our school specif[ies] the length of the hair... In most cases they have to cut and they don't have ehh ehh a problem with that ... particularly from the Indian learners* (P7, 229:229); *because we are talking about, especially the boys, cutting your hair... and here comes now the coloured learner and here comes the Indian learner, and then the Indians, because of their hair that's straight and the other one is curly now, how do you specify the length of that, do you pull it up...?* (P6, 163:164). The white boys were able to do all sorts of things with their hair style which black

boys traditionally could not; to then make a rule that banned small braids would be nonsense. Learners were not the same and one believed learners' individuality should be developed. They took a value-based decision to allow two kinds of rules with regard to hairstyles¹²⁰ (P1, 27:29). Another principal referred to an incident where a talented matric learner defied the school rules *he was sportsman of the year, he was the Boland cricketer of the year, uhm he was the victor laudorum ... did not adhere to [t]he rule of the school which is you cannot just cut your hair the way you want to... His hair was neat, but when you got to the back section, he refused to cut his hair... he says okay I'm gonna cut my hair, he has a list of, of seven, seven awards. He got to, to, to the teacher in our hairdressing department, got to her door and decided 'No I don't want my hair cut, ...I'm just going to leave it.'* So we have children who don't, they don't realize or the award that they are going to receive means nothing, because they're going to go back to society where there is nothing for them to go back to (P15, 45:45). The despair of the principal was obvious in the dilemma of applying school rules and the learner's desire to become his own man but not realising that he was challenging authority and impeding his own chances of success. The dilemma of physical diversity and school rules are apparent in the previous discussion and relate to the notion that it would be wrong to assume that equality means sameness, as if no differences amongst people are possible (§3.3.2.2). The statement that discipline started with the uniform¹²¹ (P2, 381:381) and *I think ... they must take pride in their uniform... they will take pride in themselves* (P3, 97:97) were countered by the lack of pride because learners perceived it as marginalising to those with learning disabilities¹²² (P15, 156:156). A principal of a long-standing English ex-model C school told of his gratification when he received a 1949 blazer of an alumnus¹²³ (P3, 282:284) (§3.4.3.1). In being aware that people *judge[d] a book by the cover* an incident of coloured and black learners being barred from entering a shop, saddened a principal because minutes before all the primarily white learners from a private school were¹²⁴ (P15, 136:136). These instance are those that the literature refer to as part of the vocabulary and actions of persons (Soanes & Stevenson, 2008:820) where issues of class, race and marginalisation are apparent (§2.3.3.7).

Communicating disciplinary matters was evident *if there is a problem the parents are contacted immediately... the children inform the parents immediately ...* (P3, 44:50). Another principal said *we give them the letter... to the parents upon which the learner would show remorse [t]hat's okay Meneer, I do apologise* (P5, 5:25). In retaining the learner's books until the parents came to see him, the principal ensured that parents knew *the learner has done this, this, this... So it's either, he's going to change and then ... we've got a ... commitment register where he'll commit himself for changing the behaviour.* His practice involved all the teachers and the RCL *include[ing]... the next teacher or the third teacher... then there's that follow up... And then at the end, the [RCL] also would bring his report... we try and make learners aware of the responsibility and accountability towards their education* (P5, 38:38). Restorative justice counters adversarial conflict resolution, it seeks to harness the power of relationships to strengthen accountability and support mechanisms within civil society (Morrison & Ahmed, 2006:210) (§2.3.3.6). If a principal took an active and honest interest in the community including squatter camps, the discipline and information would follow¹²⁵ (P15,

135:135) (§5.2.3.1). A principal reacted to a question on punitive justice *yes that is what I understand we are doing up here. We, we don't involve ourselves in... punishing people unfairly... we see it as our duty to bring him back or her back... and show them the way* (P8, 241:242).

Learner leadership will be discussed next.

5.3.1.2 Learner leadership and the role of the Representative Council of Learners⁹

Regarding the **political context** of the RCL election process, one principal said they studied *why some staff members do not have an input... take into account not only the old white school backgrounds but also the black schools, you can understand... When an RCL member... told me that teachers came drunk to school... that's a problem for the children... because the children are the parties that suffer so that is why you need that RCL* (P3, 68:75). The **legal context** was enforced by law and subjects citizens to its specificity (§2.2.1). The SASA s.11 provides the regulations for a democratically elected RCL:

- 1) A representative council of learners at the school must be established at every public school enrolling learners in the eighth grade or higher and such council is the only recognised and legitimate representative learner body at the school.
- 2) Subject to policy ... the Member of the Executive Council must... determine the functions and the procedures for the establishment and election of representative councils of learners.

The principals mostly adhered to the SASA and viewed the **election process** as one that *now we empower all our children by nominating candidates for RCL, by electing, going through the process of electing... a proper election, like we had the municipal elections* (P3, 68:75) (§2.3.1.1). Wearing the RCL blazer brought about a specific responsibility towards the group that had elected them¹²⁶ (P1, 45:45) and who as guardians of justice brought social injustices to attention¹²⁷ (P16, 24:24). **Characteristics** needed were *values, morals, standards* (P3, 68:75). One told of a learner who was expelled from a hostel because of alcohol abuse, who was later nominated as a prefect, and the staff wanted to bar him. The principal refused because he believed the learner served his sentence¹²⁸ (P12, 273:273). Learners needed to *look at... how these learners behave in relation to the educators and the entire community* (P13, 187:193). The **motivation** why learners wanted to become RCL members were *they want[ed] to be seen expressing themselves to a group of all staff members... that a job opportunity presents...; when they apply for a ... university, what position have you held at the school as a prefect... The status...* (P7, 181:183).

These examples were in stark contrast to the one painted by another who brought the notion of learners who elected **negative leaders** or those that sold marijuana¹²⁹ (P2, 409:411). These perceptions were supported *they would look for somebody who is always talkative, who's always opposing...* (P13, 187:193) *vis-à-vis* a gang leader who believed that if Barack Obama could do it, so could he and made himself available to be elected because he had the support of a teacher¹³⁰ (P16, 48:48). He would address different grades on their conduct, admonished them and gained the respect of learners¹³¹ (P16, 50:50). The principal's support and understanding of

⁹ The researcher and participants interchangeably used the abbreviations RCL (Representative Council of Learners) and LRC (Learner Representative Council). However, the researcher, for the purpose of consistency, throughout changed LRC in the quoted transcripts to RCL in accordance with SASA (South Africa, 1996c).

the world that this learner came from enabled him to become the leader that he could be¹³² (P16, 51:51). These examples are what forgiveness depends on (§3.2.3.3) as it enables people to challenge one another's understanding of caring, forgiveness, trust and friendship.

The **role of the RCL** changed from being responsible for discipline enforcement, and is now co-responsible for decisions¹³³ (P1, 123:123) and participative governance *in meeting in structures of the school and Governing Body* (P7, 158:163). The RCL was viewed as *very important stakeholders at the school...* (P8, 8191:196); they took ownership *by merely... participating... but we are able to have a say democratically... from the social justice perspective* (P7, 35:36). More opportunities should be provided to complete the loop of giving feedback¹³⁴ (P1, 48:49) as it would provide the opportunity to act with integrity and transparency¹³⁵ (P16, 43:43).

The **RCL** was **elected** *according to the normal procedures, voting... and then by also interviews* (P7, 158:163). The interviews were beneficial *[b]ecause they express themselves... And we are able to understand what the vision of this young boy or young girl is about the school* (P7, 164:167). One school's RCL election process was a model of true democracy (P4, 136:167). The reporting of this process is done in accordance with the interchanging and discursive nature of the discussion between the principal and her deputy: *[t]hat's all... the learners have the right, we've also broadened our leadership base, so we don't only vote for, for an executive council the prefects at the school. We vote for that, but we also have sport... (P4, 90:90). They said [y]ou get pressure groups and that will lead to marginalisation and then it's just a mess... and we also... have nominations, we have voting systems... [w]e do voter education every year before election takes place... we have ballot papers with photos on... (P4, 99:107); we count the votes...; we draw the line; we explain when there has to be a change... because they won't accept any kind of change* (P4, 119:135). With regard to the procedures that the RCL followed they explained that *[t]hey have weekly meetings and they have forums... regarded as feedback opportunities. We also have class captains, so in every class there will be one... and then we have the senior executive council as well.* Without pertinently asking which system they followed, the deputy said *I think we use the national [election] principle as... starting point. And our voter education is also based on that* (P4, 136:167). At this stage of the interview, the principal left to find the 2012 voter documents. She indicated that the *ballot papers; ... the votes of the different classes, that's all in there and it's kept and so...* and to the interviewer's statement that it was a transparent process *[i]ts absolutely and there's our votes from the previous election* (P4, 136:167). These documents served as ballot papers and in detail replicated the national ballot papers: it included a list of the candidates' surname, the name by which she was known, their full names, a photo and her current class grade. Not only was this a democratic process, but one in which the principal openly credited the deputy principal *it was S's brain wave, to bring in the ballot paper* (P4, 136:167). The deputy referred to this practice as one that *is also a way in which we actually fight the, the uhh... social injustice because we have a repetition of names for example, so a person can easily vote for the wrong one, while thinking oh yóu are René... You're Lebogang... but*

you're actually not René you are... And you're also Lebogang and you have three, four Lebogangs so which Lebogang... are we talking about? ... So they vote for the wrong people (P4, 136:167).

It further supports the notion of a constitutional democracy that forms the basis from which the formal educational institutions operationalised the ideals found in the Bill of Rights (§3.2.3.4). To the interviewer's question whether it was a better system the deputy answered *they used to nominate and the teachers then used to discuss and throw out anybody else that they didn't... we stopped that, so now we go over to [the] completely democratic thing where the teachers have a vote ... everybody has a vote... we do uhm manipulate their vote... in the sense that the gr. 11s vote is doubled.* In addition to the gr. 11s double-point weighting system they allocated a pro-rata weighting system according to seniority. The principal continued *then your gr. 9 vote, they vote, your gr. 10 vote, your gr. 11 vote is doubled, the gr. 12s get a vote, then... the staff vote is put on equal par with your gr. 11 vote... So it's a formula that their vote... As much weight. And then you count them... but then you've got to start seeing who goes into your head structures... we stopped having discussions (P4, 136:167).* With regard to voter education *[w]e have a whole assembly with voter education explaining you gonna vote, what it means and that you vote not for popularity you vote for leadership skills etc. etc. and the kids do vote I think in the end (P4, 136-137).* The deputy said that *I think this is our, our biggest proof that kids are not marginalised here because they don't vote according to culture, or race or language or religion... (P4, 136-137).*

Another principal said *we conduct our elections in, in, in a very similar way the SGB are being elected (P13, 176:184).* At a black township school, the principal told that their procedure offered the learners the opportunity to canvass as *they are given a stint of three minutes time to present why they want to become ... those same learners [who] would choose their president, would choose their executive and then the teacher will take them and present them to the school community (P5, 94:107).* He said that *[n]o we don't have a head boy, head girl, he's president, and deputy-president. They are not chosen during the current academic year, only in the year that follows (P5, 92:92).* Of interest was that they only had one president, whether it was a boy or girl *[j]a it can be a girl or a boy... in 2008 I think we had one female learner... It depends on how, how articulate are they (P5, 92:92).* The role of the teachers in this election process was *[t]hey just oversee. The learners per class and grade will nominate, after nominating the four will go out... they should present to you why they want to become the, the RCLs... Then after they go out, and then they vote by showing hands (P5, 108:111).* Other examples included following the SGB's policy; staff would discuss the names on the list, interview the candidates who had to accept their nomination, compile a voter list in compliance with the principle of democracy¹³⁶ (P9, 136:136), do an elimination process to compile the final voters list. Elected members elected the leadership, chair, deputy and *sekretaresse* (female secretary). This was an example of an almost unconscious gendering of the secretary's position as female and the continuous gender bias still existing in schools. A coloured boy was democratically elected and the principal said that he was the right "man", affirming gender superiority¹³⁷ (P16, 38:38). This discourse asserted that it is still difficult to ensure fair

distribution and simultaneously paying attention to individual perspectives in dealing with issues of discrimination (§2.3.2.1).

At one school a predecessor chose the prefects and the new principal had to reinstate legal procedures. He found that the prefects were chosen based on the positions their parents held or whether the father was able to give a *lekker braai* (South African custom of grilling meat on an open fire – called barbequing). His indignation at this process was verbalised in his question “what were they doing?” and answered that it degraded teachers to being susceptible to bribery¹³⁸ (P12, 144:149). Only Gr. 10s and 11s could come because Gr. 8s and 9s were too immature and would vote for the well-known first rugby team captain who might also be the heaviest drinker¹³⁹ (P12, 144:149). The staff determined who would fill each portfolio¹⁴⁰ (P12, 131:131).

These examples of effective RCL elections were marred by perceptions that the RCLs *were not very active at this school, uhh I don't know if that's a good thing (laughing) sometimes you get overactive RCLs, they want to take over and demand things but uhh uhh we always encourage the learners... to go via, via the RCL*. She called attention to the problem of cooperative governance when urgent decisions had to be taken by saying *you can't always wait for the RCL ... can't wait for things that are urgent and you need to ... work on it immediately* (P6, 221:223). Another principal acknowledged that he and the learners preferred the old prefect system *[a]nd they like prefect more than RCL* (P7, 170:179) supported by another who also preferred the old prefect system¹⁴¹ (P2, 409:411). One resignedly said *well that's democracy and we have to accept that. And ja RCLs no. I don't, I don't see them functional at my school and not, not afraid to say it (laughing)* (P6, 224:227).

RCL training with regard to democracy and their task was left to the *teacher liaison officer...* *I want to be very honest that it is not working as well as it should [uhm]. They go for a you know a once off training, you know overnight by the Department, and that said, it fizzles out thereafter and they don't really take their role and responsibility as seriously as the Department would* (P6, 224:227). A deputy principal believed that *you cannot expect them to do something if you haven't instructed them and empowered them* (P4, 136:167). At another school the principal did the training: the RCL members were to observe, report, and he as the higher authority, would react¹⁴² (P12, 93:93; 131:131) (§5.2.2.1). This view was supported by another who said the elected RCL members would receive a one-day training session but that it was inadequate¹⁴³ (P2, 413:413). With regard to how a principal perceived the quality of training and performance of the RCL, one was *not happy... I was telling the management that you know what, we need... to take them out, just to expose them, take them to another school where the RCL is functioning well; we will pay for their accommodation, for a period of five days [uhm] so that they can learn from the start, because... I'm not happy with... their performance, I think they need to be developed* (P8, 215:220). This exchange programme between schools where the RCL did work effectively *I think it is important, because, they will not be losing when it comes to... attending classes and all, because they will be attending school at that school for five days and from there, they come and implement what they learnt* (P8, 215:220).

Others said that *[t]hey need to be empowered more and I think the teacher liaison officer ... needs to sit with them and work with them* (P6, 224:227). The role of the *teacher liaison officer... I think it's very important* (P8, 200:214) to *[l]iaising the staff with the RCL* (P13, 176:184).

With regard to **RCL meetings** normally they would meet after school hours but at a primarily black school it was impossible because the learners had to take taxis. Others met on a weekly basis during break, but it was too short¹⁴⁴ (P2, 413:413). Acting in the best interest of the learners, like a *diligent pater familias* would (P14, 66:68) the *TLO normally goes to kids and speak to them about issues of morals, issues of discipline, but at the same time after speaking to kids, he gives back the report to me... when you are the principal, some kids perceive you as the boss, not like that, but like the father, you will find that some decisions that are taken, are not good and needs to be redirected. When I go to them, I go there as the adviser ... not as the, the principal, because when they look at you they will see somebody whose bringing rules [uhm]. I normally allow them to speak ... their minds... after listening to them, then I'm able to apply my advice to them, but ... I normally call the RCL, because it is easier to make decisions [uhm] with them rather than with the big crowd. I show them uhm all the options and allow them to give uhm their own conclusion ... which will bring us to a resolution ...* At one school the RCL's sport representative had the right to scrutinise and gave input in the rugby/sport budget; he took part in decision such as outside coaches, games and bus fees. Regrettably the learners can't get their minds around this shifting paradigm¹⁴⁵ (P1, 44:44). In conclusion one principal thought that his school's practice of RCL elections were light years ahead of other first-class Afrikaans schools¹⁴⁶ (P1, 44:44).

Oddly enough little was said about school specific initiation practices where one said *every term makes certain announcements and you actually minute it by saying this and this and this is not allowed ... Initiation, no this no that... Hurting people... If you initiate somebody it is against the South African Constitution... you could be charged... So the announcement is made* (P4, 59:66). This insight is about teachers who want to develop transformative, emancipatory and liberating environments and establish relationship that recognise individuals and build meaningful human encounters as democratic praxis (§2.3.3.7).

Destructive behaviour will be discussed next.

5.3.1.3 Learner behaviour: destructive and positive behaviour

Misconduct, as part of destructive learner behaviour and social justice praxis, is about destructive interpersonal relationships and actions towards each other, relationships that are lacking the moral fibre and ability to prioritise and make judgements on that which is right over that which is good (Soudien, 2006:2) (§2.2.4). The principals reported some of the actions that were lacking and said *the level of misconduct... after I have a valid reason to believe that they... are not complying... we make them aware of the... transgressions and then you call the parents: we cannot keep your learner here... this is supposed to be a school, free of one, two, three, four... and we want to inculcate the spirit of one, two, three ...* (P5, 32:32). When asked about **racial conflict**, one principal replied that they did not experience any racial conflict and that that learners, white and

generically black, were racially untainted by apartheid because they were born under a new political dispensation, not part of the apartheid years, and not exposed to racial prejudice as the older generation was¹⁴⁷ (P1, 13:13). Principals agreed that there were normal tensions amongst learners and parents would often view it as racial conflict. Learners did not see each other in racial terms and sorted conflict out amongst them¹⁴⁸ (P15, 55:55). This notion of racial blindness is what the South African Constitution asks for in the shared aspirations of a nation, the values which bind its people... the national ethos [values] which defines and regulates that exercise, and the moral and ethical direction which the nation has identified for its future (§3.2.2.1). However during a beginning of term meeting an incident occurred where the white learners threw water at black learners, calling each other names and the black learners retaliated in singing *Kill a Farmer, Kill a Boer* (Afrikaans for farmer, but in the South African context became a derogatory and racist anti-white term). The principal appeased the situation but learnt that playground duty was important¹⁴⁹ (P9, 159:161). Another principal¹⁵⁰ reported an incident which seemed like an act of mischief, but had a racial and derogatory undertone to it: a senior schoolboy provoked a female teacher by climbing through a window, in itself a criminal act of burglary, he no longer belonged to the school. Disturbing was where the learner then was told that he had to attend an Afrikaans school in the previously coloured area to which the learner said that is amongst the *Hotnots*¹⁵¹, a belittling and racist reference to the coloured population of South Africa¹⁵². This expression is an example of intolerance and injustice that includes discrimination, racism, ethnicity and marginalisation, all of which is incongruent with the idea of the common good (§2.3.2.1). Goodwin (2007:397) professes that justice is the highest goal of political and educational life, but it is injustice which dominates political and educational debate. These two incidents are perpetuating discrimination as the practice of ideas and beliefs that has the effect of sustaining unearned privilege and disadvantage. Even if such discrimination was not intentional, its consequences for those adversely affected are important to recognise (§3.2.2.2).

Conflict is a natural occurrence in society but social justice praxis requires that it should be a learning experience and not a destructive practice. This notion is aligned with the idea of individuals who are able to recognise the potential for optimising and building individual and public value to create more equitable outcomes (§3.2.2.2). One remark made with regard to conflict in schools, whether a multi- or mono-cultural school, conflict was about the same issues: relationships and the protection of those relationships; one referred to another learner's mother in degrading terms, and boy- and girlfriend relationships¹⁵³ (P1, 12:12). These incidents demand social justice practices that effectively and fairly deal with conflicting and contradictory forces (§3.3.3.3). Human dignity and relationships should be *part of fairness and equality... [a]nd it's not ideal, because we still have kids fighting, we still have disrespect... that is our core business preventing it* (P4, 186:188) *...that's why I say it's part of social justice and interestingly enough when you speak to them, it always boils down... education gap or a normal fight... [w]hich could very easily become if you*

left it, a racial fight (P4, 42:48). Practices that dealt with conflict were: a *hurtful behaviour record* where the learner who *feels marginalised and she feels that the behaviour is hurtful, because she's on her own... has to be managed... It cannot be ignored... because of the social justice* (P4, 50:56). Social justice practices with regard to conflict resolution are about addressing prejudice, oppression and resolving inter-group conflict (§3.4.3.1).

The **rationale for disciplinary measures** was found in being *positive because uhh it sort of creates a hindrance... that they know now if I do this, this is what is going to happen... not much of a hindrance to them because thereafter some of them get back... to their bad habits (laughing)* (P6, 241:241). On a positive but highly questionable note, one principal said *[b]ut I would say that uhh as far as I know in our premises during teaching time, we have never experienced any, any nasty incident ... of learners of fighting against others or learners doing anything that is, is disruptive...* (P13, 63:63). Replying to a question of how they inculcated the value of inter-human respect (§2.3.2.5) the principal and deputy principal replied that they were strengthened by departmental policies and that she had to ensure that each child in her school was happy and performed optimally¹⁵⁴ (P2, 211:221). However, awareness of social injustices should be accompanied by an awareness of, and the will to, address issues of inequity and infringement of social rights (§2.3.2.5).

Infringement on social rights often leads to **bullying**. Principals reported that they were changing learners' conduct into being socially acceptable by talking to learners about their conduct and if a learner cried the principal knew that she was successful in making the learner aware of their wrongful and hurtful behaviour¹⁵⁵ (P2, 202:206). Similarly another colleague referred to *the behaviour is hurtful* (P4, 42:48). Principals' practice with regard to bullying was to change the learners' behaviour¹⁵⁶ (P2, 202:206) which should bring about an understanding of personal healing and a hands-on skill for dealing effectively with bigoted comments and behaviours (§3.4.3.1). At another school the drive of respect towards others and anti-bullying was *included in our bullying policy, our language policy, our... Code of Conduct... religion policy, ja our Code of Conduct, ja its everywhere* (P4, 30:36). Of note was a cynical remark to the powers that be that *at the moment bullying is your uhm favourite word... in the past it used to be stress; depression... now the cliché word is bullying* (P4, 38:40).

An extension of bullying is **gangsterism** which one principal said that they *up till now, no we don't have that... but it is not really general... Gangsterism... [i]t's still a problem... our learners are heavily involved in, in drug abuse... these are the gangsters and the like* (P13, 198:199). Almost all principles reported **drug** and **alcohol abuse**, except one principal who said *no, no we don't have a drug abuse, we don't have gangsterism - when we call police it is to motivate learners, to give them positive things, not to call them...* (P7, 204:207). This assertiveness of not having drug or gang-related problems seemed at odds with another principal who said *Ja we are having a problem of... I, I don't think its hard drugs... your, your, your marijuana* (P8, 229:232). These incidents were echoed in what happened to a principal who told of an incident where two schoolboys wanted to slash the tyres of her car and she said *no, this is now affecting my person; it's unacceptable; I feel threatened at*

my work place... [but during] the hearing, that incident of him wanting to puncture my tyres became the side-line because the mother said I don't know what to do with this child (P6, 259:263). These stories introduced the despair of the learner, the principal and the parent under conditions of drug abuse and personal assault (P6, 264:264). The following is an example of the extent of destructive and marginalising elements often related to **over-aged** learners in schools (P14, 82:89): *drug abuse... I heard... a number of learners in one toilet uhm sniffing something... and then when they opened the door, they found me waiting there... what is that you are doing? No you can search us... I let them out... then when I looked on the wall, I found a tin of glue (taking the tin of glue from a cupboard) ... this is the evidence.* Another added that learners were looking for role-models who could be gang leaders, not because of the drugs, but of the assumed powerful position held in that specific community, the idea of being untouchable and above the law¹⁵⁷ (P16, 69:69). One principal of a township school said that they had a very serious problem... *this issue of mushrooming taverns... miss-direct the attention of our learners... because of peer group pressure you would find some of these learners even going to those taverns* (P13, 210:210). The notion of the socially oppressed who, because of the influence of negative role-models, should challenge the status quo of power-relations remains problematic (§4.2.1).

Social justice practices used to counter **drug and alcohol abuse** were reporting to clergymen whose intervention was changing this child's life around¹⁵⁸ (P2, 165:175); *motivational speakers* and an *ex-convict* to warn the learners about the negative consequences of drug abuse¹⁵⁹ (P2, 163:163); *regard[ed] it in a very serious light... usually track them to the disciplinary hearing, ... we have the 'adopt-a-cop' and I've even been thinking of adopting a social worker* (P8, 229:232). Another practice was to call my deputy as the witness; *spoke to them and immediately informed the teachers so that they keep an eye to all other learners* (P14, 82:89). He gave the culprits the social role, that they must teach these other ones about the dangers of doing these... *They performed a drama about drug abuse. I showed to them all the symptoms: pimples... close to the lung area and also at the back; the eyes become a little bit greyish here at the corners; the veins here, they get damaged; their nails... become dark and their palms are always full of blood; they clench their fist like that... [W]e talked to them ... and thereafter they promised us that they would never do it... Those three boys are very good boys now... should they see any one smoking; they are the first to come and report. So I played the role, although it was heartbreaking at the initial stage, but at the end of the day, I felt fulfilled...* (P14, 82:89). One principal reported that **burglaries** remained a problem and that learners almost regarded it as a right to take something that did not belong to them¹⁶⁰ (P2, 184:186). Through positive involvement and ownership they were able to address serious burglaries which will be reported in detail in §5.3.

One case of **murder** was also discussed where a few years ago *[o]ne of our female educators who was brutally murdered..., we were traumatised, the whole township, it wasn't a very good thing... it nearly derailed us of our objective of schooling and teaching... But because of that close-knittedness... when things are like this, we need to, to sit back and say okay fine, where did we go wrong?* (P5, 66:70). The healing practices used to turn this situation around included: *people from... sister departments; a*

cleansing ceremony; traditional [healers], and religious people. He said that really... we have not experienced any major fight, whatever, since that time... it means now it must change and try to focus on what is the major purpose of coming to school which is to get education, to become a better person, to develop, to acquire knowledge (P5, 66:70). These practices affirm communitarian restorative justice where justice is implemented in and by local communities, and draws on restorative justice principles to promote reconciliation (Kasaija, 2007:55). Instead of courts meting out formal justice, less formal local committees take control of justice true to African culture of broad participation, reconciliation and forgiveness (§2.3.3.6).

Entitlement might not be regarded as destructive, but in the context in which the principals referred to it, it is a negative trend that needs to be reported (§3.4.3.1). One principal told of learners who were willing to buy a bus ticket for a co-learner who did not pay it back and a skirmish ensued. Some learners believed that their so-called disadvantaged status gave them the right not to pay his due even if he was able to afford an expense¹⁶¹ (P16, 105:105) which the principal saw as abuse of circumstance¹⁶² (P16, 107:107). The phenomenon of **cell phone videoing**, very often of a sexual or violent nature, was evident in school boys were fighting and others recording and miming it. The school banished cells during school hours¹⁶³ (P9, 164:165).

Positive learner conduct came to the fore in that principals viewed it as foundational to socially acceptable behaviour¹⁶⁴ (P2, 200:202) and learners who did not succumb to peer pressure¹⁶⁵ (P12, 245:245). Other principals mentioned self-confidence and self-belief¹⁶⁶ (P15, 33:33) and that will allow him or her to believe that it is possible to move mountains¹⁶⁷ (P15, 33:33). The principal answered to the question how did he do it, that he used five grade assemblies to create awareness and tell them that they are not abandoned people (*afsheepmense*) but able to excel at all levels¹⁶⁸ (P15, 33:33). This notion was supported by one of the district officials who said the emphasis have to be on participation of all learners by means of equal opportunities¹⁶⁹ (P15, 63:63). Similarly pride was mentioned as a vehicle to self-belief even if they only received a certificate for hundred percent school attendances¹⁷⁰ (15, 160:160). On a less positive note, it was reported that learners deliberately littered because they viewed it as work creation¹⁷¹ (P2, 259:267).

Discipline was subdivided into two sub-clusters, i.e. **discipline** (22.2) (*f*=8) which was discussed together with discipline in general (4.8) (*f*=21) and **code of conduct** (4.9) (*f*=16). The latter included school rules (4.2) (*f*=7); appearance (4.5) (*f*=7); school uniform (22.49) (*f*=3); communication (4.6) (*f*=4); *audi alteram partem* (4.3) (*f*=8); anti-bullying (22.38) (*f*=7), and anti-drug abuse (22.34) (*f*=5). Learner leadership (*f*=92) included an analysis of the RCL and teacher liaison officer (11.1) (*f*=47); initiatives (11.3) (*f*=3); induction (10.18) (*f*=3), and headboy and -girl (10.2) (*f*=12). Destructive behaviour included conduct/misconduct (4.7) (*f*=6); conflict (10.20) (*f*=20); bullying (14.5) (*f*=2); gangsterism (14.8) (*f*=14.8); drugs/alcohol (14.1) (*f*=8);

burglaries/safety aspects (10.13) ($f=4$); murder (14.7) ($f=1$); entitlement (10.14) ($f=3$), and cell phones (14.9) ($f=1$).

A synthesis of the first sub-theme follows.

5.3.1.4 Synthesis

Discipline (§5.3.1.1) in general addressed the following matters:

- **Racial and cultural differences:** black learners despised injustice and used numbers to protest if treated unfairly; an acceptance of cross-cultural authority although corporal punishment continue to be contentious.
- **School rules** stemming from the Code of Conduct formed the basis on which relationships and commitment were built.
- **Disciplinary hearings** in cases of misconduct followed the principles of natural justice.
- Hairstyles dominated the discussion on **appearance** and a **dress code** because it was impossible to apply a universal rule to all learners and individuality had to be developed.
- The **school uniform** was negative and positive: marginalising and a source of pride.
- A **communication loop** on disciplinary matters to establish responsibility and accountability towards education.
- **Discipline** was the mother of education supported by principals who took an honest interest in the community - including squatter camps.

An analysis and discussion of social justice praxis and **learner leadership** (§5.3.1.2) entailed:

- **RCL** elections were in accordance with the SASA and were about empowerment based on sound values, morals, standards and forgiveness; rejection of the notion to elect negative leaders; and being empowered as a member of the RCL and SGB.
- The **RCL election process** was broadly based on national election principles of candidature and election procedures with one exemplary practice of true democracy (§5.3.1.2).
- Learners did not vote according to historical racial lines.
- The **training** process of the RCLs was insufficient to empower learners whilst an exchange programme amongst poorer and better performing RCLs was proposed.
- **RCL meetings** under the supervision of the TLO were held during break or after school hours which at a township school impossible because learners used taxis.
- Perceptions that the RCL was **not effective** prevailed and were regarded as overactive, demanding and disruptive whilst cooperative governance hampered decision making.

Misconduct was part of **destructive learner behaviour** (§5.3.1.3) and displayed the inability to prioritise and make judgements on that which is right over that which is good. The principals reported on:

- **Serious transgressions:** although learners were racially untainted and not part of apartheid or exposed to racial prejudice, instances where learners undermined the school's values were reported;
- Conflict was not about racial issues but about inter-human relationships: unsupervised learners ended up fighting leading to black learners singing "Kill a Farmer, Kill a Boer", and reference to a "Hotnot" school was indicative of blatant racism, intolerance and injustice still prevailing.
- Practices to **manage conflict** were keeping a hurtful behaviour record; ensuring a happy learning and teaching environment; play-ground duty was important, and inculcating the value of inter-human respect through departmental policies.
- Conflict, whether racial or not, often lead to infringements of social rights and **bullying** in which learners' conduct had to become socially acceptable.
- Bullying, **gangsterism**, **drug** and **alcohol** abuse were dealt with by involving the police; motivational speakers; clergymen; ex-convicts; 'adopt-a-cop/social-worker'; teachers, parents and learners; positive role-models and an understanding of the impact of the socio-economic environment on learners' performance;
- **Burglaries** were a problem where learners regarded it as a right to take something that did not belong to them; dealt with by positive involvement and ownership.
- One case of a brutal **murder** was reported which nearly derailed the school but self-examination and support from sister departments; a cleansing ceremony, and traditional healers and religious people they overcame the trauma.
- **Entitlement** was found in two instances where learners helped each other but felt betrayed if their trust was broken, and abusing their so-called disadvantaged status to not to pay their due even if they could afford to and viewed as abuse of circumstance.
- **Cell phone videoing** was reported of school boys fighting and others recording and miming it to other learners and addressed by banning cell phones.
- Positive learner conduct was related to a positive self-identity, -confidence and -belief.

The second sub-theme of learners and social justice praxis is socio-historio-economic environment which is discussed next.

5.3.2 Socio-historio-economic environment

The socio-historio-economic environment included two sub-clusters, i.e. race and racism ($f=65$) (§5.3.2.1) and the learners' socio-economic environment ($f=52$) (§5.3.2.2) in which *a culture of teaching and learning and taking care of the various social, economical backgrounds* (P5, 17:17).

5.3.2.1 Race and racism

A principal of a combined school answered to the question whether she had **race** diversity amongst IsiXhosa, Sesotho or Setswana-speaking learners, *in this school it is mostly*

[Set]swana (P6, 182:185) similar to his colleague who said *it's mostly [Set]swana who are of different ethnic groups like IsiXhosas... very few coloureds* (P13, 65:67). Similarly a principal said *it is black... we have Sotho's... we've also got Zimbabweans and your Venda's... learners, it is predominantly Tswana's* (P8, 39:39). At another township school the answer was *in this school we have uhh Indian..., Black..., Coloured learners, so I feel that indeed in this school we are socially represented* (P7, 4:4). At an Afrikaans school the learners' racial demography was one Chinese, twenty black, presumably Setswana-speaking, and the rest white Afrikaans of the total of 291 learners¹⁷² (P9, 7:7). With regard to **black learners**, principals reported that white teachers at racially diverse schools had to affect a mindset-change that children were children¹⁷³ (P1, 14:14) although they might express their ethnic identity differently. An example was IsiXhosa learners who would sing effortlessly¹⁷⁴ (P1, 24:24). It was this diversity that a female teacher did not consider when she seized a cap from a black schoolboy's head (P1, 25:25) which was humiliating to a IsiXhosa boy child and brought about negativity and aggression¹⁷⁵ (P1, 25:25). The principal said that the foremost principle is fairness because if a teacher shouted and acted unfairly the whole class would become negative, they despised injustice. Five swear words versus five minutes explaining what he did wrong and that he undermined her authority would have been better¹⁷⁶ (P1, 84:84). One said that, due to the previous dispensation, learners were allowed to do whatever they wanted and referred to the Biblical and IsiXhosa traditions that you had to discipline a child and teach them respect¹⁷⁷ (P2, 280:280). Learners easily challenged existing rules *they question... why do we do certain things* (P3, 94:94). Principals who had **white learners** in their schools referred to them as being more disciplined but also more obedient towards authority¹⁷⁸ (P1, 14:14) because Afrikaans learners would challenge authority but would not have the support of his co-learners¹⁷⁹ (P1, 82:82) whilst one said that they had the poorest of the poor whites who attended their school¹⁸⁰ (P2, 85:87). An **Indian** principal of a black school in a previously Indian suburb and school, found herself in no-man's land, because *some parents labelled it a taxi-rank because we were taking Black, Black learners* (P6, 133:135). She said that *the Indian-for-Indian parents were not impressed so they took their children out... and put them in Model C schools and uhh and we carried on admitting... doing our duty of educating the nation* (P6, 133:135). This trend is one that schools all over South Africa experienced: parents' financial ability determined the degrees of comparison: learners enrolled in order of financial affordability from model C schools to private schools; from township schools to English medium Model C schools and coloured learners would enrol in Afrikaans medium model C schools; black learners who could not afford any of the other options, but still wanted good education enrolled at Indian schools; and those who could not afford to enrol for economical reasons, were the worst victims of the old apartheid education system, were prisoners of circumstance. The single Chinese learner enrolled at an Afrikaans medium school primarily because his parents had a shop in the vicinity¹⁸¹ (P9, 22:25).

Racism will be the enemy of the past, the present and the future, except if it is fought by parents and teachers alike. The principal and deputy principal said that *[a]nd we teach ... teacher and workers... And we teach that, that racism isn't just black or white on black, it's black on white [uhm] and at the same time racism can be amongst the black children themselves... it was very much part of the core business was to make everybody realise that there's respect and there's uhm... there should be respect for everybody [uhm] all the time. Social justice is the very core of our business here at High* (P4, 17:19). A black colleague said that he did not believe that learners were still thinking along racial lines *no, no, no, no children are not thinking racially, it's only the adults who some are really thinking so very racial, you know* and added *not in this school* (P7, 191:198) and asked why he was smiling, he evaded the question to answer more explicitly on issues of racism but shared that he believed *behaviour of learners it is one other negative experience but the... in a socially unjustifiable sense because they end up fighting amongst each other... A Coloured fighting against an Indian or and African or whatever the case may be... sometimes we don't look behind in fighting...* (P7, 203:203). These degrees of racism was confirmed by a white female principal said that racism is not one-sided, but that both generic black and white were guilty thereof¹⁸² (P9, 126:130) previously reported (§5.3.1.1) singing of *Kill a Farmer, Kill a Boer* (P9, 159:161) and the white learner's derogatory reference to *Hotnots*¹⁸³. Schoolboys preferred a hiding and one such incident that was described as amusing was where a black deputy-principal gave them a hiding and one said to the other *"Jussie hierdie kaffer moer darem hard"* (Afrikaans, translated as *"Jeez, but this kaffir really strikes hard!"*) a derogatory and defamatory term white South Africans used to refer to Blacks, and in this context meant that the deputy-principal gave them a good hiding¹⁸⁴. Human dignity in all its senses is compromised by the user of this derogatory term and the person to whom it was directed. Due to South Africa's racial history one principal said he believed that the adults were/are too tainted by our history and referred to racism and apartheid as albatrosses and believed that our children didn't have it any more; that they were delivered from it, and that they acted according to other values¹⁸⁵ (P12, 185:185). A deputy-principal vehemently denied racism and injustice¹⁸⁶ (P16, 93:93).

The **colour blindness** of learners has been a golden thread throughout this discussion but needs to be reported with the learners' practices of social justice as the focus. One principal answered the question of how colour/race manifested amongst learners, that the black child is more aware of race than the white child and gave the following example: if she asked a class full of black learners who made that noise, they would answer *the black one over here mam* when there were only shades of black differentiation amongst learners¹⁸⁷ (P2 91:98). The principal pitied those people who still sat on small white islands¹⁸⁸ (P2, 360:365). Amusing and heart-rending stories about race were told by principals. A father told that his child came home and said 'but dad, he is black' without any comprehension that he himself was black¹⁸⁹ (P15, 180:180). The racial undertones referred to earlier with regard to discipline and one race being more strict with its own kind (§5.3.2.1) also applies here and showed that learners preferred not

to be punished by a person who was from the same ethnic group¹⁹⁰ (P12, 103:103). This colour blindness was also evident in the *petit récits* told by a coloured principal: Whywham, a missionary organisation, sent a Korean missionary to talk to the learners and he told them that they were brothers and sisters and as such needed to work together and look after each other. When he was about to leave a little white girl said *my sister is not feeling well, can you please pray for her?* He said *yes sure, come let's pray for her*. 'No, she's, she's inside'... 'Where's your sister?'... 'She's in the class'... She went to fetch her sister and when the sister appeared she was black, something that the missionary did not expect and after recovering he said *okay, just come let's pray* (lag) 'let's pray' because this little girl didn't see colour, but felt that her friend was like a sister and she adopted her as a sister at the school¹⁹¹ (P15, 198:198). Another told of a similar incident where two little girls were fighting and the one said to the other you are a *black kaffir* but both learners were black. And she called them to her office and had a long conversation, saying *in this school we do not look at skin colour en ... pure heart* and those kinds of sermons when one said she would go to the other and apologise for calling her a *black kaffir*, upon which the other one said *remember next time, I'm not black, I'm coffee colour* (laughter). The point was that where the principal was sensitive to the use of the derogatory term *kaffir* the learners were at each other's throat because of the degree of darkness of their skin¹⁹² (P15, 197:197).

A tough lesson, a white colleague of one of the participating principals learnt, was when he asked his colleague how she was able to cope with black learners and she answered him "sir, call me when one day you don't see them as black children but as children", a comment that was applauded with a loud "yes!" from the other participants. No teacher would ever come to her and refer to a brown or black child, there just was no room for such racial descriptives because the time has long passed to be labelling people according to the colour of their skin¹⁹³ (P15, 187:187). Another principal affirmed that learners accepted each other easily without racial connotations but it was the older generation who still carried that *baggage*. He said they encouraged transparency and openness amongst staff where the senior staff withdrew from a meeting allowing the staff the opportunity to speak their mind and suggest changes and solutions without interference from senior staff after which it was distributed to the staff to be discussed¹⁹⁴ (P16, 23:23). Another said that racial blindness has become a natural process because learners who were at school will one day be parents and then the situation will be different from what it was¹⁹⁵ (P16, 109:109).

