

**THE SOCIAL EXPERIENCES OF LEARNERS CLASSIFIED AS
BLACKS IN EX – MODEL “C” SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE EAST
LONDON DISTRICT.**

By

NOZUKO SIGNORIA STUURMAN

Dissertation submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Master in Education

At the

University of Fort Hare

Supervisor: Professor X. Mtose

January 2013

DECLARATION

I, Nozuko Signoria Stuurman, declare that the social experiences of black learners classified as 'black' in ex- model C secondary schools in East London is my work and that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....

N. S. Stuurman

.....

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank God almighty for protecting me until the completion of this study, to God be the Glory. This has been a long journey with many challenges but God protected me and provided me with people to support and guide me.

Amongst the people God provided me with was **my supervisor Professor X.A. Mtose**. I would like to sincerely thank you Prof for your support, constant encouragement, advice and for believing in me. I know that it was not easy but you persevered; without you this study would have never been completed, **Thank you may God Bless you**

I would also like to thank **Professor G. MOYO** for his encouraging and inspiring words that kept me going; you were such an inspiration to me.

My sincere appreciation also goes to the admin staff in the office of the Dean, Loreen Muhl and Pamela Mtotywa. I really appreciate you for all your efforts and support to make this a success.

I would also like to thank **all** the library staff for the assistance and the Govern Mbeki Research and Development Centre (GMRDC) for the fee waiver.

My sincere appreciation and gratitude goes to the **participants** of this study; without them the completion of this study would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank the Mdyogolo family (**Winki and Veliswa**); my profound gratitude goes to you guys for the support you gave me when I needed it most. At times I wanted to give up but you believed in me and encouraged me. Thank you so much, **God Bless you**.

I would like to thank my family especially my two daughters (Zimi and Inaminkosi) for understanding and praying for me and most of all for supporting me throughout the difficult times, and to my extended family (Asanda, Siya, Luvo, Ayanda, Athi, Makaya, Pinda and Nono). Thank you people I really appreciate, God bless you.

Lastly, I would also like to thank my colleagues at Makukhanye S.P and everyone who supported me in this study especially my friend Mhesh and Mafani.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to ascertain and understand how students classified as black in ex-model C schools, experience life socially in ex-model C schools. In this study, blacks refer to the category of people in the population that share cultural and historical experiences which constitute an indigenous African descent. The focus of the study is to examine how desegregation of schools has impacted on black students' talk about being black. This is done with an understanding that black identity in postcolonial literature has been found to be ambivalent and troubling in encounters with whites and encounters with racism. In framing the social experiences of black students the theory of everyday racism by Essed (1978) and the theory of postcolonial black identity (Said, 1998; Bhabha, 1991; and 1994) were used. Literature reviewed on everyday racism argues that the encounter with racism and the encounter with whiteness are everyday experiences of being black and are fixed and reproduced through power relations. From this perspective the postcolonial identity literature argues further that the black identity construction finds it impossible to escape the tensions and struggles with racism and whiteness.

This study is within the interpretive paradigm. Phenomenology design was chosen because it suited the qualitative paradigm of the study. In sampling the research participants, I chose purposive sampling for this research. This research study involved forms of data collection methods such as semi structured interviews as I wanted to understand the social experiences of learners in ex- model C schools. The sample of this study was 10 black students who are in ex –model C secondary schools in the East London district. The 10 students were diverse in gender, socio economic backgrounds and residential areas. The ex- model C schools were also diverse in socio- economic background.

The experiences of black learners in their daily contact with white people in ex-model C schools are classified as experiences of everyday racism and experiences of struggling with the ever present white identity. The black students in these schools experience racism because racism is seen as intertwined in the historical, economic

and political conditions. Furthermore, it became evident from the empirical work that experiences of desegregation do not necessarily translate into improved racial relations; instead one gets individualised and invited to be assimilated into white culture. These lived experiences assign black identity as permanently inferior and always wanting, and opposite to white identity. The implications for this continuing way of constructing black identity have been the stereotypical images of blackness inhabiting the imaginary realm of the black self in contact with the white other.

Key words: black students, ex-model C schools, racism, stereotypes and inferior.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.1.1 Education reform	2
1.1.2 Learner between school migration trends	2
1.1.3 Pressures of learner migration on destination schools	4
1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND QUESTIONS	5
1.4 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION	6
1.1.4 SUB-RESEARCH QUESTIONS	6
1.5 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	6
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	6
1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS	7
1.7.1 Social experience	7
1.7.2 Learners classified-as-black	8
1.7.3 Ex-model C School	8
1.8 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	8
1.9 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY	9
1.10 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY	9
1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE	10
1.12 SUMMARY	11
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	

2.1. INTRODUCTION	12
2.1.1 History of segregation in South Africa	12
2.1.2 Policy Context of Choices	14
2.2.1 Racism and Discrimination	15
2.2.2 Discrimination	17
2.2.3 The Theory of Everyday Racism	19
2.3 THE SOCIAL REACTION THEORY	20
2.4 THE PLACE UTILITY THEORY	27
2.5 POST COLONIAL BLACK IDENTITIES	31
2.5.1 Orientalism and 'Otherness'	32
2.5.2 Framework for Stereotypes and Otherness	34
2.5.3 Hybridity and Authenticity	36
2.5.4 SUMMARY	37
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	
3.1 INTRODUCTION	38
3.1.1. Research Orientation	38
3.1.2 Research Paradigm	40
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN	42
3.3 METHODOLOGY	44
3.3.1 Approval process	44
3.3.2 Sampling and sample size	44

3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS	47
3.4.1 Semi structured interviews	47
3.4.2 Interview setting	49
3.4.3 Discussion of interviews	50
3.4.4. Transcribing the interviews	51
3.5 DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS	52
3.5.1 Data analysis from interviews	53
3.5.2 Bracketing	54
3.6 RESEARCH QUALITY TRUSTWORTHINESS, CREDIBILITY, TRANSFERABILITY, DEPENDABILITY AND CONFIRMABILITY AND AUTHENTICITY	55
3. 6.1. Trustworthiness	55
3.6.2 Credibility	56
3.6.3 Transferability	58
3.6.4 Dependability	58
3.6.5 Conformability	59
3.6.6 Authenticity	59
3. 7 ETHICS	61
3.7.1 Autonomy and respect for the dignity for persons	61
3.7.2 Nonmaleficence	62
3.7.3 Beneficence	64
3. 7. 4 Justice	65

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0 INTRODUCTION	66
4.1.1 The Background Information about each Participant	68
4.1.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH PARTICIPANT	71
4.1.3 Data Coding	73
4.2 EXPERIENCES OF EVERYDAY RACISM	73
4.2.1 Experiences of overt racism	73
4.2.2 Experiences of Discrimination	75
4.2 Experiences of hidden racism	76
4.2.4 Avoidance and rejection	77
4.2.5 Individualisation to assimilation into whiteness	77
4.2.6 Economic and Social Inequality	78
4.3 Struggles within black Identity	79
4.3.1 Black as the 'other' of white	80
4.3.2. The other as fixed by stereotypes in black identity construction	81
4.3.3 Black identity as rooted in history	86
4.3.4 Authentic blacks versus white-blacks	87
4.4 Summary and discussion of findings	90
4.4.1 Lived experiences of black learners in ex model schools	91
4.4.1.1 Black experiences of everyday racism	92
4.4.1.2 The constructions of black versions	96