Another principal not only used ethnicity in a strict racist term, but referred to learners who came from cities also as part of the diversity and said *there's quite a variety, apart for the ethnicity, there are many boys coming from Johannesburg, the uhm... The city. Which... and there's a huge difference, between an Ikageng boy and a city boy. But I do find that they, they accept each other much easier ... they play sport together, they live together, they eat together* (P3, 35:38). Younger black and white learners were more prone to uncomfortable feelings than older boys *because they come from predominantly white schools... or predominantly black schools... whereas Gr. 10, 11 and 12 they don't*

see it anymore, they just look back and think well I've grown and I'm ready to go out there... for the rest of my life, in the real world (P4, 315:319). This notion of development and growth was supported by [t]hey evolve ... They leave here and they go and study but if it's a black and a white and they come from High, they'll eventually live together... I think they fit... they, they understand one another, they've respect for one another and they don't see that colour anymore. And they... respect each other's cultures without wanting to change one another to become something they're not (P4, 325:328).

Similar to colour blindness, **diversity** was both seen as ethnicity and as values; in one comment *children [who] come from various backgrounds, we have children coming from Botswana, from the Cape, the Cape Province, Natal, Homburg, Pretoria, all over, they bring different values to the school (P3, 98:99). His answer to the question why, was, the school opened up for all races in the early 90s. So it's a question of also old boys bringing others that are coming here... although he said [w]e also have... parents that think they can dump a problem on our doorstep... it doesn't work that way, because we are not a reformatory. You actually need disciplined children to come and live in a hostel (P3, 99:101). A colleague said [t]his school is real because we have real diversity here... (P4, 108:108) whilst in a township school the principal said they do not have true diversity, because they only had an Indian deputy-principal, Dr. T..., [his] son, he completed Gr. 11... and he was just like any other learners and then we had one white woman (P15, 87:87). To bring social injustices under attention, one school openly discussed and shared experiences and solutions to difficult diversity issues, a practice that the learners also followed. He proudly shared the election of a coloured boy in a predominantly white school¹⁹⁶ (P16, 19:19), adding that if diversity took its course, learners would sort themselves out; there was no need to be too sensitive or manipulative about race because it was the adults who created racial tensions and not the learners¹⁹⁷ (P16, 88:88).*

Socio-economic environment is discussed in the following section.

5.3.2.2 Socio-economic environment

With reference to learners who came from diverse **socio-economic** environments, one principal said they did not experience disciplinary problems¹⁹⁸ (P1, 121:121). At an English school the racial ratio was *I would say 30:70 about ... whilst income was between high and low (P4, 109:113). Another affirmed we are registering learners from all social backgrounds... learners particularly who come from disadvantaged families... they have to be taken care of (P13, 12:12) normally we, we try as a school to, to, to study the, the family backgrounds of these learners... by inviting parents and requesting them to be open about problems... we sometimes uhh involve our teachers by just sending one teacher to go and maybe just... visiting that particular family (P13, 14:14). At one school at least a third of the learners were bussed in and the school serviced a squatter camp where gangsterism was a way of living and drugs freely available¹⁹⁹ (P15, 33:33).*

The researcher, being reminded by the Indian principal that diversity was part of being an Indian, she answered to the question of did she approach Indian businessmen *I personally have not done that as yet, the only person I, I am approaching is my husband... I need ten loaves of bread*

(clapping on the desk) *bring it home!* She kindly reprimanded the researcher by stating *but also talking about Indian, I'm a Hindu and then you get Muslims and the Muslims are the business people, and I'm not one of them (laughing) ... Many people call all Indian people Muslims ... Ja they make that mistake [ja, ja].* She believed that *many people don't, don't like me because they say I made this school black (laughing)* (P6, 139:151). Another praised the resilience in describing a learner of whom little was expected because of her socio-economic circumstances but proved that with the support of teachers, she could rise above it and obtained a masters degree in Maths²⁰⁰ (P15, 150:151). With regard to supporting learners who were experiencing social problems, one principal had a dedicated teacher who would intervene and knew about learners and their sorrows that nobody else would know²⁰¹ (P2, 331:331).

Poverty, one of the participants reprimanded, was not included in the definition of social justice as a major contributor to social injustice which was a marginalising condition. She elaborated by stating that the poverty stricken section of society is usually the poorest of the poor who had minimal opportunities. Her school focussed on access to education and equity so that - a farm labourer or the owner of the farm - each child in a multi-grade school was treated equally and equitably and therefore no learner would be promoted to the next grade merely because of his parent's affluence²⁰² (P15, 20:20). Principals' praxis to alleviate the ubiquitous poverty included donations from teachers in the form of clothes and food; letters asking *parents ... to donate clothes and food hampers; written letters and stuff [to businesses] but I haven't had a positive response from anyone ... they always say you know we have used up our budget for donations for the year and things like that ...* (P6, 139:151). Other methods were *activities to manage that... where everyone is able to donate whatever thing... be it a tin fish or Lux...* (P7, 28:28). A principal believed that children who came from affluent homes were not taking up opportunities; rather those disadvantaged in the past saw the opportunities²⁰³ (P16, 103:103).

References to the education department's **feeding and welfare scheme** were made with regard to the beneficial elements it contained, but also the problems that arose because of the quintile system that excluded schools from the scheme. Remarks were *luckily so, the department is also providing a feeding scheme you know, to address needs of the needy* (P7, 28:28) to schools being excluded *[s]o coming back to our quintiles we are still a quintile 4 and we do not qualify for the school-feeding scheme* (P6, 133:135). Another told of teachers who would first ask if a child had something to eat before handing out pills for a headache, and then would provide in the needs of those learners²⁰⁴ (P2, 60:60). One principal said that they *do have other learners, when you talk of social justice... we see now that there's a need for a feeding scheme at our school* (P6, 133:135). Others said that they would provide clothes if needed and learners would ask *may I carry your basket* and the teacher said *[y]es, sure thank you* to which the learner would ask *[w]hat's in it for me?* What they were asking for was food often provided by a wonderful tuck-shop *tannie* (auntie), where they had both a white and a black *tannie*. In more than the sense of providing food, the principal and deputy's respectful manner of speaking in referring to the two ladies was

heart rending. They made no distinction whatsoever in their reference to these two or in their body language: when they talked about them they were truly talking about two women who cared for the learners²⁰⁵ (P2, 102:102). Another said that they also had a dedicated teacher that *look[ed] for vulnerable learners who don't have anything to eat at home ... the list of learners... who don't have anything, submit that to the SASSA¹⁰... people uhm and then they will send me big packets groceries or shoes or whatever* (P5, 19:19). Another would have a teacher reporting to him *not so much of, of an official report, it would come from the educator that I experience this and when I enquire from the learner ... sit down, Meneer this is what we said, is it okay?... we just want to help you, how best can we help you* (P5, 23:23). These notions of caring extended to pay attention to those who are *suffering from this disease, dreadful disease, they show that caring... one boy from C has this val-siekte [epilepsy] so every time... when he start getting these, will you help him out ... and the teachers before I know they will take him home. If he not... took his pills, then they'll say okay fine, go home you can get that. So for now, we have not ostracised such people, we have not been cutting them out... that Ubuntu* (P5, 152:154).

Teenage pregnancies were mentioned by one principal as a socio-economic reality. This matter was dealt with through a *very good relationship with the Department of Social Development, they always come and talk about this thing, you know, sexual behaviours*. He said that he thought it was *working before we had a problem of seeing a high rate of pregnancies ... but since we, we, we roped in these people to come and talk to them about their sexuality and sexual matters, I think it's going down a bit* (P8, 163:170).

By sheer coincidence or providence one principal told the following *petit récits* thinking that (P6, 136:138):

extra bread, and extra butter and extra jam and whatever, let me get take it to school... And you know the strangest thing happened when I got back to school two other teachers had the same thought. And I don't know how that happens and slowly now you know we... I just send a note around to teachers, listen we want to buy bread and whatever, give me some donation and teachers send money to the office. And then we bought stuff and every Monday and Friday we are now feeding the children. Whether it is peanut butter, jam bread, mince, cheese, whatever, every Monday and Friday they are expecting it. But it is not a lot of children, but it is a start, uhh like 70 children from the primary school and a few from the high school as well. And we buy some marmite and mix it with milk and they, they appreciate it [uhm]. But now we have two girls, poor H from the high school, you know she even spoke now, and she said you know she doesn't have toiletries and things like that...

Means of providing for the needs of those less fortunate were collecting funds during spring days²⁰⁶ (P9, 152:152); a JoT-teacher who would bring something to eat²⁰⁷ (P9, 154:156) and *if the child can't afford uniform ... involve educators here and there, where we would say, can't we as a group of educators maybe assist ... by just buying the basic... uniform* (P13, 16:16). The organising of the feeding scheme was highlighted by one principal who told that *the feeding scheme is operating very well, because the department is giving us money on a monthly basis. We have four people who are employed to cook for these learners so they have their daily food*. He believed that it is actually helping

¹⁰ Department Social Development Republic of South Africa
http://www.dsd.gov.za/index.php?searchword=sassa&option=com_search&Itemid=

us a lot. Because ever since we started this feeding scheme we, we realised that the, attendance has improved a lot and learners who have been absenting themselves due to problems of hunger and all those things, I think that we are overcoming that one. His answer to how the feeding scheme impacted was Ja, I would say at the moment we ... well uhh to a certain extent... if learners attend regularly... you, you would expect the results to improve, because they are exposed to teaching on a daily basis... I could uhh realise that in some grades there was an improvement with regard to achievements (P13, 28:32). He saw to it that there was enough to eat and that the feeding scheme concentrate[d] mostly on learners who come... from the disadvantaged family, but we are not depriving those who come from wealthy family to also eat in school ... because the money that we get is actually sufficient enough to feed all the learners (P13, 28:32). His school's system involved [f]our people cooking for these learners, and uhh during their mealtime we would involve the teachers to come and supervise... so that they make sure that learners get proper food and normally I go and taste this food before the learners eat them... just to make sure... the quality is good because it is according to the menu prescribed by the department... that... involved dieticians (showing me the department's prescribed menu) (P13, 37:54).

The **family structure** dealt with the impact it had on the learners (P2, 147:147). One principal said that she would threaten learners that their fathers would give them a hiding and the child answered *I've never seen my father*. Asked with whom he was living he said his Ouma (granny)²⁰⁸ (P2, 147:147). Another supported the notion of the child being the victim of their family structure and circumstance *many a time we do not blame the kids, it's the parents, but then you're going to say, you don't blame the parents, it is the circumstances* but, she said, *under the worst circumstances, you can still bring up your kids in the right way* (P6, 285:287). A South African problem is one that has to deal with **child-headed families** in a country that has not been at war. A deputy said we have many, many learners who live on their own because their families did not take care of them²⁰⁹ (P2, 156:156). At another school learners could not attend to any activities after school hours because [u]nfortunately we can't involve all the learners per se, because some are staying far, far away from the school where they are heads of their households, learner households, where they have to go and check whether those learners from primary or from crèche are already at home. Their uniform has to be cleaned, they've got something to eat, preparation and like. Or they are staying with their grandmothers [ja] or grandfathers where they have to look for them, cook, prepare meals do some other family chores that are needed at home (P5, 78:78).

The reality of child-headed families is furthermore influenced by the fact that in most instances learners will be the **first generation** [f]rom the families to go to, to university (P13, 72:77). It also meant that learners more often than not did not have the support of families with regard to school work and higher education *it depends on, on the learner's ability and the learner's attitude. In some instances if, if a learner does not get full support from the family, I, I think that would also have a negative impact on the schooling of the child... there is nobody whose guiding this child to what to expect at the university... difficult when the learner has to ask for some money... that is needed... because the parents do not really have that... but with parents or with brothers who have been to university before,*

they can explain better to the parents how things are being done out there... (P13, 72:77). This account differs from Armstrong's (2008:413) notion of "socio-economic injustice" in which exploitation, marginalisation and deprivation and 'cultural or symbolic injustice' continue to prevail. Learners and teachers in this school were changing towards social justice praxis of inclusion and cross-cultural fusion and became more assertive and questioning (§3.2.2.2).

Age-related problems in combined schools were not reported. One managed age diversity by applying humour to the situation where she said *you get a child coming to you ooo Mrs M you look so beautiful today and whatever, and when you walk up there and then they look at you and they ohhh hier kom the bitch weer (laughing)...* *we talk about celebrate learners' birthdays, religious days..., and things like that, but when you come to the high school, you more lay down the law and the rules of the school and you know giving them reminders about the exams and books and things like that and, and of course calling in people from the community to talk to them about drugs and HIV Aids and things like that* (P6, 57:68). Another said that age is *a challenge... but... because of their different time frames among which the primary school operates... but they are infused in one... And it is an advantage because learners are able to progress [ja] in the same environment up until...* (P7, 66:73). Also at a combined school, the principal said age is no problem whatsoever because the learners were not sharing the same play grounds and had separate line-up quads for each group²¹⁰ (P9, 51:56).

The second sub-cluster of the second theme learners and social justice praxis included **race** and **racism** and was analysed and discussed as race (12.6) ($f=8$), black learners (10.5) ($f=13$), white learners (12.4) ($f=5$), Indian learners (12.3) ($f=2$) and others (12.5) ($f=1$). Racism (10.21) ($f=10$) included colour blind (10.9) ($f=14$) and race diversity (10.17) ($f=9$). Socio-economic environment (10.2) ($f=17$), feeding and welfare scheme (22.30) ($f=15$), family structure (10.11) ($f=3$) that dealt with child-headed families (10.12) ($f=2$) and first generation students (10.1) ($f=1$). Lastly age (10.10) ($f=7$) and its impact on schools was discussed.

A synthesis of the socio-historio-economic environment follows.

5.3.2.3 Synthesis

The socio-historio-economic environment included two sub-clusters, **race** and **racism** ($f=65$) (§5.3.2.1) and the learners' **socio-economic environment** ($f=52$) (§5.3.2.2).

Race (§5.3.2.1) was evident in:

- Learners' were racially colour blind as described by a girl who told her parents that her friend was black, without realising at all that she too was black.
- With regard to black learners the principals reported that white teachers had to make a mindset change about cultural diversities and become sensitive for race and gender differences.
- Fairness was non-negotiable.

- **White learners** seemed to be more disciplined but also more obedient because they would not have the support of their peers.
- An **Indian** principal of a black school in a previously Indian suburb and school found herself in no-man's land because her school was labelled as a taxi-rank; Indian-for-Indian parents took their children to ex-Model C schools, but by admitting black learners they were doing their duty of educating the nation.
- A South African phenomenon was registering learners in an upward spiral according to parents' financial ability or inability which determined whether learners would go to a rural, township school, an Indian school to an English-medium ex-model C or a previously coloured school to an Afrikaans-medium ex-Model C school, or private school and those who could not afford to enrol because of economic considerations were the worst of the victims of the old apartheid and the new education system.

Racism will be the enemy of the past, the present and the future, except if it is fought by parents and teachers alike where:

- Schools have to teach that **racism** isn't just white on black, it's black on white as well or black on black and needs to become a school's core business to make everybody realise that respect should be awarded to everybody all the time and that social justice is the very core of the business of schools.
- The three racial incidents reported compromised human dignity in all its senses and of those who believe apartheid to be an albatross for the older generation.
- Learners' colour blindness was evident in black children who were more aware of race than white children but disturbing was the notion of gradients of darkness of skin tone.

Diversity included location because learners from cities differed from learners in the countryside and from township to township although residences normalised racial relationships.

- Learners quickly acknowledged cross-cultural authority if applied fairly.
- A *petit récit* told of a small white girl who asked a missionary to pray for her sister-in-faith; another of two black girls fighting and one saw herself not as black but as coffee coloured.
- Lessons that white principals and teachers of not-yet-transformed schools have to learn were to not refer to black children/learners but only as children/learners.

Diversity was viewed as ethnicity and as values in that learners came from various backgrounds and provinces and brought different values to the school:

- Embracing diversity since the early 90s, one school experienced a return on investment because (black) old boys brought their children to be enrolled.

- Due to the racial composition of a school's feeding area conscious efforts were made with regard to diversity through small group discussions, problem-solving feedback and addressing social injustices.

References to learners' diverse **socio-economic** environment (§5.3.2.2) were:

- Principals and staff took an interest in learners from all social backgrounds, inviting parents to be frank about financial problems, and teachers paying visits to learners' homes.
- School uniforms provided a sense of belonging and of marginalisation.
- Learners were bussed in and came from squatter camps where gangsterism was a way of life.
- Learners realised that opportunities were available to combat the 'nothing' from where they came.
- Learners showed resilience when not detained by socio-economic circumstances.
- Ubiquitous poverty was addressed by donations from JoT teacher/teachers.
- Access to education and equitable opportunities were provided to all learners.
- Learners from affluent homes were not taking up the opportunities but those from disadvantaged environments saw and acted on these.

References to the education department's **feeding and welfare scheme** were:

- The needs of the needy were addressed.
- Attendance and academic achievements improved markedly.
- Caring for vulnerable learners entailed reporting to SASSA, school and other structures.
- Learners living with HIV/aids and epilepsy were not ostracised in accordance with Ubuntu-principles.
- A government-funded scheme and learners, without discriminating, received food on a daily basis.
- The practice of quintile schools did not take changed socio-economic developments into account, leaving schools without this valuable resource.

The **family structure** dealt with the impact it had on the learners because learners often did not know their fathers and were raised by their grandmothers. A South African phenomenon is **child-headed families** in a country that has not been to war, where learners

- lived on their own, were heads of their households, took care of their siblings and were responsible for the basic domestic chores.
- could not attend to any activities after school hours because of their domestic chores, transport and living far away from schools.

Another factor to account for was **first generation** students going to university, where these learners and students:

- often did not have family support with regard to schoolwork or understanding of the demands of higher education;
- found it difficult to ask or justify funds because their parents could not understand the reasons for the request and often did not have the required funds; or
- needed role models who should preferably be an older brother or sister who could explain to the parents what the situation was.

An aspect that was pertinently brought under the attention of the researcher was the one of **age** where learners who were sixteen plus years had no means to pass Gr. 8:

- There is a lack of availability and provision of alternative education where learners could attend post-Gr. 8.
- There was no early identification of learners with learning disabilities in primary schools which were blamed for passing learners who could not read, write or do arithmetic.
- There was no early collaboration with parents who should be told about their children's learning disabilities.
- In refusing these learners, they became society's outcasts. Allowing them to pass without any schooling abilities was disturbing and is an accusation against the Department of Education that needs urgent attention.

Managing combined schools was not problematic as these principals reported:

- They had separate assemblies, buildings, playgrounds and learners were approached according to their level of development.
- It was advantageous for learners to progress through all phases in the same environment.

Following is a discussion on the curricular and extra-curricular activities.

5.3.3 Curricular and extra-curricular activities

This study was not specifically addressing curricular activities and only those aspects that specifically referred to social justice and teaching and learning will be reported under curricular ($f=48$) (§5.3.3.1) and extra-curricular activities ($f=25$) (§5.3.3.2). Both curricular and extra-curricular activities should ensure that spaces are opening up for teachers to teach and learners to live in an increasingly diverse, complex and globally interconnected society (§3.3.3.3).

5.3.3.1 Curricular activities

Learner **dropout** rates contribute to the notion of a lost generation, usually associated with the apartheid years. Learners did not receive equal educational opportunities due to apartheid and

the credo of liberation before education where teachers rather took to the streets than taught (§2.2.8). Linking these historical realities to an alarmingly high drop-out rate, another **lost generation** is in the making in South Africa resulting in teachers experiencing frustration because these learners were not going to make it in society²¹¹ (P2, 123:128). They referred to the fact that these learners were regarded as drop-outs of society²¹² (P2, 129:135). These learners failed year after year, but their parents kept them in school and were the first to pay school fees to relieve themselves of their responsibility²¹³ (P2, 123:128). The principal and deputy affirmed that there were no alternative schooling facilities to support these learners²¹⁴ (P2, 123:128). Social justice practices equated to *performance standards that are there... they... coerce... even if one was resisting to get to that concept... of making sure there is social justice in the environment* (P14, 96:96). Repetition was the mother of education because it reinforced academic content²¹⁵ (P12, 211:211). Learners, especially those who had reached their maximum potential needed to be taught moral values because that was what the country required²¹⁶ (P15, 121:121).

Inevitably **language** as barrier to access, but also as mother tongue, came to the fore as one principal said *for us it is an advantage that they always move from Gr. R up and they become ehk acquainted to the language up until Gr. 12* (P7, 79:81). English as language of instruction *it is implemented correctly, it is a language speaking oral language... it helps learners to remain focused and disciplined* (P7, 79:81). The use of Afrikaans only at one school did not present any problems because non-Afrikaans language speakers knew what the language policy was when they enrolled in Gr. R and were able to adapt after one year. However they introduced a language bridging programme and the principal acknowledged that it was problematic when learners wanted to enter at a later stage. On the other hand parents were willing to rather have their learners repeat a year in order for them to get quality education²¹⁷ (P9, 11:11). She boasted that they would have their first black matriculant at the end of 2011 who was expected to pass with flying colours²¹⁸ (P9, 19:19). The specific situation one principal encountered showed that he had to manage two schools in one: an Afrikaans school and a Setswana school with a division of labour according to racial lines between teachers and learners resulting in them having *two schools on one premise*²¹⁹ (P12, 72:72). He changed this situation on his second day at the school, by ripping up the time table, stating that they would manage the school as a single unit, and there would not be you and us, but a unitary system of us²²⁰ (P12, 107:107). He used the following principles: the best teacher, the one with the highest qualification would teach the Gr. 12s in a specific subject, and the best teachers would teach all the Gr. 12s. He gave an example of a maths teacher whose first language was Afrikaans who would teach the Afrikaans group, and then immediately thereafter would teach the English group. This meant that an integrated timetable could be implemented. He said that this practice brought about a remarkable difference in how teachers viewed the learners who became our learners. Another advantage was that he was able to get feedback on learners' conduct and performance from

both black and white teachers on an equal basis²²¹ (P12, 108:108). He countered any resistance from the teachers' side by stating that they had to put it in writing, but at the same time would also hand in a letter of resignation because they were working in a *multi-racial* school, and if you were the best teacher then you would have to teach both groups²²² (P12, 112:112). This example was extended by a principal who said that with regard to social justice, he had to cater for thirteen languages of mother tongue speakers; where multi-millionaires' children were sitting next to children from the squatter camps, where powerful religious groups could be found and each form of diversity existed²²³ (P15, 108:108). A detailed discussion of the impact that language has on identity will follow in §5.4.3.2.

Brilliant black learners who attained excellent results²²⁴ (P1, 81:81) were reported (§3.3.4.1). In one instance a principal shared his learning experience to show respect for teachers as "right-holders" (Noonan, 2006:9) (§3.3.3.1) to maximum teaching time. He related an incident where he called the athletic team ten minutes before break and had to answer a teacher asking *[h]ow dare you call my grade 12s out of class for athletics?*²²⁵ (P3, 167:168). At one school learners, and not the teachers, moved between classes during period breaks and there would be *someone ... manning the block* to ensure that the learners ... arrived promptly at the next class, an exercise that the principal found *very refreshing* because the learners were *not sitting there for the whole time, they move, you know, when they get into another class, they are refreshed* (P8, 266:283). In addition this mode of teaching had the advantage of allocating responsibility to the teachers to take care of their own classrooms because *your classes will be clean... your resources also will be taken care of... Then we give all the classes that are there, we note them down, she signs for it* (P8, 266:283). One principal ascribed their academic success to the small class groups they were teaching which allowed for personalised attention²²⁶ (P9, 26:27).

With regard to learners taking responsibility for their own learning one principal said that the value of being self-sufficient and self-motivated is not part of the learners' makeup. She referred to the basic routine of getting home and sitting down at a table and doing your homework. She also referred to the problem of illiterate grandparents and parents, who because of their own marginalised situation, were unable to assist their children and grandchildren. She also made a distinction between reading and studying by saying that she did not want them to read only, but that they had to sit down, studying the work. To the question whether the learners knew how to study, the principal replied that many teachers taught study methods²²⁷ (P2, 149:153). She added that the parents did not know how and in one instance a matriculant could not write her final exams because her mother had nobody else to look after the baby. These situations were unknown in the white community, excluding semi-illiterate people²²⁸ (P2, 154:155).

A principal shared his opinion about disrespect towards female teachers where they were *still struggling because it's a secondary, our learners are not respecting the young educators, female educators... they've got a negative attitude towards the whole tuition... we call the parents... We can't keep him here if he's not adhering to the values that you are trying to do. You say this is a culture, we*

want to inculcate a culture of learning (P5, 76:76). With regard to academic achievements, one principal of an integrated school regretfully, but realistically, said that they were no longer able to achieve a 100% pass rate, and without referring to race said that the academic standard decreased because the school became an English school. None the less he said that there were brilliant learners who would be able to attain excellent results²²⁹ (P1, 81:81). Another perspective was one where, because of the influx of learners from previously disadvantaged schools said *so more attention automatically goes there because they are driven to get a pass rate [ja, ja] and then you neglect [ja, ja] the child that doesn't give you a problem, he passes with 70, but he's actually an 85 candidate*. He said that they *try and do that as well ... to focus more than we normally did in the past on those candidates as well. If, if you do that, your 65 candidate will see what's happening, and he will strive to achieve more as well* (P3, 16:18).

Racial undertones were evident in an incident where *some Coloured parents felt that we [were] failing their children deliberately. And they have written a big memorandum to the school and to the department... They, they thought it was discrimination and they wanted their learners' scripts to be remarked...* She addressed this incident by setting up a meeting with them, with the whole staff of the high school as well as the Governing Body. And at the meeting they threw their questions at us and we answered to the best of our ability and mind you when they left, they were very happy... they saw that we were fair... (P6, 200:206). In a true sense of inclusion *even those learners that are not performing they should not be looked down upon... we should take them along* (P8, 25:25). One small town school has attained a 100% pass rate for the past sixteen years²³⁰ (P9, 103:103). At a township school the principal said that they were building their academic successes as they *don't have so much problems with the lower grades the pass percentage of learners*. He showed a graph on which *the results from 1999 up to this year...we... sort of derailed here ... Ja it's not so bad... and hopefully... 2011 we, we're aiming at 80 something...* (P13, 151:164). Other practices to support learners with academic problems included *we normally call intervention meetings, where we give parents the report about the progress of kids outside the classroom situation* (P14, 23:23). Supporting learners to at least pass so that they were able to be incorporated in the world of work was done where she would call the parents and tell them she would help their child to attain a Gr. 9 certificate. Her rationale was that if she did not do this she would add to people who, because they were unable to find decent work, would revert to stealing and burglaries²³¹ (P2, 136:136). One principal said that *in a school environment... you normally find that more attention is being paid to the marginalized, because they normally... perform much weaker than... the others* (P3, 14:16). Another said *I'll have to guide and guard so that those vulnerable... those who fall within the ambit of social justice are not marginalised... at the end feel some satisfaction when they're at school...* (P5, 26:26).

One principal admonished the researcher for not including poverty as a marginalising condition (P15, 20:20). She said that the learners from the poorest of the poor were at the centre of their actions because they needed access to education in English - equity - in order for a child, whether a farm worker or the farm owner, should have equal opportunities²³² (P15, 20:20). One

thought that it was often easier to understand marginalisation if you were also at the receiving end and referred to his own experience at a farm school. Because he experienced social injustices it was easier to apply social justice in his school²³³ (P16, 14:14). Another referred to the marginalising conditions; specifically those learners from farm schools and the backlog of their illiterate parents, and said that (P15, 41:41):

I started off at a school in Crossroads where children are marginalised due to the previous dispensation... resources are not sufficient ... as principal, as teacher, you try and... make resources available to combat or to build a bridge between uhm not having the support at home to actually supporting at school. I was at a [farm school] ... I was thinking about this whole injustice thing, uhm that children coming from a background of, of, of 'plaas' [farm] are already marginalised, in terms of, of not having the interaction with parents because of the parents being marginalised in terms of their literacy. So we're getting a child that's coming to school, marginalised by, by the social interaction at home, [uhm] getting to school and teachers are then, trying to motivate them to get them onto a path where they can actually fit into society so they can stand as confident people and, and, and adults.

The same principal also brought to the discussion the plight of the physically disabled by relating that he was (P15, 42:42):

...at a school for the hearing impaired. Now uhm the hearing impaired, if the child is born deaf, he's already born with a dis..., a disability, he's already been marginalised in terms of uhm... How do you teach a deaf child to communicate? So a deaf child already has a three, four year back log for the normal hearing child and at the school where I am at, uhm we are not only sitting here with a disability, we are sitting here with social interaction, where we have the hearing in conflict with the deaf at times, where you have the deaf child not wanting to go home because no-one is able to communicate with me [uhm] at home. We have [ughm] a child coming from; now we have 436 learners at our school... 300 of them are at, at hostels... So you now have the, the conflict between hearing and deaf... Let me give you an example, this was very fascinating to me. Girls in the hostel that are deaf will not go into the showers with girls that are hearing, because once they come into, into contact with people that, that are hearing and don't sign, they think that people are then talking about them. So in the shower you obviously don't shower with your clothes on, your, your anatomy is exposed, and girls, I mean now women are in terms of their anatomy ... they think that the hearing are talking about them... So that needs to be resolved...

An experienced principal said that he disagreed with the handing out of condoms, regarded it as nonsense, and prohibited it in his school. He used his JOT teacher to teach the learners abstinence and respect for your life partner. He acknowledged that it was probably not ideal, but he would rather call on learners' conscience or sense of right and wrong²³⁴ (P12, 245:245).

5.3.3.2 Extra-curricular

One principal told of an inter-high athletics event which traditionally was held amongst white schools only. Although the school's racial demography changed in favour of black learners, they still took part in the event. Because of a disciplinary incident, the staff decided that they would not take part and cancelled all arrangements. The learners asked for redemption and against the advice of his staff the principal (Afrikaans, white) autocratically made the decision to allow it. Public transport was no longer available and he told the learners if we go everyone will go upon which the learners arranged for transport in taxis and with parents, who became involved. When the principal and staff arrived at the stadium they found that all the learners were sitting in the pavilion, with their green uniforms and pitch black faces and a hundred odd white faces in between and they were singing from their hearts (*sing dat die byle huil*)²³⁵ (P1, 71:71). More

importantly was the tone of voice with which he told this story, his empathy, his pride and even the blink of a tear at the memory made this one of the most heart-rending stories of all the interviews. What follows is his interpretation of how his teachers experienced the event: how wonderful it was to see the teachers, whom he knew and without beating around the bush, hated the fact that the school had become black, who were in their heart of hearts still very racist, but at that moment were glowing with pride, saying wow! look at our school, it gave them goose bumps and brought tears to their eyes. It was incidents such as these that started to happen that changed the teachers' attitude to see all learners as learners and not as black or white. He concluded by saying they might be different but is any day as good as a white child and you get to love them equally and would die for him²³⁶ (P1, 82:82). It is *petit récits* like these that emphasise the notion of what Dantley (2005a:15) describes as a leader who will, through dialogue and problematising issues, work diligently to bring about change grounded in justice and democracy in the school and the broader community (§2.3.3.3).

Another principal told that *the schools that we participate... against the old Milner schools... has become quite difficult because of the fact that we are the only Milner school that became a black school. Now black boys do not play rugby in Gr. 1 let alone bulletjie rugby... we have to teach them from Gr. 8* (P3, 86:86). He added that *[i]n order to maintain the respect the current boys have for the school, they also need to taste success... next year we are not playing St..., because we lost 85:5 against them. We cannot play them anymore, not to say that we can't... play them again... because success breeds success. So we have to do a slight diversion there* (P3, 86:86). The importance of rugby success and the influence on coaches, learners and parents, one principal told of a Directors Trophy final he attended and the most terrible things shouted at the players in the so-called spirit of true sportsmanship²³⁷ (P3, 237:240). He added that such conduct destroyed the child. If one did his best and the team won then it was a bonus, but not at all cost²³⁸ (P3, 237:240). A district official warned that principals should manage and lead their school in a balanced manner by equally recognising the first and the tenth rugby teams. By not doing this, the principal may contribute to breaking down self-confidence because it was not about winning but about participation. This meant giving recognition to learners other than sport, such as a positive work-ethic, participation and conduct²³⁹ (P15, 63:63). This anecdote was applauded by the rest of the focus group participants. Two precious stories were told by a principal who said when you play rugby nobody sees colour because they have a common goal and that was to win²⁴⁰ (P15, 194:194).

In a different league, figuratively speaking, was a principal from a black township school who said that they practiced *[s]ports in terms of ehh, ehh, netball, in terms of ehhh, soccer, you know ...* (P7, 32:32) without any reference to major league participation *they are participating all this other..., you know we unearth their talents at our level... it is something that says, it is their owning the school because they are able to participate in some of these other things that are available in this school* (P7, 34:34). He believed that *sport builds bridges between cultures and differences; not breaking down; it unites learners in the school* (P7, 37:40). A small town school with only 291 learners was

competing at national and international levels. The support and motivation from the side of the teachers were evident in that they had to draw up a time-table so that all coaches received equal coaching time. They also used the NWU for support, testing, summer training camps and they invited students and lecturers to visit their school to help training and coaching²⁴¹ (P9, 120:120). To a question of how she viewed the integrational properties of sports the principal said that the majority of their school's swimming team were black learners who were keen swimmers. This brought about a positive change and helped with the communication between the different groups²⁴² (P9, 121:126).

During the focus group interview a principal from a previously disadvantaged school, said that they just started to participate because taking part in sport gave the learners self-confidence. He also added that poverty played a role because sporting equipment was extremely expensive. Learners with potential - academic and sport - were prone to disappear due to poverty²⁴³ (P15, 27:27). One principal brought the lack of facilities under attention when he said *Sports? Ja we, we have learners participating in sports here. Now with sports I think we are not participating in all sporting codes because of the reasons of not having proper facilities [uhm, uhm] so the most common codes that are practiced here is just soccer/netball, uhh tennis, we do have [okay] but as for cricket and other sporting activities we, we don't participate due to the fact that we ... don't have the facilities for...* (P13, 166:166). In a personal comment written down after the focus group interview one principal said that each school needs to have sports grounds so that you were able to invite others to your school²⁴⁴ (P15, 237:237).

With regard to **cultural activities** one of the participants broadened the concept to include exposure to other cultures and presented a *cultural kaleidoscope*, *we try and make sure that we include uhm that we include an Indian girl doing an Indian... Hindu dance... or we try and include... Die Boere is plesierig... and make sure... Afrikaners is plesiere en Karin Zoid se liedjie is net so lekker... the choir will sing Silent Night... in Afrikaans... but we try and keep it balanced all the time...* (P4, 78:86). At a school that had a history of severe racial skirmishes and tensions, the principal told of an incident at the first cultural concert/fest that he organised after being appointed. Some of the white learners were leaving the hall while black learners were tap dancing and rapping. When the second learner left the hall, the principal went to the back and asked where he was going whereupon the learner replied but look at what was going on stage. He then told the learners to sit down because a rule at the school was that as long as a person is on stage you will remain seated. He emphasised that he forced the learners to accept the diverse cultural groups in the school²⁴⁵ (P12, 90:90). One principal said that *[w]e've brought back productions, which they didn't had for many years. Our boys did a production... It was the first one in many years... a beginning...and something that we can build on. And they actually enjoyed it* (P3, 89:91). Unfortunately another principal said *[i]n most cases there's not much per se of culture, you know* (P7, 41:42). He said that *we have a spring walk; music competitions...* (P7, 41:46). Another principal said *choirs... we do have choirs, we do have choir singing during the uhh music competitions [okay] and we do have learners who*

are doing arts and culture, singing these cultural songs... some of them will be singing for parents [okay]... uhm... (P13, 167:168). In line with the argument that opportunities should be fair, one principal argued that not all learners had talents for sports and therefore cultural activities should be on par with the sporting activities²⁴⁶ (P15, 37:37).

Building on the hope that a fair and just society is possible the story of a principal from a black township school told how his learners on their own accord took part in a *United Nation's debate ... where learners are going to compete and they debate and they... make some representations... and it is not about race or whatever the case may be. So... three learners né who have upon themselves decided to go and participate, one Indian, one African and one Coloured... participating extremely well... and their last trip was in Cape Town... so when we take them over then they will see no indeed it's, it's, justice has been done, opportunities are open for them, anyone can participate...* (P7, 190:190). Another initiative by learners was told by a principal who used letter-writing as means of communication... *you know I'm thinking Gu... Uhm she wrote a letter a year ago, saying that she would like to start a catering committee. And she would like to head this committee [ja] because she has her ideas and she thinks that they could be of service to the school, so in the end she started a catering committee and she had about twenty girls for each function ...* (P4, 264:268). It is these kinds of actions that governs the conduct of people in relation to each other that requires individuals with highly developed moral sensibilities who are able to prioritise and make judgements on that which is right over that which is good (Soudien, 2006:2) (§2.2.4).

The discussions favoured a 'we/us' relationship above a 'me' or individualistic approach to building self-esteem (§3.3.2.2). Learners should be made aware that *[t]he sky is the limit*²⁴⁷ (P15, 161:162); nothing can hold learners back anymore notwithstanding dire circumstances²⁴⁸ (P15, 150:150); create open opportunities for all learners²⁴⁹ (P15, 245:245), and yet another said create equal opportunities that is not about talents, the child needs to build self-confidence through values, passion and opportunities²⁵⁰ (P15, 251:251). Achievements were acknowledged during assemblies where they encouraged others also to strive towards achieving good results (P9, 103:103). In conclusion, a principal said that they changed their motto from being a school of excellence to one of being a school of opportunities where they focused on the positive because opportunities were laid out, learners only had to take it²⁵¹ (P16, 100:100).

Religious observances in schools were dealt with according to the need of specific schools. One principal said that Muslim parents and learners understood and accepted that his school had a Christian character. But, he said, they were not forced to attend these or the daily school assemblies. On Friday's Muslims were allowed to observe prayers at 11:00 but the learners had to ensure that they did not lose academic work. Muslim learners did not miss the same period each week because of a six-day time-table²⁵² (P1, 78:78). Similarly when asked for a good story, one principal said *[y]es, there's so many... You know, I mean, I think a good story for example is the Hindu girl... P... doing the exams... the teacher asked would any one like to pray? It's P... that put up her hand. The one Hindu girl in a group of hundred learners that wanted to pray... 2: While... how could*

she do that if she felt marginalised? (P4, 224:231). Another said Uhh well since they are few, and many are in the primary school, we allow them to leave and we do not schedule any tests or formal exams there you know that do not affect them... negatively and all teachers know that, that they come out at half-past twelve on a Friday and they leave and when it is their religious festival then they can leave and should they desire like the girls wear fez we allow them to their little fez and the boys where their little toppies. We allow them and all the teachers know that, and ja, everyone is okay with that (P6, 132:132). One said they are not forced to go and conduct our assemblies and so forth, because that is apparently against their religion (P6, 284:285).

This section concludes the analysis and discussion of the curricular (§5.3.3.1) ($f=48$) and extra-curricular (§5.3.3.2) ($f=25$) activities which included a discussion of academic achievements (7.1) ($f=10$), learning (7.3) ($f=4$), language programmes (7.5) ($f=13$), life orientation (7.2) ($f=9$), at risk learners (7.4) ($f=9$), sex education (22.63) ($f=2$), and career choice (22.31) ($f=1$). Extra-curricular activities included sport (8.5) ($f=18$) and cultural (9.4) ($f=7$) activities.

A synthesis of curricular and extra-curricular activities follows.

5.3.3.3 Synthesis

Curricular activities (§5.3.3.1) addressed:

- Learner **dropout rates** that contributed to learners not fitting into society because they were failing year after year and no alternative schooling facilities to support these learners were available.
- **Language**, as barrier to access and as language of instruction, was about discipline and bridging programmes to support learners in the language of instruction (English).
- The **racial divide** amongst learners and teachers (Afrikaans and Setswana-speaking) was crossed in a multi-racial unitary system:
 - 1st principle: the best teachers with highest qualifications would teach both streams according to an integrated timetable;
 - 2nd principle: they would teach Gr. 12s first in their mother tongue and then the second group in their second language;
 - 3rd principle: they will teach all the learners, without discrimination;
 - A remarkable difference was brought about in that teachers viewed learners as learners and not as black, white or coloured;
 - The principal offered equal feedback opportunities on learners' conduct and performance.
- Multiple **diversities** such as thirteen languages of mother tongue speakers, or multi-millionaires' children sitting next to learners from squatter camps, and powerful religious groups;
- Through **successful learning and teaching** which addressed the achievement gap because brilliant black learners attained excellent results, by showing respect for

- teachers as rights-holders to maximum teaching time, and by rotating learners and not teachers with the advantage that teachers took ownership and responsibility for classes;
- By ascribing **unsuccessful** learning and teaching to learners who were not self-motivated, who did not take responsibility for their own learning, who needed study skills, illiterate grandparents and parents who, because of their own marginalised situation, were unable to assist their children and grandchildren.
 - In a true sense of inclusion attention was paid to under-performing learners who should not be marginalised as well as paying more attention to learners who could excel.
 - Racial and discriminatory undertones were evident where Coloured parents accused a school of failing their children deliberately, but this was resolved through a meeting.
 - **Marginalisation** was evident in:
 - farm schools regarded as the poorest of the poor because of apartheid, poverty, illiteracy and insufficient resources and social interaction, or lack of, at home;
 - the plight of the physically disabled, hearing impaired because of being born deaf, unable to communicate in a hearing and in a sign language world.
 - Life-orientation and sex education was brought under attention in prohibiting the distribution of condoms and a JOT teacher who taught abstinence and respect for one's life partner, and called on learners' conscience.

Extra-curricular (§5.3.3.2) activities regarding sports were about:

- An inter-high **athletics** event which lead to greater cohesion amongst a multi-racial learner cohort and white Afrikaans staff who came to view learners as learners and not as black or white.
- **Rugby** where learners and teams:
 - were disadvantaged because they had to play against schools who had played rugby from pre-school; withdrew from a league because it was impossible to build self-respect when losing 85 odd, and rejected a culture of winner takes all;
 - from small and township schools did not take part in any major leagues although the value of extra-curricular activities was recognised, discovered talented learners, built confidence and bridges amongst diverse cultures and united them;
 - from a small school did compete at national and international levels, used the NWU for support, testing, summer training camps, and exchange students and lecturers.
- **Lack of facilities** meant that learners could only take part in soccer, netball, tennis, but not in cricket and rugby; schools needed sports grounds to host neighbouring schools.
- The **integrational** and **personal benefits** of sports were evident in a black swimming team that brought about a positive change between racial groups and built self-confidence. Sporting equipment was extremely expensive and therefore learners with potential- academic and sport - were prone to disappear due to poverty.

- **Cultural activities** brought about inclusion and exposure, a happy school culture and presented a cultural kaleidoscope, which offered learning experiences and taught respect.
- Cultural activities should be on par with sporting activities.
- Hope that a fair and just society was possible is evident in learner initiatives such as the UN debate which showed that justice was done in opening up of opportunities.

Following are parameters for the development of management strategies regarding the learners and social justice praxis.

5.3.4 Parameters for the development of management strategies

From the data analysis and discussion above it seems that management strategies (§6.4.4) need to be developed for:

- The eradication of unfairness, corporal punishment and the management of protest action amongst learners
- A Learner Code of Conduct based on rules of natural justice to cultivate responsibility, change behaviour and create a culture of respect, equality and human dignity
- A democratic RCL election and effective training programme
- Conflict management, anti-bullying, anti-gangsterism and anti-racism practices
- The support of child-headed families and first generation students to go to university
- The provision of alternative education for learners with learning and physical disabilities
- Language and academic bridging programmes
- The provision of sport and cultural opportunities and facilities

Following are concluding remarks with regard to theme 2, learners and social justice praxis.

5.3.5 Concluding remarks

The analysis and discussion of the second theme - **learners and social justice praxis** - addressed learner conduct, socio-historio-economic environment, and curricular and extra-curricular activities.

Learner conduct came to the fore in discipline in general with the emphasis on matters of racial and cultural differences that teachers found difficult to adapt to because black learners used numbers to protest if treated unfairly. The incongruence of punishing the 'other' culture was indicative of acceptance of cross-cultural authority as well as political subordination. School rules formed the basis on which relationships were built and were regarded as showing respect towards a universal human dignity. Application of school rules dealt with disciplinary hearings and the *audi alteram partem* principle that ensured procedural and substantive fairness.

With regard to a **dress code** and appearance, hairstyles dominated the discussion. Important was the difficulty to develop school rules that would apply to all learners fairly, a notion that was

challenged by also accepting the right that learners had to individuality. The school uniform was regarded as both negative and positive as it was perceived as marginalising as well as the basis of discipline. Building a communication loop amongst principals, parents, teachers and the RCL brought about accountability for education evident in the praxis of principals who took an active and honest interest in the community, including squatter camps, where discipline and information in the best interest of the child would follow.

An analysis and discussion of social justice praxis and **learner leadership** focussed on the RCL elections in accordance with the SASA and was about empowerment based on sound values, morals, standards, forgiveness, and apt behaviour towards teachers and the community. The RCL election process was based on national election principles. The training process of the RCL with regard to democracy and their task was to empower learners and was the responsibility of the TLO. Noteworthy was a suggestion of an exchange programme. RCL meetings were complicated due to time constraints, learners who were dependent on taxis, and domestic and family responsibilities. The RCL elections were democratic, transparent and a way to fight social injustice. Noteworthy was that learners did not vote according to racial or cultural boundaries and that these elections prepared the learners for citizenship and taking part in national elections. Unfortunately perceptions that the RCL was not effective prevailed and some still preferred the old prefect system.

Misconduct was part of destructive learner behaviour and displayed the inability to prioritise and make judgements on that which is right over that which is good. The principals reported on these and the practices they used to combat misconduct of serious transgressions which was regarded as normal inter-human conflict often construed as racial conflict. Practices to manage conflict revolved around practices of inter-human respect. The discussion referred to derogatory language used against each other which was indicative of blatant racism, intolerance and injustice, which still prevailed in schools. Other aspects regarding destructive behaviour were bullying, gangsterism, drug and alcohol abuse, burglaries and murder. These were dealt with in various ways, but the manner in which a murder and resultant trauma was handled was important to the involvement of community, a cleansing ceremony, and traditional healers and religious leaders.

The **socio-historio-economic environment** included two sub-clusters - race and racism - and the learners' socio-economic environment. Race was evident in racial representation of learners in schools where not only at least seven of South Africa's race groups were represented but also Zimbabweans and a Chinese learner. A golden thread again was that learners did not act, or vote according to traditional racial lines. Principals did report that teachers had to make the biggest adjustments through acceptance, recognition and regarding all learners as learners and not as black, coloured, white or Indian. The idea of black learners, who would support each other where white learners would not, was aligned with the *Ubuntu* principle of being a human

through other humans. White learners seemed to be more disciplined but also more obedient towards authority. Indian learners moved from their traditional Indian school when this school became primarily black and was part of the notion of enrolling children at ex-model C schools, but the Indian parent's actions were regarded as discriminative and racist. The Indian principal's reaction was that they "were doing their duty to educate the nation's children" rendered hope that education will become a calling that will be life-giving to all of South Africa's children.

Racism will be the enemy of the past, the present and the future, unless it is fought by parents and teachers alike where schools have to teach social justice to all learners in schools. But principals believed this change was in the hands of the learners who have been delivered from apartheid to ensure that the albatross of the past can become the eagle that one principal talked about, one that could soar high above the cyclones that came with every political dispensation.

The Department's school **feeding scheme** was hailed as successful and it addressed social injustices. Parents were encouraged to share their financial and social problems so that teachers could intervene, with money, resources or emotional support, where they were able to. These efforts entailed personal sacrifice on the part of the staff, the parents, and the community and dedicated, supportive government or non-government agencies. Problems regarding the quintile school system were brought to the attention: schools were trapped according to historical categories where they would receive funds for the feeding scheme or not. Due to social and economical changes in the demography some schools were still excluded from support because the department did not change their status (see in this regard Prof. Raj Mestry's professorial inauguration, 12 June 2012). With regard to family structures and HIV/Aids in South Africa, orphans and child-headed families were mentioned as one of the socio-economic problems schools had to deal with. This problem spilled over into first generation students who, due to apartheid, did (do) not have role-models or mentors who could guide them into this landscape. An aspect that was pertinently brought under the attention of the researcher was the one of age where learners who were sixteen and older were unable to pass Gr. 8 because they could not read, write or do arithmetic, but the Department did not provide alternative education.

Curricular activities addressed learner dropout rates linked to the matter of age. Access to education remained problematic if policies or the lack of enough physical facilities were in place to regulate entrants. These included language policies although language bridging programmes addressed the problem. Racial tensions were limited and one school specifically moved from a separatist curriculum to an integrated one where the best teacher would teach both language groups. Diversities mentioned were language, affluence and poverty, and religion. Academic success or not was ascribed to small class groups, self-motivated and responsible learners, illiterate grandparents and parents, meaningful reading and studying ability, and not paying enough attention to learners who could excel. Marginalisation was evident in what principals

said about learners who were attending farm schools, and social interaction or lack thereof at home. The plight of the physically disabled learners, specifically the hearing-impaired, was discussed as a social justice practice that needed attention with regard to marginalising circumstances inherent in being born deaf. With regard to life-orientation and sex education, the distribution of condoms was not condoned by one principal who argued that the JOT teacher's responsibility was to inculcate the value of abstinence and respect.

Extra-curricular activities regarding sports were important to bridge the racial divide amongst a diverse learner group and white teachers and brought about a radical change in the teachers' perceptions of learners as learners and not belonging to a specific ethnic group. The conduct of learners, parents and coaches was questioned and regarded as contradictory to true sportsmanship. Schools in townships did not refer to participation in any major leagues although the value of extra-curricular activities was recognised. The lack of sports facilities contributed to this situation, one that was specifically addressed in the Western Cape schools. With regard to **cultural activities** the value was found in being exposed to cross-cultural traditions and experiences, similar to that of sports.

Education in general was the third level to accomplish effective social justice praxis.

5.4 THEME THREE: EDUCATION IN GENERAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE PRAXIS

Education in a general sense is the third tier of the pyramid (Figure 4.5). Social justice demands, far beyond a mere act of will, social justice praxis of all role-players, inextricably linked with the other six levels. This is done so that the greatest possible number of opportunities are created for the livelihood of the good citizen (§3.4.4.4). The data analysis and discussion of the third theme, education in general and social justice praxis ($f=359$), addressed three sub-themes (Figure 5.1) **essentials of education** ($f=272$), **school type** ($f=50$), and **support** ($f=37$). The data analysis shows that 17.4% (Table 4.5) of the quotations were related to this theme and these are displayed in abbreviated format in Table 5.3:

Theme 3 Education in general		
Essentials of education (§5.4.2)		
School culture and climate	154	} 272
Identity	82	
Vision and mission	36	
School type (§5.4.1)		50
Support (§5.4.3)		37
Codes 34 (17.4%)	Total quotations	359

TABLE 5.3: Education and schools in general and social justice praxis

Education in general is presented in the network heuristic Figure 5.4.

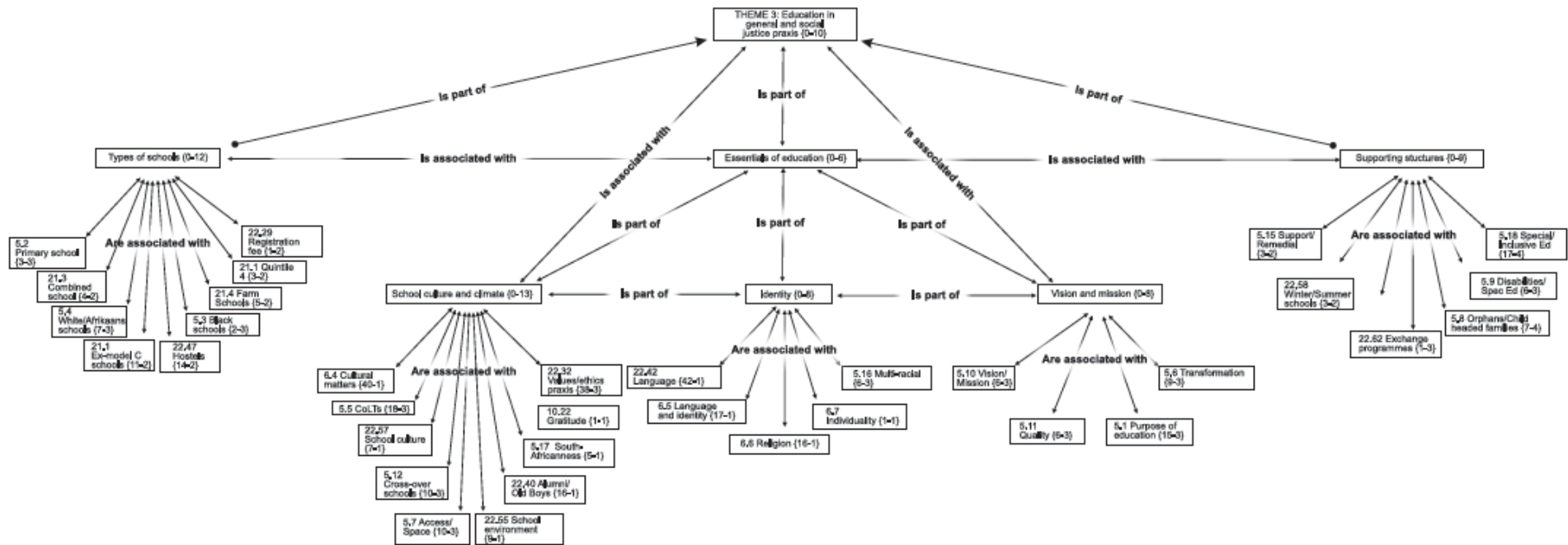


FIGURE 5.4: THEME 3 Network heuristic: Education in general and social justice praxis

5.4.1 Types of schooling

If one is to assume that quality education is an attainable goal for all, social justice praxis should display an understanding of adaptive work which should link accountability to praxis. Such an understanding will search for answers to questions on who are ultimately accountable when high numbers of children fail and ultimately answer the question of who is winning and who is losing? (Cambron-McCabe, 2010:49) (§3.3.4.1). The types of schooling included references to primary, combined, and special schools, as well as schools in general.

Primary schools were criticised for not taking responsibility for teaching English²⁵³ (P3, 183:183) and democratic practices²⁵⁴ (P1, 47:47); they were credited for learners' non-racial perceptions and acceptance of each other across racial divides. This phenomenon should be researched to determine why they were able to inculcate this constitutional value of non-discrimination more readily than secondary schools²⁵⁵ (P1, 13:13). The complexities of managing **combined schools** were evident in appointment matters where a female principal said *my governing body made no secret of the fact that they were looking for a male... males are better disciplinarians and they can run a combined school far better... all things taken into account I was a better candidate and ja I feel I was treated unfairly* (P6, 9:9). She made no bones about the problem surrounding combined schools with regard to *we have some learners who are six and some were eighteen, nineteen* (P6, 57:57). The school system has to be redefined as a single non-racial and equitable system that would provide a uniform system for the organisation of schooling (§3.2.3.2).

The racial divide came to the fore in discussions where principals compared white Afrikaans and ex-model C schools which lead to statements that they did not understand cultural differences such as black learners' propensity to sing²⁵⁶ (P1, 19:19) and white Afrikaans learners would not have the support of their peers, as opposed to black learners who would²⁵⁷ (P1, 82:82). These situations would be difficult to manage in white schools with a low number of black learners and therefore they would encounter more race-related problems as they were not equipped to handle inter-race relationships²⁵⁸ (P1, 103:103). In a principal's encounters with other white Afrikaans principals he witnessed that they still had a long way to go to embrace a non-racial and non-discriminatory school environment. Short courses could address this need²⁵⁹ (P1, 111:112). This perception was shared by his colleague who referred to learners who could not afford to pay school fees asked by ex-model C schools²⁶⁰ (P2, 29:29). Another said that Afrikaans schools were not yet transformed²⁶¹ (P3, 214:217). Moving learners especially to ex-model C schools *the wealthier ones, took them out and put them in Model C schools* (P6, 135:135) was criticised by a principal who said that they wanted to make these little Englishmen of their children by enrolling them in schools with English cultures and manners²⁶² (P2, 290:290). She said we do not need more Englishmen but Batswana who were good in English, and who still proudly remained Batswana (P2, 290:290). Concern about this matter was expressed by a

statement that this process displaced and deprived a child of his own culture²⁶³ (P2, 278:278). Another told of white learners who were motivated to go to single-medium Afrikaans schools²⁶⁴ (P3, 214:217). Very proudly one Setswana-speaking principal affirmed *that's what I'm always saying, say he was not from... heaven or from this model C or whatever, he was from this school* (P5, 129:129). Contradictory was an old boy who donated a million rand for the sole purpose of exposing the head boys to the English culture and to London, and Shakespeare - exposure that would be remembered for life²⁶⁵ (P3, 334:334).

Although this notion of Anglicisation seems to be ill-received, it is also important to acknowledge that due to the privileged circumstances of ex-model C schools, being primarily white, other than white parents realised that it afforded their children quality education. When questioned why farm school learners went to ex-Model C schools, the learners said because it offered academic and extra-curricular opportunities²⁶⁶ (P15, 9:29). The problem around the influx of numbers was the management of these numbers²⁶⁷ (P15, 9:29). A normalised situation managed well could enhance “open” ex-model C schools where learners, teachers and parents were gradually representing the country’s racial groups and being honest when making these racial rightsizings²⁶⁸ (P15, 54:54). These matters boil down to race and class (§3.3.4.1).

Residences (hostels) provided opportunities to schools that could be positive or negative. In a positive sense principals told of prominent parents who had to relocate who sent their children to boarding schools²⁶⁹ (P3, 176:176) and it afforded schools the space to display valuable items²⁷⁰ (P3, 261:261). He said that *between an Ikageng boy and a city boy and there's a huge difference. But I do find that they, they accept each other much easier, especially in the hostel. I mean they live together 24/7. Between the day boy and the hostel boy it's a normal situation because they only see each other during school hours [ja]. But, but in the hostel, they play sport together, they live together, they eat together...* (P3, 38:38). Gr. R and younger ones were helped with their homework²⁷¹ (P9, 35:39) and were mostly farmers’ children²⁷² (P9, 41:41). On the negative side *parents that think they can dump a problem on our doorstep... it doesn't work that way, because we are not a reformatory. You actually need disciplined children to come and live in a hostel... Because in a hostel there are rules, they can't come and go as they like, which is at contradiction when they are at home* (P3, 99:101). This notion was supported by a principal who confirmed that parents saw it as a place where they could drop their learners and took no responsibility and they became the responsibility of teachers²⁷³ (P16, 11:11). These *petit récits* were about cultural deficit theories that hindered their ability to benefit from education (§3.3.4.1).

With regard to primarily **black schools**, diversity amongst Setswana-speaking teachers who had to teach a class of IsiXhosa learners was highlighted and the principal said that courses to bring about understanding and awareness was also necessary in this environment²⁷⁴ (P1, 104:105). He gave an example of black learners who, when disciplined, did not look the teacher in the eye and that the white teacher had to learn that it was a form of showing respect²⁷⁵ (P1, 104:105). Learners’ self-worth had to be developed especially if they attended **farm schools**²⁷⁶

(P15, 159:159). One principal who attended a farm school knew of all the social injustices which he now could address in his school²⁷⁷ (P16, 14:14). **Quintile 4 schools** suffered because they were not regarded as “needy” without taking into account demographic and economical changes *[u]nfortunately we are still labelled Quintile 4... So there's lots of poverty and we've written many letters to the department you know fighting about this, fighting about this quintile and I think that's very unfair, that's a lot of injustice... from the side of the department [ja] and you know the law takes its own time but until somebody up there decides no P[school] must be quintile 2 or 3 school, children are hungry... and they're writing exams and you know and they can't concentrate* (P6, 133:133). **Registration fees** seemed very high in comparison to other schools²⁷⁸ (P3, 185:185). At a *fee charging* school the principal told parents that they had to budget R300.00pm over a period of 5 years to “buy” education from her. She believed it unfair if parents only enrolled only one of several children²⁷⁹ (P2, 25:25). This monthly fee was used to buy *scientific calculators; plastic book covers; dictionaries* which meant that all the learners' equipment looked the same so that no evidence of rich and poor could be seen²⁸⁰ (P2, 99:101). The literature referred to these and other stories told, as examples of institutionalised inequities, discrimination and injustices that still benefit the few and marginalises the masses (§3.4.4.2).

Types of schooling entailed a discussion of primary (5.2) ($f=3$), white/Afrikaans (5.4) ($f=7$) and hostel schools (22.47) ($f=14$), black (5.3) ($f=2$) and farm schools (21.4) ($f=3$), and the problem of quintile 4 schools (21.1) ($f=1$). Lastly school and registration fees were discussed (22.29) ($f=1$).

Essentials of education will be analysed and discussed in the following section.

5.4.2 Essentials of education

Essentials of education were analysed and discussed as **school culture and climate** (§5.2.1), **identity** (§5.4.2.2), and **vision and mission** (§5.4.2.3).

5.4.2.1 School culture and climate

School culture has widely reported effects on students and has been a significant focus for principals' intervention and teacher commitment (§3.4.4.3). One principal said that they inculcate their **school culture** *all the time* (P4, 79:79) and another said *[t]hat's what I started by saying that here we do it like this, we do it like this. This is our culture; this is a climate that we want to create... It is our tradition... that's what we value... if, if you've done wonderful, then you will say okay fine, we call you say Idilette you've done wonderful and everyone is ululating and is praising you. We encourage you to become a very better person. That's how you do it* (P5, 165:166). And yet another *there are some things that are rooted in this school like culture, language, religion... this forms part of my vision to say in our school, in our country in our SMT we really need to respect what we are here for* (P7, 237:237). School culture was enhanced by 2: *teacher and workers... 1: And we teach that, that racism isn't just black or white on black, it's black on white... and at the same time racism can be amongst the black children themselves... because we belong to... we have different cultures, we have different ethnic groups and amongst the white people we have different cultures and different groups as*

well... it was very much part of the core business was to make everybody realise that there's respect... Social justice is the very core of our business here at ... High (P4, 17:19). Learners were being prepared for the outside world ... and in the outside world the reality is you're gonna work with black, white and green. You're gonna work with different people, you have to have respect ... for all cultures, all races, all ... Religions (P4, 30:32). A specific inspiring discussion was based on multi-cultural teachings bridging the divide between one's culture and that of the school, was found in the following petit récit (P4, 70:70):

Well they're growing, and we're saying they are developing, and so they're learning and... every single grade went to the camps last week and that became, ... it's an important part where they learn respect for one another. That they learn to accept there are differences, that differences together make a whole and not uhm you don't have to see it as a threat [uhm]. We try and emphasise, I always emphasise my own culture - we have a culture at home but we have a culture at school. We have two cultures, the one doesn't take away from the other. So when you come to school in your culture, you might not... and this is what we teach the girls. We gonna say in your culture, if your culture is you cannot look at, at, at an adult because it is in your culture not to look at, that's fine, you have to exercise that culture at home, but when you come here we have a new culture called ...High culture. So there's a way in which we speak to one another, there's a way in which we say Mam and that's the way. We have a way of eating... The Muslims, they can eat with their hands and others might eat with a spoon, those are fantastic, but you do that at home. Now you come to ... High, now we teach you how to eat with a knife and fork. Because at ...High we have a ...High culture... I tell them if I'm a Portuguese, I have certain cultures, when I come to ...High I leave those cultures at home, but when I go home, I'm back to where I was, because you don't take away somebody's culture. So what we are trying to teach them is you get enriched by second culture so that you can move with kings and queens, you must in Rome do as the Romans do, in Africa do as the Africans do but so you acquire a second culture which doesn't, you don't have to feel threatened that your own culture is being ignored.

The value of being consistent in your conduct was emphasised by a principal who said you cannot from Monday to Friday be a principal with these fantastic values and then during weekends you lie around drunk in the streets²⁸¹ (P15, 77:77). This notion was affirmed by *sometimes experience conflict, the teacher and the child... if you want to instil your values with a child, you have to live the example. And that sometimes creates a conflict between the children and the teacher* (P3, 59:61). Another said being positive and showing respect was of the utmost importance²⁸² (P15, 95:95). Principals agreed that **values and ethical** conduct were of paramount importance in creating a socially just school environment. These were Christian values²⁸³ (P2, 163:163), moral values affirmed by a person who talked about his own addiction²⁸⁴ (P2, 163:163), and scripture readings²⁸⁵ (P2, 176:178). The problem of conflicting home and school values were addressed when one principal said *we have to instil... the proper values which is difficult, because some of our values differ from the values they bring from home. A simple example a boy might say to you, why may I not smoke because my parents give me money for cigarettes? There's a conflict of, of values and to bring about a mind change is quite difficult - you have to uhm sit with that child and you have to show him the pros and the cons in connection with the issue* (P3, 59:61). He continued and said *ja, you know these days you talk about them getting married and then the kids, their children are there at the wedding... which is something we didn't grow up with* (P3, 59:61). These value-based practices are about *you want to accept, you want live, you want to share...* (P5, 28:28). Another said *the learners can't wait to hear what you're saying and it's because of discipline, tradition, and values and morals, that they allow you to teach them!* (P4, 364:364).

Respect again came to the fore *[r]espect should not be only respect for the individual, you respect time, you respect submission date... buildings, vandalism, this is your building. If you, if you're not going to respect property then it means that at the end of the term it means that we will not be having any furniture* (P5, 76:76). This principal referred to the *Manifesto on Values* *[uhm], do you still remember that?* And continued to say *[a]nd still we have the values of the department and we must try and drill them and then, I mean through this new curriculum it is so much of value-orientation* (P5, 130:139) (§3.2.3.2). Another said to the question **tolerance** *so [that] we lived together, ja tolerance, but respect and you know all these things, you learn at home* (P6, 278:281). One principal specifically referred to an *organisation, you know to be able to sustain those values né. These values that we're talking about... respect..., appreciation, all these other things, né a[re] part of the values... embedded in a vision of this school, this is where we start, né* (P7, 104:104). He told that *where we always preach to learners that they need to observe the values of, of our school, because that is what distinguishes us from; from the others... they always understand... that they reaching adulthood, so these are the values that they must really keep them up... So we... are talking to them on daily basis, talking to the teachers, talking to the learners, talking to their parents on a parents meeting that we value this and this and this and this at our school* (P7, 104:104). Another said the values of respect, honesty, sincerity and actualising deeds were what he required of his learners²⁸⁶ (P12, 214:214). He affirmed that they brought out those higher values at his school²⁸⁷ (P12, 87:87). Another added to the list *morals, ethics* (P14, 59:59). Similar to another principal, one principal said he had three rules only: respect, responsibility and do not disturb²⁸⁸ (P15, 56:56). Adding to these another said that it was important to also emphasise that it is not about a person, but the value that you have breached; you did not show respect to the teacher and therefore disturbed the whole class and the principal. Continuing, he argued that it is that social justice concept that needs to be inculcated. Each child needed to know that they consistently acted fairly²⁸⁹ (P15, 56:56). This notion was supported by the fact that you were addressing the non-compliance with a value which if consistent with providing opportunities will render the learner the opportunity to succeed²⁹⁰ (P15, 65:65).

With regard to requirements principals had to have the correct moral and ethical fibre to do the right thing. Mostly when people's moral fibre crumbled their practices also crumbled and he compared it to a woven cloth: if those two aspects were in place, one would consistently be one step ahead²⁹¹ (P15, 70:70). He believed that if your attitude as person was proper *versus* having no moral standards made the difference between leaders because you could not have a *split personality*²⁹² (P15, 77:77). Similarly another principal said that you always had to take the lead: if you arrived late how could you expect your staff to be punctual; if you swore at the learners how could the teachers set an example or walk tall²⁹³ (P15, 81:83) and she said that if your values were in place, principals could almost fold their hands because your staff knew what was right and wrong, and you could retire²⁹⁴ (P15, 85:85). In referring to the moral fibre, an official said he wanted to highlight two characteristics that principals should acquire: passion and values. If those two were at the top of your organogram, then you could add anything else

underneath it. This could also be used as a test for social justice because you would then be able to have a school in which thirteen languages were spoken, one where multimillionaires' children and children from squatter camps were sitting together, where strong religious groups co-existed and where each form of diversity were respected and allowed to co-exist in harmony²⁹⁵ (P15, 106:108). One said whichever religion one belonged to, if you lived the correct values people would respect you and told how he moved the date of a matric farewell because the date was during the period of Ramadan although they only had a few learners who were Muslims. He and most of the learners were Christians, but a decision none the less that was met with great appreciation and he did not lose anything in the process²⁹⁶ (P15, 109:110). A written comment was building self-confidence based on values; passion, and opportunities²⁹⁷ (P15, 251:251). These values were accommodating; brought people together; created a sense of belonging²⁹⁸ (P15, 111:111).

Schools needed to develop a **culture of teaching and learning** to support learners. This could be seen as the hidden curriculum because when a teacher talked about education, in the broader sense edification, (*Afrikaans opvoeding*) it would be part of subject teaching²⁹⁹ (P1, 74:75). A deputy referred to learners who were *taught respect, they respect the teacher. And they respect the view of the teacher* (P4, 364:364). One referred to negative learners of whom he said *[w]e can't keep him here if he's not the adhering to the values that you are trying to do. You say this is a culture ..., we want to inculcate a culture of learning where learning instead of fighting they should be having their weekly uhh debates, they should be having their uhh sporting activities and the like, instead of fighting* (P5, 76:76). One said that she would not hesitate to tell a teacher whom she found leaving a class to make a photo copy ... *but then council them and tell them listen it is because you haven't planned. You know if you plan the day before, like in we were drilled when we started teaching, we used to have a prep or forecast and the heading was, 'weet ek vandag wat ek more gaan doen?' [do I know today what I am going to do tomorrow] because in a sense if you didn't do it then, [ja, ja] you're always lagging behind...* (P6, 87:97). She referred to a decline in teacher quality *you do have some dead wood and you can't, can't really get rid of teachers. It, it is so difficult...* referring to teachers who asked the same exam paper year after year and added what she expected of teachers was *I mean give me something fresh! In a subject like life orientation, you take your news papers, your magazines, there's articles, there's cartoons, make it interesting for the children. No it doesn't [uhm] help. Old dead wood* (P6, 87:97). Another principal said he made sure that his teachers were in their classes *[w]hat we do is that, you know, to address... bunking classes and so, we have introduced what I will call class teaching... a teacher will sit in... class, will regard your class as your office, and then you are not ...moving to go to another class, so learners will be coming to you... you are allocated that class permanently. He ensured that learners were in class at the end of teaching every period, I have someone, you know, manning the block...and it is also a very refreshing exercise for the learners* (P8, 266:283). He assured that it was *working well, your classes will be clean... your resources also will be taken care of... Then we give all the classes that are there, we note them down, she signs for it... responsibilit... to teach... accountability too, when the chairs are broken, desks are broken, something is*

stolen, it is their responsibility (P8, 266:283). At another school the culture was that teachers had to be in class, the teacher would be standing outside his classroom, he would open the class and while the learners were entering they would check their attire. He believed that discipline started in the passages³⁰⁰ (P12, 3:3).

This social justice praxis needs to be reported in full because it entailed the *petit récits* of a change of mind on the side of white learners, their parents and black teachers: the principal's arrangement was that the best teacher would be teaching all the learners meant that a black teacher, Mr. M, who had English III, would teach English to all learners which Mr. M welcomed; he for the first time would be teaching white learners as well and did it for a week. The white parents, coming from racial skirmishes in the past, objected and asked that their children be taught by the very same teacher whom they wanted to fire when he was interviewed. It was extremely difficult to arrange such an integrated time-table even with the use of a computerised programme; they used 945 different combinations and as it would happen the only solution was not to use Mr. M to teach English to the Afrikaans learners. The announcement was made, Mr. M complained believing that he was not good enough to teach white Afrikaans learners but the principal told Mr. M *[n]o, no Mr. M, the timetable can't take you*. Whilst a parent delegation came to thank the principal that their learners were now being taught by the white teacher the principal told them that they were misinformed, it was not a black and white arrangement, it was purely logistically because the computer programme could not fit Mr. M into the time-table³⁰¹ (P12, 119:131). The goodness of accepting one another, recognising quality without regard to race, was evident when all 28 white learners signed a petition demanding that Mr. M would teach them English. He went to the class and said that he had received their petition, but there were eleven parents who demanded that they be taught by a white teacher and he had to talk to the parents first. The following Monday nine of the initial eleven parents arrived and the principal said "you were here a week ago because you have a perception that a black teacher are incompetent to teach your children, but that was not the case with your children; their perception is totally different" and he showed them the petition signed by 28 learners that asked Mr. M to teach them. The parents were taken aback and he showed the signatures of each of the parents' learners to which one parent said he would kill his child. He asked them what now and they said if he brought Mr. M back, they would send their learners to a neighbouring school. He told them that he had news for them and over the intercom called their learners to his office requesting them to bring their school bags with. The children, on entering, found their dads in the office and the principal told them they were going to X school. The learners wanted to know what was going on and he told them that their parents did not want them to be taught by Mr. M and were going to take them out at the end of the week. He then told them that they had to leave the school immediately as there was no room for them in the school anymore. He also asked his black deputy to attend the meeting with the parents, and he told the parents to take their children. This encounter was an eye-opener for his deputy of how a white principal handled

white parents in telling them that racism was unacceptable in his school. He told the parents that he was not interfering with their farming and therefore he wanted them to understand that he would not allow them to interfere in how he managed his school. And if there were 28 learners who demanded Mr. M as a teacher, he would do it because it was in the best interest of the child. The parents wanted to argue with him, but he just showed them the door with “get out! Please close the door behind you! Racism in this school...”³⁰² (P12, 119:131). Outside the parents and the learners were fighting because some of them were first team rugby players and the school their parents wanted to take them to was their biggest enemy. He reported that the very next day all the learners were back in school, not one left. But the rumour started labelling him as a liberalist, planted by the ANC and a *kafferboetie* and was called by the most terrible names. He believed that if he was younger it might have had a detrimental influence on his life and ended this story by saying my principles were truthful: the best interest of the child, *punt klaar* - translated means: ‘nothing more to be said’³⁰³ (P12, 119:131).

Inculcating a culture of teaching and learning entailed that teachers should experience how a child’s eyes were opened because he or she understood for the first time the wonder of creation, of seeing how the earth revolves and bringing a child to the wonderful aha-moment or “wow” and concluded that there is nothing in the world that compares with this moment in the life of teachers and learners³⁰⁴ (P12, 252:252). This notion linked to what one principal said with regard to a question of how do you know that teachers are actually teaching *[s]o I believe to address this one is to make sure that the teacher understands what he teach... and the teacher is comfortable with what he teach, then he will enjoy going to that class* (P13, 145:146).

Remarks regarding learners who returned in different capacities who came back as teacher-students doing school practice told that they liked their school so much that it influenced them to become teachers³⁰⁵ (P2, 232:241); being proud of famous **alumni**, such as *I think Reddy Dereco is our biggest success story... And now she’s really talks about ...High all the time... and she upholds her school’s name all the time because of the opportunity that was given her... At, at our prize giving we had one of our deputy head girls... she is a lecturer at Tukkies... (P4, 320:324). Others told of one that went to New York... and he was so very much happy and feeling that he was part of us* (P5, 129:129).

Others considered asking alumni to take part in prize giving ceremonies and arranging a *reunion* and each one at this reunion brings something to the school... giving them a motivational talk. And also we invite some of them to come and talk to them about the career that they are pursuing... [p]erhaps maybe a cash donation (P6, 250:253). Learners became *mechanical engineers, who are doctors, who have come to the school* an initiative that extended to include teachers as well *tomorrow, next year to come and join us if we have a post. He has already made a request* (P8, 243:258); *addressed by our former student who is now working at the broadcasting centre in Mmbatho* (P13, 80:84). Similarly a principal told of learners coming back to inspire others by telling the learners that even though they were not elected as prefects, one needed to work hard to achieve your dreams³⁰⁶ (P16,

100:100). He told this story to the cost of learners who thought the world owed them *versus* those who saw the opportunities and took it with both hands³⁰⁷ (P16, 100:100).

A principal of a school that had a hundred years' tradition of *Old Boys society* said that due to historical reasons it was *basically still a white old boy's society. There are very few of our black old boys, there are, but not nearly as many... But the feedback that we are getting is once they come here and they see what happens, they say you, we are maintaining that which they knew. Things that went wrong, we try and rectify that and bring it back so that within the tradition, the old tradition, we try and continue with that, although you sometimes need a slight change of direction* (P3, 84:84). Other examples he gave were *parents speak to old boys and they want their children to have now what they never had... and that's why they bring them here* (P3, 94:94). But traditions could also be negative which he told of an incident where a group that matriculated the previous year came back to the Old Boys function merely to drink. He talked to the matrices about the incident who said but they have achieved and needed to celebrate their success upon which the principal said that he had a problem if one had to get drunk to celebrate and stopped the tradition³⁰⁸ (P3, 295:299). He told of an alumni centenary celebration dinner where he came under the impression of how the input now made still brought together people of the age of 85, something he reminisced on as phenomenal³⁰⁹ (P3, 295:299). It was during this interview that the researcher thought to herself: but is that not what each and every school should be for each and every child?

Schools, which the researcher wanted to label **cross-over schools**, were found where principals said that black parents paid a price for freedom so that their children could get better education. She decided that English and Afrikaans as well as IsiXhosa and Sesotho would be the languages that all learners would take. The parents were not happy but she argued that their learners were Batswana and they needed to at least be able to sing from a Setswana hymn book when they went to church. These options allowed the child a greater chance to succeed in matric³¹⁰ (P2, 282:282). Discussing the great variety of learners from city and country schools a principal said *there's a huge difference, between an Ikageng boy and a city boy* (P3, 35:38). As an Afrikaans HoD he was appointed at an English school because he believed that was the direction that South African education was going³¹¹ (P3, 165:165). He regretfully told that when he became principal he was merely the chief-executive officer but regretted becoming "Meneer" (Sir)³¹² (P3, 167:168).

A female principal told that *within a day, we change their outlook. Ché!! Ché!! Within a day, I, I, I take kids for the winter school and there are kids from... like this year we had four-hundred-and-seventy kids from Ikageng, from all the dysfunctional schools... The first day they arrive here and they're chewing their gum I thought 'oegh, ek gaan vir jou nog regruk!' [I am going to fix you]. Well by five o'clock (tapping on her desk) I had them... greeting, standing... 2: They don't litter... 1: respecting, not littering..., it's like, you just say...this is just not on, you just say... 1: It's not on. 2: It's not only about people; it's also about respecting the environment... We have a litter committee, we have a... uhm 1: they, they, it's, it's what you do! and how you do it!* (P4, 365:377). Another example was of a principal who said the

changed multi-racial school was like a wave; sometimes it merely rolled you onto your back splashing you to think differently, but she said some schools would be hit by a *tsunami* (§2.3.1.2). She regarded it as a privilege to live through the changes of seeing how different cultures worked together³¹³ (P15, 87:87). Another told of a teacher who grew up during the apartheid years when schools were *battle ground[s]* which taught the learners to be strong and aggressive, but, the principal said, the school no longer was like this and this teacher had to change with the times³¹⁴ (P16, 52:52). Cross-over schools would also speak to **access** where one principal said that they did not show anyone the door and was the only school that took orphans in³¹⁵ (P2, 28:29). This was done by asking payment per subject and the rest would be paid by a sponsor, who she always found³¹⁶ (P2, 31:32). One principal said *[w]e believe that this is a public school, and everyone who enters in it is to need assistance of whatsoever nature* (P7, 128:128). Other principals equated access to poverty and equity but said that no difference should be made between rich and poor³¹⁷ (P15, 20:20).

The **school environment** was indicative of caring for the environment which the Old Boys eventually took over and it became a memorial garden³¹⁸ (P3, 328:329). One said *we've been talking about respect, okay, and these learners ... like skills, you develop them, okay... when the siren goes, we go to that class, we pick up whatever is there. What do we do? You want to inculcate that skill of listening and responding to the siren, simultaneously clean your... your immediate environment...* (P5, 141:143) *But learners don't do that, they'll only do it for the first week, second week they forget* (P5, 144:145). Disturbing was a comment made that the learners regarded it as job creation when they littered (P2, 259:267). This notion was challenged by another who said *[n]o! I fought with them! I fought with them. When I bought my, my [bins] it was very new ... I don't know whether it's 500 litres, die groot dromme, [large garbage cans] then I said I need about 15 of them. What are you going to do? Saying every corner, strategic corner should be put there... they throw that in, and it was painted, it had handles, so every block had its own. Because what did they do, they stole that uhh rubber bins [ja]. During winter they burn them ... and the new ones, they will steal them and they will use it at the location to make this Tswana-beer* (P5, 144:145).

Linking to the notion of school culture and for our country, one principal said that pride of being in the first instance a **South African**, albeit an Afrikaans South African was important, but similarly she wanted to enhance the notion of being a proud Setswana-speaking South African as well without regard for what her ancestors did³¹⁹ (P2, 288:290). To which another said *[b]ut I think they need to know this. We've got to deal with the issues we have had, we are managing the school and we want to be... an environment conducive to learning, because this is where we spend most of our time... We are here to make sure that the end product that we send out, has... can contribute to the world, and contribute to South Africa* (P4, 218:218); *that we can say this is the culture of the South Africans [uhm]. I don't know whether it, it's possible for that to materialise, I don't know...* (P13, 91:91).