4.4.1.3 Experiencing black as the 'other' of white	97
4.4.1.4 Stereotype as fixation of otherness and stigmatisation	97
4.4.1.5 Experiencing black identity as rooted in history	98
4.4.1.6 Authentic black positioning versus the white- black	99
4.5 SUMMARY	100
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
5.0 INTRODUCTION	101
5.1 MAIN IDEAS OF THE STUDY	101
5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	102
5.2.1 The position of black identity in experiencing of racism	102
5.2.2 The talk about being black	105
5.3 CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY	108
5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS	109
5.4.1. Recommendations for policy	109
5.4.2 Recommendations for further study	109
LIST OF REFERENCES	110
Appendix 1: Consent form for parents	120
Appendix 2: Consent form for learners	121
Appendix 3: Interview Questions	122
Appendix 4: Examples of Extracts	127

ACCRONYMS USED

EMIS	Education Management Information System
GMRDC	Govern Mbeki Research and Development Centre
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SASA	South African Schools Act
SGB	School Governing Body
WPET	White Paper on Education and Training

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study describes the social experiences of black learners in ex- model C secondary schools in East London. This chapter firstly presents the background to the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study, research questions and the methodology. It further provides the outline of the rest of the chapters and the definition of the key words is also stated.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

A major education reform that occurred in South Africa following the end of apartheid and the commencement of democratic rule in 1994 was the de-radicalization and desegregation of schools (Chisholm, 1994). Since that time, a body of research has developed around the subject, in particular focusing on policies, structures, and capacity for integration (Chisholm, 1994). A strand of research that has emerged and emphasized in this body of literature relates to the migration of learners from schools – designated during the segregation era – as black, Indian or coloured schools to schools designated for whites, known today as ex - model C schools (Sujee & Chisholm, 2006). Fourteen years after the transition to democratic rule, this research proposal turns attention to the issue of the psycho - social (human behavior in groups) of learners classified as black in ex-model C schools to which they have migrated.

This issue represents a neglected aspect in the current body of literature on the internal migration of learners between schools. The focus is on secondary schools in the East London Education district, which is one of 24 mega education districts in the Eastern Cape Province (R.S.A, Emis 1998). A further overview of the background to the study is discussed below.

1.1.1 Education reform

After 1994, South Africa became a democratic country with many educational changes and policies. The South African Education System changed from apartheid Education System to an education system that was supposed to promote equity and equality in schools (Christie, 1999). Although the reform is about bringing change in South African schools, the levels of inequality between rural, township and urban schools are still evident. To me, it seems there is a reproduction of class inequalities and reconstitution of social class, because while greater opportunities are opened to previously disadvantaged schools and learners, those schools in townships find themselves experiencing a movement of learners to ex-model C schools in town/city areas Tihanyi in (Chisholm, 1994: 94).

1.1.2 Learner between school migration trends

According to Soudien (2004), ex-Model C schools were for Coloured, Indians and Whites. In other words, desegregation of schools meant that migration between schools involved many black learners. Desegregation has led to a growing demand of black learners to attend schools which were previously defined as white schools. The out-migration of black learners, who live mainly in townships, has led to a decrease in learner enrolment in township schools, and an increase in learner enrolment in many ex-model C schools. Soudien (2004) submits that substantial literature has emerged demonstrating that whilst there has been a flight of learners out of African schools, there has been no parallel movement towards them. Learners of other racial ensemble do not migrate to African schools.

Trends in the movement of black learners to ex - model C schools have been variously reported, and the phenomenon seems to occur nationwide. In a study by Pampallis, Nasee and Mampuru in Lombard, (2008), the researcher found that learner migration is mostly a one way process with learners from township schools generally moving to suburban schools.

Sujee and Chisholm (2006) report a huge flight of learners from black schools but no parallel movement of children classified coloured, Indian and White into former black schools. Sujee and Chisholm (2006) also report that learners classified as blacks are not only flowing into former white schools but appear to constitute a large proportion of the total school population of many former Indian and Coloured schools. The little or no counter movement of other racial groups to black schools seems to suggest that the process of education transformation is faced with challenges and difficulties especially in the implementation of education policies.

The policy which facilitated desegregation has led to further problematic issues, such as the migration of learners from, or decrease in enrolment in African schools. A complex set of factors seems to have given rise to the current situation of out-migration of black learners to ex-model C schools. Perceptions that ex-model C schools have better resources and provide a better education seem a foremost explanation (Sekete, P Shilubane, M & Moila, B. (2001) in Lombard, (2008:47).

Evidence prevails that many rural and township schools are disadvantaged and under-resourced, and the high failure rate of learners in many of these schools across the East London education district supports the notion of poor quality education (Emis, 2008). Despite all these factors and patterns mentioned above, the South African Schools Act states that the State must fund public schools from public revenue on an equitable basis, in order to ensure the proper exercise of the rights of learners to education and redress of past inequalities in educational provision (SASA, 1996 Section 34(1)).

The provision of this Act appear to have worked to the advantage of schools patronized by middle class and wealthy parents; hence to me it seems as if these schools still want to preserve their status quo, that is their original culture and ethos. It is often argued however that the ex-Model C schools enroll black learners merely for public relations motive; that is, to show their diverse picture, while their racial and class identities remain the same Erasmus, (2002). This argument is based on the fact that the desegregation seems to be, not just a one way process, but that the ethos of these schools is unchanged.

1.1.3 Pressures of learner migration on destination schools

Nevertheless, one of the consequences of the flow of black learners to ex-model C schools is the pressure, in terms of growth in enrollment brought to these schools. Brown and Shumba (2010) submit that the admission of African learners to ex-model C schools results in an obvious change in the demographics of the learner population in these schools. In other words, the growing diversity in culture at the school, as a result of the presence of learners of different ethnic groups, suggests that ex-model C schools have become multicultural centers.

But Soudien (2004) reports that, while the demographics of the learner population have changed, the same cannot be said of the demographics of the teacher population in these schools. The teaching corps in many of these ex-model C schools to which black learners migrated across East London, is much less-integrated, and Soudien (2004) maintains that the dominant form of transformation has been that of assimilation rather than integration.

While things are gradually changing, the situation suggests that a number of black learners in many ex-model C schools may go through their school years without having a single teacher with whom they share cultural orientations. Cultural understanding is critical to teaching and learning (Brown & Shumba, 2010), yet many of these white educators have little or no prior experience teaching learners from different cultural groups.

At the same time, in many former racially and ethnically segregated schools, hardened attitudes of education practitioners have slowed the process of equal treatment of learners, the removal of discrimination and prejudice, and the inculcation of respect and appreciation of diversity (Samuel & Sayed, 2003). Personal experience, for instance, indicates that, compared to whites, black learners are required to write admission tests to enter ex-model C school; these tests are sometimes too difficult for them in terms of language and numeracy. Furthermore, sometimes they are required to produce proof of residence to confirm that they are living in an area in order for them to be admitted (Mda, 2000) in Mda and Mothatha

2000). Additionally, a condition such as who the African child is living with determines whether they get admitted or not.

Many African children who are cared for by grandparents or relatives are excluded (Mda, 2000). These practices are not covered in the Schools Act. Furthermore, they illustrate cultural perspectives and attitudes towards learners classified as black in these schools. It seems that the kind of experiences that African learners go through in ex-model C schools might not be straightforward. The perceptions held of them as they enter these schools and their interaction socially and educationally in the school community can mediate these experiences. This study intends to investigate the social experiences of these learners, which have been largely downplayed in the South African literature.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND QUESTIONS

While a significant proportion of learners classified as blacks have migrated, for various reasons, from African schools in townships to ex-model C schools in the city/towns, in the East London education district, as elsewhere in South Africa, the quality of the experience of these learners in their destination schools remains largely under-researched and little understood. While much of the researchers on this subject have devoted considerable time investigating the migratory flow of these learners, (Hofmeyer, (2000) in Lombard 2008:44), education policy issues underpinning desegregation and the responses of education practitioners to these policy provisions (Hofmeyer, 2000), the issue of psych-socio life of learners (classified as black) in ex-model C schools has been ignored. In other words, while evidence indicates that many ex-model C schools continue to strive to maintain their white cultures and ethos, little is known about the interactional aspect or social experiences of black learners in these schools. This is happening against the background where embedded in legislations are the right of everyone to equal education and the opening of doors of learning to all (R.S.A, Constitution Act no 108 of 1996). This problematic issue has given rise to the following research question:

1.4 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

How do learners, classified as black in ex-model C secondary schools, experience life socially in these schools?

1.4.1 SUB-RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following sub-questions are posed from the main research question:

- What are the lived experiences of black learners in ex- model C schools?
- How do black learners in ex- model C schools talk about being black?

1.5 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to ascertain and understand how learners, classified as black in ex-model C schools, experience life socially in ex-model C schools. It seeks to understand the nature of struggles in talking about being black in encounters with white people.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study can be of great benefit to the school system, education leaders, managers and curriculum development planners, policy makers and researchers in South Africa. The findings will add to the existing knowledge on school desegregation and how black learners might still understand themselves as outsiders in a segregated environment. It can assist school policy makers, teachers and learners themselves to reflect on the schools and gain a deeper understanding of the way black learners experience their interactions and other practices. It will also provide a platform for black students to interpret their own experience in ex- model C schools. In other words, it provides an opportunity where these learners can have a voice, in a context where often they are the minority.

The findings of this study can give useful insights into 'deep-rooted' factors that perpetuate particular types of experiences. This could form the first step in the formulation of diverse strategies to change traditional practices.

Furthermore, the findings can also help in creating awareness of racial divisions in these so called desegregated spaces that continue to haunt black students classified as black.

1.7 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

For the purpose of the context of my study, the use of the following concepts is defined as follows:

1.7.1 Social experience

Clausen (1968) posits that to "socialize" means to inherit the norms, customs and ideologies of a people. It may also mean simply to associate or mingle with people socially. It may provide the individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within their own community such as school; a society itself is formed through a plurality of shared norms, customs, values, traditions, social roles, symbols and languages (Ridley, 2003). Socialization is thus 'the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained' (Ridley, 2003).

But Socialization, however, is not a normative term: it describes a *process* which may or may not affect the individual, and which may or may not lead to desirable, or 'moral', outcomes. Individual views on certain issues, such as race or economics, may be socialized (and to that extent normalized) within a society (Ridley, 2003). Thus, social experience is the experience gained through human interactions, which is an outcome of socialization and contact with social institutions. This experience may then be outcome of primary, secondary, developmental, and /or anticipatory socialization.

1.7.2 Learners classified-as-black

According to the South African Constitution, four racial groups make up the population of the country: blacks (Africans), coloured, Asians and whites (Republic of South Africa, the Constitution Act no 108 of 1996). In this study, blacks refer to this category of people in the population that share cultural and historical experiences which constitute an indigenous African descent.

1.7.3 Ex-model C School

Ex-model C school refers to a public school or an independent school which historically enrolls white learners in one or more grades between grade zero and grade twelve, and managed by the Republican Department of Education. (SAIRR, 1998).

1.8 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A coherent conceptual framework is demanded in this study to understand the nature of the social experiences of learners, classified as black in ex-model C schools. Central to understanding this experience is, understanding the forces that trigger learners to migrate to ex-model C schools, and the kind of context prevailing in these schools. Thus, place-utility theory of migration (Wolpert, 1989), combined with social reaction theory (Becker, 1997) and post-structuralism (Mannathoko, 1999) appear appropriate as a conceptual framework because the place-utility theory focuses on migration as an “adjustive” response by individuals to maximize the functional value of a place, while social reaction theory focuses on the linguistic tendency of majorities to reaction against minorities and their differences. This places communicational interactions in the school context at the centre of social experience.

At the same time, post-structuralism facilitates a scrutiny of social interest, and the possibility of black learners' powerlessness or silence in interactions, in an environment that reinforces a particular ideology. In other words, post-structuralism challenges teachers and students to critique the cultures in their school and classroom (Mannathoko, 1999).

A particular feature is its focus on issues of how discourses interact within different power relations and interactions to produce shifting meanings, identities, and experiences. In the process, dominant discourses create notions of differences, and isolate certain groups as "other than" the dominant group (Jones, 1997). These three conceptual perspectives provide a way of thinking about the experiences. This will be developed in the literature review component of the study.

1.9 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study sought to investigate the social experiences of black learners in ex - model C secondary schools and it assumes that if these learners could voice out their experiences in these schools, the findings in this research could lead to the Department of Education maybe changing some of its policies and developing strategies to equalize the education in all schools. Ex-model C schools should practice social action orientated programmes or maybe create a way of being and thinking that is congruent with their cultural values.

1.10 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Ten participants took part in this study and were all from ex-model C secondary schools. They were all from seven ex- model C secondary schools in East London. Although these secondary schools all begin from grade eight to grade twelve the researcher focused on learners from grade nine to grade twelve because of their experiences in these schools. It was assumed that grade eight learners were still new to secondary schooling and they might have fewer experiences to share.

1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one: Introduction and Background

Chapter one of this study presents the background to the study and also outlines the general overview of the study, the research questions, and the purpose of the study. The significance of the study is also presented in this chapter as well as the definition of key concepts.

Chapter two: Literature Review

This chapter mainly discusses the concept of the social experiences of black learners with the use of the relevant literature sources under the following three theories, post structuralism, place utility, and social reaction theory.

Chapter three: Research Methodology

Chapter three is a methodology chapter which deals with the research design and the research process on how the interviews were conducted and the research paradigm. This chapter also takes into consideration the ethical measures of the research to ensure trustworthiness and the validity of the data collected.

Chapter four: Data analysis and Presentations

This chapter presents the analysis of the data, data presentation and the research findings in accordance with the research questions. It further reflects the summary of the main results from the themes and sub – themes that emerged.

Chapter five: Conclusions, Summary and Recommendations

This is the last chapter which summarizes the research findings and draws conclusion on the collected data. It also deals with the recommendations for further research in this phenomenon.