Gratitude in the form of people coming back and telling you that their daughter, who had been a learner, was now playing netball in Australia; or one that reminded you that the chair he was

sitting on was made by a learner whom he helped to get into an industry school where he was able to pass matric. When he was in Gr. 10 he brought the chair as a gift, one that the principal still used. He offered to pay R5.00 for it³²⁰ (P12, 248:248). Another told of learners who saw her and her deputy and said *the two of you gave us such hard a time, but now we can come back and say, thank you mam, we appreciate it, it's very nice* (P2, 228:231). She also told of one who came and said *[a]hh Mam, I must greet you, thank you so much, it's so wonderful to see my old principal! En um hy sê 'you know what I think back of school everyday... you always told us it's the best days of your whole life, and its true Mam, its true.* Another went on his knees in front of the mayor at a mayoral meeting and said *my best teacher ever!* (P2, 228:231).

In this section school culture and climate ($f=154$) the following social justice practices were discussed: cultural matters (6.4) ($f=40$), values/ethics (22.32) ($f=38$), CoLTs (5.5) ($f=18$), alumni/old boys (22.40) ($f=16$), cross-over schools (5.12) ($f=10$), access/space (5.7) ($f=10$), school environment (22.55) ($f=9$), school culture (22.57) ($f=7$), South African culture (5.17) ($f=5$), and gratitude (10.22) ($f=1$).

The following section deals with diversity and identity.

5.4.2.2 Diversity and identity

Identity and diversity were evident in *they understand one another, they've respect for one another and they don't see that colour anymore. And they... respect each other's cultures without wanting to change one another to become something they're not* (P4, 328:328). One said his school *it is a sort of... miniport. A diversified port where you've got this learners from this various backgrounds and the like... So we need to adjust them to our culture of teaching and learning and taking care of the various social, economical backgrounds. So we want to fit them all... irrespective whether it's a Xhosa, Zulu or what ..., we want to say come and enjoy whatever you are doing and try to, to show them okay fine here the respect will be this or our values are these or ethos are these, morals are these, that's how we do things here* (P5, 17:17). The experience of being one of many cultures while growing up, was to the advantage of the Indian principal who said *I, I ascribe it to my culture. We were brought up in that way and to respect people. Because when I was young, I lived in a huge cottage which, which the land lord subdivided and we were Indians, Coloureds, Blacks, you know together...* (P6, 276:277). Similarly a black principal said in terms of culture *we respect culture for other people, we don't have any borders to say this is how we should do it, but you respect cultures of... teachers or governing body member or whoever* (P7, 10:10).

The practices to enhance an understanding of cultural diversity was found *by communicating you know, trying to find more information about their culture... willing to share information... in our culture we are not suppose to eat or drink anything from 6 o'clock or from sunrise to sunset. He referred to equally so, there are cases that really separate both of us because of religion* (P7, 12:12) which was problematic *because everyone has to stick to his or her... religion. A simple example when we, we have food, they have their own type of food... so, we can't get into one service provider who says we all need this standard type of food, no. So somewhere along the line, it segregates us to say everyone must*

remain with his or her culture (P7, 14:14). A white principal at a dual medium white and black school explained the conduct according to culture as one where a child who enters his office will remain standing, whilst the black learner will immediately sit down and both were showing respect or not understanding that by not showing his hands, the black child will show that he is not coming to fight³²¹ (P12, 270:270).

Another philosophised and expressed a heartfelt hope for South Africa (P13, 91:91; P13, 87:87):

How would the people in a country like South Africa live together and that is where they now express and even inform learners more about the, the value of culture, and how should one respect one's culture, and how should one look at the culture of other people. Because we, we, we don't really have to say my culture is better than somebody's culture [uhm]. Culture is something that belongs to an individual but I, I, I, I, want to, but let me just deviate a little bit... I, I want to see South Africa at one stage after maybe the people in South Africa have agreed that right we, we are from different cultures, I, I want to see, I don't know when, but I want to see some time in future where the South African people will say, how about unifying all these cultures and at the end of the day come up with one specific culture, that we can say this is the culture of the South Africans [uhm]. I don't know whether it, it's possible for that to materialise, I don't know... He continued and said [d]eal with respect, particularly the culture of other people, but knowing that at the end of the day we, we, we, belong to South Africa as a population, as one nation, actually, sorry not population, as one nation [uhm]. I think if we, we instil in the, the, in the, in the learners' mind that we don't have to look at people by, by judging them through their colours and all these things, ... We may have different cultures because of our uhh... different origins, but in South Africa as country uhh I, I, I, would say we, we need to live together, to live together [uhm] despite the fact that one is coming from this culture and the other one is coming from this culture, as long as we can respect the cultures of other people, I think that will be easier for, for us... to eventually regard one another as a fellow-citizen of the country.

The third indicator of programmatic equity is the academic progress of learners served through **bilingual education** (Skrla et al., 2010:269) (§3.3.4.2). The discussion on language should note the growing tendency of cultural and linguistic diversity of learners in schools that requires the assessment of the quality of the bilingual instruction they receive. They refer to the language-oriented ghettos where learners were segregated on the basis of language that resulted in them neither becoming proficient in English nor being able to progress academically in their first language. In the South African context **language** and specifically the relationship between English, the only non-indigenous language, but the official language of the state and its organs (*lingua franca*), and of the economy, became a contentious issue. Due to apartheid Afrikaans was and is still is regarded as the language of the oppressor and this reality has brought about a determined onslaught to ensure that all schools eventually will be single English-medium schools. The schools used primarily English, Afrikaans, Setswana, IsiXhosa and Sesotho as language of instruction. Against this background the comments of the participants should be understood. One principal aptly described it as “they”, referring to all but white, have lost because of what they believed in, namely that their children would get a better education. Therefore when she started as principal at a brand new school, she decided that English would be the mother tongue language, Afrikaans the second language, but all the children would also do IsiXhosa and Sesotho as third language³²² (P2, 282:282). She told of the resistance of parents and learners against having to take IsiXhosa and Sesotho which was

named 'vernacular' on the report. The learners called it *vernack* and one demanded that they remove it from her rapport. Because of this resistance vernacular languages were part of her admission policy³²³ (P2, 290:295). Vernacular was not an examination subject, but all the learners, white, coloured and black had to take it. She believed the more languages our country had the better it would be³²⁴ (P2, 295:295). She regarded the English teacher as the most important teacher³²⁵ (P2, 65:65). Another told that *[w]hat we did for one group we did for the other even though you will find that your mother tongue speakers advanced quicker than your non-mother tongue speakers... we try and put programmes into place so that they can catch up... Where the RCL actually said to us, you must please continue with this because there are groups that need a little bit more attention to catch up with the rest. And if it is on the level that the children realises this, I think that we've achieved something* (P3, 25:28). He described the programme: *It more entails to the use of language because mo..., we, we teach in our school English as home language which in the olden days was called First Language [ja] and there's very few First Language or home language speakers in the school... we've started a reading laboratory... But that's one way of ensuring that we increase the ability of the boys to speak the language.* Another strategy used was that in the parameters of the school grounds, not the hostels, the school grounds, everybody is going to speak English. *We're not going to enforce it, we are trying the boys to buy in into the concept so that they can understand (coughing) that the more I speak the language, the more it is to my advantage. Because they have in their classes the subject vocabulary but the moment they move out into a social environment they're lost* (P3, 25:28). Thirdly they as far as the writing is concerned the curriculum allows you or, or dictates so much writing needs to be done. *What our language department do is to try and do more than that is expected, so that practice makes perfect* (P3, 32:32). He believed *the more you speak it the better it becomes... That's the reality* (P3, 30:30). This notion was affirmed by a neighbouring school's principal who said *[w]hen you come into this property you speak English. But I want you to go home and if your father is Zulu and your mother is Pedi, you must learn to speak Pedi and you must learn to speak Zulu. When you come here you speak English. If you haven't been deprived of who you are, because your culture forms the core of you, but you can get a second culture* (P4, 71:71).

A black principal of a combined township school said they focussed on English *because we start with gr. R... so they begin to adapt well in terms of proficiency of language and competency from Gr. 1, Gr. 2, when they are at Gr. 3 at least... for us it is an advantage that they always move from Gr. R up and they become... acquainted to the language up until gr. 12.* He believed that English as language of instruction *helps learners to remain focused and disciplined ... I can even express myself, you know. Then it is easier for them. It is really important... but the policy doesn't say when you go home...* (P7, 74:99). Another said *[w]hen it comes to language I don't think we have a problem there...* (P8, 140:148). At the Afrikaans medium school, the principal said Afrikaans and English were their languages of instruction but learners used their mother tongue during break³²⁶ (P9, 42:47). The principal who had integrated his time-table said they would refer to an Afrikaans learner or an English learner but did not refer to learners in racial terms³²⁷ (P12, 88:88). His policy of using the best teacher to teach lead to excellent cooperation and gave the following example of an

Afrikaans speaking History teacher who stumbled over English words would respectfully be corrected by black learners “No Sir, it’s not this, it is that.” “Thank you”. He said that it also brought about mutual appreciation because the teacher was dependent on the child’s language ability and the learner acquired respect for the teacher because he taught Maths to Afrikaans and English Gr. 12 learners and that was equal education³²⁸. (P12, 116:116). He continued to say that it was impressive how quickly the Afrikaans teachers were able to pick up English which lead to beautiful relationships between groups. Unfortunately the English teachers had a problem because they still had to acquire Afrikaans language proficiency. He acknowledged that the Afrikaans teachers had English from “Sub B” which the black teachers did not with regard to Afrikaans³²⁹ (P12, 116:116) but they did turn around eventually. Although his school was a multi-racial school, he could not repeat everything in both languages and therefore he would alternate between the two without repeating anything. They had *Afrikaans* and *Setswana* as their mother tongue languages and *English First Additional Language*. He expected that his black teachers would speak and teach in Afrikaans within a year because what he expected from one group he did from the other (P12, 118:118). He then told that he had one IsiZulu speaking teacher, a beautiful person, but she just could not, repeating she just could not. She said the Afrikaans learners were too quick for her notwithstanding the principal’s acknowledgement that she was herself a very clever person. The Afrikaans learners were too quick, they were too prepared, and their homework was done. He said the black teachers were not used to it partly because of their culture³³⁰ (P12, 118:118).

A principal saw **language and identity** in her school as a *one-race school... We have very few non-black learners in the school*. She referred to her previous school *[w]hat we did for one group we did for the other even though you will find that your mother tongue speakers advanced quicker than your non-mother tongue speakers. In those cases is what we do is we try and put programmes into place so that they can catch up* (P3, 25:25). A principal brought under attention the problem of learners who, being black, did not know any other language than English *[b]ut then you have a black girl that was brought up in an English home and they can’t speak any of the languages* (P4, 192:192). The Afrikaans school principal said that learners knew that they would be taught in Afrikaans according to their language policy, but they had language bridging programme in place lead by teachers who did remedial courses and after a year the learners normally were able to continue successfully³³¹ (P9, 11:11). The need to respect cultural and identity differences were found in the example of religious leaders who were praying in their mother tongue and many learners could follow because they were able to speak Setswana³³² (P12, 87:87). Mono-lingual speakers were referred to where a principal said *when you go there you’ll start interacting with other people who are not used to you or that you are not used to, so be prepared for that... because really 90-99% it’s exclusively the Batswana speaking in this environment* (P13, 69:69).

Religion formed part of the discussion. A principal said *if you’re a true educator you don’t just teach, but you educate... I don’t teach a child, I’m involved in the whole child’s being. How sh..., where*

she finds her morals and her values, how she uhm, what she bases it on, which is usually based on religion which then no matter if you're a Muslim or a Christian, your values are still the same, it's just how are you going to relate to God if you're going this route or that route but it forms the same for... (P4, 26:26). She affirmed that *whether you're a Jewish person or whether you're a Christian... everybody has the same moral... values that we uphold* (P4, 13:13) and another said *we have a few Muslim learners who have to go and pray at half-past twelve on a Friday* (P6, 130:130) *...because we also have Jewish... and Muslim in the school environment* (P4, 13:13). Another said *[i]n the ZCC where they put on their clothes, and those things, but when they come to school, it's only a few who will come to school with their badges on* (P5, 56:56). Another said *they always observe religion of other people... the Indians always move for... fasting, and then when they go for fasting, we also come to school and we will work... as if there is no religion which exist in the school... But finally this is strength to all of us; we are so much diversified and able to learn from one another, it is a very good strength* (P7, 10:10). He acknowledged that *they were aware in our culture we are not supposed to eat or drink anything from 6 o'clock or from sunrise to sunset* (P7, 10:10). Another equated religion to Sangoma *I was thinking while you were talking about religion, uhm Sangoma, I know it is not strictly religion, but it is traditional* (P8, 171:171). Another changed the dates of his matric farewell to accommodate Muslim learners³³³ (P15, 109:110). A discursive interaction between two participants relating to religion was where teachers said Muslim parents should take their children to Muslim schools, this was a Christian school, was interjected by a remark that that statement in essence was an un-Christian one, to which the other said although we only had four Muslim learners they would accommodate them by providing Halaal food; they asked a Muslim woman to explain to parents and teachers their cultural heritage to prevent people to act unjustly towards others without even realising it³³⁴ (P15, 114:115).

References to **multi-racialism** were made such as *we are a multi-cultural* (P4, 113:113); when he became principal realised that they were a *multi-racial school* (P12, 23:23). This section should be read together with §5.3.3.1 and the principal's account of how he brought about a multi-racial school from the ashes of an intense racial divide to be the Department's flagship. His school was truly an integrated *multi-racial school* where people from as far afield as Switzerland, America, Nigeria, England, Germany, Austria and Spain came to study this success story called the "Vryburg Model"³³⁵ (P12, 244:244).

The analysis showed that the possession of explicit values based on commitments to equity and inclusion and an ability to articulate these values in ways that allowed them to become part of the lived experience of the school community were driven by a pivotal individual. He or she was willing to shape the school's organisational culture around operationalised statements of values (Stevenson, 2007:774-775) (§3.4.4.3).

In this section identity ($f=82$) the following social justice practices were analysed and discussed: language (22.42) ($f=42$), language and identity (6.5) ($f=17$), religion (6.6) ($f=16$), multi-racial (5.16) ($f=6$), and individuality (6.7) ($f=1$) matters.

The following section analysed and discussed vision and mission of the school related to social justice praxis.

5.4.2.3 Vision and mission

In building a collective vision of schools that allows opportunities for all learners, principals would ensure that learners with the greatest struggles were given the same rich opportunities both academically and socially as their more privileged peers (§3.4.4.5). The **vision and mission** was in one instance directly linked to social justice praxis by stating *[t]his forms the whole mission statement of our school is about this. And I don't think it's because you were taught it, it's just simply because we're in education [uhm], if you're a true educator you don't just teach, but you educate and its [uhm]... I see..., I don't teach a child, I'm involved in the whole child's being* (P4, 26:26)... *It's reflected in our school's vision and on an annual basis we choose a theme for the school and it is reflected in that theme... that everything we do rotates about* (P4, 20:26). Another said the vision was *affordable, quality education* (P2, 66:67); *excellence, to provide excellent teachers, to provide excellent education, to have excellent children... excellence is not limited to top-performers it is, it is to encourage a learner to reach his potential* (P3, 23:23). Another expanded and included it to be *the direction of the organisation; to sustain those values; respect; appreciation; our culture or language are embedded in a vision of this school; observe the values... because that is what distinguishes us from, from the others* (P7, 104:104).

Education and **quality**, as a basic right, should be possible for all children (§3.2.3.4) and were synonymous where principals said *affordable, quality education* (P2, 67:67); *the educators ... represent the welfare, and the quality of teaching and lea... of the quality of the school* (P5, 92:92); and that parents required quality teaching and was not fazed if their child had to repeat a year³³⁶ (P9, 13:13) and that their promotion was directly linked to the quality of their teaching³³⁷ (P9, 99:99). One principal told of his experience when he walked into the hall of a century old school where the *ambiance* had an influence on learners and that he felt he was walking on *holy ground*³³⁸ (P3, 270:271).

With regard to the **purpose of education** the following statements were of note: *we are preparing you for the outside world* (P4, 30:36); *the best interest of the child*³³⁹ (P1, 8:8); *we were not playing school, we taught; adding to what parents could not give their children*³⁴⁰ (P1, 71:71), and *the school is not my school, it is yóúr school* (P2, 324:324); *and we want... a happy environment... conducive to learning... We are here to make sure that the end product that we send out... can contribute to the world, and contribute to South Africa... Again we focus on the learner... We are here... in education to educate the child* (P4, 209:222); *2: If, if we want to run a well disciplined, clean, safe environment for... for teaching... 1: For ourselves...* (P4, 349:356) ending with *[w]e don't ask these questions, it's just like we do this automatically... You see you, you will know... you're educating children* (P4, 379:379). Under difficult racial tensions a principal said it was the teachers who were the *culprits* and responsible that learners failed. Teachers were in the school to teach that was what they were paid for and should leave the politics to the politicians. The

school's only task was to provide qualified learners to the economy and universities³⁴¹ (P12, 52:52); enable learners with disabilities to make a living³⁴² (P15, 155:155), and should provide opportunities for learners to excel³⁴³ (P16, 100:100). These aspects were aligned with an awakening of global curiosity, the ability to establish strong, dialogic relationships, a transformative approach to leadership, and a willingness to take a stance as a public intellectual (§3.4.1.2).

Almost all educational reform efforts have come to the conclusion that the nation cannot attain excellence in education without effective school leadership that is at the heart of social justice transformation and organisational change (§3.4.1.2). **Transformation** is what social justice praxis is about and the principals dialogues provided affirmation: *[w]e focus on it almost every day... because that's our business, developing and actually transforming these girls into young ladies* (P4, 27:29); making room for all learners to excel³⁴⁴ (P1, 81:81); black learners were testing you, but they also were able to take out the best in you³⁴⁵ (P1, 82:82). Transformational leadership is aligned with transactional leadership that emphasises the interaction between followers and leaders who, in turn, directly affect the behaviours of followers (Smith & Bell, 2011:58). However, they state that transactional leaders are less able to adapt to change and meet changes in demands from their internal or external environment than those where transformational leadership predominates (§3.4.4). This notion was evident in participant-principal's belief that white schools were light years behind when it came to matters of transformation and believed not yet to be transformed³⁴⁶ (P3, 214:217). The two stories of learners petitioning to be taught by a black teacher and a principal who stood his ground and remained true to his own principles³⁴⁷ (P12, 119:131) (§5.3.3.1) and the tsunami of no yet transformed schools³⁴⁸ (P15, 87:87) also relates to transformation.

In this section - vision and mission (5.10) ($f=36$) - the following social justice practices were analysed and discussed: quality (5.11) ($f=6$); purpose of education (5.1) ($f=15$), and transformation (5.6) ($f=9$) was discussed.

Supporting structures were analysed and discussed as part of essentials of education.

5.4.3 Supporting structures

Pressuring school leaders to focus on all aspects of schooling inevitably leads to a focus on those students who add most value, leaving those who need more support, both in goods and in value, abandoned and open to marginalisation. This is at odds with professional judgements based on principles of equal and fair treatment. The extent of the differentiation is viewed as a 'values clash' between the professional decisions of school leaders and the values embodied in state policies which shape the environment within which school leaders perform their work (§3.4.2.3). **Supporting or remedial practices** helped learners with language problems³⁴⁹ (P9, 29:29), or homework during the afternoons³⁵⁰ (P9, 31:33). Other more privileged schools offered winter and summer schools to so called '*trapped*' schools and the respect these learners showed

was mentioned. These learners were eager to learn and appreciative for the opportunities provided³⁵¹ (P1, 121:121). Another principal said *I take kids for the winter school* (P4, 365:367). Similarly an **exchange programme** was mentioned with a school in Essen, the Netherlands but the principal's aversion to the handing out of condoms again came to the fore as 'nonsense,' which he forbade in his school and regarded these learners as permissive³⁵² (P12, 245:245). One other exchange programme was envisaged where the RLC would visit *another school where the RCL is functioning well* (P8, 215:220) (§5.3.1.2).

This section should be read together with §5.3.2.2 where a principal described an eighteen year old **orphan** girl who asked her to take her siblings in³⁵³ (P2, 39:39) and when asked why she excluded herself answered that she accepted her fate, which the principal said no to and looked for private funding³⁵⁴ (P2, 45:47) and that they were the only school that took orphans in³⁵⁵ (P2, 28:29), as well as the reference to learners who were *heads of... learner households* (P5, 78:78) who would be supported by providing *just buying the basic, basic things in the uniform like a trouser, a jersey... we encourage those who are responsible for, for, for these learners to go to SASSA* (P13, 16:16).

Regarding **disabilities** principals referred to her endeavour to find a school for a deaf learner whose parents died of HIV/Aids and who after a year of not attending school, came to her for help³⁵⁶ (P2, 41:42). She told of a learner who needed to be in a wheelchair, which she was able to locate for her, but that the child, because of community pressure, did not want to use³⁵⁷ (P2, 81:83). Another stated that it was very difficult to accommodate *a slow learner, she's mentally disturbed, but she's progressing here... The only problem with her is she's willing to go, she's willing to develop but she can't write... and in the main stream we don't have time, we are working within the particular limited scope of work... I'm waiting for the department through Inclusive Education to give me the go-ahead to refer the child to ... this special school for, for learners that are disabled, but my biggest challenge how is she going to be transported from here to there... and uhm and who is going to take care of her? ...keeping her here, I'm also contravening the act, that the learner is going stay, is going to be more than four hours in the phase...I do not know how I am going to help her, but it is fine* (P14, 80:80). This predicament was emphasised by another who said *[s]o we're getting a child that's coming to school, marginalised by, by the social interaction at home, [uhm] getting to school and teachers are then, trying to motivate them to get them onto a path where they can actually fit into society so they can stand as confident people and, and, and adults* (P15, 41:41). Adding he said *I don't want to say this, but... learners ... that have learning ... disabilities as such, is that schools are dumping learners that they can't handle in terms of discipline... to the special school* (P15, 42:42).

Disabilities and **special education or inclusive education (LSEN)** were linked to a principal's cry for help with regard to learners with learning disabilities because she found that there were no alternative education available to these learners³⁵⁸ (P2, 104:104) and believed that the one school in her vicinity was refusing to take her learners based on racial prejudice³⁵⁹ (P2, 104:104). This notion of a school for learning-impaired who did not take other than white

learners was not verified by the researcher, but if the perception was that it was the case, it needs to be reported (P2, 104:109). They referred to learners who were not able to read, subtract, nothing, but laid the blame at the doors of the primary schools where learners were dealt with at a pass-one-pass-all³⁶⁰ (P2, 110:120) (§5.3.2.2). Another acknowledged that *we in the system also sometimes commit mistakes. This child, uhm went through the foundation phase, the primary education, and she was never identified that she can't study in the main stream... We called the father, couldn't come, we called the sister, unfortunate part, and the, the heart breaking part was that when we called the sister, the sister was here. So we, we can't uhm let her to keep the responsibility, she's a child as well. I took the matter through to the circuit manager, and the circuit manager referred me to the Inclusive Education people. Unfortunately that structure, that unit, was only established this year, after June [uhm] and they went..., instead of coming down to our school after talking to them, they went to the school where this kid was attending, it's a primary, and they discovered a lot of gaps there. I spoke to one social worker, around here, uhh she tried to intervene, but the father is so difficult* (P14, 79:79). He said *[s]he needs to be in the special school, so that she receives the better and proper attention. They kept quiet, the child is over eight..., I'm sure she's nineteen now, [uhm] uhh she arrived here last year. We tried to work with her, unfortunately, she couldn't, and we retained her* (P14, 80:80).

On a humorous note a principal from a school for learners with special education needs Special Ed school said being at a special school *I think I'm the only special one, special principal here (laughing) here [you are special]* (P15, 41:41) and related the plight of the deaf child told in §5.3.3.1. A colleague said that it was important that learners saw how one treated learners with disabilities in the same manner as they did others and that the disabled child should realise that he needs to perform as well³⁶¹ (P15, 119:119). He believed that the perception that you were treating all learners fairly was important³⁶² (P15, 119:119). One said that learners should experience a sense of belonging and described the situation where they were waiting to be tested for a hearing aid but waited outside his office for a hug³⁶³ (P15, 124:124). He believed that these learners needed *self-worth*³⁶⁴ (P15, 126:126). He wrote in his comments at the end of the interview *[m]arginalised, previous dispensation, disability, inclusion in society. Communities need to be exposed to the needs of learners of especially the deaf and blind special education schools* (P15, 256:256).

The analysis and discussion emphasised that equity and inequity, similar to justice and injustice, are never a balancing act and therefore role-players need to pay attention to special education, to gifted and talented learners, bi- and multilingual education, all of which leads to learner discipline (Skrla *et al.*, 2010:269-271) (§3.3.4.2).

The last section of the analysis and discussion was **supporting structures** ($f=37$) discussed as: special/inclusive education (5.18) ($f=17$), orphans/child headed families (5.8) ($f=7$), disabilities (5.9) ($f=6$), support/remedial (5.15) ($f=3$), winter/summer schools (22.58) ($f=3$), and exchange programme (22.62) ($f=1$).

The following section deals with a synthesis of Theme three **education in general** and social justice praxis.

5.4.4 Synthesis

The different **types of schooling** (§5.4.1) found in South Africa were referred to:

- **Primary schools** were responsible for learners' poor performance in English but also for learners' non-racial perceptions and acceptance of each other across racial divides, a phenomenon that should be researched.
- The complexities of managing **combined schools** were evident in appointment, disciplinary and language matters.
- **White, Afrikaans** and **ex-model C** schools were regarded as 'white islands,' without the ability to relate to modern South Africa:
 - They lacked understanding of the benefits and management of a multi-racial school.
 - Bussing learners from previously disadvantaged schools to ex-model C schools may be equated to Anglicisation where little Englishmen were in the making.
 - Anglicisation displaced and deprived children of their own culture.
 - South Africa needed Batswana who were good in English but remained proudly Batswana.
 - The privileged circumstances of ex-model C schools made it a viable proposition to ensure high quality teaching, learning and extra-curricular opportunities.
- **Residences** (hostels or boarding houses) provided opportunities to experience acceptance, equal respect and support, but were often used as dumping sites.
- **Black-only schools** and learners required an understanding of diversity amongst Setswana-speaking teachers who had to teach a class of IsiXhosa learners.
- Learners from **farm schools** often were from the poorest of the poor in society and had to develop a sense of self-worth because of the dominance of social injustices.
- **Quintile 4 schools** suffered because they were not regarded as needy; demographic and economical changes were not accounted for, and government took its own time while children were hungry.
- **School and registration fees** seemed high; budgeting to buy education, and learners' equipment and material were provided for to avoid discrimination.

Essentials of education (§5.4.2) were analysed and discussed as:

- **School culture and climate** (§5.4.2.1) inculcated all the time:
 - Defined as here we do it like this, tradition, what we value, ululating and praising, encouraging to become a better person, social justice.
 - School culture was about language, religion, vision, respecting, anti-racism, growing, development, acceptance of difference, a manner of speech.

- In a home and a school culture, the one does not exclude the other because differences made a whole and should not be a threat.
- Being enriched by a second culture, one can move with kings and queens. Social justice is the very core of our business.
- **Personal values and ethical** conduct were of utmost importance:
 - Conduct should be consistent: live a valued and ethical life, be positive, passionate, accepting, living, sharing, and respect traditions, and maintain morals.
 - Concepts equated with values were: be positive, show respect, honesty, sincerity, actualise deeds, be responsible, do not disturb, and morals.
 - Values are the moral and ethical fibre of society that bring people together and create a sense of belonging.
 - Conflicting home and school values were problematic because they created a dualism.
 - Instilling a culture of discipline, it was about the value infringed.
 - Learners allowed teachers to teach them.
- **Respect** was about the individual, time, submission dates, buildings, property and what you learnt at home.
- **Tolerance** was about living together, appreciation, observing the values of the school because it distinguished one from others.
- Schools needed to develop a **culture of teaching and learning** to support learners:
 - The hidden curriculum of teachers addressed edification, respecting the teacher.
 - There has been a decline in teacher quality and it is difficult to oust those non-performers.
 - Rotating learners enabled them to be energised and teachers to take ownership and responsibility for their classrooms.
 - Changing a time-table in a multi-racial and multi-lingual school afforded learners a choice between the best teacher or second best but one of their own kind.
 - It was about serving the best interest of the child. and opening learners' eyes for the wonder of creation, the wonder of an aha-moment.
- **Alumni** entailed references to:
 - teacher-students doing school practice; pride in those who became famous or engineers, doctors, broadcasters etc.;
 - Old Boys maintaining that which they knew, adapting to changing times, and parents who wanted their children to have what they never had;
 - realising that the input teachers made could over decades bring people together was phenomenal - all schools should offer this experience to each and every child.
- **Cross-over schools** were found where principals told about:
 - the price black parents paid for freedom to give their children a better education

- offering a black language because it gave learners a greater chance to success
- winter schools for learners from dysfunctional schools
- changing to a multi-racial school was compared to a wave and a tsunami which would hit white Afrikaans schools
- teachers who fought against apartheid should change from being aggressive to taking the opportunities to build a new South Africa.
- Caring for the **school environment** seen in a memorial garden or no littering campaign.
- School culture and nationalism meant that one firstly was a **South African**, albeit an Afrikaans or a proud Setswana-speaking South African, who would contribute to South Africa and the world and create a culture of the South Africanness.

Diversity and identity (§5.4.2.2) were evident in:

- An understanding of one another, respect and learners who did not see colour:
 - schools were miniport's where learners from various backgrounds were part of a culture of teaching and learning;
 - learners being brought up to respect people and their culture, and
 - enhancing and understanding cultural diversity.
- A philosophy of hope was evident in:
 - living together as South Africans who value cultural difference;
 - showing respect towards all cultures and belonging to South Africa as one nation;
 - not judging each other according to colour, and
 - being in harmony in a future South Africa with all cultures; a unified South Africa.
- Bilingual or multi-lingual education was about academic proficiency and success if not taught in a first language because of the government's Anglicisation policy:
 - English, the official language of government, remained contentious, resulting in learners often not being proficient in English.
 - Apartheid-Afrikaans and the government's make a determined onslaught to ensure that all schools eventually will be single-medium English schools.
 - Schools used primarily English, Afrikaans, Setswana, IsiXhosa and Sesotho as language of instruction.
 - Mother-tongue speakers advanced quicker than non-mother tongue speakers should attend language programmes, reading laboratories and remedial courses.
 - Differentiation between learners was made on the basis of language and not race.
 - Afrikaans teachers who had to teach in English became dependent on learners to help them with English terminology, bringing mutual appreciation and respect.
 - Black English teachers, due to poor schooling in Afrikaans, were not able to adapt to also teaching in Afrikaans. Some black learners were not able to speak any indigenous black language.

- **Religion** formed part of the discussion:
 - Morals and values were based in Muslim, Hindu, Christian or Jewish traditions.
 - Muslim learners were allowed to go to prayers on Fridays.
 - ZWC wore religious attire but only a few learners did at school.
 - Religion was regarded as a strength and learning opportunity.
 - Sangoma was equated to religion albeit traditional spiritual.
- One **multi-racial school** is known as the Department's flagship, known as the "Vryburg Model."

In building a collective **vision** (§5.4.2.3) of schools, it allowed opportunities for all learners:

- Social justice praxis became a reality simply because that is what education was about:
 - A true teacher did not only teach, but was involved in the whole of the child's being.
 - In choosing an annual social justice theme everything would revolve around it.
 - A vision entailed affordability, quality education and excellence.
 - It gave direction to the organisation, and sustained values of respect and appreciation.
- Education and **quality**, as a basic right, and the **purpose** of education were about:
 - educators representing care, welfare, quality of teaching and learning,
 - purpose of education: preparing learners for the outside world, the best interest of the child, contributing to South Africa and the world,
 - political involvement and learners being unsuccessful being two sides of the same coin where teachers were in the school to teach and not for political reasons, the school's task to provide qualified learners to the economy and universities, and enable learners with disabilities to make a living.
- Effective school leadership is at the heart of social justice **transformation**:
 - Our business is developing and transforming learners into adults.
 - White schools were/are light years behind when it came to transformation.
 - Teaching was about walking on holy ground.

Supporting structures (§5.4.3) for all learners was about the prevention of marginalisation:

- School leaders had to focus on all aspects of schooling based on equality and fairness:
 - a values clash between professional decisions and values in state policies;
 - remedial practices, winter or summer schools, national and international exchange programmes;
 - donations from the private sector supported orphans and child-headed families.
- Regarding **disabilities** principals referred to:
 - endeavours to find a school for a deaf learner,
 - providing a wheelchair, but which in the black culture was frowned upon,

- learners with learning and psychological disabilities who were problematic in mainstream education, as were caring, living and transport arrangements,
- contravening rules if learners failed more than four years; age became problematic, and they were already marginalised because of their inabilities,
- problematic learners who were dumped at schools for the hearing-impaired.
- **Disabilities and special education or inclusive education:**
 - Inadequate alternative education is available to differently-abled learners.
 - One school refused learners because they were black, based on racial prejudice.
 - Learners who were not able to read, write or do arithmetic were promoted from primary schools where a policy of pass-one-pass-all was followed.
 - Circuit managers referred principals to an Inclusive Education division but it was not operational yet.
 - Communities need to be exposed to the needs of learners with disabilities.

Following are parameters for the development of management strategies regarding the education in general and social justice praxis.

5.4.5 Parameters for the development of management strategies

From the data analysis and discussion above it seems that management strategies (§6.4.5) need to be developed for:

- Types of schooling needed to be re-categorised
- Social justice education for a multi-cultural and multi-ethical South Africanness
- An all-embracing culture of teaching and learning where learners allow teachers to teach them
- A personal code of conduct that addresses violation of values
- Supporting structures for Learners with Special Education needs and inclusive education
- Religious and traditional interventions that enhance a culture of teaching and learning

Following are concluding remarks with regard to theme three: education in general and social justice praxis.

5.4.6 Concluding remarks

The different **types of schooling** found in South Africa were referred to as primary, combined, white Afrikaans and ex-model C schools and schools with residences, as well schools for learners with disabilities. The variety of schools is based in the historical context as well as in a post-apartheid system which both created marginalising conditions, such as Afrikaans schools and the quintile system. White Afrikaans schools remain outside the mainstream of education and are white islands in a multi-racial and multi-cultural education environment. Anglicisation policy of the government leads to alienation and disownment, not only of Afrikaans speakers,

but also of Setswana, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu and other mother-tongue speakers. Residences provided opportunities to be accepted, to show equal respect and support but were also used as dumping sites. Even within black schools, teachers had to develop a sense of diversity in teaching a diversified black learner corps. Learners from farm schools remained the poorest of the poor and needed special attention to ensure that the dominance of social injustices was assuaged. The categorising of quintile schools brought about an uncompromising system and no regard for ever-changing socio-economic demographics in a developing country such as South Africa.

Essentials of education were analysed and discussed as **school culture** and **climate** inculcated all the time and defined as the ‘way we do things, our tradition’, that which we value, and ululating and praising. These were about educational aspects such as language, religion, vision, respecting, anti-racism, growing, developing and learning: an unconditional acceptance of the other but one that did not take away from the other because differences made a whole. It enables you to move with kings and queens. Social justice praxis was the very core of education and based on personal values and ethical conduct was of utmost importance. It comprised living a value, positiveness, passion, acceptance, sharing, respecting, honesty, sincerity, actualising deeds, responsibility and ‘do not disturb.’ It was also about acknowledging that learners allowed teachers to teach them and in so doing both parties to this relationship had to show respect, tolerance and support. The value of alumni to schools was found in a life-long loyalty and gratitude for what the school offered a learner, a phenomenon that should be part of what all schools brought to all learners in an ideal world. Cross-over schools were found where principals told about the price black parents paid for freedom to give their children a better education and the responsibility it brought to previously advantaged schools to offer that quality education to proud South Africans in the first instance but equally proud Afrikaans or Setswana-speaking South Africans.

Diversity and **identity** were evident in an understanding of one another, respect, and in learners who did not see colour. Schools had to provide environments where learners from various backgrounds shared equally in a culture of teaching and learning where respect and understanding for diversity were entrenched. In such a school, a philosophy of hope was evident in the wish that in the future South Africans who value cultural difference, accepting and respecting that culture belongs to an individual, would be able to belong to South Africa as one nation. This nation will not stand as judges of each other but will embrace the humanness of all people in harmony with all cultures, truly unified South Africans. In such a culture language will build bridges and not barriers, as currently the case often was, where learners were forced to be anglicised. Religion formed part of the discussion where the diversity of religions were recognised and space offered to all to worship, even viewing Sangoma, not strictly a religion, but a traditional belief system which required respect.

Building a collective **vision** of schools allowed opportunities for all learners to experience social justice praxis because that is what education is about. A true teacher did not only teach, but was involved in the whole of the child's being and schools annually should choose a social justice theme around which everything would revolve. Education and **quality**, as a basic right, and the **purpose** of education were about educators taking care of and seeing to the welfare of learners. Others saw the purpose of education as preparing learners to contribute to the world and to South Africa. Teaching was about the best interest of the child and providing citizens to the economy, universities and society. Effective school leadership is at the heart of social justice transformation, an experience that white schools still did not share. **Supporting structures** for all learners was about preventing marginalisation, about presenting winter or summer schools, national and international exchange programmes and donations from the private sector. With regard to **disabilities** principals referred to the problems of learners with learning or physical disabilities who were in the main stream. It was difficult to redirect these learners to Special Ed schools. One such school seemed to exclude learners based on race.

In essence teaching is about the place where people meet to seek the highest is about walking on holy ground. The fourth level of accomplishing effective social justice praxis in schools is at the level of constitutional values.

5.5 THEME FOUR: CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES AND SOCIAL JUSTICE PRAXIS

Constitutional values formed the fourth layer of the pyramid (Figure 4.5) and built on the broad base of social justice praxis created by principals, learners and education in general. Constitutional values serve as bonding agent between the principal, learners and education in general, which binds the educational partners and government in one complex whole. The data analysis and discussion of the fourth theme, **constitutional values** and social justice praxis learners and social justice praxis ($f=346$) were grouped into three sub-themes (Figure 5.1), **human dignity** ($f=183$) (§5.5.1), **equality** ($f=101$) (§5.5.2), and **democracy and freedoms** ($f=62$) (§5.5.3). The data analysis shows that 16.7% (Table 4.5) of the quotations were related to this theme and is displayed in abbreviated format in Table 5.4:

Theme 4 Constitutional values		
Human dignity (§5.5.1)		183
Equality (§5.5.2)		101
Democracy and freedom (§5.5.3)		62
Codes: 20 (16.7%)	Total quotations	346

TABLE 5.4: Constitutional values in education and social justice praxis

Table 5.4 displays the participant-principals' views on constitutional values and was posed as a question to them: how did they ensure that their staff and learners adhered to the constitutional

values? The trinity of human dignity, equality, democracy and freedom as constitutional values guided the principals' conversations.

Constitutional values and social justice praxis manifested in the three themes presented in the network heuristic Figure 5.5.

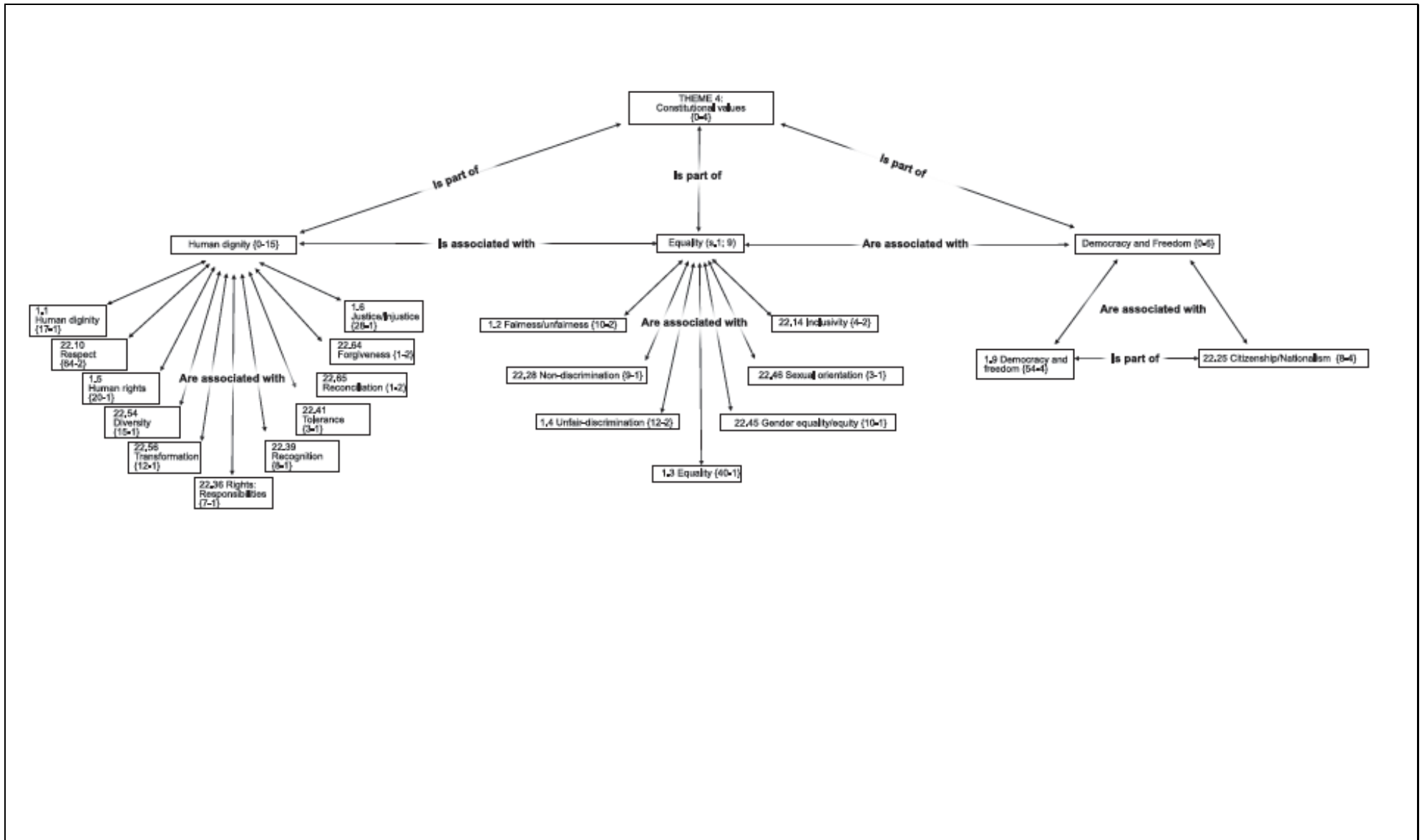


FIGURE 5.5: THEME 4 Constitutional values and social justice praxis

The South African Constitution (South Africa, 1996a), the democracy, and therefore the schools and education system, are bound by its basic values. By recognising human rights it brings about a responsibility to embrace human dignity, equality and freedom in social institutions in a well-ordered fair and just society (§2.2.5). The trinity of constitutional values became, or should become, a lived reality within an open and democratic society (§2.2.5; §3.2.2).