1.12 SUMMARY

This chapter started with the introduction of the study, followed by the background, statement of the problem, significance of the study and the research questions. Also, the purpose and the explanation of the key terms have been outlined as well. The literature review chapter which is chapter two of this study follows and will be presenting what other scholars have articulated about the social experiences of black learners in ex- model C secondary schools.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with the historical background to segregation. As part of segregation, issues of racism and discrimination are discussed. In an attempt to understand the accounts of black students in desegregated spaces (Essed's 1991), the theory of everyday racism is discussed. Then it presents the conceptualization of the social reaction which focuses on school as a social institution and as a community. It is also part of this chapter to conceptualize the place utility theory which focuses on migration as an adjective response by individuals to maximize the functional value of a place. This chapter concludes with the discussion of postcolonial black identity theory.

2.1.1 HISTORY OF SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

During the apartheid era like in all spheres of life, South Africa was racially divided. The schools were no exception. Model C schools were historically white state aided schools although the term Model C School is no longer in official use but continues to be used by the public to refer to all historically white state schools (Battersby, 2004).

Although the focus of this study is about the social experiences of black learners in the ex – model C schools and not about racism in schools, I find it necessary that to understand what the experiences of black learners in such schools. I also find it necessary to highlight some key historical elements about the education system in South Africa, to understand the general background and its influences on desegregation and integration in schools, (Battersby 2004). Maile (2004), states that South African education was severely affected by apartheid as a ground political machinery to entrench segregation in society. Schooling became an instrument used by the apartheid government to preserve White superiority and to exclude Africans from quality education (Biko 1996; Davenport 1987; Liebenberg & Spies, 1993).

Maile (2004) argues that more funds were directed at white education whilst Africans received a lower education that was meant to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water. He goes on to state that there were laws and legislations which entrenched white control and domination as well including that African students could not move to White Areas where better education was offered. Therefore it is clear that the laws and legislation that restricted the movement of the South African society contributed to the problem of searching for quality education.

It is also evident that for the black population, educational opportunities were extremely muted, with very few students successfully completing basic education and secondary schooling, (Liebenberg & Spies, 1993). The black populations' higher education options were effectively limited to teaching or preaching because the curriculum within the secondary schooling system was usually limited to humanities subjects such as history and religions studies (Ibid).

After the introduction of the Bantu Education Act during the apartheid years a racially stratified teacher education system emerged with separate teacher education colleges for Coloureds, Indians and black people (Sayed as cited in Chisholm, 2004). Teacher education colleges were segregated along the lines of race and ethnicity, creating partial, multiple and separate pathways to teacher education (Ibid). This fragmentation of the teacher education system determined whether individuals were trained, how they were trained and where they were posted.

The South African Education System prior 1994 was divided along racial lines because of apartheid. Learners from different races and cultural backgrounds attended separate educational institutions and apartheid was imminent in everything to do with the way education was shaped, practised and deployed (Chisholm, 2004).

Then after 1994, South Africa became a democratic country with many educational changes and policies, changing from an Apartheid Education system to an education system that supposedly promoted equity and equality in schools (Christie, 1999). Eighteen racially – divided departments have been restructured into nine, Education control was decentralized and schools, colleges, technikons and universities were

opened to all races, a multilingual language policy has been articulated for schools and the review and design for curricula was revamped, together with management and administration reorganization (Chisholm, 2004).

According to Harley and Wedekind as cited in Chisholm (2004), the adoption of the new constitution reconstituted the education landscape bringing together the different teachers and their different classroom practices under one administrative body in each province.

2.1.2 POLICY CONTEXT OF CHOICES

Democracy in South Africa has led to restructuring and transforming of the education system. Amongst the educational changes in this transformation are policy changes based on the Bill of Rights which advocated a right to basic education, freedom of choice and the right to choose the language of learning. Hence, the researcher argues that the migration of learners from the so called disadvantaged schools to schools proximate to the ex - model schools in town/ city areas is driven by school choice and other contextual factors.

This major education reform led to integration and desegregation of schools in South Africa. According to Soudien (2004), desegregation of schools means employing extensive transformation to change the past apartheid practices in education. Although the reform is about bringing change in the South African schools, the levels of inequality between rural, township and urban schools are still evident.

Parents and learners exercise their right to choose schools which they perceive as good and effective schools led by new legislation and policy changes undertaken after 1994 (Christie, 1999). Despite all these equity laws in the South African Constitution, it is evident that township and rural schools are inadequately resourced and still perceived as schools with a declining quality of education.

Therefore this argument shows that integration and desegregation of the South African schools is very unequal and consequently, the quality of Township schooling is continuously under pressure to keep students in their classroom as the emigration of students to ex - model C schools continues despite all the equity laws and legislation around it.

2.2.1 Racism and Discrimination

In the South African education context the integration of schools was based on equity and equality. Sujee and Chisholm (2004), argue that now that South African schools are integrated, to what extent have former white schools opened their doors to all or not and which racial boundaries are being maintained, crossed or broken down. According to Verman and Pumfrey (1988), racism is an unlawful discrimination of colour, race, nationality or ethnic origins.

Therefore racism in integrated schools can be an issue because of the diverse cultures and the colour or ethnic origin of learners and teachers. Hullinan and William (1989) submit that individuals are more likely to establish friendship ties with those who are similar to themselves in attitudes, values and behaviours than those who differ. To me this statement means that learners assigned to racially misused groups tend to have interracial contact with those with similar characteristic to themselves because in most cases, learners in the same grade, classes and sports activities are more likely to become friends with those in other classes or grades in the same school.

This is evident in Homan's (2000) statements when he states that students who are assigned or choose to belong to the same instructional groups or participate in joint co curricular and extracurricular activities are more likely to become friends than those in different groups. Furthermore, there are others characteristics which begin to influence friendship choices like attitudes, values and behaviours among school

learners. These similarities sometimes promote interpersonal attraction; hence at secondary school level, students assigned to the same instructional unit are more likely to become friends.

This can lead to further differentiation in education achievement and attainment in sporting activities in desegregated schools because there are sport activities that are perceived as traditionally “white” sport such as rugby, tennis, swimming, volleyball, hockey, cricket etc, and “black” sports such as soccer, netball and athletics. Racial and ethnic differentiation is most apparent in extra – mural activities especially in choral music and sport.

Sport at school is another way in which schools can recognize all cultural groups within that particular school; however, some sporting activities are favoured by some cultural groups and not by others because other groups are not interested or sometimes because they have not been exposed at a young age.

Sport at school is supposed to create social bonds and enhance interaction amongst learners but in most township schools, there are poor facilities like playing fields which are not well developed and other facilities such as swimming pools, rugby and soccer fields, indoor sport halls, tennis courts etc, that do not exist in their schools. Similarly, the cultural styles of interaction in black communities are often different from those in white communities leading to further challenges when they have to play together at schools.

Gordon (1998) claims that even when blacks demonstrate equal ability with their white counterparts, they are far less likely to be placed in team leadership roles such as captain or to play in an “A” team. Cultural misinterpretation and cross-cultural incompetence are not only predictable within integrated classrooms; they are also highly disruptive to the mission of equal educational opportunity (Gordon, 1998).

It is within this area of unequal educational opportunities that sometimes white teachers tend to play a role in discrimination, although teachers in communally organized schools see it as part of their mission to treat students with respect and courtesy and also require students to do the same in return.

In the introduction, it was stated that this study was not about racism and discrimination in schools, it is evident that teachers tend to discriminate sometimes or tend to play a role in classifying learners as 'them' or 'they' although they claim that they do not see learners on the basis of colour.

The problem of racial friendship segregation is complex because the research demonstrates that people prefer people like themselves. The white cultural practice becomes universal and has also become a 'code' for wealth. Racism relies on institutional power and the mask of normality to subordinate people of colour. Landson-Billing (1999) posits that racism in schools is an extension of racism in society and the school requirement that children conform to a whole mass of regulations has more to do with the scale of school operations than with a desire to develop the moral life of its pupils.

There is inequality that exists amongst black and black students and inequality between black and white students and these inequalities could lead to intercultural conflicts of learners from the same cultural group and put more pressure on black learners. This is evident in their cultural and interpersonal aspects of their social relations. This is happening or seen in several ways i.e. race, as it intersects with classism and other forms of oppression in schools they demand unity, and neutrality in order to oppose dominant ideologies and status quo.

2.2.2 Discrimination

Another problem resulting from the change particularly to teachers, is that in multilingual classrooms, teachers have to enhance teaching of learning according to the special needs of learners whose first language is not the language of instruction i.e. English. In most cases the ex-model C schools frequently mix or confuse moral training with straight forward socialization. For instance, learners who are excluded

from school for failing to conform to uniform rules can hardly be said to have acted immorally.

It is also clear that rather than building on the cultural and linguistic capital of the learners in their classes, it seems that teachers attempt to use their authority to reinforce the differences between the learners or to force culturally different learners to blend into the hegemonic school culture, (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). This suggests that their different practices in class are sometimes driven by prejudice because it is reasonably certain that they do not have a deep understanding of the black learner's way of doing things.

The problem of the desegregated ex-model C school's principles and policies is that, they are formed to suit their needs and are clearly influenced by their backgrounds and their capacity to accommodate the cultural and linguistic diversity in their classrooms is severely limited by their own language abilities.

Jansen (1998) argues that educators sometimes claim not to see race as colour and do not want to consider it in their dealing with diverse learners, thereby maintaining the status quo at the school. A child is good if parental and school authority is obeyed. Authorities are concerned with fundamental social values, order and justice. They want the child to internalize these values as part of his or her character (Jansen, 1998).

Within the discourses of race and racism hair was historically used to "classify" people into the racist "hierarchy of races" (Carrim, 2001) He goes on to state that in some instances a pencil test was used to place people into population classification types whereby if a pencil was passed through one's hair without any problem it meant that one was at the top of the racist "hierarchy" and if it got stuck one was at the bottom of the "hierarchy of races"(Ibid) This means that hair was used as a mark that defined one's alleged race and a means of resistance.

2.2.3 The Theory of Everyday Racism

In ex-model C schools where black students are in encounter with white students and teachers, I take this to mean that they have experiences of encountering racism every day and that they are experiences the power relations that reproduce the stereotypical views about being black.

Essed (1991:50) defines the notion of everyday racism as an “integration of racism into everyday situations through practices that activate underlying power relations”. Essed (1991) argues that everyday life always takes place in, and is in relation to, the environment of an individual. In addition, race, ethnicity, class and gender relations structure everyday life. Once situations of racist actions become part of everyday life, the system continues to reproduce everyday racism.

Essed (1991) defines three underlying themes within the definition of everyday racism that further explain the oppression of black people by white people. The first theme is found in Essed’s (1991) definition that “socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable”. Within this everyday world in which Essed (1991) finds the existence of these practices, each member of society must learn to manoeuvre and handle situations accordingly. Based on the notion of everyday racism, it is understood that the knowledge used by black South Africans to navigate the everyday world, including language, norms and rules, is different to the knowledge used by the dominant white group.

The second theme in the definition is the notion that “practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive” (Essed, 1991:52). These racist practices enable the dominant white group to continue to exploit black people. Essed (1991) argues that within the racial ideology governing our society, racist practices are embedded in governmental policy, hiring practices, education, service organisations, and/or the formulation of academic theories.

The final theme in the definition describes the underlying racial and ethnic relations that are realised and reinforced through familiar practices in everyday situations. Essed (1991) explains that “everyday racism is locked into underlying dynamics of relations and forces of racial and ethnic domination and governed by the powers to which they give rise”. The interlocking forces include oppression and repression. Oppression is implemented in society through situated practices that create structures of racial and/or ethnic inequality. On the other hand, repression, in the form of prevention or management of the subordinate groups’ opposition, is implemented in society to maintain the existence of racial and/or ethnic inequality (Essed, 1991).

Essed’s interdisciplinary theory of everyday racism posits that the governing racist ideology becomes a routine in familiar practices that occur in the everyday situations of black people. The concept of everyday racism does not apply to uncommon or incidental acts of racism by the white dominant group but is seen in everyday situations that are impacted by the existing racist ideology. Finally, Essed (1991) claims that everyday racism has four distinguishing elements: (1) personal experiences in which racism is directed against oneself, (2) vicarious experiences in which racism is directed against other identified blacks, (3) mediated experiences in which racist events are directed at a larger subgroup of blacks, and usually depicted in the media, and (4) cognitive experiences in which the knowledge of racism impacts one’s perception of reality.

2.3 THE SOCIAL REACTION THEORY

The social reaction theory focuses on school as a social institution and as a community. School as a community is defined as the psychological aspect of social settings that satisfies group member’s needs for belonging and meaning (Battistich, Solomon, Kim, Watson and Schaps, 1989: 628). From this definition this concept seems applicable to many current educational problems like the school performance of disadvantaged students.

In the context of South African schools, it is an extent in which the school is a functional community i.e. an environment characterized by caring and supportive interpersonal relationships, opportunities to participate in school norms, goals and values.

Recent literature has shown that students who experience their school as a community enjoy school more, are more academically motivated, are absent less, engage in less dismissive behaviour, and have higher achievements than students who do not (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988). Also students experience the school as a community when their needs for belonging, autonomy and competence are met within that setting and they tend to feel that they are respected, valued and cared for by the other community members and that they make meaningful contributions to the group's plans and activities (Ibid). Although it is likely that few schools are truly supportive communities in this sense, this may not be a severe problem for students from socially advantaged groups because of other social forces in their lives including family and friends, but stresses the importance of various educational and personal goals and values.

Schools that are communally organized have more positive students attitudes, better teacher morale, and less student problem behaviour (Battistich et al 1995). Also research on classroom social climates has shown that classrooms characterized by cohesiveness, satisfaction and goal direction are preferred by students and are associated with a number of positive student outcomes, and the sense of autonomy and participation in decision making has been shown to have positive effects for children's groups (Fraser, 1991). Because school authorities hold power, schools act as the child's moral failure is the issue rather than their own failure to welcome and accommodate black children's cultural styles, (Pickering, 1997).

Therefore, it is evident that students experience the school as a community when their needs for belonging, autonomy and competence are met within that setting, although it is clear that the social context of the school and learner's involvement in

problem behaviour remains largely unexplored. In the South African education context, cross-sectional relationships between a learner's sense of the school as a community and the prevalence of problem behaviour among secondary learners in diverse public schools, has been influenced by the unfortunate association of ideas and other issues influencing racial integration and community in school, like multicultural prejudice, language issue, racism, diversity and violence in schools.

It appears that black learners tend to turn a blind eye or ignore racism by saying that it is not a factor to them because they do not want to talk about it or they avoid being seen as considered as racist. The teaching population is mainly white which is what many parents like because they believe they will elevate their children to white standards.