The initial coding distinguished between values and value-strategies cross reference. The reporting of the data necessitated a regrouping of themes and related strategies that emerged. This was done in accordance with the literature overview (§2.3.2.2; §3.2.2; §3.2.2.2) where the constitutional values of **human dignity**, **equality** and **freedom** were discussed. These values, regarded as the three most fundamental in an open and democratic society (§3.3.3) are founded on the Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution (Joubert & Prinsloo, 2008:30-32). This road will not be an easy one, where especially educators will face the challenges and pitfalls such as reconciliation, tolerance and the protection of fundamental human rights and social justice for all in education (§3.2.2.1).

Human dignity is the first sub-theme and will be discussed next.

5.5.1 Human dignity

Human dignity is a concept that encapsulates individual sacredness found in various religions without which there cannot be a concept of inalienable human rights. An analyses and discussion of human rights in a South African context will always take into account obligations on the part of the state that are based on moral and political recognition of past injustices to ethnic and social groups (§3.2.2.2). Human dignity was described by a principal as having respect for other cultures, treating learners fairly and not humiliating them, especially not if you were a female teacher³⁶⁵ (P1, 25:25), reported earlier. In answering whether learners took up their right to human dignity a principal answered they knew about their '*rights*' and that the *Bill of Rights allow children a lot of rights* but she reminded the learners of teachers' rights. She told of an incident that was against a teacher's human dignity, where a drugged learner called a teacher *you bitch* and sexually harassed her³⁶⁶ (P2, 179:183). This discussion was added on by the deputy who said that they took trouble to teach learners about values as well as responsibilities, adding that learners might have the right to be noisy, but teachers had the right to silence them³⁶⁷ (P2, 179:183). The principal referred to parents who she wanted to come to her on equal footing but due to South Africa's history still addressed her as '*miesies...*' and she would say '*Uh-uh (no) I'm misses K, call me mam*'... '*Mam, please sit down*'...³⁶⁸ (P2, 322:322) adding that if you treated black parents as equals they accepted it³⁶⁹ (P2, 324:324). Another said *[i]ts your dignity... I'm a human being* (P3, 293:293).

Public education is universally recognized as a vehicle that could and should cultivate a culture where **respect** for the values of human dignity, equality and freedom is embraced (§3.2.2.1).

Respect and human dignity were regarded as *I believe that if you respect a person, you're half-way there, because the black child... he will respect me and if I always treat him with dignity, you will get much further than with screaming and shouting* (P3, 62:63). Human dignity was about *fairness and equality... we still have disrespect... that is our core business preventing it* (P4, 186:188). Another said *I do appreciate... implementing a culture of human dignity, why you should do that, where did you get it... Your research thing, so basically this is very good* (P5, 171:171). Another said that the code of conduct says that *each and every learner should have his or her own dignity respected* (P7, 8:8); and yet another *[i]f you... highlight something which recalls the past then it must be done in a dignified manner, at first that the learners understand that this is what happened, you know, not opinionated them or trying to segregate them* (P7, 218:218). Another did not experience any problems with regard to human dignity and referred to support to learners who were socially deprived³⁷⁰ (P9, 114:114). One believed that *I would firstly want to have... the parents involved... because it is of no use to keep on... imprinting this in the mind of the child, about human dignity, human rights, we, we, we need to teach both the children and the parents...* (P13, 104:104). His colleague affirmed that *I do not have a problem the human rights and human dignity... because we are sharing the same sentiments* (P14, 47:47). Another said that in the past, when learners went on an excursion they would always have problems the following day, but because learners were beginning to believe in themselves, they also understood that wherever they went they had to be assertive and that they had to act in a dignified manner³⁷¹ (P15, 33:33). Adding to this notion one told that her father taught her that people will forget what you did for them, but never ever how you made them feel, followed by 'absolutely, absolutely' by her colleagues³⁷² (P15, 50:50). This was her motto and if a mother came to her it would not take anything from her to make that mother as well as her child feel good about how she received them³⁷³ (P15, 52:52). Continuing this discussion others added that they would invite people to talk about self-worth (P15, 126:126), another that each child deserved to be treated with human dignity, each child needed to be treated equally and should have equal opportunities, fairness, equity...³⁷⁴ (P15, 236:236). Other comments regarding **respect** were: it should be inculcated³⁷⁵ (P2, 206:211), and *if I respect a black child, he will respect me* (P2, 280:280); *an ordinary post-level one teacher taught me... [respect] when I became a principal first... it works absolutely like a bomb*³⁷⁶ (P3, 293:293).

Others said *we continuously... stress fairness and respect* (P4, 14:15); *I think everything we do is built on the awareness and respect* (P4, 16:16); *respect for everybody* (P4, 19:19) and *respecting one another, they feel respected* (P4, 243:244). Coming from another school, teachers would have experienced *disruptiveness or disrespect but they came here and suddenly they realise there's a lot of respect...* (P4, 335:340) *but once when they walk into our class and they see respect ... Because we're teaching respect for one another...* (P4, 360:362) ending the discourse with 1: *it's what you do!... and how you do it!* 2: *You can't teach without it* (P4, 365:377)... *We all uphold hope and fairness and, and, and uhm respect so it's still... and it's the centre of everything* (P4, 13:13)... *you have to have respect for all cultures, all races, all ...* (P4, 30:30)... *it's an important part where they learn respect for one*

another (P4, 70:70). Another said *[w]e inculcate the values in our, in our policies, our daily interaction* (P5, 76:76) and expanded *[r]espect should not be only respect for the individual, you respect time, you respect submission date and the like... this is your building. If you, if you're not going to respect property then it means that at the end of the term it means that we will not be having any furniture* (P5, 76:76) adding that *[p]olicy won't do it ... you don't have to write it, but tell them about respect it will do it* (P5, 166:166). At staff level another principal said *I have a diverse staff but... they respect, respect one another* (P6, 159:160). She affirmed *you know you are brought up in that environment you know that I need to respect...* (P6, 275:275) adding *[w]e were brought up in that way... to respect people* (P6, 277:277) *[j]a so we lived together, ja tolerance, but respect and you know all these things, you learn at home* (P6, 279:279). Also referring to respect one principal said *we respect culture for other people* (P7, 10:10) adding that *these values that we're talking about... respect is one of them* (P7, 104:104) *we really need to respect what we are here for* (P7, 237:237). One said *you cannot treat a teacher in this manner and treat another teacher differently, you need to be fair, otherwise you are going to lose that respect of your teachers and learners and parents, too* (P8, 61:61); *we also respect teachers' views* (P8, 154:154), and *[i]t is just a form of respect... it is respect* (P8, 158:158). Another believed that all learners deserved to see their religious leader at least once a year on stage and everyone would show respect³⁷⁷ (P12, 220:220). One said that *[j]a whether... a suggestion or something comes from a female it must always be treated with respect* (P13, 224:224). He concluded by saying *I think of, of importance is how the people behave towards one another, how I look at you, how you look at me, how do I value you, how do you value me... if I regard you as a human being, and you regard me as a human... I think that is the bottom line... but my belief is, if, if, if we treat one another with respect...; you recognise the worthness of this particular individual* (P13, 229:229) *... a child has the right to be respected... like we would expect the parent to respect the child... so I feel that they need to be taught by our elders and they should be made to understand these things* (P13, 114:116). Also with regard to respect another said *I'm happy about the progress that they are making when it comes to morals, they are showing a lot of respect* (P14, 55:55) and *by so doing respect was one of the values... that was taught in embracing the moral uhh responsibilities* (P14, 101:101). The focus group participants also attended to respect by stating that learners needed to know which value they have transgressed³⁷⁸ (P15, 56:56); respect between people was important³⁷⁹ (P15, 99:99), and one wrote, cultivating pride, respect, responsibility and do not disturb³⁸⁰ (P15, 253:254). Educators have to understand that they are responsible to develop an attitude of respect for others (3.2.2.2).

With regard to **human rights** principals said learners needed to have knowledge and that the Constitution should be available to all³⁸¹ (P1, 37:37). He also regarded corporal punishment as affecting human rights³⁸² (P1, 86:86). Another said *the constitution is the cornerstone of our democracy we cannot run away from it... whatever you do... your professional disposition should be in line with the values of the constitution* (P5, 76:76). Not referring to the limitation of rights s.36 of the Constitution by name, one principal said that *[y]ou are now going to protect the values and protect the constitutional rights of the other learners* (P5, 86:86). Principals talked extensively about

bringing the values of human rights to the attention of *the parents...* (P13, 104:104) *[a]nd the educators as well, because most of the time you would find that human rights are violated by the educators themselves... we have this... bill of right in our school, I think we have it on the notice board...* (P13, 106:108). The constitutional values would be taught by *teaching LO... there's a chapter where they deal with the basic human rights that we find in the Constitution... I think the Bill of Right must start here in school, where learners are taught about the Bill of Right, but at the same time we cannot exclude the parents... because when the, the learner has the knowledge about the human rights and the parents do not have the knowledge there will always be a conflict...* (P13, 106:108). He continued and said *I believe... we are having a little bit of difficulty with, with parents to some extent they feel that the government has given the learners too many rights, to misbehave, but I think it is because... this issue of human rights was not correctly addressed...* (P13, 106:108). Another principal said *[w]e had to sit down with parents in a number of meetings it took quite long, to work on it, to show them that even though the government has introduced uhm the new concepts of rights, but parents are still parents at home, children are still children at home and when they come to school, they are given to us in the so called in loco parentis, they given unto us to enlighten them in their absence but in the same time with consultation with them. So we assist them a lot that one has to understand the responsibilities... that are attached to their rights...* (P14, 37:37). *Because the change came in a very, uhm, uhm, uhm twingling way, it came very fast, in such a way that they, they had to adjust to the speed... and then they misinterpreted the, the responsibilities... now that we are, are told that we've got rights, we've got freedom of expression, we can do as much as we wish at any time, but forgetting of the boundaries and the limitations... Yes a child has got rights, but there are limitations... explaining it during parent's meetings, parents gradually understood that it doesn't mean that kids can do as they wish at home, they need to be monitored and redirected* (P14, 38:38). These *petit récits* were indicative of what (LaNave, 2005) calls “re-spect” where ‘spect’ means to look again or look deeper.

Comments with regard to **diversity** were *we are preparing you for the outside world... and in the outside world the reality is you're gonna work with black, white and green. You're gonna work with different people, you have to have respect [uhm] for all cultures, all races, all ...* (P4, 30:32). He said that *they learn to accept there are differences, that differences together make a whole...* (P4, 70:70). Another coming from the principal of a mono-cultural Batswana school, said *Ja_a, I think we, we have this Guidance group of teachers ... who ... preparing them for, for, for tertiary institutions... you'll start interacting with other people who are not used to you or that you are not used to, so be prepared for that... But learners I think they need to be prepared for, for the future* (P13, 69:69). Diversity was referred to with regard to being the principal at a school where thirteen languages were spoken, diversity of rich and poor and of religious groups³⁸³ (P15, 108:108). Another said that a principal should be eminently diverse in order for justice to be attained³⁸⁴ (P16, 44:44).

Flowing from the constitutional value of human dignity **transformation** was about principal's belief that they needed to become positively transformed so that they could practice authentic social justice. It is what Potgieter (1980:2) calls an ectropy-exemplary, being positively transformed (§2.2): *developing and actually transforming these girls...* (P4, 27:29) *because that's our*

business (P4, 325:328). Transforming learners, teachers and parents was exemplified by the principal who told of his move to have an integrated time table and referred to Afrikaans or English learners and not to race³⁸⁵ (P12, 107:109) supported by the principal who said call me when you no longer referred to black learners³⁸⁶ (P15, 185:189). Another said *transformation... And the responsibilities thereof* (P14, 40:43) which linked to **rights and responsibilities** *they have rights, but everybody else has rights and your right cannot impose on another one* (P4, 67:68).

Recognition and identity (§5.4.2.2) goes together as did gratitude (§5.4.2.1) *you always told us it's the best days of your whole life, and its true Mam, its true* (P2, 228:231) and students who became teachers because they liked their school so much³⁸⁷ (P2, 232:241). With regard to learners one principal said however, children needed recognition³⁸⁸ (P15, 54:54) but one should also give recognition to teachers³⁸⁹ (P15, 100:100). This was followed by another who said that the recognition a child receives *it's, it's the world to them, for sure* (P15, 126:126). Simple tasks like taking care of your hearing aid or for good conduct should also be recognised³⁹⁰ (P15, 154:154) or for not being absent during the year³⁹¹ (P15, 160:160).

The perception of **tolerance** and intolerance was evident in racial difference in applying discipline³⁹² (P2, 275:275). Tolerance was displayed by the Indian principal *so from the time I was very young, you know I used to go to church they used to be at my house and we used to say our prayers and so... Ja so we lived together, ja tolerance, but respect and you know all these things, you learn at home* (P6, 277:279). Tolerance and **reconciliation**, as was **forgiveness**, were inseparable *[b]ecause I, I believe to have South Africa reconciling correctly, if, social justice can be practiced throughout, not looking at other people as very important people, but we should all be important to one another* (P13, 252:252). Forgiveness was found in a principal who overruled his staff when they did not want to allow a learner to be elected on the RCL after already being punished³⁹³ (P12, 273:273). An authentic vision of multicultural and multiracial democracy goes beyond mere tolerance (§3.3.2.1). Tolerance has to make the transition to reconciliation and forgiveness.

Justice, but more specifically **injustice**, as constitutional value was about understanding that teachers had to make the greatest adjustments and their actions should not be seen as deliberate injustice³⁹⁴ (P1, 14:14). The principal said that it was about being exposed to the right way of doing things³⁹⁵ (P1, 124:124). He continued to say that there was no room for any form of victimisation or injustice based on colour³⁹⁶ (P1, 55:55). Injustice was also viewed as corporal punishment³⁹⁷ (P1, 86:86). He would not tell a teacher if he thought he acted unjustly in front of the learner³⁹⁸ (P2, 305:305). Another said, when she did her BEd it was an *eye-opener* to become aware of the injustices of the past because the Lord created man equal. In being privileged to teach at a coloured school, she saw that there was no difference between coloured children and her own³⁹⁹ (P9, 173:173). Another form of injustice was where the principal had to sign a form the Department issued at that stage where teachers had the option of being

retrenched, that he would never again teach⁴⁰⁰ (P12, 34:34). Another principal referred to a coloured woman who had matric, but because she was married lived on a farm and did domestic work. The coloured mother attended a school function, as a mother, but the other white mothers treated her not as one of them, but as a domestic worker. The principal who told this story, saw this as a terrible injustice and made an appointment with her colleague to bring this injustice under his attention. When asked whether she would not consider going to the school again, the woman said she would rather contribute some money⁴⁰¹ (P15, 47:47). A problem was conflicting values between schools and the community. One principal said the child will get the right values at school, but when he took a taxi back home he went back to an environment which taught totally opposing and inconsistent values and he called it islands of social justice versus a greater world of social injustices⁴⁰² (P15, 134:134). Another form was laid at the door of the government who contributed to social injustices by focussing on schools that performed well, but were forced to the level of dysfunctional schools⁴⁰³ (P16, 59:59).

Constitutional values, the first subtheme of theme four, gave an analysis and discussion of human dignity as constitutional value ($f=175$) and included **human dignity** (1.1) ($f=17$), **respect** (22.10) ($f=64$), **human rights** (1.5) ($f=20$), **diversity** (22.54) ($f=15$), **transformation** (22.56) ($f=12$), **rights/responsibilities** (22.36) ($f=7$), **recognition** (22.39) ($f=8$), **tolerance** (22.41) ($f=3$), **reconciliation** (22.65) ($f=1$), **forgiveness** (22.64) ($f=1$), and **justice/injustice** (1.6) ($f=27$).

Society within which education is one of the fundamental entities, had, and still has, the obligation to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights (§3.2.2.1). The constitutional value of human dignity was followed by the constitutional value of equality.

5.5.2 Equality

Social justice as *equitas* as discussed in the literature review was affirmed by the participant-principals who regarded fairness and equality in treatment as a non-negotiable. The *petit récits* told of philanthropic acts - *Tsedaqah* and *chesed* - or deeds of kindness towards others; a compassionate justice, as moral rightness according to the literature (§2.2.4; §2.2.5) was based on concepts and actions of morality, equity, virtuosity, rationality, law, fairness, equality, inherent dignity and inalienable rights of humankind - human rights - was evident in the replies of the principals.

Fairness should be viewed as something that forms an intrinsic part of an authentic principal (Starratt, 2009:86) demonstrated by the statement black learners despised unfairness⁴⁰⁴ (P1, 84:84). Learners, even autistic learners, wanted to be treated fairly and wanted to take part in the class situation, being treated equitably and experiencing equal fairness⁴⁰⁵ (P15, 119:119). One principal equated social justice to fairness and elaborated that social justice is about a change of heart. Although it might be easy to discuss these issues academically, he believed if

one does not want to be fair *you, you can't fake this for very long ... somewhere it's going to come out*⁴⁰⁶ (P1, 110:110). Another said *[f]irm, firm, fair ja, fair, fair, firm and fairness I think...* (P13, 140:140). All people were treated equally but a principal changed her communication style to accommodate the level of education when talking to a lawyer and one who said *'I cannot speak English or Afrikaans'*⁴⁰⁷ (P2, 11:11). It is about setting an example of treating them all on an equal base *what to expect and what I expect from them and what their rights and their duties are and not... you know if you say yes, you may take the day off to I think by this one, you have to make sure that the other 35 can do that as well. So you have to be very careful with that* (P3, 127:127). Fairness in all its facets were discussed: *Jewish... and Muslim in the school environment... this is the way we see it about fairness and, and equity and equality and citizenship for all* (P4, 13:13); *[w]e all uphold hope and fairness* (P4, 14:15); *we continuously uhm stress fairness and respect* (P4, 189:194); *[i]t is part of fairness and equality* (P4, 187:187); *remember the Constitution and fairness* (P6, 194:194); *dealing with your learners and teachers, we need to be seen to be fair... So fairness, openness... they are very important* (P8, 61:61), and each child must know that you are acting fairly⁴⁰⁸ (P15, 56:56). On **fairness** one emphatically stated *[a]nd it is also as you say steeped in the moral and ethical values... We all uphold hope and fairness and, and, and uhm respect so it's still... and it's the centre of everything* (P4, 13:13). *It is part of fairness and equality* (P4, 187:187). This notion of fairness was affirmed by a principal who said *I think in everything that, that we do we have to remember the Constitution and fairness* (P6, 194:194). On issues of fairness, equality and gender an Indian principal said about her white male colleagues that their practices were *[j]a, going to the you know exclusion of other people. Uhh but at the same time you know, if you ask them for assistance, they, they assist you. So in that way I, I think they're opening up a bit now... and getting the women to understand that women principals are also there and we are equal to them and if not better, better than them... it's taking time, I don't think they, they see us as their equal as yet* (P6, 41:41).

One principal said that little if any **discriminatory** practices prevailed⁴⁰⁹ (P1, 12:12) although one had to be more sensitive to differences, in the end children remained children whatever race they were⁴¹⁰ (P1, 14:14). Non-discriminatory practices prevailed during the primarily white athletics event and the principal said that although he was different from you, you would get to love him equally and you would die for him⁴¹¹ (P1, 71:71). One black school also had a few coloured and poor white learners, but no differentiation existed and they did not see themselves as different⁴¹² (P2, 87:90) or poor⁴¹³ (P2, 99:101). Equality was *about including one-another. Because there's so many ways in which you can margin..., marginalise or exclude people, that here we focus on including people. 1: But we teach that because it's easy... We deliberately teach it, because it's very easy to marginalise people* (P4, 73:77). This was also the case at another school where *[we] openly talk about it, such people should not be discriminated against* (P8, 24:24). Still another linked the question of non-discrimination to *I think the first thing that we need to instil in our learners' mind is that they, they must know that in South Africa everybody who by birth, by virtue of birth and by virtue of attaining citizenship in South Africa, must be treated as South African and we need to firstly look at the diversity of the population of South Africa as it is* (P13, 87:87).

Although the impression might be created that **racism** was only found amongst white teachers, a coloured principal said that racism was about perceptions amongst teachers and the historical baggage that they carried. He elaborated and said that we do not trust each other across racial or rich and poor boundaries and referred to colleagues who would support the All Blacks rather than the Springbok rugby team. This phenomenon was viewed as being disloyal to South Africa and caused distrust⁴¹⁴ (P16, 44:44). One principal said he did not allow any form of discrimination, there just was no room for it⁴¹⁵ (P1, 55:55). Non-discrimination was *about including one-another. Because there's so many ways in which you can margin..., marginalise or exclude people, that here we focus on including people and equated marginalising to gangsterism. So we've got to teach that... if you are going to do it like this, its equivalent to being a gangster, if you're going to do it like that, it's different, so its, its educating all the time, beyond their frame of reference...* (P4, 73:77). Others said unfair discrimination was about *exclusion of other people* (P6, 31:31); not to discriminate on the basis of language, race, or whatever⁴¹⁶ (P9, 3:3); fair treatment and bringing everybody in when a race related incident came to pass⁴¹⁷ (P9, 50:50) and *[t]here's no way you can work with people if you are uhm not accepting them as they are* (P14, 96:96). This built an awareness of 'otherness' including those 'other than us' (Fisher, 2007:166) (§2.3.3.4).

Equality and **unfair discrimination** were discussed as *please just don't expect preferential treatment because we treat everybody the same... we treat everybody the same, and if we say that, we do that!* (P3, 20:21) *we treated everybody exactly the same* (P3, 25:25) *you try and live it. Everybody is equal* (P3, 138:138). And another *[i]t is part of fairness and equality* (P4, 187:187). And another believed that *they know that a woman can do the job as equally well... as, as a male can* (P6, 23:23) *[b]ut it's taking, taking time it's taking time, I don't think they, they see us as their equal as yet (laughing)* (P6, 31:31). Another said *all people who are living in the country should not in any way be segregated from one another because of gender, because of... race, because of class, disability* (P7, 4:4). Another believed that *[e]verybody within the school's setup... teach our children and communities, to... live harmoniously with everybody... regardless of... political background* (P8, 12:12) *fairness, openness... they are very important* (P8, 61:61). *Basically we are... treating each other very equally* (P14, 48:48). With regard to equality as constitutional value one principal said *we try and do what we preach, and if we say that we treat everybody the same, or exactly the same... what we do is by word of mouth, that we say we treat everybody the same, and if we say that, we do that!* (P3, 20:21) and added *you try and live it. Everybody is equal* (P3, 138:138). Laughing, a female principal told the researcher how they rearranged the furniture in the staffroom so that men and women sat together, there were no differentiation anymore *"that now is equality"*⁴¹⁸ (P9, 69:71).

Interesting was a remark on **equality** that a female principal made about the *Forum of the District representing the union... they embrace us, they don't look down upon us, they treat us as equals and I know they want to empower us* (P6, 194:194). A principal credited the 1994 democratic elections, *you see then that all people in the country were treated equally so. So it is enshrined in the Constitution of the country to say uhhm all people who are living in the country should not in any way be segregated from*

one another because of gender, because of... race, because of class, disability or whatever the case may be (P7, 4:4). He expanded and said *this is a practice that start from the Constitution of the Republic and must even go to schools... and it is really highlighting that all people must be treated equally in the school, irrespective of gender or whatever the case may be, where possible* (P7, 4:4) and *to ensure that this policy is being implemented... you know, and it is, is, is here for us to have social justice prevailing in the school where everyone is treated equally so...* (P7, 4:4). Only one principal referred to equality with regard to sexual orientation *ja, we are equal, we have the same, we don't see gay, we don't see lesbian [uhm] you understand?* (P8, 30:37); *Uhm...respect for... individuals... your equality* (P8, 121:121) Others linked human dignity and equality⁴¹⁹ (P9, 114:114) and that all humans were created equal⁴²⁰ (P9, 173:173); *we are treating each other very equally* (P14, 48:48). Another wrote that all learners needed equal opportunities⁴²¹ (P15, 258:258) and another that learners found it easier not to see differences of rich and poor because they wore the same uniform⁴²² (P16, 6:6) although the government wanted to create a perception of equality it was at the expense of productivity which was social injustice⁴²³ (P16, 59:59).

Gender equality and equity were discussed as *we do not discriminate, although I do find that... some male teachers sometimes are not as sympathetic towards female teachers as I would expect them to be* (P3, 127:127). This principal said he understood the *background influences your day to day job... and if female X is a female teacher with numerous problems at home, and she sits with 35 children in a class... and when there's a discipline problem there are comments made* (P3, 127:127). Another said *she ensures that you know we are, we are fair, and apply the law, evenly* (P6, 194:194). Female, male equality, one said *[t]hat is where we are still lacking... ladies are not represented in the management* (P8, 122:137). A female principal said that traditionally amongst Afrikaans communities men and women would not be treated equally⁴²⁴ (P9, 78:83) but believed that the community has changed and would not have a problem to appoint a female as principal⁴²⁵ (P9, 84:85).

With regard to **sexual orientation** one principal said *[w]ell I know that Life Orientation does that as well. I, I've believe... there's a place for everything. Not every teacher can talk about these kind of things... in the class. Rather the Life Orientation teachers will do that; the others will do something different* (P3, 55:56). To the question on **inclusivity** and sexual orientation one principal said he tried to get people involved⁴²⁶ (P1, 61:61) and another *[i]ts all about including one-another... ways in which you can... marginalise or exclude people, that here we focus on including people* (P4, 73:77) and said *another from the social justice perspective, we always have everything for everyone* (P7, 35:36). Only two principals referred to sexual orientation stating that *one time I had a teacher who was just not from the same sexual orientation, being a male, and what was quite amazing... instead of being uhh put aside, castigated, he, he was so acceptable, everyone even the learners and whoever, will imitate him, they'll emulate him and the like* (P5, 152:152). Another said *I want to tell you there's a lot of improvement, né, they are accommodated by everybody, they are just like anybody ... you know, they, they are not seen as different people* (P8, 27:27). However, when asked about sexual preferences and specifically gay relationships, one principal of a boy's school unexpectedly answered *No!*

Not that we are aware of, not (P3, 51:54). Only one reference to lesbian relationships was made where one principal said *ja, we are equal, we have the same, we don't see gay, we don't see lesbian... you understand?* (P8, 30:37). He continued and said *we, we openly talk about it, such people should not be discriminated against and so on, and so on. What I've realised is that there are many lesbians, gays, learners in the school, but ..., before you know, it was not as public as it is now. But when it started to come on people were... have been discriminated against, and we as a school we thought that it was about time that we address it, that we talk about it openly... you understand?* (P8, 24:24). When asked to share positive stories he said *my lesbians and, and gay people are now..., before they were looked at... excised now that has changed...the story I have, is the, is of the kid who came to me to complain about the treatment that was you know, as a result of his sexual orientation..., that is why we attend to this, and then thereafter we no longer have such, such, such complaints from the kids... we accommodate it* (P8, 222:227). This *petit récit* was affirming the literature finding that learners who have not traditionally been served well in schools (LGBTIQ groups) (Marshall & Oliva, 2010:14) should, and in this instance was about the promotion of social justice and at least one principal who understood, promoted and enacted social justice through a heightened and critical awareness of oppression, exclusion, and marginalisation (§3.4.4.2).

The second subtheme of theme four, equality ($f=101$) (s. 9 of the SA Constitution), gave an analysis and discussion of **fairness/unfairness** (1.2) ($f=23$), **non-discrimination** (22.28) ($f=9$), **unfair discrimination** (1.4) ($f=12$), **equality** (1.3) ($f=40$), **gender equality/equity** (22.45) ($f=10$), **sexual orientation** (22.46) ($f=3$), and **inclusivity** (22.14) ($f=4$).

The third subtheme - democracy and freedom - is analysed and discussed next.

5.5.3 Democracy and freedom

Principals answered to the question on **democracy, freedom** and social justice praxis that as a *multi-cultural, multi-racial school the principle of democracy is, is, is very important in, in how we deal with it* (P4, 109:113); *democracy was very wide... everybody had democratic rights*⁴²⁷ (P2, 314:314); *and we follow through with democracy... We cannot manage the school without it* (P4, 95:98). Another broadened democracy to include *[c]onsultative... democratic ja, where you listen, and then they should talk* (P5, 86:86). One said *I believe that uhh it is only when people have been consulted that, uhh, they will take ownership of, of, of any project that you come up with* (P8, 188:188) and yet another provided opportunities on a daily basis to air their views⁴²⁸ (P9, 134:134). The advantage was that *my suggestion... they weigh it... at the end of the day it is something that belongs to all of us... I also allow them to have their own suggestions, because I believe that in a democratic society one does not have to come up, even if you're a leader, you don't always have to impose on people, allow them also to, to come up with their views...* (P13, 134:136). Another said *I'm more like open and I encourage them to apply principle of democracy in all situations* (P14, 71:71). Although principals agreed that they did not take decisions on their own but involved the staff, a number of principals said at some stage you had to make a call⁴²⁹ (P1, 41:41). One conceded to an *open democratic style... with net a bietjie autocratic... but where it doesn't need a decision no democratic rights whatsoever goes on with*

every day's business (P7, 152:157). The learners struggled with democracy and did not use it to their advantage⁴³⁰ (P1, 41:41) even at the level of the RCL⁴³¹ (P1, 44:44). He continued and said that he doubted whether it will ever be effective but they at least gave the learners an introduction to democracy to be used after school. He proudly told that in a school that was predominantly English and black the learners democratically chose a white head boy⁴³² (P1, 13:13).

Preparing learners to take part in **national elections** and therefore in the process of democracy one said *I wouldn't say national democracy, the, because there's only a few that's 18... that would actually go and vote nationally, so that's not really there* (P4, 115:118). However they, in the form of forums did use the national principle as... starting point (P4, 119:135). Another said they were preparing their learners for their citizenship role *ja democracy and all that* (P6, 230:231). At one school the principles of democracy were applied to the tee with regard to their RLC election process as discussed in §5.3.1.2 and also to other elected positions where *even for the election of the Inter House captain and the Inter House one in charge of blankets and one in charge of charity, whatever, even that is done democratically... So then they first had a nomination thing. So these kids that were nominated came onto the nominating list, so now you're gonna vote for a vice-captain, a hockey captain uhh you're gonna vote for the one in charge of culture, the one in charge of drama, netball, wharawhara and they then vote, and the votes are counted... 2: So you have three learner representatives for each activity in the school, that works with the organisers, that works with the coaches with the, with the, with the...1: And then, and then we had a training of even these people had last week...* (P4, 168:184). They continued to describe this democratic and development process as follows: *and their job description was discussed with them... So every person knows what her job responsibilities are because you can't just have people being elected if you haven't trained them to know what their portfolio is. 2: You cannot expect them to do something if you haven't instructed them and empowered them* (P4, 168:184). Another principal told of the democratic process that allowed for the election of a coloured head boy⁴³³ (P16, 24:26). The election of the SGB was done democratically⁴³⁴ (P1, 53:53) but the parents did not use the opportunity⁴³⁵ (P1, 55:55).

Referring to a period of resistance against the post-apartheid dispensation of a democratic South Africa, one principal explained that the school was still hoisting the old Republic flag because since 2008 the national flag was not flown because the rope broke. He immediately arranged for the South African flag to be fixed and hoisted the next day⁴³⁶ (P12, 206:208) as well as forcing the staff to know the national anthem by heart which the learners and teachers did not know. A teacher translated the words and he enquired whether they knew that the national anthem is a prayer? God bless Africa? A white teacher said but that is beautiful. He said *"and you did not want to sing it? It is our anthem and you were busy with politics"* and added that they would be writing a test on the words the coming Friday, and beware if one made one spelling mistake because it was their duty as teachers to pay respect to the anthem and national symbols regardless of whichever government was ruling. Education was about raising

children for the future as it currently is not for how you thought it should be or how it used to be. Education is future orientated ⁴³⁷(P12, 216:218). **Citizenship** and education started at home and parents and teachers were to take hands to raise these children to become worthy South Africans. This he said was non-negotiable⁴³⁸ (P12, 213:213).

The analysis and discussion on human dignity, equality, democracy and freedom and social justice praxis was captured in *and still we have the values of the department and we must try and drill them and... this new curriculum it is so much of value-orientation... making us aware that you as a school, your role should be doing this... because schools were given the Manifesto on Values*. In promoting equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and social honour, the Manifesto underscores the importance of national unity and diversity of its peoples and builds bridges between ideal and reality, a bridge between the ideals of constitutional rights and making it a reality in the daily lives of all involved in education (P5, 130:139) (§3.2.2.2).

The third subtheme - democracy and freedom ($f=62$) - of theme four was an analysis and discussion of **democracy and freedom** (1.9) ($f=54$) and **citizenship** and **nationalism** (22.25) ($f=8$). A synthesis of this theme follows.

5.5.4 Synthesis

- Mirroring human dignity in a South African context will redress past injustices and is surrounded by a culture of **respect**:
 - Respect for other cultures should be based on fairness, dignity and equality.
 - Preventing disrespect should be a school's core business.
 - When recalling past injustices it should be done in a dignified manner.
 - In developing human dignity, learners experienced a greater sense of self-worth, became assertive, and acted in a dignified manner.
 - People remembered not what you did for them, but how you made them feel.
 - Research on human dignity and social justice is in time.
- The constitution and **human rights versus responsibilities**:
 - Learners, parents and teachers needed knowledge of human rights, responsibilities and limitations which are protected by constitutional values.
 - Balancing constitutional values, rights and responsibilities was contentious because learners knew about rights, but little about granting others the same.
 - Corporal punishment affected human rights.
 - Teachers often violated learners' human rights.
 - The constitutional values of human rights should guide teachers' professionalism.
- The constitutional value of **diversity** prepared learners for/to:
 - the future of a world that commanded respect for all cultures and races;
 - accept that there are differences and that all together it made a whole, and
 - manage and accommodate language, rich or poor, and religions as diversities.

- **Transformation** and **recognition** were about principals' belief about being positively transformed:
 - Developing and transforming learners was the schools' business.
 - Intervening in a politically loaded situation can bring about an integrated school system of English and Afrikaans learners.
 - Schools offered learners the best time of their lives.
 - Learners chose the teaching profession because of their positive experiences.
 - Learners themselves needed recognition, as well as the teachers.
- The perception of **tolerance** and intolerance was evident in:
 - racial difference in applying discipline;
 - praxis of **reconciliation** and social justice in awarding equivalent importance, and
 - showing forgiveness.
- Justice, as constitutional value, was juxtaposed to **injustice**:
 - There is no room for victimisation or injustice based on colour.
 - Addressing injustice on the part of teachers towards learners was important.
 - Apartheid was an injustice to humankind because humans were created equal.
 - You sign away your right to teach when retrenched.
 - White parents were not treating a coloured parent as equal but as domestic worker.
- Conflicting values between school and community were apparent when learners passed through the corridor between school, as an island of social justice, and home as the greater world of social injustices.
- The government contributed to social injustices by focussing on schools that performed well but were forced to the level of dysfunctional schools.

Equality (§5.5.2) as constitutional value formed an intrinsic part of an authentic principal who dealt with:

- **Fairness** opposed to unfairness where learners were concerned:
 - Black learners despised unfairness and would use group activism to combat it.
 - They wanted equal fairness and equity.
 - Actions of fairness were delivered from a heart which could not fake it for long.
 - Parents from different schooling backgrounds should be treated equally but differently.
 - Staff should be treated equally when making decisions so that no favouritism was found.
 - Fairness was about equity, equality, citizenship, hope, respect and openness.
 - Symbols of citizenship were hoisting the national flag and singing the anthem.
 - To temper political influence and build national cohesion, national symbols have to be respected no matter which government was ruling.

- Education was about raising children for an unknown future.
- Education starts at home and parents and teachers should take hands to raise children to become worthy South Africans.
- **Non-discrimination** was evident in:
 - South African citizenship demands non-discrimination by virtue of birth.
 - One has to be more sensitive to differences; in the end children remained children whatever race they might be.
- **Equality and unfair discrimination** inevitably was related to race:
 - distrusting each other across racial or rich and poor boundaries causing disloyalty;
 - not allowing any form of discrimination on the basis of race;
 - building an awareness of 'otherness' including those 'other than us';
 - no segregation on the basis of race, class or disability;
 - living in harmony regardless of political background;
 - praxis and philosophy translated in doing what you preached;
 - appointment issues where women were still not treated equally, and
 - rearranging staffroom furniture was viewed as equality.
- **Gender equality and equity** were about:
 - practices of white male colleagues still excluding female principals, although when asked for assistance it was provided;
 - female principals who had to prove that they were as good or better as their male counterparts;
 - tradition amongst Afrikaans communities where men and women were not treated equally, but this has changed and they would now accept a female principal;
 - the Management Forum embracing, empowering and treating female principals as equals;
 - uniforms and buying stationary for learners, which created an equal environment, and
 - the government wanting to create a perception of equality but at the expense of productivity regarded as social injustice.
- **Sexual orientation** was about:
 - gays and lesbians who should be treated with respect and inclusivity of teachers and learners;
 - a greater awareness contrasted with total denial;
 - sex education that was the responsibility of the Life Orientation teacher;
 - openly talking about sexual relationships on all levels about LGBTIQ groups, and
 - not castigating but showing love and acceptance.
- **Inclusivity** meant that people were involved and deliberately practised inclusivity as opposed to being excluded and marginalised.

Democracy, freedom (§5.5.3) and social justice praxis focussed on:

- Democracy was a non-negotiable in **multicultural and multiracial schools**:
 - democracy and democratic rights were very important, without which a school could not be managed;
 - democracy was consultation, listening and it brought ownership;
 - not imposing your will on people, although
 - some reverted to making a call when the situation required it.
- Citizenship, democracy and national elections:
 - Learners did not use it to their advantage, although the RCL elections gave learners an introduction to democracy and prepared them for their citizenship role.
 - An exemplary model of RCL elections was reported in full.
 - Parents did not use the SGB elections as a democratic mechanism.

Following are parameters for the development of management strategies regarding the learners and social justice praxis.

5.5.5 Parameters for the development of management strategies

From the data analysis and discussion above it seems that management strategies need (§6.4.6) to be developed for:

- A culture of respect for the Constitution and human rights and responsibilities
- A culture of justice, recognition, tolerance and of reconciliation
- An appreciation of constitutional values
- Acceptance and tolerance of sexual orientation of LGBTIQ groups to ensure inclusivity
- Constitutional values and rights to citizenship education

The following section offer concluding remarks to the fourth theme, constitutional values and social justice praxis.

5.5.6 Concluding remarks

Human dignity is inextricably linked to individual sacredness and inalienable human rights against the background of a racially divided past. Cultivating a culture of respect on the basis of fairness, dignity and equality should be a school's core business. In growing a culture of human rights, learners experienced a greater sense of self-worth, became assertive, and acted in a dignified manner. Teaching and growing human rights should be a balancing act which equates equal weight to responsibilities, a lesson that parents and teachers had to learn. The constitutional values of human rights should guide teachers' professionalism. Diversity as constitutional value was an undeniable reality of a globalised world in which difference of the other was the norm. Becoming positively transformed was what schools regarded as their business and what they did according to the departmental officials who chose them in the first

instance to take part in this research. Tolerance and intolerance were evident in the differences in applying discipline but were also about reconciliation and showing respect. Zero tolerance for any form of injustice formed a crucial part of the principal's praxis as was the case with racism and discrimination. Parents had to take on board the reality that black parents were no longer only attending parent functions as maids. Even though attention should be paid to two perceptions: schools as value-institutions and instituting values often were islands of social justice but when learners passed through the gates to their homes, they found themselves in a greater and conflicting world of social injustices. The second perception was about the government's intervention regarded as a social injustice to ensure that schools that were high-performing schools were pulled down to the level of dysfunctional schools.

Equality as constitutional value formed an intrinsic part of the principals, as authentic and transformative leaders. They ensured fairness in their social justice praxis that came from the heart because it was impossible to fake praxis of social justice if you did not want to do it. They associated fairness with equity, equality, citizenship, hope, respect and openness, a fairness that would build a national cohesion in which national symbols were respected no matter which government was ruling. Equal education was about raising children for an unknown future, and parents and teachers were to support each other in raising worthy South Africans. Realising that children were children no matter their race formed part of the discussion on non-discrimination as did equality and unfair discrimination. Although strides have been made with regard to gender equality and equity, perceptions of female principals remained one of them being inferior to their male counterparts, and who constantly had to prove themselves. The Departmental Management Forum was applauded for the support and empowerment of female principals. No specific instances of discrimination against gays and none with regard to lesbians were reported. Sex education was the responsibility of the Life Orientation teacher. However, the exception was the denial of any gay relationships at an all-boys' school. Therefore promotion of inclusivity, not merely racial inclusivity, but also of those who deviate from the norm should be promoted to prevent deliberate exclusionary practices.

Democracy was a non-negotiable in multicultural and multiracial schools without which a school could not be managed. RCL elections if done according to the described model would enable all learners in all schools to become knowledgeable about and experience democracy and election processes at its very best. Noteworthy was that parents did not yet use the power of democracy to its fullest with regard to the election of SGB members.

The fifth level of accomplishing effective social justice praxis in schools discussed the role of educational partners.

5.6 THEME FIVE: EDUCATIONAL PARTNERS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE PRAXIS

The fifth layer of the pyramid (Figure 4.5) was education partners who are directly and indirectly involved in basic education and social justice praxis. This partnership is formalised in legislation that has as its purpose the protection and advancement of our diverse cultures and languages (SASA). This legal imperative brought about a partnership model of SGBs, in which parents and teachers have co-responsibility and accountability to uphold the rights of all learners through effective governance of schools in partnership with the State (§3.2.3.2). The data analysis and discussion of the fifth theme, educational partners and social justice praxis ($f=234$), were grouped into three sub-themes (Figure 5.1), **parents and guardians** ($f=95$) (§5.6.1), **community** ($f=87$) (§5.6.2), and **governance** ($f=52$) (§5.6.3). The data analysis shows that 11.3% (Table 4.5) of the quotations are related to this theme and are displayed in abbreviated format in Table 5.5:

Theme 5 Educational partners	
Parents / Guardians (§5.6.1)	95
Community (§5.6.3)	87
Governance (§5.6.2)	52
Codes: 24 (11.3%)	Total quotations 234

TABLE 5.5: Educational partners and social justice praxis

The manifestation of social justice praxis is not limited to principals and learners but is a function, a praxis, that extends to education in a comprehensive function of educational realities of systems and subsystems existing interdependently (Potgieter, 1979:96). In this interdependent relationship, the political and social world of education is political and it is personal (Griffiths *et al.*, 2003c:18) (§3.2.1). Table 5.5 displays the participant-principals' views on educational partners which came to the fore throughout the interviews. The trinity of parents and guardians, community and governance guided the principals' conversations. Educational partners and social justice praxis manifested in three sub-themes presented in the network heuristic Figure 5.6.

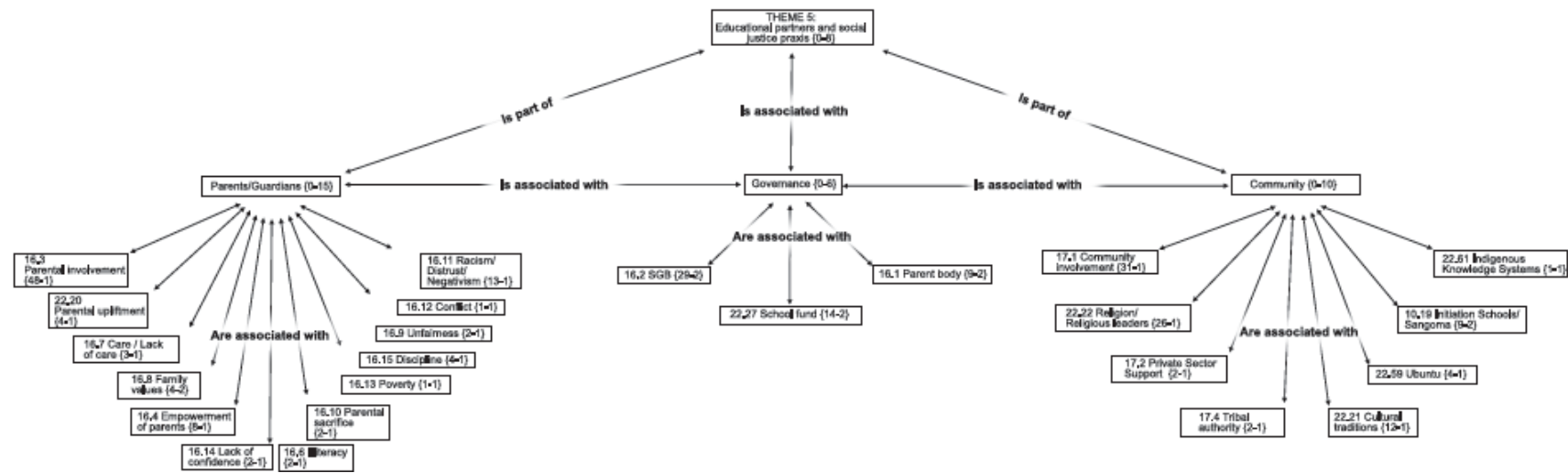


FIGURE 5.6: THEME 5 Educational partners and social justice praxis

Parents and guardians formed the first sub-theme of educational partners.

5.6.1 Parents and/or guardians

Principals experienced Black **parents' involvement** as lacking and this phenomenon was found in the following examples: if they did come to the school, they were aggressive and offensive because they only heard their children's side of the story, they did not attend rugby matches⁴³⁹ (P1, 50:51), and a deputy who said *I think our parent involvement is although her principal to some extent disagreed with her but her principal to an extent differed and said [t]hey're not big* (P4, 298:306); *even if we invite them to, to the school meetings we normally don't succeed very well... even if we invite them to, to the school meetings we normally don't succeed very well* (P13, 118:121). Black parents did not exercise their rights, although there would always be a few who would represent the rest of the parent body⁴⁴⁰ (P1, 53:53). Contrary to these experiences, a principal said at the Coloured school where she came from, she was amazed at the parental support⁴⁴¹ (P9, 108:108). Reasons were a cultural attitude which they had to work on⁴⁴² (P1, 53:53); *many of the... black parents... in their frame of mind, their parents stayed at home, never... went to school* (P4, 4:66); *their parents grew up working in the city or wherever and the kids were sent to the granny. So the parents, their parents they never saw their parents, so now they think its fine, put the kids in the boarding school and they carry on with their career...* (P4, 298:306). Another found *the support that we are getting, getting from parents is very satisfactory, even though it is not much, it is not what we expected, but they do assist us. Except there and there, but in average one can say that the support is very average and satisfactory* (P14, 39:39). This was also the experience of a principal who said *some of our male parents... are totally not interested in, in the learners'... progress... Where, when you call a parent's meeting, I, I don't deny the fact that parents are most of the time out working in the ... faraway places, but when you organise a meeting... maybe during the holidays, December time, we would always find women coming, as for males...* (P13, 210:210). Another said *these days you get absent fathers, absent mothers, just now when we give the bread, she said to me my mommy does odd jobs, and my dad just left us and he is not coming back* (P6, 278:281). Some principals referred to their task to uplift and accompany the parents⁴⁴³ (P1, 74:74), doing a budget with them to understand the impact of paying school fees on the household income because they were buying education from her school⁴⁴⁴ (P2, 25:25). Another said *[s]ometimes you also go back, down to the families, and assist them [uhm] where there is a need for you to ship in to assist them with information, guide them, if it goes to the push, you need to even go an extra mile* (P14, 59:59). None of the principals mentioned upliftment of White parents.

This situation was changed around by means of *empower and teach them how to be involved in school activities* (P4, 298:306); *we invite parents to come to school to play against... socially... fun walks with the parents to get them involved in the... life of the school... and in that way I think they will be more interested in the education of their learners* (P8, 101:108). Parents were *getting involved in their children... are coming... [to] the prestige athletics... our parents decided to form a group and go to the athletics as a group... because we never have our parents attending those* (P4, 298:306). Specific to

racial interaction the *petit récit* told by a principal and her deputy is one example of building bridges and allowing a natural interaction between parents that will bring about a non-racial parent community (P4, 298:306; P4, 307:307):

[b]ut what was fantastic to see was that it was black and white and coloured and all kinds of parents were braaiing here in this informal thing... they camped and stayed here. So it was interesting to see the black and the white interaction amongst the adults. 2: It was also interesting to see that two black families came here without camping gear. And, and they said they first wanted to come and see how it works. And from here they went to Game and bought them camping gear to come and stay here. And another family came here and they didn't have camping gear so other families helped them and said well we have an extra tent so... Its, it's a question of, it's a paradigm shift that needs to happen... because they don't have to get stuck or to stay stuck in the social injustice frame of mind. 1: Yes. I can see us, I can see us moving we, we are busy moving towards uhm more family inclusion and parents feeling more comfortable because you've got different parents with different cultures and we weren't brought up this way and for them it is something great to come here and actually start connecting [uh, uhm] and seeing what's happening. So uhm I can see that this is, this is going out... and it's good for our school. 2: It's growing... It's grewed. But it's a paradigm shift when you come from another school where you haven't had that...

Another opportunity for parents to get involved and dismantle racial prejudice was by June, July, we had a big walk ... and uhm we had parents come and walk with their daughters and a number of black parents that came was just amazing ... three, four, four, five [uhm] six hundred people walking. It's a new dimension for them. It's a new involvement for them (P4, 309:309). This paradigm shift was summarised in the words of the principal *those that are at the inside are, are experiencing a new dimension here ... A very, a very gemaklikheid (being comfortable) and there's a lot of respect going both ways and the interaction and the talk and the communication between parents and adults is, is...* (P4, 312:314).

Another referred to parents who collected money when they needed a fence to ensure that they could ask entrance fees for a beef festival and expanded on how supportive the parents were⁴⁴⁵ (P9, 108:108). Parental involvement was excellent even up to a point where she thought that the parents were too involved⁴⁴⁶ (P9, 108:108) and even wanted to take over. This meant that one had to determine the boundaries between parental involvement and interfering on professional level⁴⁴⁷ (P9, 108:112). Another principal differed because he said *when you talk about... fundraising it's another story. They would say here they come again; they want money from us... But... if we organise things like family day, fun-day, that, that would help* (P13, 125:125). Another position was where the income group varied from very rich to very poor which made it extremely difficult to get a support base amongst the parents⁴⁴⁸ (P16, 4:6).

One principal said that parents would *come to school... there's minor repairs saying what is happening with letsama [voluntary cooperation] ... you invite your parents to... repair your electricity; we have such skills in our community* (P8, 97:99). This notion of support was problematic though, as reported earlier where one of the principals described how her domestic worker went to help at her child's school but was rebuked by white and rich mothers reported elsewhere (§5.5.1). Children were proud when their parents were involved, demonstrated by telling about parents who were exempted from paying school fees but would render services in exchange for a

school uniform. She said one of the learners said ‘Mrs S... *did you see my mom is a teacher here?*’ whilst her mother was scrubbing the toilettes, but it was of extreme importance for the child that his mom was involved⁴⁴⁹ (P15, 50:50). Involvement brought about buy-in because if the child experienced the parent making a contribution to his or her school, whatever that contribution was, or from whichever race group they were, ownership would result for both parents and learners⁴⁵⁰ (P15, 54:54).

Coloured parents often lacked the confidence to take part or help in school functions, especially in ex-Model C schools, was one principal’s experience. She encountered people who thought they were not good enough and she said that it took her longer to work on parents’ self-confidence than on those of their children⁴⁵¹ (P15, 47:47). Another said that *that if you were to drive here, you will see my children out on the streets... where, you are supposed to be at home, in your houses, with your books, but no it is not there. But many a time we do not blame the kids, it's the parents, but then you're going to say, you don't blame the parents, it is the circumstances* (P6, 284:285). Another said not only did the children change as reported, but the parents’ role also changed and he thought that it was not only because of financial reasons but parents who did no longer take responsibility and accountability for their children’s strange conduct or those who did not do their homework. This conduct of learners was ascribed to the fact that they in turn felt that they did not have the parental support base⁴⁵² (P16: 11:11).

One principal regarded his task also as a supporter of families *where there is a need for you to ship in to assist them with information, guide them, if it goes to the push; you need to even go an extra mile, of even funding those families, but without charging them... the good part of it is that you get rejoice at the end of the day, that you assisted that family to achieve and move away from poverty to the place which is a little bit enlightened* (P14, 59:59). Another said it *[t]hey is involved... I believe as a school we need to do everything in our power to bring the community closer to us. To the school, to the school, to be part of the life of this school [uhm] you understand... as a school, we also climb, I don't know what you call it, in, in letsamakga ...* (P8, 84:89). The notion of educating the parents came to the fore in a discussion of communication and talking about and giving practical advice, such as using an Omo-box as poster, weighing maize flower, letters on packaging, to empower parents⁴⁵³ (P15, 67:67). With regard to values *I would firstly want to have a ... the parents involved [okay, okay] because it is of no use to keep on uhh... imprinting this in the mind of the child, about human dignity, human rights, we, we, we need to teach both the children and the parents...* (P13, 104:104).

On a negative note and without explaining, one principal said that parental involvement may be detrimental to learners’ progress⁴⁵⁴ (P16, 6:6). He said that where learners came from different backgrounds, parent’s lack of involvement with for instance outcomes based education and taking their children on excursions there would be parents who totally, emphasising ‘totally,’ distanced themselves from their children’s education. He felt so strong about their non-involvement that he referred to it as social injustice not based on race or gender but based on non-involvement⁴⁵⁵ (P16, 6:6). If parents were involved in school matters, goodwill amongst

race groups would follow⁴⁵⁶ (P16, 75:75). He was convinced that positive parental involvement would lead to social justice because it would enable schools to send out children into the world where they would not experience injustices, inequalities. You had to stop the vicious circle⁴⁵⁷ (P16, 76:76).

With regard to family **values** children often lived with the grandmother and in many instance also with an 'oompie' (an uncle – usually a younger brother of the mother) who lived with their grandmother and children. The principal said that she was terribly afraid of the 'oompie'. She believed that it was these 'oompies' who were responsible for all the trouble that they experienced with pregnant learners because he did as he pleased⁴⁵⁸ (P2, 147:147). Another disagreed and said that *[j]ja but under the worst circumstances, you can still bring up your kids in the right way* (P6, 287:287). Black parents did not take care of their children because many children were living on their own⁴⁵⁹ (P2, 156:156). Another differed and said *[j]ja but under the worst circumstances, you can still bring up your kids in the right way* (P6, 287:287). One reminded that many of today's children who obtained a matric certificate were better qualified than their parents⁴⁶⁰ (P1, 71:71). To the question, how would you educate the parents? he answered *your meetings... small... workshops... distribute the policies... your financial reports are done, in their own language; we explain it thoroughly* (P8, 72:73).

Illiteracy of parents remained a problem which impacted on children's school success. One principal told about learners who were not able to write matric exams because they had nobody to take care of their siblings or even their own babies because her mother did not want to look after them. She believed this happened where illiteracy was rampant, something that was not found among white parents⁴⁶¹ (P2, 154:155). Another said that the *majority of the parents in this... community they are not as educated to that level as one would expect, majority of them are grandparents and grandfathers, the real parents, they're migrant labourers. They are living in cities and then their children are left with grandparents, never the less, it is not a problem even though they are not educated. I mean speaking English does not mean that you are educated* (P14, 31:31). However, parents often **sacrificed** for the education of their children⁴⁶² (P2, 281:282) and another added *parents speak to old boys and they want their children to have now what they never had* (P3, 94:94). With regard to **discipline**, one principal said that you had to involve the parents immediately but he warned that at some stage you had to use discretion which parents not to involve. These parents would severely beat their child if called for disciplinary matters⁴⁶³ (P1, 96:96). Yet another said *[t]he parents who are involved are the parents of learners who are always not towing the line...* (P5, 36:36). Parents had to ensure that their children were dressed according to school rules⁴⁶⁴ (P12, 211:213). **Unfairness** towards a child, even though unruly in school, was described where a father, a taxi owner, had affairs and would buy his mistresses' children shoes, which he denied his own son the previous day. The principal saw the unfairness and the child's broken heart, who in the end, committed suicide⁴⁶⁵ (P2, 276:278).

Consultation as medium of **communication** was about *decision[s] to be made at school; it is not done by the principal alone* but is made through seeking *consensus of all the stakeholders involved...* (P8, 188:188). It is also viewed as being *transparent... because we do not want to be seen as people who are ignoring... the people [parents] who need help from us...* (P13, 131:131). This narrative underpins the value of human dignity, respect and good will that should be the attribute of all relationships in education. This kind of relationship is supported by the notion of giving priority to the community and respecting the person, sharing with and helping persons as is found in communalism of Black cultures. This praxis will entail the promotion of a collective effort directed ultimately at the good of the community, characterised by a spirit of *Ubuntu*. And argues Higgs (2003:14) this concept is about human need, interests and dignity as of fundamental importance and concern for education. The traditional African educational thought and practice is directed at fostering humane people endowed with moral norms and virtues such as kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence, courtesy and respect and concern for others (§2.3.3.2; §3.4.2.2).

Racism and **distrust** were addressed in previous themes, and therefore only cursory remarks regarding racism and distrust that came to the fore with regard to parents will be made. One principal told *some Coloured parents felt that we failing their children deliberately* and what she did to restore trust in her decisions (P6, 200:206). Another told of the distrust that met him when he started at the school and how the white parents regarded him as a liberalist planted by the ANC⁴⁶⁶ (P12, 29:29). He continued to say how absurd it was to be blinded by skin colour⁴⁶⁷ (P12, 72:74). Selective racism was evident where learners would be welcome on one farm but not on another⁴⁶⁸ (P15, 15:158) but racism was perpetuated by parents. She told of a small coloured girl who came to her and asked whether she was brown or white. She answered it really did not matter, but the girl insisted. The principal said '*I am white*' to which the little girl exclaimed '*ag no, ag no, ag no!*' She asked why and the girl answered '*my parents did not like whites at all*'⁴⁶⁹ (P15, 199:199). This notion of the parents being the guilty party was affirmed by another principal from the next focus group discussion who also said it is about perceptions, integrity, transparency and it was not the children who perpetuated social injustices, but the adults. He specifically referred to distrust of parents of white teachers and they were cultivating that culture of distrust in their children⁴⁷⁰ (P16, 42:42). He blamed the government for this situation of furthering racial conflict⁴⁷¹ (P16, 59:59) which transpired in schools where learners were told not to sit next to somebody who was of another race or poorer than they were⁴⁷² (P16, 58:58). He said that the media contributed to the distrust amongst racial groups which contributed to parents and race groups becoming negative towards each other and that he believed should be stopped⁴⁷³ (P16: 61:61). He blamed the parents for the negativity which caused division amongst schools and schools would remain islands as long as this situation continued⁴⁷⁴ (P16, 63:63). He believed that the adults would not fix this problem but the learners very often would bring a simple solution⁴⁷⁵ (P16, 88:88).

Parents and guardians ($f=91$) were analysed and discussed as **parental involvement** (16.3) ($f=48$), **parental upliftment** (22.20) ($f=4$), **care/lack of** (16.7) ($f=3$), **family values** (16.8) ($f=4$), **empowering the parents** (16.4) ($f=8$), **lack of confidence** (16.14) ($f=3$), **illiteracy** (16.6) ($f=2$), **parental sacrifice** (16.10) ($f=2$), **discipline** (16.5) ($f=4$), and **unfairness** (16.9) ($f=2$), and **racism/distrust** (16.11) ($f=13$). Two codes were not specifically discussed, **poverty** (16.13) ($f=1$) and **conflict** (16.12) ($f=1$).

The second subtheme, - governance - is analysed and discussed next.

5.6.2 Governance

A problem that occurred at most schools was the one of a quorum for **SGB** elections and although all schools suffered, black schools did more. Although the SASA required a quorum during the first meeting it was almost impossible and therefore a second election meeting would be held where still less parents would pitch up⁴⁷⁶ (P1, 53:53). Other problems were parents who were elected but barely were able to read or write⁴⁷⁷ (P2, 12:12) or even speak, but they as management never ever discriminated against these members⁴⁷⁸ (P2, 14:14), one member never ever spoke at any meetings, seemed constantly afraid, and resignedly said and these are the people who had to make decisions on millions of rands of school fees⁴⁷⁹ (P2, 15:21). At a township school, the situation was markedly different where the principal said *our SGB is mostly consisting of parents of learners who attend here... we are a little bit advantaged because most of the citizens around this area here, at least most of them have gone up to, to matric...; the constitution of our SGB is really proper... because of the people who have knowledge; able to interpret all the laws that uhh are governing the SGB* (P13, 169:170). He brought the problem of a female dominated SGB under attention: *our SGB, most of the schools around here, if you look at the composition of the SGB, you would find more women than male, in this SGBs... [okay] and their excuse will always be we are not always home* (P13, 214:216). Another principal said that in becoming an open Model C school, they were able to reflect race representativeness in the composition of their SGB and parent-teacher association⁴⁸⁰ (P15, 54:54). A problem was that SGBs were subjected to a term or two and continuity was difficult to establish. Many a time only one member will remain which resulted in treading water because the whole process needed to start all over again when a new SGB was elected. He mentioned that often it was necessary to change a member's attitude so that they understood what was expected of them⁴⁸¹ (P16, 80:80).

Although the law said that parents governed the school, the school management team was responsible for the governance of schools, which only required a tabling and explanation of what you did⁴⁸² (P2, 23:23). Another differed and saw his role and that of the SGB *they are actually playing a role of, of governance, and I am doing management, however, the two of us uhm need to work together and in the SGB that's where I come in, we sharing the information, they need guidance as to how to do their budget, how to uhh craft policies, they do not know the legality part of it, the legal framework. And as the ex-officio of the SGB, in the SGB, I'm there to guide them, give them the necessary documents that they will need, and I explain to them further other concepts that are a little bit*

difficult for them to unpack and also guide them um step by step in the process of developing policies and identifying problems and closing gaps if there are any. So I'm there to make sure that the SGB doesn't feel being ... sidelined. They must feel that they are part of the institution when it comes to governance, and I must give them the chance to exhaust their area and their positions fully (P14, 27:29).

An unlawful shadow-interview resulted in a principal withdrawing his application but later was told that the Department had forced the SGB to appoint him. He then knew he at least had the Department's backing⁴⁸³ (P12, 70:70). The Department at this specific school also appointed the deputy-principal, a Black man against the wishes of the SGB⁴⁸⁴ (P12, 72:72). These descriptions of past racial discriminatory practices were supplanted by the practices that were to follow upon this principal's accepting the position described earlier (§5.3.1.1) (P12, 214:214).

Principals understood the value of the SGB in disciplinary matters *if it is a serious case it is taken to the disciplinary committee of the SGB (P3, 112:112)*. On another level parents had *meetings where we have our parents being addressed by the SGB members, parent members. Now they'll be coming from this perspective of parents, no longer as educators (P5, 80:80)*. The principal said the SGB members and parent body would support teachers with *[i]nvolvement in sports... farewell... prize-giving, and then parents will be talking from their perspective as parents, that please let's try to do one, two three to help the educators (P5, 80:80)*. Other forms of support were *our finance committee... you talk about budgeting you should be aligned to our school improvement plan and school development plan (P5, 91:92)*. He acknowledged that *because our treasurer is always working...got teachers who are co-signatories. The principal does not sign, he's only authorising the expenditure, if it's in line with PFMNE¹¹ and SASA (P5, 93:93)*.

One principal said that the procedures followed when they wanted to issues discussed as they would *request input; written input... receive those submissions... bring them together; they move to the staff... once the staff has agreed on this, on this, we pass it over to the Governing Body for reading that adoption and for implementation (P7, 63:63)*. He answered the question of how did he bring his SGB on board a value-based governance was *[t]he SGB is placed in a position of trust towards the school, so in our meetings we always highlight... the code of conduct... it emphasises the IsiZulus, this one and this other one, and then you need to really stick to these values. Uhh when school opens, please come and welcome the whole school population, sometimes they always usual pop in check what is happening in the school, assist wherever... so that they are able to see... this school is... established on values (P7, 117:118)*. Another said *we are fortunate in that we have a very comprehensive code of conduct... we've worked on it with the school governing body and as the SMT we have told them this is what we would like to have included... (P6, 70:70)*. At one school, when the department decided to deliver classrooms to force parallel medium schooling, the parents and the SGB, within half an hour, were there to support the principal. She told of how the SGB supported the principal who was accused of misconduct, as was the case with her while she was acting as principal⁴⁸⁵ (P9,

¹¹ Public Finance Management Academy (<http://www.saiga.co.za/pfm-academy.htm>).

183:183). She told that because she was thrown in the deep-end, the SGB offered to meet once a month instead of once a term⁴⁸⁶ (P9, 183:183).

The role of the SGB and financial school management was addressed by one deputy-principal who said that schools were under pressure to become businesses due to the government's funding system. Eventually this responsibility rested on the shoulders of a few parents who exploited the situation. Some parents, while collecting funds, said "I am sponsoring this and this and therefore you will have to change this or you have to do it according to my preferences" almost like a threat⁴⁸⁷ (P16, 58:58). The deputy said these demands bordered on social injustice. He argued that this was a negative situation because teachers were dependent on parents' goodwill. A change of attitude was important⁴⁸⁸ (P16, 67:67). Schools could have the best laid plans for equal opportunities, but *money makes the world go round* and schools could not function without it. He came from the Netherlands and thought that parents paying school fees was absurd⁴⁸⁹ (P16, 73:73).

One principal referred to the high school fees schools were charging, i.e. up to R7000.00 - R8700.00 per year. Her vision was to provide *affordable, quality education*⁴⁹⁰ (P2, 67:71) and said they were asking only R2800.00 per year; R280.00 per month and they exempted learners where parents lost their jobs. Nonetheless, they were able to survive⁴⁹¹ (P2, 70:71). As a fee-paying school she asked a R320.00 registration fee, with which everything the learners needed were paid which ensured equality amongst the learners⁴⁹² (P2, 99:101). They often wrote off school fees and parents had to pay only subject costs whilst sponsors would provide the rest⁴⁹³ (P2, 29:31). Those who failed year after year were the learners whose parents would pay their school fees for the whole of the following year because the parents were too glad he was in school, whether he failed or not⁴⁹⁴ (P2, 124:124). She also made reference to an SGB member who did not take part in any SGB discussions but had to make decisions on a budget of millions⁴⁹⁵ (P2, 21:21). This principal also referred to the lack of equipment when she started the school, such as no intercom or a hall. She received donations for the intercom system and a roof for the quad⁴⁹⁶ (P2, 349:349). At another school the principal said that they did not exclude learners, but their fees also in many cases included hostel fees; he also found the school fees high in comparison with where he came from⁴⁹⁷ (P3, 184:185).

A principal's relationship with her mostly black **parent body** was one where she would tell them that they had to make her strong; had to tell her when there was a problem or which changes should be made because the school belonged to them. They should use her to get these things done and she shared this message at meetings, circulars which she did not use to complain, but rather would thank and praise the parents for their contributions⁴⁹⁸ (P2, 326:326). Another answered to the question how did he involve the broader parent body in school matters: *you call grades-meetings at the beginning of the year where we introduce our educators, post requirements,*

additional stationary that's going to be needed (P5, 79:80). A female principal believed that the parent body they were happy. They see a female as mothering, nurturing (P6, 44:47).

The parent body at one school were *[t]he majority of the parents in this committee, they're community they are not as educated to that level as one would expect, majority of them are grandparents and grandfathers, the real parents, they're migrant labourers... never the less, it is not a problem even though they are not educated. I mean speaking English does not mean that you are educated (P14, 30:31).* He stated that *parents do also play a role of assisting us to mould these kids, even though... it is not that they don't want to cooperate, but some are too old... to walk from home to the school and it takes time before they could respond. However, the, the, the, the support that we are getting, getting from parents is very satisfactory, even though it is not much... but they do assist us (P14, 39:39).*

He explained what he meant with 'openness' and a participative, consultative management strategy *when I say open with everybody... the school has to make decisions, I cannot implement the decisions alone, I need to consult... Be open... consult my SGB, my teachers, my learners, the parent's body an openness that also reflected how he dealt with financial management I'm also dealing with finances here. You should be open, that transparency... Because at the end of the day I believe that the principal is, is accountable to the public (P8, 63:63).* The financial management role of the principal was highlighted in a discussion on the election of members of the financial committee who were *a sub-committee of the SGB... the SGB will elect different sub-committees... But we make sure that... members of the financial committee, at least they've got some light... when it comes to finances and so on (P8, 63:63).*

The governance ($f=52$) of schools were analysed and discussed and paid specific attention to the **SGB** (16.2) ($f=29$), **school funds** (22.27) ($f=14$), and **parent body** (16.1) ($f=9$).

The following section deals with the community as partners in education.

5.6.3 Community

Community involvement was already referred to where a person came and asked whether a principal wanted material for a roof for the quad⁴⁹⁹ (P2, 349:351). At another school cultural cooperation was evident where the school needed lighting and sound equipment for a school production used during the annual Aardklop cultural festival in Potchefstroom. In exchange for storing space the principal proposed that they had to help them with how they should go about doing their own school production, which he did. He told the principal that if they upgraded the basic equipment in the hall, they would be able to ask more to rent it out⁵⁰⁰ (P3, 308:314). In referring to the alleviation of poverty, one said that *I've even sent letters to parents to ask them to donate clothes and food hampers and things like that, but that come solely from the parents' side (P6, 139:151).* She answered with regard to the community and business *I've written letters and stuff but I haven't had a positive response from anyone, you know they always say you know we have used up our budget for donations for the year and things like that ... (P6, 139:151).*

Specific references were made with regard to the relationship with the police. These remarks included *[w]hen we call them, when we need assistance from the police they do come, we always get motivation from them... they are here to help you* (P7, 208:213). He continued *the last time when I called, one police officer to come and motivate learners, he told them you know these are the career that the police are doing, these are the incident that happened this weekend, in the community... and then policing should not be seen as negative, to meeting and harassing those who are on drugs and such other things ... its quite motivating* (P7, 208:213). Another told of the practice of *adopt-a-cop* and said *here it is done in a very good manner, at the station itself... will allocate cops to different schools, you understand, and then all that I have to do as the principal, is to write to the station commander and then I'll get my adopt-a-cop. And these adopt-a-cop is usually, we usually give them the platform to address them on matters of crime and so forth* (P8, 233:238). Yet another affirmed the excellent relationship with the police *we have the police who are working with us here... Ja they are coming to the school on a regular basis just to come and address the learners on how they should treat each other, how they should behave and how they should try and avoid involving themselves in... things that might be distracting their attention from school, like drugs and alcohol* (P13, 55:63). He answered to the question whether he found it beneficial *Yes! Ja it's very, very beneficial, because when these police come to school, they, they come here as different people... to talk to these learners on a... fatherly basis, on a motherly basis* (P13, 55:63).

One referred to traditional boundaries in the township and how it leads to “herding” of the maidens: *[y]ou are staying at Chris Hani... you are staying in this township so you cannot have a girlfriend there... because you are staying there... you won't go to school if you go to school I've got my friends. He told we manage to say okay, you are not here for girlfriends, you are still young, what you need to do is to concentrate, because if you're all going to fight then you will be having that Babillion [sic] code of immorally where an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, you're going to take out my eye, then I'm going to take out your eye. At the end of the day, no one is going to have eyes... So at least it's through the intervention of our community policing forum. We have a very hands-on detective, Mr. J, he's always willing to come here when we have problems. So if they see that okay, this is not the principal alone, ... it's the SAP, it's the parents, because no other parent will be pleased to be called at home such income and identify the body when you've sent your learner to go and teach. That's what I'm always telling them. You are not here to become murderers. You are here to become doctors, you are here to become educators, we are running short of educators* (P5, 71:73).

Involving churches and religious leaders was the practice followed by one principal who said they did not have time for social welfare actions but, like in any school, he found a lot of broken people. Because he did not have the time to do social counselling of the children, he invited all the ministers to support⁵⁰¹ (P12, 22:22) the learners whom he saw as people with broken wings⁵⁰² (P12, 220:220). Another affirmed that *we usually have your... your priest from different churches coming to talk to them annually and usually* (P8, 163:170). She believed that *[j]a, and at the end of the day, it's the children who are suffering because of mistakes that parents and I think, I feel we are failing, I feel our churches are failing us today. Churches may be full on a Sunday, but, but, but they*

are just there, I don't know, to mark themselves busy, because the values that the church is suppose to carry is not been carried, passed onto us [uhm] and we are not passing that on to our children (P6, 277:281)... But really I think society, church I don't know, our, our religious pillar in our country is missing, it is there but is just maybe a building, but those values are not being passed onto the families and the families are not passing them onto the children (P6, 284:284).

The notion of we-ness came to the fore in what one principal said *we need to sit down, talk about issues... make sure that... one unpacks all different concepts, so that at the end of the day the decision that is taken, uhm it's from almost every member of the school community, that's where the word we comes in, that all decisions that are taken are taken through consultation of or amongst the stakeholders that are forming part of the school (P14, 13:14).* He told that he did attend community meetings (P14, 20:23). He would *if I need something to be announced to the community at large write letters to churches... read these letters during the church services for other people who are unable to come to school on a regular basis... And also during the funerals... or during the activities of the community, when they do announcements... And the community feels very acknowledged if they are always uhm informed of the progress of the school, the problems that the school is encountering (P14, 20:23).*

In referring to the role of the school community and social justice, one said that those principals sitting around the table, all had the heart and insight to pursue social justice and to make it happen in their schools but not in the surrounding area. At the end the school became an island where social justice is preached which was a challenge because notwithstanding what was preached inside the school as island, outside the school there was a lot of social injustice. He said that now the child comes to school where all these nice things regarding social justice was talked about and lived, when the school bell rang, he would return to an environment where other rules applied; other cultures let themselves be heard and other ways of doing things were practised (P15, 128:132). He concluded and said that these islands which were attempts at social justice is another problem in a bigger world of *social injustices*. It was these conflicting push and pull forces that the child encountered of what was right⁵⁰³ (P15, 134:134).

With regard to theft and burglaries, one said it depended on the principal's attitude towards the community that the school was situated in. She told of an isolated incident where they had a burglary at school but the people in the community cornered the perpetrator, called the police without calling the principal, and the next day when she said good morning, how are you she was told of the incident. In this manner the community took ownership of the school⁵⁰⁴ (P15, 145:145). Another affirmed ownership and said that in the past 35 years she never had any keys to the school buildings and no burglaries ever occurred. She said there were fires which the farmers extinguished also without calling her. She told of a situation where learners saw a person who was trespassing on the school grounds and they asked her what she wanted at our school. She said she taught the learners that she wanted to build and nobody should break it down, a principle the parents bought into. Whenever parents used the school she would tell them you received a spotless school you will give a spotless school back so one had to give

them that ownership, it was *our* school; the school does not belong to KV (principal) it is *yóur* school. She told of another incident where somebody drove a scooter bike on the steps of the stadium and the learners came to her and said we almost threw stones at him; he should not break the school down, *sorry*⁵⁰⁵ (P15, 148:148). Openness and having a discussion platform would provide a space for teachers and the community who had to play an unbelievable important role⁵⁰⁶ (P16, 58:58).

Human capital provided role models to society in being a productive person, worker and employee to take care of his family⁵⁰⁷ (P16, 68:68) and lived for their community and the people around them⁵⁰⁸ (P16, 68:68). He said that if everybody accepted the philosophy of human capital an honest worker would be willing to take a smaller salary instead of trying to take the short route to wealth. It would focus on being content with what you amassed through honest hard work⁵⁰⁹ (P16, 68:68). Another said that we were not actually building and that teachers were positive towards social justice but that they were not supported by those around them (the community)⁵¹⁰ (P16, 71:71).

School safety and the *petit récits* told by one principal were about a school that experienced a number of burglaries because the school was located amongst squatter camps. Schools were virtually plundered but the moment he started talking to the parents as the principal and explained what he viewed a school to be, the situation changed dramatically. He said a school is this ray of light almost like a lighthouse where people would gather and not a place where half of the school was carried away. He said we had to ask where the equipment came from. He referred to the Department of Education that spent almost ten million rand on safety measures and he believed they had to spend that money elsewhere where it could be used in a more positive manner. When he started talking to his parents he said the school did not need a fence, the community should be that fence, and the fence should not be there to keep children inside, the learners should be in the school because they wanted to be there⁵¹¹ (P15, 143:143). When burglaries occurred he talked to the learners who were the eyes and ears of the school; he wanted to know who the thieves were and guaranteed anonymity. The learners bought into this concept although initially they were afraid to split on each other. It spread through the community and burglaries became isolated incidents and were no longer the norm because the community bought into the notion that the school belonged to them, they had to protect it⁵¹² (P15, 143:143).

Although already referred to in previous discussions, the role of religion and religious leaders as part of the school community was important. One principal said that, although they were a Christian school, they were tolerant towards Muslim traditions and he even went as far as to allow Muslim girls to wear burqas without asking permission and nobody said a word and believed they had a good relationship with the community⁵¹³ (P1, 78:78). One said that *in terms of religion, we always observe religion of other people... But finally this is a strength to all of us... a very*

good strength (P7, 10:10). With regard to the learners, *I don't have Moslems... Christians, they are Christians most of them... we will try and accommodate them* (P8, 153:158). Another said they would focus on *for example on the Muslim uhm week... 2: of Ramadan. Mrs M would easily call in the Muslim girls and ask them what their needs are. They need a prayer room... 1: I've got a prayer room... 2: Then we give them that facility..., then as soon as we've arranged that facility, we get a letter from them, and that's wonderful about the girls, they write letters to the office (laughing softly). So the letter then asks permission when, if a father could please install a basin there because they need to wash their faces and, and feet before they pray and then we go and make sure that they have the proper facility. So it's all inclusive* (P4, 235:242). Another principal reproached the churches and said *[j]a, and at the end of the day, it's the children who are suffering because of mistakes that parents and I think, I feel we are failing, I feel our churches are failing us today. Churches may be full on a Sunday, but, but, but they are just there, I don't know, to mark themselves busy, because the values that the church is suppose to carry is not been carried, passed onto us [uhm] and we are not passing that on to our children* (P6, 281:281). She continued to argue *[b]ut really I think society, church I don't know, our, our religious pillar in our country is missing, it is there but is just maybe a building, but those values are not being passed onto the families and the families are not passing them onto the children* (P6, 284:285).

There were references to teachers known as JoT teachers (Jesus our Teacher) whose salary was shared with a church denomination and had teaching responsibilities as well as counselling learners with less serious emotional problems or family trauma. She would refer more serious problems to a religious leader and councillor⁵¹⁴ (P9, 154:156). Another said he asked his congregation to appoint a JoT-teacher. He knew that in a secular state religious practices would create a problem and he then decided that he would lengthen the school day to start at 07:05. The JoT teacher would have an opportunity to talk to the learners first thing so that breaks were not used for religious observances⁵¹⁵ (P12, 223:223). She was responsible for the CSV (SCA - Student Christian Association); took care of learners and had projects in an old-age home and in the township; organised a youth festival similar to Mighty Men where the children camped and religious leaders addressed them and in addition had their own band. He thought this involvement brought about a spiritual revival⁵¹⁶ (P12, 230:238). To the question if it involved all children he answered *all, white and black, all colours, all languages... you only have one God, all believe in the Holy Trinity. He talked about different ways of worship and said we should leave room for each other that was all. That is what I wanted for my school, we have to accept each other, remember that we are a diverse nation, we are a nation of a lot of minorities. Politics, he believed, bedevilled everything because they (referring to the government) wanted to take everything for themselves whilst we only owed each other respect ... space. That's all ... each one just have another way of doing it, like the Capey[s] in the Cape say*⁵¹⁷ (P12, 239:242).