Literature also reveal that schools have been identified as a primary site for the promotion of optimism hope and caring relationships but it has been found that many ex-model C schools do not create or foster environments that elicit these attitudes and behaviours. There is empirical evidence that white teachers can be negative or hostile towards black learners to the extent that they use familiar racist rhetoric like black learners are not clever etc (Irvine, 1990).

Such issues raise questions as to how South African school communities handle multiculturalism in school. Multicultural education implies a form of education which accommodates a variety of cultures in a mutually respectful environment in common institutions (Morrow & King, 1998). Multicultural education has been considered as one of the factors influencing racial integration in South African schools because of the diversity of the country. Therefore, the researcher felt it important to highlight some important characteristics of multicultural education now that South Africa is a diverse and democratic country. The concept of multicultural education is a dynamic process because it refers to educational expectations, attitudes, learning environments and learning styles; hence, in a country like South Africa, it is also a critical aspect of society that needs to be enhanced.

Banks, (1997) defines multicultural education as an education reform movement and an idea that seeks to create equal educational opportunities for all students including those from different racial, ethnic, and social-class groups. In the South African educational context, this definition means that multicultural education tries to create equal opportunities for all learners by changing the total school environment so that it reflects the diverse cultures and groups within a society and within the nation's classrooms.

Lemmer and van Wyk,(2006) argue that multicultural education is not a process which happens by chance or by merely desegregating schools so that there is a mixture of cultures, but a multifaceted approach to education which should be purposeful and planned. Literature also reveals that white learners, teachers, and administrators often have low expectations of minority language learners, low income learners and learners of colour (Banks, 1999). White educators frequently have lower expectations of black learners than white learners and tend to be more supportive of and stimulating with their white learners, with the result that black learners under achieve, (Banks, 1997). Literature also shows that sometimes there is a high correlation between positive educator expectations and learner performance because educators ought to maintain equally positive expectations of all their learners irrespective of race and culture.

According to Banks and Linch (1986), multicultural education is a broad concept that encompasses ethnic studies, multi-ethnic education and anti-racist education which means that one of its effects is to reduce racial and cultural differences and also to improve the self concept of each learner to know and understand his or her own identity. It also strives for equal treatment of each and every learner without discrimination especially in integrated schools which still expect black learners to assimilate rather than integrate.

Morrow (1998: 241) defines multicultural education as the kind of education which effectively promotes capacities, talents and virtues which characterize what it is for a person to be educated as opposed to being merely trained for specified tasks,

activities or occupations, indoctrinated into the sentiments of beliefs of a specific culture or blindly socialized into particular sets of habits and practices. From Morrow's definition, multicultural education encourages the development of a shared identity across cultural boundaries. Hence, multicultural education is seen as a way to combat racism and white privilege.

The introduction of multiculturalism in schools has generated a considerable amount of literature defining perspectives that have addressed cultural issues by adding items of cultural interest such as music, dance and food. However, many ex-Model C schools embrace cultural interests that present a multicultural atmosphere but no challenge to the under achievement of black children. This means that some ex-model C schools appear to be responding to the educational needs of black learners, but in reality this approach is another form of subtle social control.

This is evident in that black learners have to adapt to a particular language in order to belong to a dominant community and to gain access by serving the interests of the white teachers and learners in these schools. This approach defeats the purpose set for integration and desegregation in South African schools after 1994. Instead, Black students in these former white schools are expected to adopt the dominant white culture. According to Figueroa (1991), learners and families who do not fit the dominant assumptions and norms, are labelled as inferior and expectations of them are lowered.

Assimilation is thus a one way process in which a subdominant group adapts to a dominant group. They are required to adapt to the language, cultural modes and values of the dominant group. Minority groups are therefore expected to become assimilated into the mainstream of the dominant group culture.

The few schools in S.A that pursued a policy of desegregated schools prior to 1994 generally followed an assimilation approach as learners of the dominant grouping

saw minority group pupils as the ones who had to change and adapt to the school (Vally and Dalamba, 1999). Coutts, (1992: 72) states that most multicultural schools in South Africa use English as the language of instruction although there are desirable languages like Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa which remain strong and viable choices. This means that language in the South African schools remains a challenge and to have eleven languages adds to this difficulty because as diverse the population as is, almost everybody wants his language to be recognized and respected.

Language policy in the South African Constitution also states that everyone has a right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice (R.S.A, 1996). Literature also reveals that black learners in ex – model C schools have a tendency to act white i.e. to give up their minority identity and subsequently begin to doubt their intellectual ability, (Ogbu, & Fordhan, 1996). As a result of assimilation, in some cases, learners of the dominant racial group see learners of the minority group as the ones who need to change and adapt to the school norms and culture.

In a study by the South African Human Rights Commission (S.A.H.R.C) in Vally and Dalamba, (1999), one researcher in a report on one of the ex – model C schools in the Northern Cape noted that although their school was integrated, black learners represented a threat to educational standards because of the perceptions that a high concentration of these learners would lower the performance of white learners whose society was considered culturally and racially superior. Consequently, Ogbu and Fordhan (1986) submit that a cultural orientation in school of “acting white” and academic success as the prerogative of white African learners results in social pressures not only against striving for success but also fear of striving for success.

This shows that this is not happening in South Africa only but also in other countries that are perceived as well developed countries and also experience challenges in terms of their language issues. Therefore, it is evident that white learners traditionally refuse to acknowledge that black learners are capable of intellectual achievement and they subsequently begin to define academic success as white people’s

prerogative which is why sometimes many black learners who are academically able, do not put forth the necessary effort and perseverance in their schoolwork and end up doing poorly in school.

However, according to Dalamba and Vally (1999), in the ex - model C schools, there is a tradition of using a single language of learning and teaching. This is evident in many of the South African ex - model C schools where black learners are denied admission to these schools; this is done politely through the admission policies within the school policy. This is done by requesting black learners to write aptitude tests to screen their language proficiency in speaking English and their mathematical skills based on these admission tests. These tests prove to be the reason for not admitting black learners in these schools.

Another restrictive way is that of using the tradition of using a single language as the medium of instruction and no learner is allowed to speak any other language even at break times. In some integrated schools, black learners are seated aside from whites or sometimes their majority is placed in a separate classroom and the reason for this separation is that they are grouped for the learning of English language or sometimes grouped deliberately.

Literature reveals that popular frequent reasons for not admitting black learners are that they cannot understand the English language and they reside outside the feeder zone of that particular ex - model C school. According to Battersby (2004), when black learners enter an ex - model C school they take tests in English, Maths and Afrikaans in order to be streamed to classes for these subjects and can only change streams after two terms if they perform better. Consequently, these learners are judged according to their existing ability, not on their academic potential, thereby creating a classroom situation whereby classes are effectively streamed by race (ibid) Furthermore, such learners are not at the same academic level as those who have attended ex - model C Primary schools from a young age. Literature also indicates that learners are stratified in schools according to their ability. This is evident when Joseph (1998); Slavin and Braddock (1993); Oakes (1995) state that poor children and racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately placed in low ability groups early in their educational careers. This suggests that black learners have to adapt to a particular language in order to belong to a dominant community

and to gain access by serving the interests of the white learners. The section below discusses the place utility theory.