The role of the **tribal authority** was evident in one remark *[c]ommunity meetings, like when the tribal authority calls a meeting... sometimes if I have issues, that need the tribal authority to assist, I attend their meetings* (P14, 20:20). **Cultural habits** and **traditions** were to be watched over. It did not mean that you were uncivilised when eating food with your fingers and the principal asked

why do we (Whites) want to teach them (Blacks) otherwise. He understood that society demands adherence to the way we do things because you would tell the learners at this faction we were going to use a knife and fork because the learners became anxious. If you saw that he was not eating with a knife and fork, rather try and sit next to him, talk to him and eat with your fingers as well; you had to be sensitive for these kinds of things⁵¹⁸ (P1, 76:76). Cultural days were one way of sharing knowledge about different cultural habits: teachers dressed in different cultural dresses, special food was prepared such as *malemagodu* and they played traditional black games. She said the pride that it brought about and told the learners she was a South African and they were Setswana-speaking South Africans...; I am an Afrikaner, a South African Afrikaner and I am proud of that, whatever my ancestors did, it is their problem, I am who I am⁵¹⁹ (P2, 286:288). Another told of their *cultural day, where ... these young men from the initiation school had their songs and learners were ululating and doing that, where these girls, young maidens from their Sangoma were doing their tradition and the like. So it was most of sharing ... on that spring day ... So that's on heritage day* (P5, 57:60).

The cleansing ceremony already referred to, held after a teacher was murdered was another example of cultural habits: *Uhh during the cleansing ceremony we had religious people, we had the Sangoma, we had uhh witch doctors, they're the traditional doctors, so they came with their rituals and the, the mothers from various church denominations, had their own cloth, so they prayed, and after praying, then uhh some sermons and those people from the tradition will do their own traditionals and then their things who in the whole yard, so that they are chasing the evil spirit. So both, it wasn't only the religious, the religious were praying and okay, having holy water, incense and charcoal, but the people from traditionals uhh ja traditional doctors and the Sangoma had their own things where they burnt, where they talked in their own rituals and their own whatever* (P5, 71:73). Another said they celebrated religious holidays and public holidays, then we have a teacher and learner coming up to talk about this, and also like we, we had our celebration of Diwali, the Festival of Lights, and I took two days off for religious observance and so did another educator who is also Hindu... well the next day they expect a whole lot of treats which we bring for them, we're sharing it (P6, 125:128). Two incidents already reported were, not looking another in the eye to show respect and taking leftovers home⁵²⁰ (P15, 88:88) showed customs that needed to be respected. Showing respect towards cultural traditions was done by providing *Halaal* food and inviting people to explain the cultural traditions were important in bridging the cultural divide⁵²¹ (P15, 116:116).

The principals shared their views on the African culture and principle of Ubuntu as *the spirit of citizenship... you'll not be vandalising... we as educators and you as a parent will like your learner to be* (P5, 34:34); *if maybe they knew that you are suffering from this disease, dreadful disease, they show that caring... we have not been cutting them out... Uhhh that Ubuntu* (P5, 152:154). Another said yes we do use... *I still remember some few of those main principles* (P7, 224:227). To the question if they specifically focus on the Ubuntu principles [o]ne said *Uhh we..., somehow, we, we, we put it in* (P8, 183:184).

Initiation schools were mentioned as part of the black culture specifically *starting from tomorrow the 30th [November], initiation schools are starting, now as they start, we are not going to have learners around, most of them will be joining... those that will be going there, and uhh almost 90% of my school kids they are from the initiation schools, and some teachers as well.* He said (P14, 50:51):

[h]owever what I'm happy about, when they come back, more especially kids, when they come back, we arrange a meeting, with... the elderly people..., the grandmothers and the grandpa's around and some leadership, some traditional leaders, they come and speak to these kids, making them aware that what they have learned informally there, should not uhm conflict with the formal education that they are receiving here. And one, what I also acknowledge about the meeting is that learners are taught that they should accept teachers as they are, because some teachers are not from the initiation school, but what is important is that they are here to teach them. They have got an expertise in the field of teaching [uhm]. They might have acquired more information from the traditional schools, that's great, but they still need this other part to balance life. So uhm I haven't experienced the scenario whereby kids undermine teachers that are not from initiation school, or some teachers undermines others because they are not from the initiation school. All of them have got room to accept and accommodate one another, despite the differences [okay]. So I'm glad about the, the way they are handling one another...

Another told that (P5, 46:54):

[t]hey are very young, they go there maybe during gr. 7, uhh gr. 9. When they come back they are being told that they are elderly men, they are doing what. So when he comes and say we should not be called boys..., they, they are me_en. And then you'll see that they are carrying knopkieries as a sign of maturity or men according towards they've been taught there.... you'll see there's that clash where these from the initiation school, they regard themselves you don't tell me anything because you're not a man. I'm a man ... they've been at school and the like, uhh at the veld, at the initiation school, then you see there's this, this confrontation and the tension, ja... But you manage to, to, to reduce the conflict, saying okay fine, if you're a man, you leave that manhood at the gate of the school. We do appreciate, it's a tradition, we are not against it... So they are so interested, because they talk a lot about it, that you see that those that did not go to, to the initiation school, dodging their families and going there, absconding home, absconding school, so you've got a report uhh from the parents that my son has left and has gone to the initiation school. He'll be back after three weeks. Okay fine, as long as after three weeks we'll be able to cope... we cannot say we are discriminate against that ...[okay]. Ja. The only thing that we talked about the last time was we should have a time frame where maybe after the first week of closing during June where they've got four weeks or December, the last term after the 9th, then they've got free until the 21st [uhm], or the 27th. Usually that's how they do it. So it was just ...something that I don't understand why they did it during school at times

He did say that there was conflict between what the schools needed and the demand for a traditional initiation school: *It was just two years ago, where there was that increase in all our schools here, but parents managed to talk to the leaders and those guys who are busy managing those camps. But this shouldn't happen. This should not interrupt with the programme, but at the end of the day the learner should be able to pass [uhm] his grade or whatever. So at least, there's a reduction in that practice for now, I don't know, maybe next year. Because people are making money [ja]. You, you take a sheep, and then... uhh and then there's some groceries to made, whatever, then there will be that feast [uhm, uhm] you see? So if you've got ten young men going for that initiation, it means you've got ten sheep, and if there's ten again, you've got one... you must make that festive. You should come and eat and do whatever. So ...* (P5, 46:54).

With regard to the tradition of Sangoma, one principal reported that *the father said he's got a calling, a calling of a Sangoma. So that affects my, my high school learners...* (P6, 171:171). He said a lot of children who want to go to the Sangoma school... *they often try and do it whilst it was still school time, and he now asked, arranged with, with the training Sangomas to only have it during the holiday* (P6,

188:189). The same principal who denied having any drug or gang related problems at his school, also said that *No I haven't had it [initiation schools] as yet. No, no, no* (P7, 232:233). Another said he treated the request of parents to allow Sangoma at his school *you remind me of a request by one member of the community, they wanted to bring one in... so what I indicated to them was that you know what, we've got different beliefs, we are many at the school, different beliefs and so on (coughing) so for the sake of peace no Sangoma will be allowed into the school... and perform their thing... Ja it is not a school issue, they should not be talking to the school* (P8, 171:176). His answer to the question of initiation schools was that *they usually go there, during the holidays, né... but when they come back, we take them back... when the schools are open, then they will be around. I've never had a situation where the learners will leave school during school days and go to... the initiation schools... That is a problem that we are having, when they come back, you know, that respect for teachers, for adults, is, is... I mean the people who attend those schools, are members of the community... Make them aware of the problem that their people are causing us... I mean this is your learner, this person has been to your school and these are the problems they are causing to the school. I think if you involve them then this problem of conduct... because for instance if you call him a boy who is from there, calling him a boy, there is this resistance* (P8, 177:182). The impact that the initiation schools had on schools was highlighted by a principal who said they would talk to these learners *[w]e do, we do, because what we have learnt in the past uhh kids that are from initiation schools, when they came from their, their studies, they would undermine the teachers... authorities, that are not from the initiation schools, hence we had to call and chip in the traditional leaders and elder..., elderly people to come and speak to them at the same time, to make them aware that the two institutions are not the same, but even though, even so they still need each, each other [uhm]. The information that they have acquired there it's for life skills purpose, and the information that they are acquiring from the formal institution, they need it for them to survive on a day-to-day life. So what they have acquired from there it's good, it will assist them to grow as men, as women, but also as being men and women, they need these qualifications that will help them in their professional world where they will need to pursue their careers, where they will need to be working and contributing meaningfully to the country and to the world at large. So they needs to understand that so far I'm happy about the progress that they are making when it comes to morals, they are showing a lot of respect* (P14, 52:55).

Bringing in the broader community to assist the school was evident in one principal's story *it helps these learners a lot to open up, to accept one another as uhm they are, and it also helps them to deal with diversity. Like one of the issues, I'm, I'm, I'm been from initiation and being not from is part of diversity, and then uh, uhm when they started I was observing that before we called in the, the grandparents and elderly people for intervention, there were cliques of those that regard themselves as real men and those that are just men* (P14, 57:57). He said his view was that *if you grow and develop in a particular corner, you may think that you are a grown up, yet when you go out of the corner, you realise but I miss this space [uhm]. The role of those leaders was to make sure that they do not grow within the box, they grow widely, they look at all avenues of life and as a result, when they go out, like uhm, uhm leaders that are still being nurtured. They will be able to work with people of different uhhm social backgrounds, people from different customs, like* (P14, 57:57). He saw a pattern which was not limited to one province only *when you come from other provinces, and you get to Kwa-Zulu Natal,*

it is not easy to interact well with them before they know your status first. Are you a real man or you're half, are you a real woman or you're half. Once they know your status it's, it's then that you can be part of and you struggle because they will not ask you openly, you will have to show it by actions... that who you are and what you are. So here it is much better than that side, and I've been to the Free State also, they do the same, uhm when schools open, particularly during the first term, they do group themselves together, the real men you'd see them going together, and those that are not real men, going together, but during the second term, the third term they are working together again, because that's when they begin to realise what we attended over the Christmas vacation doesn't apply here... The, the process is gradual... [uhm] and no one is like telling them now you must stop, the programme of the school removes them spontaneously from that to the, the object of the school (P14, 57:57).

The principles of *Ubuntu* and traditions of indigenous initiation schools and Sangoma linked to *Indigenous Knowledge System* also teaches us that it has been there... For some quite long time ago, our grand, grand, grandparents have practiced it... and it's only that we feel, we went to school, they did not go to school, that we are the better, and we are not (P14, 101:101). The *Indigenous Knowledge System* teaches us that these things, practices, that we are doing have got some roots from the elderly people. They, they had their own way of discussing issues, like, like even though they had by then been thick line uhm which was like marginalising, and women issues would be talked by women alone, aside, the men issues would be talked by men aside, but through the initiation, they were able to incorporate [uhm] these and break the line, because each, in each cabal, or in each camp, the male and the female camps, they were taught about their responsibilities, and how to avoid clashing and the conflict of interest. So by so doing respect was one of the values... that was taught in embracing the moral uhh responsibilities, so through that we were able to move and interact smoothly with one another from each camp. So to me, I don't believe that social justice it comes from governmental policies, policies of government were developed based on the indigenous approaches that were there even before it was uhm documented and legislated (P14, 101:101). Another said I have twins who, whose father professes that they are Rastafarians and another father who, who professes that he's son has the calling of a Sangoma and therefore he have to have these... Then the other one I, I don't have it in writing yet, the father said he's got... a calling of a Sangoma. So that affects... my high school learners (P6, 167:171).

The third sub-theme of theme five, community ($f=91$) was an analysis and discussion of **community involvement** (17.1) ($f=31$), **religion/religious leaders** (22.22) ($f=26$), **private sector support** (17.2) ($f=2$), **tribal authority** (17.4) ($f=2$), **cultural habits/traditionalists** (22.21) ($f=12$), **Ubuntu** (22.59) ($f=4$), **initiation schools/Sangoma** (10.19) ($f=2$), and **indigenous knowledge systems** (22.61) ($f=1$).

The analysis of theme five - education partners and social justice praxis - involved a discussion of parents and/or guardians; governance, and community. Following a synthesis is presented.

5.6.4 Synthesis

Parental involvement (§5.6.1) was lacking and this phenomenon was found in:

- Parents' conduct with regard to their children's behaviour and involvement in general:
 - parent's were aggressive and offensive until they heard the other side of the story
 - parents did not attend rugby matches, meetings
 - varied from parents who did not accept their rights, to being too involved and who would even infringe on the professional territory of teachers
 - reasons for a lack of parental involvement were a cultural attitude,; parents who stayed at home and did not attend schools, worked elsewhere, and learners were brought up by a grandmother or put in boarding schools
 - absent fathers and lack of interest on the part of fathers
 - schools would assist parents and families to empower them
 - inter-school and community activities included social events - big walk, family day, fun-day prestige athletics - which lead to a social camp-braai where parents of all race groups were supporting those parents who attended for the first time
 - these events lead to the dismantling of racial prejudice among parents, who experienced a new dimension, opening up "a very *gemaklikheid*"; mutual respect and interaction
 - involvement also entailed doing minor repairs, the *letsama* (voluntarily working together/cooperation), electricity repairs and skills available in the community
 - children were proud of their parents even when they cleaned the toilets and this kind of involvement brought ownership
 - confidence grew and parents moved from feeling not good enough to having the self-confidence to take part on equal footing which reflected in the self-confidence of their children
 - schools should do everything possible to bring the community closer;
 - educating parents was mentioned
 - children often were raised by their grandmothers who also had an 'oompie' (an uncle) living with the grandmother and children related to teenage pregnancies
 - many learners were better qualified than their parents
 - parents who were illiterate were problematic and hampered learners success often evident in parents who did not understand how important it was to obtain a matric certificate
 - parents sacrificed for the education of their children
 - consultation as medium of communication was about consensus decisions, being transparent and abiding by the principles of *Ubuntu* parents were responsible for keeping intact notions of racism and discrimination which in turn resulted in a culture of distrust.

Governance (§5.6.2) in accordance with the SASA referred to:

- Election procedures which indicated that:

- a quorum was seldom obtained during the first round of elections and still fewer attended the second round, occurring more at black than at white schools;
- other problems were illiterate parents, non-attendance of meetings, all-female SGBs, absent fathers, short terms of serving on SGB resulting in retraining
- Unskilled parents made decisions on millions of rand
- SMTs often took over the governance and SGBs rubber stamped decisions
- SGB members did not know legal, budgetary and policy requirements
- principals understood the value of the SGB in disciplinary matters and their role to motivate parents to become involved in school matters
- budgeting should be aligned to the school's improvement and development plan
- financial matters included teachers who were co-signatories, the principal not having signing rights but authorised expenditure in line with PFMNE and SASA
- due to the government's funding system, schools became businesses
- the SGB was placed in a position of trust towards the school
- parental involvement could border on social injustice where learners were advantaged because of the position their parents held on the SGB
- school funds were high although one school provided affordable, quality education
- the parent body had to make the principal strong although many SGB members did not have academic qualifications, it did not imply that they were uneducated or that being fluent in English equates being educated.

Community involvement (§5.6.3) was of extreme importance to principals. They referred to:

- Supporting principals and schools in the form of:
 - material, cultural cooperation, alleviation of poverty and business partnerships
 - a well-established relationship with the SA police services such as motivational speakers, drug and substance abuse and adopt-a-cop
 - traditional boundaries in communities as marked territory
 - churches and religious leaders who were involved in welfare actions and counselling although one said that churches were failing their purpose
 - we-ness of community and schools was important because the community felt acknowledged.
- School community and social justice were about:
 - having the heart and insight to pursue social justice but learners were caught up in the dualism of values taught in school and those that they returned to after school hours - regarded as a world of social justice versus a bigger world of social injustices;
 - creating safe spaces where burglaries were eliminated because of school and community taking ownership of a school even if located in a squatter camp;
 - human capital providing role models to society, and

- schools that were rays of light almost like a lighthouse.
- The role of religion and religious leaders was important:
 - in a Christian school Muslim traditions were honoured by Muslim girls being permitted to wear burqas and accommodating Ramadan practices
 - schools provided a prayer room with a basin, but
 - churches were reproached that they did not carry the values which they were supposed to and the religious pillars of society were missing.
- JoT teachers were about:
 - salaries being shared between the school and religious denominations;
 - teaching and counselling responsibilities and would refer learners to specialists;
 - religious observances - Christian organisations took care of learners through taking care of the aged in old-age homes and townships; a youth festival.
- The role of cultural practices and the tribal authority was important:
 - tribal authority meetings assisted principals, and
 - cultural habits and traditions were important and cultural days and religious holidays offered learning opportunities.
- Views on African culture and the principles of *Ubuntu* were that it was about citizenship:
 - There should not be vandalising, and
 - inclusion and caring for learners who were suffering from HIV/Aids.
- Initiation schools and Sangoma were mentioned as part of the black culture:
 - Learners often were disrespectful to those learners and teachers who did not attend, as well as towards female teachers.
 - After a meeting with the elderly, parents and grandparents were made aware that what was learnt informally should not conflict with the school's education.
 - Learners who attended carried knopkeries as a sign of their maleness.
 - Principals reduced conflict by telling initiated learners they had to leave their manhood at the gate of the school.
 - Timing often was problematic; school terms should be considered to not interrupt the school's curriculum.
 - Initiation schools were relegated to entities that made money from unsuspecting learners and their parents' ignorance.
 - To become a Sangoma, a person had to have a calling to attend a Sangoma school.
 - One black principal denied having any of these traditions at his township school;
 - The two institutions were not the same but needed each other: traditional schools provided life skills, whilst schools provided learners with academic qualifications.
- Indigenous Knowledge Systems were around for ages and were inherited from ancestry:
 - Although the elders did not go to school, these practices formed the roots of the African tradition and practices learnt from them.

- These practices were marginalising to women because men were separated from the women and each had to be taught life responsibilities and conflict resolution.
- Respect was one of the values both groups were taught.
- Social justice came from governmental policies which were based on indigenous approaches that were there even before it was documented and legislated.

Following are parameters for the development of management strategies regarding educational partners and social justice praxis.

5.6.5 Parameters for the development of management strategies

From the data analysis and discussion above it seems that management strategies need (§6.4.7) to be developed for:

- Sustained parental involvement in and support for their child/children's schooling
- Prolonged parental education re governance of schools based on respect for experiential knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge Systems
- Community involvement in education based on a shared value system

The following section offers concluding remarks to the fifth theme, **constitutional values** and social justice praxis.

5.6.6 Concluding remarks

Lack of **parental involvement** remains one of education's dilemmas, especially amongst those parents who were previously disadvantaged. These parents were part of the liberation struggle who did not receive adequate education themselves. Most of these parents are therefore not in a position to ensure that their children receive quality education. Due to the past, parents themselves had negative experiences from the past, and did not regard education as imperative to function in a post-apartheid South Africa. On the other end of the continuum, parents who attended white schools were almost overly involved in school matters. This situation should be a balancing act by the department, teachers and parents so that the best interest of the child may be served. An important notion was the one of educating parents, not only to become more involved in school matters, but for their own benefit. Involvement in school matters would ensure a culture of ownership amongst all role-players. A disturbing element was the "oompie" (mother's younger brother) with resultant sexual relationships and teenage pregnancies.

Governance responsibilities of the SGB remained unsatisfactory. A quorum was seldom obtained during the first round of elections and a lower number of parents attended the second round and that impacted on all schools, but black schools suffered more. Illiteracy of the vast majority of black parents hampered effective governance especially matters concerning financial management of schools. However, parents' illiteracy did not imply that they were uneducated.

Broader community involvement was important and school community relationships should be strengthened through the development of a sense of 'we-ness.' Examples of successful school community relationships were evident in schools that were regarded as a lighthouse in a community. Community schools belonged to and were protected by the broader community against crime. Religious leaders, as part of the community, were important to bring an understanding of different religious traditions. These leaders often were involved in teachings on values, although one instance was mentioned where the principal's perception was that churches in general and religious leaders specifically were failing the community. This involvement was strengthened through a collaborative effort of church and school by the appointment of JoT teachers. These JoT teachers were equally responsible for teaching, minor counselling and referrals of learners with serious problems to dedicated counselling services.

The role of cultural practices were embraced and nurtured. Views on African culture and the principles of *Ubuntu* specifically were valued; however a clear distinction of authority lines had to be drawn between schools and initiation schools. These divergent environments often were at odds, but principals believed that those who attended initiation schools had to abide by school rules and not those of the tribal authority. Both institutions were important: traditional schools provided life skills whilst schools provided learners with academic qualifications. Suspicions were raised that initiation schools were profit-making entities. It was noteworthy that at least one black principal of a black township school denied having any learners who were involved with practices of initiation schools or Sangoma. Lastly the role of Indigenous Knowledge Systems gave recognition to education that was different from assumed traditional manner of schooling according to Western principles. These practices were around for ages; they were inherited from ancestry, and formed the roots of the African tradition and practices learnt from the elders and indigenous approaches that were there even before it was documented and legislated.

The sixth level of accomplishing effective social justice praxis in schools is at governmental and political levels.

5.7 THEME SIX: GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE PRAXIS

The analysis of theme five - **education partners** and social justice praxis - involved a discussion of parents and/or guardians; governance, and community. Following a synthesis is presented.

The sixth layer of the pyramid (Figure 4.5) is government and political establishments and social justice praxis. The notion of building at a nomothetic level, the organised institutions (state, provincial and school system) that are visible at an ideographic level in the school, are

dependent on social justice action or praxis (Griffiths *et al.*, 2003a:55) (§3.4.4.4). The government determines the political, and often economical, environment in which social justice becomes practice, a praxis in which the learners and school principals should share in the good practices of social justice (themes 1 and 2). The data analysis and discussion of the sixth theme, government and political establishments and social justice praxis ($f=125$), were grouped into three sub-themes (Figure 5.1), **government** ($f=83$) (§5.7.1), **political matters** ($f=27$) (§5.7.2), and **unions/ANC Youth League** ($f=15$) (§5.7.3). The data analysis shows that 6% (Table 4.5) of the quotations are related to this theme and are displayed in abbreviated format in Table 5.6:

Theme 6 Government and political matters	
Government (§5.7.1)	83
Political matters (§5.7.2)	27
Unions/ANC Youth League (§5.7.3)	15
Codes: 7 (6%)	Total quotations 125

TABLE 5.6: Governmental and political matters and social justice praxis

The network heuristic, Figure 5.7, is a visual depiction of theme 6 according to which this theme will be discussed.

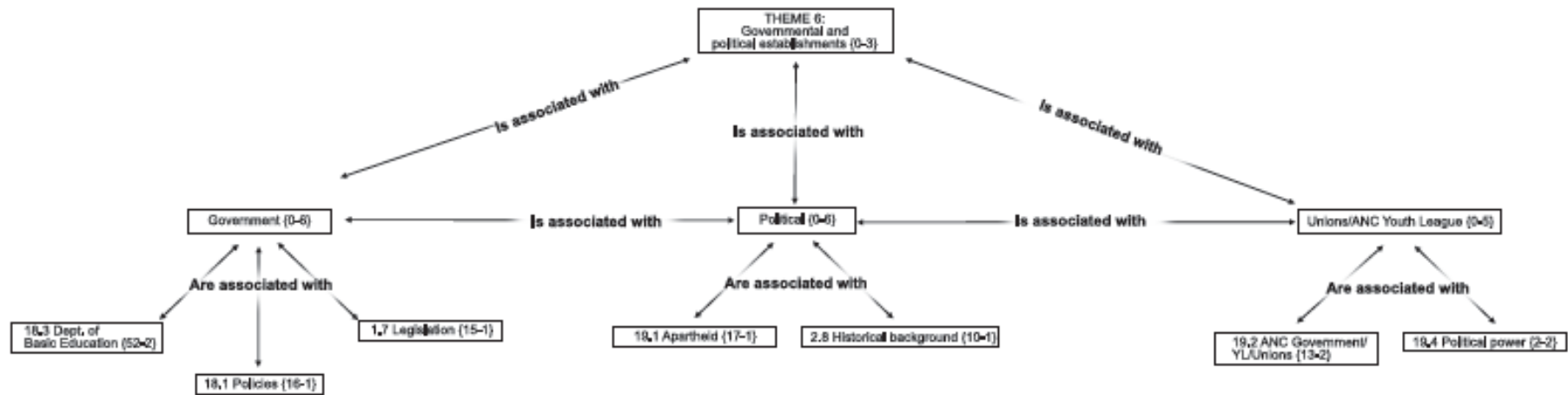


FIGURE 5.7: THEME 6 Governmental and political establishments

5.7.1 Government

It is in the political realm and at education's **departmental** levels that social justice should be regarded as a political conception of justice (Rawls, 1999e:389). It is through the exercise of citizenship and political will that commits a person to certain moral views of justice towards fellow citizens that these views become embedded in the cultures of society and schools. It is through governmental interventions, whether formal or informal, that social cooperation from one generation is carried over to the next (§2.3.2.4). The governmental and political role is one that should be about what ought to be, rather than describing what is the case (Goodwin, 2007:3-4).

A principal said that she did not know where to refer learners who were sixteen years and older (§5.2.3.2) but unable to pass Gr. 8, whilst the policy determined that *you must refer them... for alternative... education*. She asked what alternative education was because no school was willing or able to take learners who should have been referred to much earlier (P2, 110:120). She told of parents who cried when she asked a child to read *the dog plays with the cat...* This accusation at the department whose system allowed learners to progress from Gr. 1 to Gr. 7 without telling the parents *but you know my... I was never called in primary school, my child never failed one year* should be noted. Allowing them to pass without any abilities whatsoever is disturbing and an accusation that needs urgent attention. She had these learners tested and their school age was seven, eight years. Policy forbid her to refuse these learners access which lead to them failing three years in a row, being AWOL, hiding in toilets and smoking marijuana⁵²² (P2, 110:120).

One principal told of the intervention of the department where, after intense racial discord, the department withdrew the powers of the SGB's appointment powers. This was done because they appointed a principal who would dance to the tune of the SGB to fire a teacher which they as SGB wanted to get rid of. The Department then decided that the current principal would be appointed⁵²³ (P12, 70:72). He said the SGB chair informed him that he was not appointed, but that the department overruled their decision. This information lead him to realise that he had the support of the department⁵²⁴ (P12, 70:70). He was able to turn this very difficult and explosive situation around and currently had the support of the North West Department who referred to his school as the flagship multi-racial school of the department to whom they brought visitors from abroad⁵²⁵ (P12, 244:244). Another said the department was responsible for promotional and teacher appointments⁵²⁶ (P3, 163:163).

One principal said with regard to **policy** that *the department['s]... work is to ensure we implement policy, so they will always be there to, to help us implement these things* (P8, 264:265). In referring to the district official, he said *...when there's anything that I don't understand that affects policy, we always consult with him and when I'm not sure that I'm interpreting this thing correctly, I'll always get his view before I, I can you know, act [okay]... I consult him... I've been the principal for two years, né, so if I'm unsure of a certain thing, I think that the first person that I should talk to, is the person within the*

department of education who's dealing with that particular issue (P8, 287:289). Correspondingly the department's decision to force a white, Afrikaans school to become a parallel-medium school was evident in what one principal said about their battering ram tactic where the department just came and wanted to erect new classrooms on their premises and the then principal refused them access resulting in him being accused of *misconduct*⁵²⁷ (P9, 183:183). As has become customary in South Africa, one principal referred to court cases between the department, SGBs and parents⁵²⁸ (P12, 24:24).

A principal told that he was guided in his decision-making by the *values of the department and we must try and drill them ... through this new curriculum it is so much of value-orientation [uhm] where they'll teach you that you'll have to use this money carefully ... then you can help other people or whatever...* (P5, 133:133). Another told the researcher that they were in a position to appoint the best teacher if it is a black man, then he would be welcome. They no longer were appointing candidates for affirmative action's sake⁵²⁹ (P1, 64:64) (§3.3.3.2). Other comments with regard to the role of the department were that no school applied corporal punishment anymore because those were the instruction from the department because the principal knew he would lose his job if a teacher still applied it⁵³⁰ (P1, 86:86). The department's feeding scheme was applauded and said *the quality is good because it is according to the menu prescribed by the department... according to this menu they told us that they involved dieticians...* (P13, 46:51). Another said *nevertheless, it's good with the programmes that the government is bringing. The feeding in schools, free education, providing kids with some clothing where necessary and social grants. You know, social grants, wish it could be line-streamed in such a way that they are not given to anyone... but to the needy. This kid they are three, and they are surviving out of these programmes of the government. And this is telling me in, in my accord that the government is doing enough to make sure that its responsibilities are fulfilled [uhm] and also to make sure that the, the social justice is applied to its fullness. Like the right to education, kids do receive that, uhm right to shelter, right to basic needs and so forth, they make sure that through the departments and the programmes these kids do survive. And I wonder if the government did not introduce these programmes, how would these kids uhm progress* (P14, 80:80).

To the question of development opportunities with regard to social justice praxis, one principal said he did not know whether the department was specifically addressing this need. Without criticising the department, he observed that the department sidelined white principals and their schools. He felt they needed to get to a position where they did not see the situation as: there's the principals and their white schools, it was going well there and working for them. They liked their academic results and they would not touch them and they were not asking for a large amount of money and just get on with what you're doing⁵³¹ (P1, 103:103). Another said to the role the department played with regard to social justice development opportunities *[n]ot really! Uhh all that happens is that uhh I start that the department is addressing this bill, for instance call workshops, uhh workshops to deal with this, about this and this, which things have got an impact on your social justice, but they will not say... this workshop is about your social justice and so on, but certain things you deal with, ... you know, social justice* (P8, 298:298).

Another said that awareness was important when asked about *something from the departmental side*. He said *I think especially awareness, you know, teachers listen to the principal every single day, it goes in the one ear, out the other. My wife is a teacher, she says to me, the principal can say what he likes, when I walk into my class I teach, that's what I'm here for, not for all his admin stuff. If somebody from the outside comes in and says exactly the same I think it will have an impact* (P3, 132:133). Another told of a principal who taught under his leadership who only applied the model he learnt: no tolerance of ill-disciplined children. He added that the department with their lot of administrative stuff made the task of the principal extremely difficult. He elaborated on the number of teaching, administrative, hostel and other staff and how much time he spent on administrative matters which he had to do, and then the department brought in a lot of IQMS, what he called rubbish that had nothing to do with the teaching and learning at all⁵³² (P12, 258:260).

A colleague elaborated *through the workshops, through the interaction by the department, making us aware that you as a school, your role should be doing this. I mean if, because schools were given the Manifesto on Values* (P5, 131:131). He said *still we have the values of the department and we must try and drill them and then, I mean through this new curriculum it is so much of value-orientation [uhm] where they'll teach you that you'll have to use this money carefully so that you will be able to invest now if you invest that money, then you care for it, then you can help other people or whatever, you can help a family, so basically, the change, even what we've been doing, advanced certificate in education [uhm] it is more of driving this* (P5, 133:133). For another it was important to adhere to *the department's vision* (laughing) *'protection of teaching time... and we have to abide that* (P6, 85:85). The principal's consciousness of policy with regard to values emphasised that they bought into it as an instrument for reformation and transformation of a society in which education was key to its development (§3.2.3.2). Waghid (2005a:239-240) suggests two ways of acting on the Manifesto: teachers should develop self-criticism and deliberation that will open up possibilities to engage critically and imaginatively with issues of friendship, trust and forgiveness. Secondly, teachers should be able to acknowledge their own inability to provide answers to questions of forgiveness. Their pedagogy should display conditions of exploration and discovery and the ability to concede to also being lost, confused and unsettled. Such encounters between teachers and learners allow for awareness of the multiple voices and perspectives of others and in the interactive, discursive world of words, opportunities and possibilities are being opened up for social justice, equality and forgiveness.

Parents' inclination to run to the department could be countered by having an open door policy. He said that if anything went wrong they would run to the department, but that the department just sent them back to the school. This situation meant that principals had too many bosses⁵³³ (P3, 187:187). With regard to the lack of space to accommodate more learners, one said that *[t]he department has given us support to say, get started admission, and we are going to monitor admission, and then when they receive complaints of those other parents [uhm, uhm] you know, they*

always direct the complaints back to us, and say no, we had a meeting with this parent, this is our position, and we can't really go and ee, ee admit this learner, when we have ten others around, you know [uhm]. And families take a lot of problems you know (P7, 124:124).

A principal and deputy's dialogical discussion to the question if they share[d] that with the department? 1: No_o. The Department... 2: It's not... 1: Departments have got their own ... 2: Agenda... 1: The Department... like all government things... 2: Structures ... 1: ...organisations, it's very political... But I think they need to know this. We've got to deal with the issues we have had, we are managing the school and we want to be an environment where we have uhm a happy environment and an environment conducive to learning, because this is where we spend most of our time. So it's not relevant to anybody else what we're doing here. We are here to make sure that the end product that we send out, has... can contribute to the world, and contribute to South Africa. Uhm, telling anybody at the department is gonna be 'oh! That's very nice - clap, clap... 2: It's not gonna change, the... 1: It is not gonna change... 2: ...the context is not gonna change. Again we focus on the learner... 1: We are here to in education to educate ... the child... (P4, 218:218).

Another told of the supportive role of the department after the murder case reported earlier *had had people from all this sister departments... Even the departmental people who were here, say okay fine this how a school should be, we shouldn't do this and this, and this and this. That was an isolated issue, an incident which should not tarnish their image. So... it means if you're going to be derailed, if you're thinking o revenging, if you're thinking of what, it means now it must change and try to focus on what is the major purpose of coming to school. Which is to get education, to become a better person, to develop, to acquire knowledge (P5, 70:70).* Working with the department as a female principal, one said *my IFC is a female and because I am new there, she, she's very good, uhh, she's sort of mothering me very well but with the guys I've been with dr. de Bruyn on the [Management] Forum of the District representing the union, but, but I think they..., they embrace us, they don't look down upon us, they treat us as equals and know I know they want to empower us, but sometimes I feel you know they want to empower and they're looking at this Equity Act and this affirmative action [uhm] give women ... but then sometimes they put you there and they forget about you... Her reply to the question [a]nd they set you up to fail? was Ja, it is the part that is not there... You know they want to put women in leadership positions, but they put there but they don't give you that lifeline... You've got to swim out on your own (P6, 40:43).* She was also the principal who referred to teachers who want to work *ad hoc*... *I'll see what comes tomorrow... But unfortunately and sadly and I've spoken to other people about this, you know in our Department and with the educators you do have some dead wood and you can't, can't really get rid of teachers. It, it is so difficult... Old dead wood, you know that don't want to keep with the changes. Like last week I had a teacher complaining to me, now this teacher is giving the same paper for the past two years, whether it's a June exam or a final exam, Mam, what do you do to such a teacher? And the teacher replied 'that if the Department does it why can't I do it?' and concluded with I mean give me something fresh! In a subject like life orientation, you take your news papers, your magazines, there's articles, there's cartoons, make it interesting for the children. No it doesn't... help. Old dead wood (laughing) (P6, 87:97).* The department was responsible for wellness tests *I have the Wellness people here today, they are taking cholesterols, doing diabetic stats (laughing) you know things like*

that... they've given us a questionnaire... you have to come up with mechanisms to motivate..., but you know some, some educators are... are very negative about ... you know their work. (P6, 98:103).

The strategy of the department of categorising schools in different quintiles was addressed earlier (§5.3.2.2), but needs to be reported in this section as well. Instances where school's demographic profile changed for the worse were not addressed by the department: *there's lots of poverty and we have written many letters to the department you know fighting about this, fighting about this quintile and I think that's very unfair, that's a lot of injustice... from the side of the department [ja] and you know the law takes its own time but until somebody up there decides no XXS must be quintile 2 of 3 school, children are hungry. So in the meantime you know we decided to help (P6, 136:136).*

One of the greatest mistakes South Africa made was the closing down of education colleges during Prof. Kadar Asmal's ministry because a principal thought that teachers should have initial training and not in-service-training⁵³⁴ (P12, 256:256). He continued and said that institutions who work with initial teacher training had an unbelievable important task in preparing those students for a very demanding school practice⁵³⁵ (P12, 258:258).

The departmental officials said that in their district they focussed on small English multi-grade schools; children of farm workers because they were from the poorest of the poor, and access, equity and equal opportunities for all learners⁵³⁶ (P15, 20:20). They told of their strategy where they trained teachers in positive conduct; established power-teams of eight to nine members who heads one circle; two INC(?) members; an educationist, a learner supporter and a social worker; two curriculum advisors, one for the foundation phase and one for the intermediate phase and then one person who was responsible for the administrative functions. This enabled them to support schools where interventions were needed who would as an expert of the circle team, support the school team to redress academic, management, interpersonal and other school related problems⁵³⁷ (P15, 141:141). One principal saw the policy of the department as supporting her to do what she was doing, following the regulations such as anti-bullying rules to ensure a safe environment. She saw it as her job⁵³⁸ (P2, 213:213). She said that the policy always was the starting point for her decisions⁵³⁹ (P2, 299:301).

One principal criticised the department for not providing in accordance with their policy for *alternative education*⁵⁴⁰ (P2, 113:113) and questioned whether there was a political will at the department to provide for these learners⁵⁴¹ (P2, 130:131).

A deputy said to the question whether policy could enforce social justice *[i]t's enforced by love...* (P4, 342:343). Others said *[p]olicy. Policy won't do it* (P5, 166:166); *I agree why do we need policy? Before even reading the Constitution and books and things like that, we were born with these things, you know when you are brought up as a child, these things are instilled in us* (P6, 275:275); *you can't enforce social justice through policy, it is impossible, it is written on paper and people may concede or not*⁵⁴² (P9, 168:168); *[a]nd this is telling me in, in my accord that the government is doing enough to make sure that its responsibilities are fulfilled [uhm] and also to make sure that the, the social*

justice is applied to its fullness (P14, 80:80); it should come from the heart, legislation should merely guide⁵⁴³ (P1, 37:37). Others believed that *[j]a you ehh, ehh you know a school is a learning institution, and the only way will be to achieve that from my perspective is what I'm doing as a school, ehh as a principal né, ehh is to develop policy. Policy to give the school direction, to protect the school and to highlight what is wrong and what is right... (P7, 50:51); ... and to ensure that this policy is being implemented [okay] you know, and it is, is, is here for us to have social justice prevailing in the school where everyone is treated equally so... (P7, 53:53); we are using those of the department as a guideline... and such policies obviously they follow the guidelines, what do you call... the Constitution of the country* (P7, 55:55) and lastly policy was important, it must be there to indicate what was allowed and what not⁵⁴⁴ (P12, 270:270).

With regard to **legislation** one said nobody was running to legislation, we know that is there and that all people's rights were protected by it, but he believed that in his school that was the way they did social justice in any case⁵⁴⁵ (P1, 109:110). He contradicted himself by saying that there will always be those elements that needed legislation⁵⁴⁶ (P1, 109:110). With regard to constitutional values one said they were following policy⁵⁴⁷ (P2, 157:160). Another said *here we do it like this, we do it like this. This is our culture, this is a climate that we want to create ... We encourage you to become a very better person. That's how you do it... Policy. Policy won't do it. You will just Meneer... you don't have to write it, but tell them about respect it will do it* (P5, 165:166). Another said *I agree why do we need policy? Before even reading the Constitution and books and things like that, we were born with these things, you know when you are brought up as a child, these things are instilled in us. Some of these things, you know our parents don't have to talk about it, you know you are brought up in that environment; you know that I need to respect...* (P6, 275:275).

On another level, a principal expressed the hope that this research could contribute to opening the eyes of the department with regard to access of learners with learning disabilities. These learners are not coping in mainstream education but have no other school that they can be referred to. The only school in this specific district was Keurhof and the principal emphasised that Keurhof did not want to take older learners⁵⁴⁸ (P2, 104:104). Social justice is actioned through the processes of social change, democratic transformation, reform and restoration towards a better future (Motala, 2007a:101), a future that is about social justice woven into the fabric of leadership, pedagogy, programmes and policies in education.

One principal said that the pass rate in schools are delivering unqualified learners *so if learners cannot pass, they feel they are not doing a lot and learners ... might be saying okay fine, if our educators are not letting us pass, they are not qualified*. He believed that if the education system is still going to have few learners who are from rich families proceeding, or middle class proceeding then you are not serving the purpose of education, then it means our system is not delivering notwithstanding the policies of the NCS or whatever. *You should try to bring those poor then they should enjoy the school and say if you're going to go to school then you're going to get education. If you get education, if you get education, you're going to get work, if I'm going to work, work, I'm going to improve the quality of life of our parents of ourselves* (P5, 119:119). Another principal believes that if the people at ground level are not

delivering the goods, no policy can be implemented successfully, *but if you don't have men and women who are prepared to implement the policy you will always be having problems, right? Policy is just there to guide, but really, the, the real work is done at ground level [tapping with finger on desk to emphasise the point]...* He argued about policy and praxis that *we need them both, but the most important thing is the implementation... implementation is not done by policy makers, it is done by the custodian of the policy, which is ourselves...* (P8, 261:263).

The first sub-theme, **government**, of theme six was discussed as **department** (18.3) ($f=52$); **policy** (18.1) ($f=16$), and **legislation** (1.7) ($f=15$).

The reality of an ANC government which has almost a two-thirds majority in parliament will have a very strong political influence on social justice praxis in schools.