2.4 THE PLACE UTILITY THEORY

According to Wolpert, (1989), place utility theory focuses on migration as an “adjustive” response by individuals to maximize the functional value of a place. In this regard this theory places communicational interactions in the school context at the centre of social experiences of learners when they migrate to ex- model C schools. It is clear though that learner migration has been influenced by the desegregation of schools since formal legislation of non – discriminatory policies after 1994, when South Africa became a democratic country for the first time.

The policies which facilitated desegregation and integration in schools led to further problematic issues, such as the migration of learners from township and rural schools and the decreasing learner enrolment in township schools (Sujee and Chisholm, 2006). A complex set of factors seem to have given rise to the current situation of out-migration of black learners to ex-model C schools. Little or no counter movement of other racial groups to black schools seems to suggest that the process of education transformation is faced with challenges and difficulties especially in the implementation of the new education policies (Soudien, 2004).

The argument in this study is in line and strongly agree with Tihanyi in (Chisholm, 2004), when he states that there is a reproduction of class inequalities and reconstitution of social class because while greater opportunities are opened to previously disadvantaged schools and learners, those schools in township and rural areas find themselves experiencing a movement of learners to ex- model C schools in town/city areas. Similarly, Christie (1999) states that the change from apartheid education system to an education system that is supposed to promote equity and equality in schools has led to many historically white schools becoming desegregated and integrated. Therefore, desegregation and integration of schools

has led to a growing demand of black learners from township and rural schools to attend schools which were previously defined as “white schools” mostly in town or city areas.

Perceptions that ex-model C schools have better resources and provide a better education seem the foremost explanation (Sekete, Shilubane, & Moila, 2001) in (Lombard, 2008). In the East London area, in some of the integrated secondary schools, this process is likely to be accompanied by difficulties and harsh challenges because some of these schools have been labelled as racist because of their policies, like their admission policy and language policy (Emis, 2008).

In addition to better resources in ex - model C schools (Mtshali, 2002) states that there is a perception that ex – model C schools exercise better discipline and set an example for some Township schools when it comes to teacher and learner control. Furthermore there are other factors such as school safety in terms of security, and other basic facilities like sport activities and infrastructure. However, literature reveals that integration of schools is seen as the transforming legacy of the past in which schools have to open their doors to all learners of all races, (R.S.A, White Paper on Education and Training, 1995).

Consequently, desegregated former White, Indian and Coloured schools have opened doors of culture and learning, but integrated only a minority of African children, (Sujee and Chisholm, 2006). Furthermore, the South African Schools Act has a policy for funding schools in which the state must fund public schools on equitable basis to ensure proper use of the learner’s rights to education, (R.S.A, Section 31(1), 1996). This funding policy of public schools includes the conditional exemption of parents who are unable to pay school fees (R.S.A, Section 39 (2) 1996).

In the South African context, this means that parents who cannot afford to pay school fees because of unemployment can pay less or sometimes not pay at all compared to those parents who can afford to pay if they send children to public

schools declared as no fee schools; however, having said that, parents still prefer to take their children to schools previously known as “white schools” in town.

There are other policies in the South African Constitution which promote integration and desegregation in schools like the South African Schools Act, 1996 section 5 (2) which stipulates that “The governing body of a public school may not administer any test related to the admission of learners in a particular school. Also Chapter 5 of the South African Schools act stipulates “the head of department must register an independent school if he or she is satisfied that the admission policy of the school does not discriminate on the ground of race” (R.S.A, 1996).

But contrary to that, literature reveals that there are ex - model C schools with SGBs that claim that they are changing their school ethos and practicing the new values articulated in the national policies, yet the changes do not happen in a harmonious manner because they still have admission policies which are against this Constitutional Act. The researcher also feels that in some schools which were previously known as model C schools, learners are required to write tests before they can be accepted and these tests are sometimes deliberately too strict to keep black learners out of these schools.

In other schools the issue of proximity of schools to learners’ homes also plays a major role in controlling the admissions process because some schools require proof of living in an area around that particular school such as municipality statements or rent statements in order to exclude children of domestic workers or sub – tenants, and the insistence on dealing with biological parents may also exclude many African children who are cared for by grandparents and other relatives.

With all these new education policies and legislations which are about redressing the imbalances of the past in schools, the researcher still finds the education between township and ex – model C schools unequal resulting in a huge movement of black learners to schools in town/ city areas. It is also evident that racial integration in

these schools has been encouraged and is still increasingly implemented although selective and biased criteria is still used in many policies like the admission policy, language policy and other related policies.

There is also evidence that in some ex – model C schools, School Governing Bodies (SGB) use their power to mix their local values with national values. National values which I think are constitutional values believed to facilitate democracy and local values are those brought by parents and learners to the school, Deakin (1999), describes local values as old values that have been carried over from past practices and are largely informed by the apartheid ideology.

So in a school situation or setting, this would include the conduct of both staff and learners. Therefore, in this regard, the power of the school governing bodies in changing the school ethos cannot be downplayed because SGBs are entrusted amongst other things with the task of writing up the mission and vision statement of the school as well as policies relating to admissions, language and religion. Subsequently a school governing body is a committee which consists of two parents, two teachers, the school principal who acts as the accounting officer, and a learner. However this composition also depends on the school enrolment whereby the teacher component, parent component and the learner varies.

The previous two sections, social reaction theory and place utility theory put into perspective the nature of the environment in ex - model C schools. What remains is a gap as to how students construct their identities in such a context, hence the discussion on post colonial black identities.

2.5 POST COLONIAL BLACK IDENTITIES

Postcolonial literature focuses on politics, on the history and on economics in the struggle of black identity construction. It is literature that draws theoretically from both the psychology of black identity and Biko (1978) that is political liberation but does not anticipate that black identity can shake off the inferiority. This suggests that even desegregation as part of transition in South Africa is unlikely to overcome the tension in the encounter with white identity and with racism (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006).

This theory focuses on the experiences of formerly colonised people, for example in the study the black students. This suggests that in spite of the political movement to a democratic South Africa, the power relations in positioning black identity remain largely unchanged. It is in this light that I am interested in how black students talk about being black in former white schools. The question that is in the centre is whether their experiences are a reproduction of past experiences of being black.

The postcolonial perspective

The post-colonial theory suggests that political liberation did not translate to thorough change to both the ways of life and experiences of people that were colonised subjects (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006). According to this literature, the colonial subjects are not only economically marginalised, but are also not able to shake off the stigma of being, (Hook, 2004).

There are three concepts embedded within the postcolonial theory and they are the following:

1. Orientalism and 'Othering'.

2. Ambivalence and cultural hybridity and authenticity (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1991; 1994). These three concepts become tools to understand the black identity in encounter with white identity and with racism. The following is a discussion of each:

2.5.1 Orientalism and 'Otherness'

Said (1978) introduces the concept of Orientalism by dividing the world into West and 'East' also referred to as the Occident and the Orient respectively. Said (1978: 50) claims that Orientalism constructs an "imaginative geography", dividing the world into 'East' and 'West', assigning societal distinctions and worth based upon these imagined divisions. In fact Said sees this division as "a creation of Europe that position Europe in a position of power compared to the East". The division assign societal distinctions and worth based upon these imagined divisions.