5.7.2 Political matters

One principal had a message for politicians, “we are educators, and this is what we want. You are politicians. Please stay away from our schools. Leave the schools to us”⁵⁴⁹ (P12, 191:199). He also told about the experiences he had had as subject advisor during the unrest in the Western Cape which will not be included in this report, except for the words “I believe in education. Education is a non-negotiable”⁵⁵⁰ (P12, 48:55). This notion supports the need for the intervention of strong leaders to counter political interference that will bring about new inequities (Cooper, 2009:696) (§2.3.3.7). With regard to his belief that teachers were not politicians, he said educators should not stand in the way of learners to pass because then they were the *culprits*. Rather teachers should leave politics to the politicians because as teachers they ought to teach, that was all that was needed and what they were paid for. When the politicians have sorted out their task, education will provide to the economy the people who will manage our country. That was what we gave to universities and that was the task that we had⁵⁵¹ (P12, 52:52). In an altercation with a union labour lawyer who wished him luck if his viewpoint was that education came first this principal replied “*I ... that is my, I was made like that. I cannot be/do something else*” (P12, 86:86).

Inevitably **apartheid** came to the fore. One principal said that very few learners were able to talk about apartheid; they almost knew nothing about it whilst white teachers were teaching them about the atrocities of apartheid and why it should never again occur⁵⁵² (P1, 74:74). Another exclaimed *[m]y God apartheid was wrong! If it wasn't... If apartheid wasn't there we wouldn't have 80, 85% of the problems we have today... And the older you get, the more you understand the problem... And I think that the schools are the worst off, of all the systems in South Africa...* (P3, 140:145).

A principal and her deputy had this dialogue about apartheid: *we're prejudiced by our apartheid roots... so especially the black girls will come and they... they weren't in the apartheid days alive, they weren't even a thought in those days... feel that they were done an injustice because of the way their parents speak. So that comes through and we're finding a lot of the racism is black in the other direction, going to white, not white... 2: Or black on black, different cultures... We've gone past that* (P4, 189:194).

They continued 2: *it also irritates the girls, because I think the big problem is that our curriculum is still based in languages, on text, texts [uhm] explaining Apartheid... I mean explaining... each and every short story we've done with the gr. 11s this year, is set in 1994 ... 1: Our black girls 2: ...and they are shocked to hear what happened and th_e_n sometimes they reacted, they are so irritated with it... 1: Yes. 2: ...they just want to get past it... they're bombarded with this information (P4, 195:201). The principal told of public speaking... where she said she's so sick and tired of the nine-letter word that if she had to hear the nine-letter word again she's gonna do whatever. And I said 'what nine-letter word?' Was it a nine-letter? !!! 'Apartheid'. She is so sick and tired of hearing the word... A black kid. 'I'm so sick and tired of hearing the nine-letter word... and that we've gone long past that and that shouldn't even be... We've had this thrown down our throats all the time and we're sick and tired of hearing that (P4, 202:208).*

An Indian principal told of the white principals who *invited me to join SAOU and they told me uhh I hope you don't mind me at the Broederbond (laughing) but you are welcome to join us... and acknowledged you know our country comes from a racial divided uhuhh settlement... (P7, 4:4).*

A coloured principal told of a colleague who visited the USA during the 1950s when segregation was banned and how she cried. Twenty years later went she enrolled at Stellenbosch University, she experienced the opening up of previously white institutions⁵⁵³ (P16, 14:14). He told of a teacher who during the political unrest of the apartheid years was beaten unconscious by police and believed that this experience was detrimental to her. He still saw schools as battle grounds. He said that many teachers were not able to overcome this historical memory and would react to current learners in that they would instead of helping a difficult child would be "killing" him⁵⁵⁴ (P16, 52:52). Referring to teachers who came back to teach, he said that it was difficult to *promote social justice* because they were students during 1976 and the 80s⁵⁵⁵ (P16, 54:54). He believed that parents who were at school then were hurt and asked if it would be too farfetched if these parents were still negative towards schools because they still carried apartheid baggage⁵⁵⁶ (P16, 54:54).

A brief **historical background** will suffice where one principal told of his experience when he was appointed: no black parent was allowed to enter the school grounds, they had to wait at the gate and the principal would only come out when he was finished with what he was doing, the same principal who also said no black person would set foot in his school⁵⁵⁷ (P12, 72:72). He told of riot police who patrolled the school grounds with caspers at the beginning of the year which he stopped when he became principal. He said this is an educational institution not a war zone. He told of wires connecting the office of the principal to the police station. He forbid the police to enter the school grounds because he knew what he believed in⁵⁵⁸ (P12, 191:199). As a district official in the Western Cape during the riot days, he told that he encountered a situation where he told the staff at a coloured school that he was representing the department who paid their salaries and it was not to burn down the schools because they would not have a post if there was no school to teach in and you will not have bread on your table⁵⁵⁹ (P12, 50:50). He

believed that adults had a historical backlog with an albatross of racism and apartheid tied to our necks⁵⁶⁰ (P12: 185:185).

The second sub-theme - political - of theme six was discussed as **apartheid** (19.1) ($f=17$) and **historical background** (2.8) ($f=10$).

The third sub-theme deals with unions and the ANC Youth League.

5.7.3 Unions and ANC Youth League

The unions and ANC Youth League in the South African context are part of the ANC alliance government but for the purpose of this research are referred to in its intended sense, representing the teachers' labour union and the youth.

Unions or *social partners* were referred to by principals who told of interventions which was often negative. One said that the unions were making education extremely difficult because they were interfering everywhere and he said that especially in the North-West Province they were intervening in political undercurrents. The unions abused their democratic rights and had *hidden agendas*⁵⁶¹ (P2, 320:322). Another told that he came at a non-union background but had to make a *stand... Bold stand...* (P12, 55:55) against teachers who were absent from school for minor reasons. He told the union representative that it was absolute nonsense because teachers were in school to teach, that is what the parents were paying for. He would refuse these kinds of requests a thousand times over⁵⁶² (P12, 82:86). He said that the union representative said he wished him well if that was his position and his answer was I was made like this, I can't do anything else⁵⁶³ (P12, 82:86). He concluded by saying he did not allow any political affiliation in his school, the only affiliation would be a religious one⁵⁶⁴ (P12, 187:189).

He also told of the intervention of SACOS or COSAS who wanted to intervene just after his appointment. They questioned him about the number of learners in his school; whether a teacher who was responsible for the sjambok-episode was still employed and the principal told him listen, C, the person who is sitting in front of you is a Christian in the first instance, and secondly an educator and that he had no political affiliation whatsoever⁵⁶⁵ (P12, 190:190). He said that he and the member later became friends, but at that stage the principal threatened him that he would have him jailed because he had an interdict that forbid COSAS to enter his school⁵⁶⁶ (P12, 190:190). He then told him that if he changed his attitude he would get his full support; he had to tell the principal what they as COSAS and the community were going to build bridges between black and white, then he would get his support. The member said but he had to report to the minister the next Monday to which the principal said if the minister wants to know he did not need a union representative, he could send his inspectors and subject advisors and they may come and ask⁵⁶⁷ (P12, 190:190).

Another said that they were looking at strikes which were about salaries and not about learners⁵⁶⁸ (P16, 69:69). A principal shared his concern with the **ANC Youth League** and

Malema (infamous as instigator of 'Kill the Boer') that defied authority and did not know the boundaries because of a lack of discipline and inability to know right from wrong⁵⁶⁹ (P12, 103:103).

Power was addressed by a principal who said *[b]ecause education has been abused by both sides, and, and even today it is still being abused... I've read in the newspaper that the march that Malema had, there were school children there which I think is wrong. In the olden days schools were used to gain political advantage... which I can also understand, I do understand this, but I do not think that it is fair towards the children ... No they suffer. They suffer.* (P3, 148:154) One principal said that he believed the starting point of social justice was the state⁵⁷⁰ (P16, 65:65).

Theme six was firstly analysed and discussed as government ($f=125$) with reference to **department** (18.3) ($f=52$), **policy** (18.1) ($f=16$), and **legislation** (1.7) ($f=15$). Secondly political ($f=42$) with reference to **apartheid** (19.1) ($f=17$) and historical **background** (2.8) ($f=10$). The third sub-theme - unions and youth league ($f=125$) - was analysed and discussed as **unions / youth league** (19.2) ($f=13$) and **power** (19.4) ($f=2$).

A synthesis follows of the sixth theme, government and political establishments and social justice praxis.

5.7.4 Synthesis

It is at the **governmental** (§5.7.1) and political realm that social justice is regarded as a political conception of justice:

- The **Department of Basic Education** and the provincial departments were praised, because:
 - they had the power to withdraw the SGB's appointment functions and often were perceived as the appointing authority;
 - the support of district officials with regard to **policy** implementation was evident;
 - court cases between schools and the department were reported;
 - the values of the department was adhered to through **legislation** and the Manifesto on Values;
 - the school feeding scheme was a success-story, upon which some learners were totally dependent;
 - they provided new school buildings;
 - they created awareness of protection of teaching time through workshops;
 - of their support during trauma and refocus on the purpose of education;
 - policies such as anti-bullying supported principals to create a safe school environment;
 - they conducted wellness tests;
 - although policy would not enforce social justice, it would guide practices in

- accordance with the Constitution;
- there was support for small English multi-grade farm schools because they were the poorest of the poor in providing access, equity and building equal opportunities, and
- expert power-teams of eight to nine members consisting of an educationist, a learner supporter, a social worker, curriculum advisors for the foundation and intermediate phase, and an administrator intervened and supported staff.
- The Department of Basic Education and the provincial departments were criticised as follows:
 - The age of learners in secondary schools was problematic when sixteen year old learners were unable to pass Gr. 8, could not read, write or do basic arithmetic;
 - no alternative education was provided for these learners;
 - this lack of academic ability was detrimental to the child who inevitably would become part of another lost generation;
 - developing opportunities were provided but white principals were often side-lined and not included in these opportunities;
 - administrative load on teachers and principals was too high;
 - parents did not follow the official communication lines;
 - departments have their own agenda and are very political which often hampered the creation of an environment that is conducive to learning;
 - support and empowerment for female principals according to the Employment Equity Act were inadequate as they were set up to fail when appointed;
 - dead wood in departments and teachers who did not move with change;
 - quintile schools posed a problem;
 - closing down of education colleges was detrimental to education and the task on higher education institutions for initial teacher training of extreme importance;
 - the department did not provide alternative education because they lacked the political will;
 - access to learners with learning disabilities was not adequately provided, and
 - delivering unqualified or under-qualified learners to society did not serve the purpose of education to improve the quality of life of parents or of learners.

The ANC government has a strong **political influence** (§5.7.2) on social justice praxis in schools, thus:

- Pleading that politicians would leave education in the hands of educationists,
 - teachers should leave politics to the politicians because as teachers they ought to teach;
 - education would provide to the economy the people who will manage the country;
 - no political affiliation was allowed at one school, and
 - education came first.

- **Apartheid** in education was addressed in that few learners were able to talk about apartheid because they are the new generation:
 - white teachers taught black learners about the atrocities of apartheid and why it should never again occur;
 - “my God apartheid was wrong and responsible for 80, 85% of problems”;
 - schools are the worst off of all the systems in South Africa;
 - some are still prejudiced by apartheid roots;
 - learners were done an injustice because of what they heard from their parents resulting in black on white racism, and
 - emphasising apartheid in the curriculum was problematic for some learners, who were sick and tired of the nine-letter word thrown down their throats.
- **Teachers’** experiences and memories:
 - anger because of apartheid experiences were projected on learners because teachers were taught that schools were battle grounds, and
 - many teachers were unable to overcome this historical memory which hampered the promotion of social justice.
- **Parents’** experiences and memories:
 - remain negative towards education because of their own experiences, and
 - adults had a historical backlog with an albatross of racism and apartheid around their necks.

Unions and the **ANC Youth League** (§5.7.3) were addressed as follows:

- **Unions** as social partners:
 - Interventions were often negative because they were interfering in schools and education; they had political agendas, and abused democratic rights.
 - Reporting teachers who were guilty of absenteeism lead to a union’s intervention, but they were was told that teachers were in schools to teach.
 - Principals only allowed departmental representatives to assess schools and not unions.
 - Strikes were about salaries and not about learners.
- the **ANC Youth League**:
 - defied authority and did not know their boundaries because of a lack of discipline and inability to know right from wrong.
- **Power** was addressed:
 - Education was and still is abused by politicians such as unions and political marches. During the apartheid regime, learners were used to gain political advantage but it was and still is not fair towards children because they suffered.

Following are parameters for the development of management strategies regarding the learners and social justice praxis.

5.7.5 Parameters for the development of management strategies

From the data analysis and discussion above it seems that management strategies (§6.4.8) need to be developed for:

- District expert power-teams
- Non-politicisation and non-unionism of education
- A new generation of learners born under a democratic dispensation to gain a balanced understanding of apartheid in the curriculum
- The management of unions who had the best interest of the child at heart
- Learners to not again become victims of political decisions who did not have the best interest of the child at heart

The following section is a summary of the sixth theme.

5.7.6 Concluding remarks

It is in the **governmental** and political realm that social justice is regarded as a political conception of justice. Praise for the Department of Basic Education held that they had the power to intervene in appointment practices, create policy such as the Manifesto on values, set up school feeding schemes and others such as wellness tests. The intervention of power-teams should be expanded to all provinces as they will add depth to support and intervention practices.

The ANC government has a strong political influence on social justice praxis in schools but they were often detrimental to education. Similarly, apartheid still formed part of the vocabulary of the participants. Notwithstanding the reality that learners were born after the apartheid years, the 'political' curriculum emphasised it to such an extent that learners said that they were sick and tired of the nine-letter word thrown down their throats. Contrary to the perception that learners have moved beyond apartheid, teachers were still affected by their own trauma as children during the apartheid years and regarded schools as battle grounds. This inability to let go of the past hampered their own social justice praxis. Parents and teachers had a historical backlog with an albatross of racism and apartheid around their necks.

The interventions of teacher unions were not conducive to a culture of teaching and learning, rather it was a negative intervention of interfering in schools and education due to their overt political agendas and abuse of democratic rights, and strikes were regarded as self-promotional and not the promotion of education. The one example of the influence of war or liberation songs by the **ANC Youth League** showed how it brought about tensions between race groups and

undermined social cohesion. Learners were at the receiving end of political ideology in the past and will remain at the receiving end of the current poor ANC administration of education.

The seventh level of accomplishing effective social justice praxis in schools was about the ontology and praxis of social justice.

5.8 THEME SEVEN: SOCIAL JUSTICE: ONTOLOGY AND PRAXIS

The seventh layer of the pyramid (Figure 4.5) is social justice: **ontology and praxis**. In defining social justice the literature study has revealed that it is primarily a social concept, politically loaded and essentially difficult to capture, both in nature, social intent and action, and open to numerous interpretations. Social justice is an ideal, a future vision, hope, that must become a way of life that permeates holistically all aspects of being human, of a human society, institution and organisation. Justice is viewed as equality and fairness whilst social justice refers to the manner - praxis - of justice in a society marred by inequalities and injustices (§2.3.6). The data analysis and discussion of the seventh theme, social justice: **ontology and praxis** ($f=86$), are grouped into three sub-themes (Figure 5.1), **a matter of justice** ($f=43$) (§5.8.1), **a matter of the heart/hartsaak** ($f=42$) (§5.8.2), and **holy ground** ($f=1$) (§5.8.3).

The data analysis shows that 4.2% (Table 4.5) of the quotations are related to this theme and are displayed in abbreviated format in Table 5.7:

Theme 7 Ontology and praxis	
A matter of justice (§5.8.1)	43
Matter of the heart (§5.8.2)	42
Holy ground (§5.8.3)	1
Codes: 8 (4.2%)	Total quotations 86

TABLE 5.7: Social justice: ontology and praxis

The network heuristic, Figure 5.8, is a visual depiction of theme seven which will contain only one synthesis at the end of the discussion (§5.8.4).

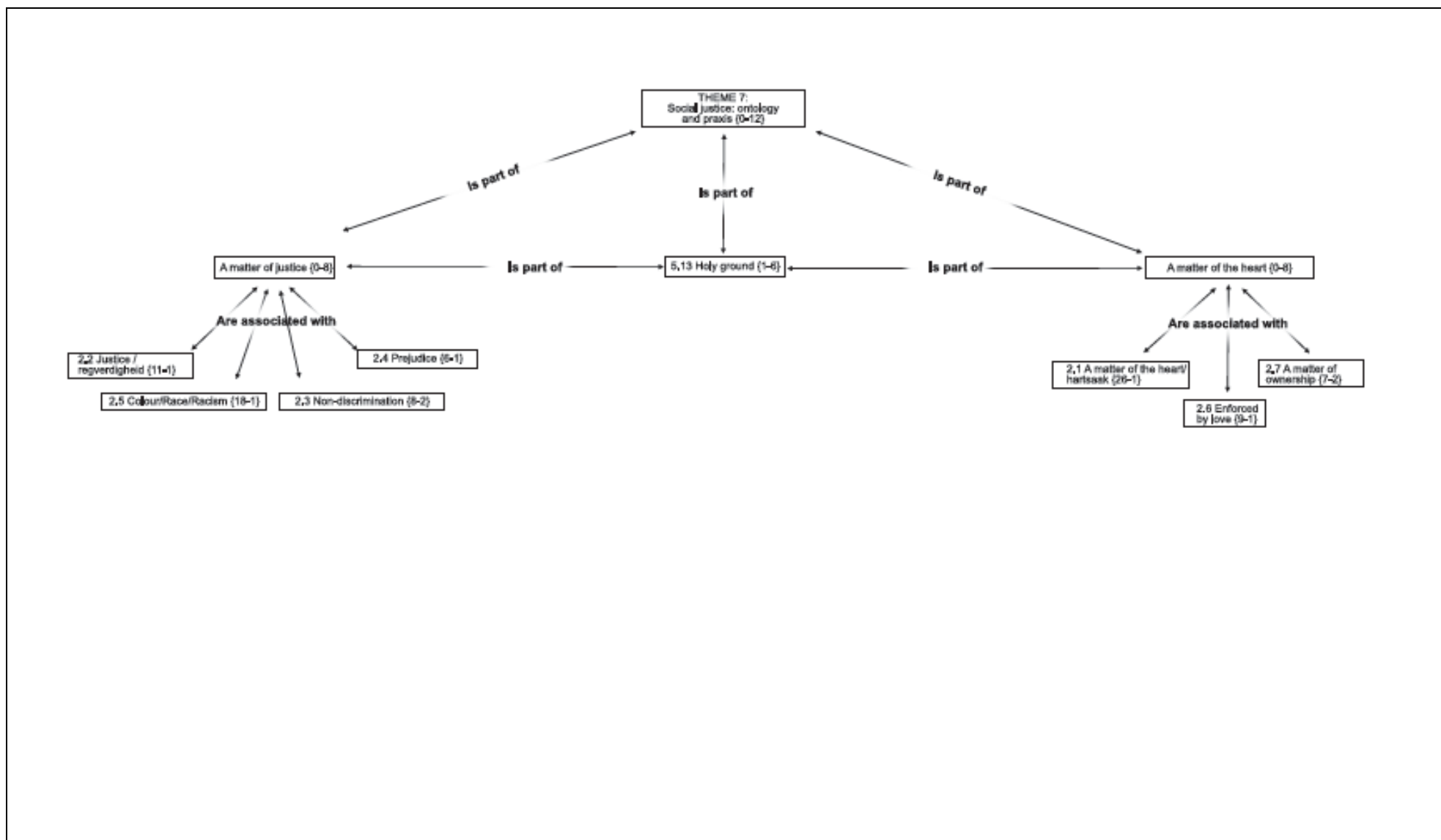


FIGURE 5.8: THEME 7 Social justice: ontology and praxis

Social justice praxis (theme seven) must enter the practical order before it can be said to exist, it must become praxis that is in essence the act of organising (Ferree, 1997:21). Ferree postulates that the nature of the Common Good is about every higher institution that is dependent on all those below it for its effectiveness, and every lower institution depends on those above it for its own proper place in the Common Good of social justice praxis. It is precisely this whole vast network of institutions, or levels, on which this analysis and discussion are based. It is the Common Good of social justice praxis on which every one of us depends for the realisation of our personal perfection, of our personal good (Ferree, 1997:30) (§3.4.4.4). Social justice that is truly effective, that is truly the pinnacle of all action of all role-players in education, will establish a juridical and social order which will give form and shape to life **of all** within a school.

A matter of justice formed the first sub theme of the ontology and praxis of social justice.

5.8.1 A matter of justice

5.8.1.1 Justice

From the origin of the concept social justice as *equitas*, the praxis, of and around, social justice has to display a *justice* that is equally fair towards those who are part of schools and the education system. It is a fairness that forms the bedrock of actions towards co-companionship within the school (§2.2.3). It is in praxis where leaders at all levels of the pyramid (Figure 4.5) take personal agency and responsibility for social justice to engage equally on issues of a life of justice, truth and respect based on a moral and value perspective (§2.3.1.2). From these pyramidal levels of social justice praxis, a continuum for its development may support leaders on all six levels to attain the pinnacle of social justice in education. Education towards a well-ordered society is one that brings about an understanding and an acceptance of a general conceptualisation of justice (§2.2.4). Shared principles and values being taught in and through schools within an education system entail adherence and fulfilment of a justice founded on rational and reasonable beliefs that a well-ordered society and a sound education system are possible. In such a system and society a sense of effective justice should prevail and should lead to fundamentally inclusive aims and interests that will provide to everyone the right to equal respect based on effective support for social justice. The notion of a well-ordered society embodies the circumstances under which the principles of justice are operationalised for the benefit and mutual goodness of all (Rawls, 1999f:233-236).

With regard to **justice**, participant-principals were of the opinion that social justice was about justice, being just, and that it should be something that comes naturally to any person who calls him- or herself a teacher. Justice is to treat all our children, workers on the school grounds and teachers the same and at the end not to see colour. It is about justice towards all⁵⁷¹ (P1, 6:6). This view is supported by the principal who said that social justice is about *positive experiences*

not ... sidelined along one racial class, but it's open for anyone who so wishes, ... they will see no indeed it's, it's, justice has been done, opportunities are open to them, anyone can participate... (P7, 190:190).

The literature review extensively discussed the notion of justice (§2.2). Suffice it to state that these views on justice are aligned with the notion of a justice that guides order in societies and what people should rightly do to fellow-humans. Justice as a **social construct** is found in a well-ordered democratic underpinned by **human values** of justness, fairness, human dignity, equality and equity, and embodied in **human virtues** of perfection of character in compassion towards the other (§2.2.6). The first level of ethical enactment is as a human being (Starratt, 2009:75). The educational leader on this level considers what the humanly ethical action should be, taking into account the intrinsic humanity, the dignity, of the 'other'. These human considerations and actions on the most basic level are characterised by acts of respect and sacredness with which all humans deserve to be treated (§3.4.3.2).

One principal believed teachers who were fair would be successful⁵⁷² (P1, 84:84) and that it was impossible to carry it over to another teacher⁵⁷³ (P1, 84:84). It was about a mind change⁵⁷⁴ (P1, 110:110). Social justice for another principal was about *freedom of speech..., a child has the right to be respected... like we would expect the parent to respect the child...* (P13, 114:116); *it was because I believe that in a democratic society one does not have to come up, even if you're a leader, you don't always have to impose on people, allow them also to, to come up with their views...* (P13, 134:134). Another said children must know that he was constantly acting justly⁵⁷⁵ (P15, 56:56) no matter whose child you were working with⁵⁷⁶ (P15, 58:58).

Colour, race and racism are discussed next.

5.8.1.2 Colour/Race/Racism

As was to be expected, the defining characteristics of race and colour were also prominent in the minds of the participant-principals who painted a normalising picture amongst learners with regard to **race** and **colour** *this positive experiences is not ... sidelined along one racial ... class, but it's open for anyone who so wishes, so when we take them over then they will see no indeed it's, it's, justice has been done, opportunities are open for them, anyone can participate...* (P7, 190:190). Whilst another principal indicated that they did not see colour any more⁵⁷⁷ (P1, 6:6). Whilst the literature is to a large extent quite concerned with race as a qualifier of social justice (§2.3.2.3; §2.3.2.4; §2.3.3.2; §2.3.3.7; §3.2.3.1; §3.3.4.1), it seems as if, at least with regard to the participant-principals, social justice is less viewed in terms of race than the literature would indicate, as the previous quotes from white principals and this one from a black principal shows.

5.8.1.3 Non-discrimination and prejudice

Discrimination is concerned with simultaneously paying attention to individual perspectives and dealing with issues of discrimination, exclusion and recognition, especially on the grounds of race, gender, sexuality, special needs and social class in society (§2.3.2.1), as an act, be it

political or institutionalised (§2.3.2.3; §2.3.2.4; §2.3.3.4; §2.3.5). As determinant, discrimination, or rather the act of not being discriminated against, was discussed from a human rights perspective: the right to human dignity, equality, and freedom (§2.2.2.2). Discrimination was also dealt with as a legal construct (§3.2.3). Determinants of social justice as non-discrimination were found in social justice as distributive justice (§3.3.1), deliberative democratic praxis (§3.3.3), and as transformative (§3.4.3.1; 3.4.4.2).

Non-discrimination and **prejudice** were also mentioned with regard to how the principals understood the meaning of social justice. Non-discrimination was perceived as an aspect that applied to all people equally⁵⁷⁸ (P2, 11:11) or as one principal said *[s]o we want to fit them all, irrespective whether it's a Xhosa, Zulu or what* (P5, 17:17). Prejudice and injustices could be eliminated⁵⁷⁹ (P1, 8:8), exposed and eradicated⁵⁸⁰ (P1, 124:124). The definition offered in the literature study (§2.3.6) resonates strongly with the participant-principals' views on what social justice is: it is praxis founded not in legalistic prescriptive measures, but in compassionate love for all of humankind. It is based on constitutional values and fundamental human rights, and should be read together with the following discussion on constitutional values. The data analysis and literature review had implications for this research as it served the purpose of providing insight into the principals' perceptions of what social justice is. Whereas most replied that it is fair and just, equal treatment of all involved in education, it needs to be mentioned that the impression was that social justice as concept was defined in terms of their management practices, rather than any one having a deep-seated knowledge of what, according to the literature, social justice is.

As the focus of this research was on good practices with regard to the management of social justice in schools, a golden thread throughout the interviews, though not worded as such, was that social justice is reminiscent of social actions that demanded from each individual all that was necessary for the common good to prevail in schools. This intuitive analysis of the data renders this researcher vulnerable, because during all of the interviews, it was a very subjective awareness that the researcher was unable to capture in the words of the participant-principals. It is this phenomenon that Patton (2002:480-481) refers to when he states that our abstractions of what the participant-principal stated on social justice practices as phenomenon and the researcher's abstraction of that phenomenon, became a challenge. It is these descriptions of what has occurred and the researcher's interpretations of those descriptions, between the complexity of reality and the simplification of those complexities, the circularities and interdependencies of human activity and her need for being holistic and linear, ordering statements of cause-and-effect, that made the data analysis a daunting task to the researcher.

A synthesis of the first sub-theme, a matter of justice, of the seventh theme follows.

The second sub-theme, a matter of the heart, is discussed next.

5.8.2 A matter of the heart

5.8.2.1 Change of heart

Marshall and Oliva (2010:1) believe that the inherent challenge to realise the ideal of schooling as a vehicle for social mobility, for ridding society of inequities and for embedding the constitutional democratic principles and values of social justice, should be more than mere rhetoric and more about reality. Leaders should be known for social justice praxis. Marshall and Oliva believe that a theoretical social justice framework should become praxis. It will entail leadership preparation, staff development in school management and it will be about building the capacity and will to transform leaders (Marshall & Oliva, 2010:1). This change of heart is about school leaders becoming astute activists, ready with strategies and taking up the multitude of responsibilities that are required to make schools socially just and equitable to all.

Although one principal knew that all people's rights were protected, he believed one should have a sense of justice that is inbred, because laws could guide one, but justice should come from the heart⁵⁸¹ (P1, 37:37). Principals who referred to social justice as a matter of the heart said that it was about being sensitive, changing one's mind and understanding that teachers were dealing with another culture, but children none the less⁵⁸² (P1, 14:14). It should be a matter of coming naturally to human beings⁵⁸³ (P1, 37:37). This principal was convinced that if one did not want to practice social justice⁵⁸⁴ *you, you can't fake this for very long [uhm-uhm] somewhere its going come out [uhm, uhm] verseker* (P1, 110:110). He conceded that there would always be those who had to be forced to apply social justice principles⁵⁸⁵ (P1, 110:110). When this change of heart happened, it was great to see people who were known for being racist turn around, become converts and proud of a school that truly became a multi-racial school brought tears to the eyes⁵⁸⁶ (P1, 71:71). Similarly one principal said, *but if you don't even carry it in your heart* (P5, 58:58); social justice cannot be enforced by law, it should come from the heart⁵⁸⁷ (P9, 168:168), it should be lived and teachers should set an example of non-discrimination⁵⁸⁸ (P9, 168:170). Another principal said that sometimes you need to be as hard as stone and in other instances you had to have the heart of a dove⁵⁸⁹ (P12, 3:3) and to understand people and therefore learners you had to look at their hearts⁵⁹⁰ (P12, 242:242). A different view was when a principal talked about the socio-economic circumstances of his learners and said *I went there personally at their home to speak to them to see the environment. It's not good, it's very pathetic, it touches the heart* (P14, 77:77). A district official said that the principals around the table had the heart and insight to pursue social justice praxis but in the end social justice schools became islands within an unjust society⁵⁹¹ (P15, 128:132). Similarly the words of the principal who said her father taught her that people will forget what you did for them, but they would never forget how you made them feel was important, people need to feel that they are equal⁵⁹² (P15, 249:249). Another said that social justice praxis would be evident in an attitude of being consistent in your praxis. This praxis should be inherent to a person and not because it is a

legal requirement⁵⁹³ (P15, 77:77). A colleague said that it was important to recognise the need for love that learners with learning and physical disabilities crave for because it created a sense of belonging and acknowledgement *it's the world to them, for sure...*⁵⁹⁴ (P15, 124:124).

The kids that we love the most, it doesn't matter if it's... (PD4-363) was said by a white principal talking about black children, adding that they are loved because of themselves and not the colour of their skin. These views on what social justice is, relates to the literature study where it was found that social justice is an evaluative term, a qualifier of the act of justice regarded as a virtue of love and compassion (§2.2.2; §2.2.3; §2.2.5; §2.3.2.1; §2.3.3.2). The notion of these principals to see social justice as *Tsedaqah* - sacrifice - to transform people, supports the finding that principals and teachers are prepared to die for any learner, without thinking along colour lines. In the African spirit of *Ubuntu* it is about education where the traditional African educational thought and practice would be directed at fostering humane people endowed with moral norms and virtues such as kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence, courtesy and respect and concern for others (§3.4.2.2).

The following section discusses enforcement by love.

5.8.2.2 Enforced by love

None of the participants regarded social justice as a legalistic concept, not even where the question was asked whether social justice should be enforced by policies (§3.2.3). To the question should social justice be about policies, uhh, enforced by policy, what is your take on this... a deputy principal replied [social justice] *[i]t's enforced by love...* (P4, 342:343). This view depicted the world of work of school principals who are practicing social justice, not as legal construct, but as a normative one. In the same vein and in accordance with the literature study, the principals regarded social justice as an attitude of the heart (*hartsaak*) (§2.2.6) that was a requisite of a social order that determines man's social happiness but also an attitude that should naturally be part of all teachers' attitude towards their calling.

The notion of loving the learners came to the fore where principals talked about the non-difference between black and white learners where one any day became as fond of him, you would die for him⁵⁹⁵ (P1, 71:71) because you had a major job to do⁵⁹⁶ (P1, 71:71). Others believed that the learners in the foundation phase only needed love⁵⁹⁷ (P9, 95:95) and if you loved children and you wanted to make a contribution to your country, then education was the vocation for you⁵⁹⁸ (P12, 250:250). Referring to black learners who, notwithstanding the fact they might be different, one would love as dearly as white learners, one would even die for them because as a teacher you had a great task to fulfil⁵⁹⁹ (P1, 71:71). This notion of love was supported by one who said *you can work in an environment where you're feeling safe, you're feeling comfortable, and they don't see..., the kids that we love the most, it doesn't matter if it's...* (P4, 363:363).

Ownership is analysed and discussed in the next section.

5.8.2.3 Ownership

One principal said she would not trade her school for any other because of the problems but in the same instance the number of challenges. The satisfaction of knowing that the parents looked up to her for guidance and many a time she would go back late at night to help the parents look for child who did not go home after school. They would then phone the child's friends⁶⁰⁰ (P2, 2:98). Another said *[j]a, being accountable. Ja you know in managing and the like, you'll always have them fused. As in some of the time you will become a slave leader, which say okay fine if I have to, I'll have to compromise my own thing so that things go right* (P5, 86:86). This was supported by a colleague who said *at the end of the day I believe that the principal is, is accountable [uhm] to the public* (P8, 63:63). **Ownership** was established by sending principals on a course for personal growth, about they wanted to be in five years time, which skills he or she should develop to gain ethical and moral fibre that make up the principalship⁶⁰¹ (P15, 75:75). Ownership in the final instance was about allowing the parents to take ownership without even owning a key to the school buildings⁶⁰² (P15, 147:147).

Ownership also was about the example that you set, how you acted and reacted and the atmosphere that you establish in a school⁶⁰³ (P16, 21:21). With regard to ownership, the remark on social justice and how it could be instilled was that if social justice became part of the culture of the school *we will end up taking the ownership of the school* (P8, 108:108). Continuing he said *Because I believe that uhh it is only when people have been consulted that, uhh, they will take ownership of, of, of any project that you come up with. So we, we are very accommodating of other people's views uhh, consult widely as I said, and then my word is not final, uhh the, the, the word that is final is for them to collective...* (P8, 188:188). Another principal said that ownership was created through *perfect body... teachers... transparency in that they we say to them, ehh, this is, these are our plans, come let us sit around and then make plans for 2012... And by merely in participating they are able to see that we are not only working with the one we, but we are able to have a say democratically so you know [uhm], and then we also don't look into who says what, you know [uhm] from the social justice perspective, we always have everything for everyone* (P7, 34:36). Another principal said that *my understanding of social justice, it means uhm including all, all the stakeholders, uhh giving them the opportunity to play [a] part in the development of the school and it also... allows everybody to have a sense of ownership in the school, showing the potential that one has and everybody is allowed to contribute meaningfully...it also allows us to reflect on our experiences to map up the future uhh, progress and programmes that will assist us to have good results at the end of the day* (P14, 11:11). One of the participants in the focus group interviews said that he believed social justice and ownership are dependent on the principal's relationship with the community and told of the community's involvement in preventing burglaries without him even being aware of the incident⁶⁰⁴ (P15, 145:145). This aspect of community ownership was supported by a female colleague who said that she did not even have keys to the school⁶⁰⁵ (P15, 147:147).

The third sub-theme, holy ground, will be discussed next.

5.8.3 Holy ground

In an interview with a principal who proudly showed his school hall to the researcher, he told of his experience when he entered the school hall for the first time. He reacted to a statement made by the researcher on the ambiance of the school and the influence on learners, that he told his wife he had the feeling of walking on holy ground⁶⁰⁶ (P3, 270:271). And again the researcher thought to herself, but that is what we are doing when we teach, we are walking, by the grace of the child who allows us to, on holy ground not only physically, but more importantly also emotionally and spiritually; it is a sacred profession.

The sub-theme a matter of justice ($f=43$) were matters of **justice/regverdigheid** (§2.2) ($f=11$), **colour/race/racism** (§2.5) ($f=18$), **non-discrimination** (§2.3) ($f=8$) and **prejudice** (§2.4) ($f=6$). The second sub-theme a matter of the heart ($f=42$), contained **a matter of the heart/hartsaak** (§2.1) ($f=26$), **enforced by love** (§2.6) ($f=9$), and **ownership** (§2.7) ($f=7$). These two sub-themes encapsulated the third sub-theme and formed the pinnacle of this study holy ground (§5.13) ($f=1$).

A synthesis of the last theme, ontology and praxis of social justice, follows.

5.8.4 Synthesis

Justice (§5.8.1) as *equitas* requires that the praxis of social justice have to display a *justice* that is equally fair towards those who are part of schools and the education system and was about:

- **Fairness** that forms the bedrock of social justice praxis:
 - taking personal agency and responsibility for social justice to engage equally on issues of a life of justice, truth and respect;
 - sharing principles and values based on justice for all, and
 - social justice was about a mindset change, freedom of speech, the right to be respected, democracy, and consistency of social justice praxis.
- **Colour, race and racism** were talked about as:
 - social justice praxis that should be open to everyone, and
 - learners who did not see colour or race any more.
- **Non-discrimination** and **prejudice** was discussed in terms of:
 - simultaneously paying attention to individual perspectives and dealing with issues of discrimination, exclusion and recognition;
 - a human rights perspective of human dignity, equality, and freedom, and
 - prejudice and injustices could be eliminated if they were exposed and eradicated.
- **Social justice praxis** was founded on:
 - compassionate love for all of humankind,
 - based on constitutional values and fundamental human rights, and
 - actions that demand all that was necessary for the common good to prevail.

A **matter of the heart** (§5.8.2) dealt with:

- A **change of heart** that was embodied in:
 - school leaders who became astute activists
 - being sensitive for ethnic diversity but regarding children as children none the less
 - a praxis that should come naturally to teachers and one that could not be faked
 - embracing a learner corps that changed from white to primarily black
 - social justice which should come from the heart and be a living entity
 - social justice principals and their praxis established in social justice schools that became islands within an unjust society
 - the notion that people forgot what you did for them, but never how you made them feel.
- Social justice was enforced by **love** that was about:
 - having an attitude of the heart (hartsaak);
 - being non-discriminatory;
 - if you loved children and you wanted to make a contribution to your country, then education was the vocation to aspire to, and
 - creating a safe teaching and learning environment.

Ownership was discussed as:

- Taking care of learners at all hours of the day or night
- Being accountable to the public
- Taking ownership of school buildings
- Embracing participative management principles to map out the future
- Being dependent on the principal's relationship with the community

Holy ground (§5.8.3) was the culmination of the discourse found amongst the participant-principals to this study. It encapsulated the essence of social justice because teachers ought to walk on holy ground, physically, emotionally and spiritually, when they are teachers.

Following are parameters for the development of management strategies regarding the learners and social justice praxis.

5.8.5 Parameters for the development of management strategies

From the data analysis and discussion above it seems that management strategies need (§6.4.9) to be developed for:

- A culture of social justice to ensure a safe teaching and learning environment
- A school culture founded on compassion and love for all of humankind based on constitutional values and fundamental human rights
- Ownership that embraces participative management principles

- Creating an environment in which a change of heart may occur because teaching was about walking on holy ground.

The following section addresses concluding remarks.

5.8.6 Concluding remarks

Justice as praxis that is equal fairness requires that principals, learners, and education in general, should live up to the values set out in the Constitution. These values of human dignity, equality, democracy and freedom also require that governmental officials and political partners regard social justice not only as matter of justice but particularly as a matter of the heart. Fairness that forms the bedrock of social justice praxis displays personal agency and responsibility for social justice to engage equally on issues of a life of justice, truth and respect based on shared values. The notion of learners who were devoid of racial prejudice and the legacy of apartheid remained a golden thread throughout the discourse. These were matters that adults still grappled with and therefore individuals and teachers specifically needed to pay attention to their own historical boundedness and preconceived ideas of discrimination, exclusion and injustices. This would require a change of heart based on compassionate love for all of humankind for the common good to prevail in schools.

A matter of the heart encapsulated this change of heart that would be evident in school leaders who became astute activists through praxis of being sensitive to a cultural diverse learner and teacher corps. This notion of social justice renders it a living entity that will always be contextualised by time and historio-cultural-economic circumstances. However schools need to influence their communities as well with this spirit of social justice which needs strength, courage and moral fibre. This will prevent a dualism in society where schools have established social justice praxis that render them islands of social justice within an unjust society. Social justice praxis has to be enforced by love that is about an attitude of the heart (*hartsaak*), non-discrimination and acceptance of the wonder of diversity of humankind. This will enable communities, teachers, learners and parents to take ownership. This ownership is one that will be accountable to the public. In the final instance social justice praxis allows for the creation of schools, learners and teachers, who provide opportunities for holistic social justice praxis exercised on holy ground.

Following is a conclusion to Chapter Five.

5.9 CONCLUSION

In summary, the data from the qualitative analysis and discussion provided data about the participant-principals' understanding of social justice praxis. It entailed a discussion and *petit récits* on effective social justice praxis which rendered these principals as sentinels in the education system of the two provinces that were part of this research. Their discourse and

experiences were captured in accordance with the third research aim (§1.4): to qualitatively determine effective social justice praxis in selected schools. The data analysis and discussion in concert with the literature study (Chapter Two and Three) enabled the establishment of management strategies for effective social justice praxis as it will be discussed in Chapter Six.