Descriptive categorisations are assigned to the 'East' (irrational, superstitious, exotic, etc). A hierarchical power structure result, as Europe has only defined the 'East', but has also created and recreated the concept of the 'East'. Said (1978:1) writes that "[t]he Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences". He argues that the European idea of the Orient, the myth of an exotic place, became the Orient. This is true not just for the Europeans, who saw the Orient as "one of its deepest and most recurring images of the "Other", but also for some of those who lived there, who saw the Orient through colonial eyes (Said, 1978:1).

This idea of Europe as the "Other ' did not only become a European construction of the 'other' but for the 'West ' as well to look at Europe with a colonial eye. This suggests that not only did the European have 'imaginary' hierarchical divisions but the problem occurred when the 'other' saw himself through colonial eyes (Said, 1978) and creates a sense of identity in this sense. This becomes the essence of Said's book "Orientalism". In this book he tries to explain that this idea of Orientalism has more to do with Europe than it has to do with the Orient itself.

This becomes a political vision of reality that produces a binary opposition between 'them' (the East, Orient) and 'us' (the familiar, Europe', the West). This binary becomes important for European identity as Loomba (1988: 47) says.

If colonised people are irrational, Europeans are rational; if the former is barbaric, sensual and lazy, Europe is civilization itself, with its sexual appetites under control and its dominant ethic, that of hard work; if the Orient has to be feminine so that Europe can be masculine. This dialectic between self and the other ... has been hugely influential in subsequent studies of Africans, Native Americans and other non-European peoples.

This shows that in binary opposition the relationships are dependent on each other ; the construction of the 'Other' as backward is necessary for the construction of the 'self' as culturally superior, which justifies the exercise of domination and control as a 'duty' to intervene in the name of progress – to civilise, to educate, to modernise and to develop. Said, advocates that the colonial should try to see him without the European looking glass or at least be aware of European cultural mappings. Not only that the colonial must also deal with a problem must a colonial face his own perception of the colonial power, of the colonial 'Other'. The two problems identified here make it difficult for the idea of 'other' to change. Postcolonial construction of identity begins with resistance of these myths.

The Orientalism and otherness dimension in postcolonial theory is critical to this study of black identity reconstruction. It illustrates how black identity continues to be framed in whiteness. Bhabha (1983) is critical of Said's view of the relationship of domination and subordination between 'West' and East. He sees Said as promoting a static model of colonial relations in which colonial power and discourse is only possessed entirely by the coloniser with no room for change.

Bhabha (1991; 1994) uses the perspective of ambivalence and hybridity to criticise Said's notion of Orientalism and otherness. Bhabha conceptualises the relationship between the West and the East as open for negotiation. From this point, I will now turn to Bhabha in order to build from this initial deconstruction.

Although Bhabha is critical of Said's oversimplification of the binaries of East and West and coloniser/colonised (as poles open for negotiation and therefore implicated by each other), one can argue that the intellectual positions come from the same tradition. The reason for this is that both Said and Bhabha look at the processes of division, categorisation and domination. However, Bhabha's position is that power is never possessed by the coloniser entirely, because of an ambivalence that lies at the root of the West's approach to subaltern 'othernesses'. The following is a discussion of Bhabha's concept of ambivalence and hybridity.

2.5.2 Framework for Stereotypes and Otherness

Bhabha's concept of 'ambivalence' provides a framework on how stereotypes and identities are constructed in a complex relational process and how they relate to the notion of black as inferior. Bhabha, (1991), suggests that identities are implicated by each other. He illustrates how ambivalence works in different moments of colonial discourse as follows; the colonial discourse wants to produce subordinate subjects who reproduce its assumptions, values and behaviours, but does not want to create subjects too similar to the coloniser as this would be too threatening. This contributes to the discourse of colonialism, which suggests a black inferior position and that blacks know themselves in terms of the white other, thus objectifying themselves in terms of white supremacy.

Bhabha (1994) argues that an important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity', the ideological construction of otherness. In dealing with similarity between the coloniser and the colonised fixity in the ideological construction of otherness remains the only hope to maintain the position of the

colonised as knowable, unchangeable and predictable. Bhabha (1994: 66) asserts that:

fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as a disorder, degeneracy and demonic repetition.

From Bhabha (1994), we learn how stereotypes are constructed as well as how the power of the stereotype remains part of society. Consequently in othering and in stereotypes, whites as essential subjects have made black people into devalued beings, into objects defined against the norm. According to Pickering (2001), blacks are not only 'other' to whites but also to themselves. "The objectification of black people themselves in as much as they have accepted white objectification of them – the white essentialist versions of what blackness is and the conceptions of black inferiority affirms white superior status".

Therefore, the process of 'othering' does not displace the concept of stereotype but renders it rather more complex, opening up for interrogation, its ambiguities and contradictions of meaning and effect. Pickering (2001) is of the view that compared with the concept of the stereotype a more complex understanding is the fruit of a fuller theorising of Otherness. This is what is conceptualised by Bhabha (1994: 66) as "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that can be anxiously repeated".

The difference of race, culture and history elaborated by the colonial experience and other political and cultural ideologies creates racist stereotypical discourses that present the colonial subject as knowable and inferior, justifying stereotypical knowledge's and racial theories as well as authoritarian forms of political control. Bhabha (1994) advocates that it is impossible for the colonised to be equal to the coloniser. This relationship between the coloniser and the colonised maintains the position of black identity in an inferior position; thus it sees the colonising subject as the cause and effect of the system of colonisation. Hence, the existence of strategies

of hierarchisations and marginalisation may be better understood in the management of colonial societies by objectifying, normalising and disciplining colonial subjects (Bhabha, 1994). As a result, the establishment of a cultural hierarchy of the perceived fixed identities of coloniser and colonised is a necessary feature of colonial domination.

2.5.3 Hybridity and Authenticity

In Bhabha's (1985) discussion of cultural hybridity, Bhabha emphasises the advantage of in-betweens. This suggests that Bhabha portrays the hybridised nature of postcolonial culture as strength rather than a weakness. In this regard he says "Hybridity can thus be used by the colonised to become a "strategic reversal of the process of domination" (Bhabha, 1985: 154). Therefore hybridity transforms the meaning of the colonial discourse, the position of white as the superior other and black as naturally inferior. Bhabha suggests that colonial discourse fails to produce stable and the fixed identities as different systems of representation are involved in this construction, showing the existence of hybridity in the construction of any representation. Loomba (1988:232) agrees with Bhabha as he points out that, colonial discourses are diluted and hybridised in their process of delivery, "so that fixed identities that colonialism seeks to impose on both the master and the slaves are in fact rendered unstable [...] coloniser and colonised are both caught up in a complex reciprocity".

Identities are relational and not formed in "perceiving a self-reflection in human nature or a place for the self between culture and nature, but in relation to the other [...] only through the "Other" can the subject locate its space" (Childs & Williams, 1996:124–125). Bhabha does not separate the construction of the identity of the coloniser from the construction of the identity of the colonised. He conceptualises this construction as a process that is "relational, agonistic and antagonistic" (Souza, 2004: 121). At the heart of this construction are assumptions and representations that establish a notion of self as culturally superior or subordinate.

2.5.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has dealt with the history of segregation in South Africa. Within segregation there is a history of racism and discrimination. To understand the concept of the repetitive nature of racism experiences I used the theory of everyday racism as proposed by Essed (1991). I reviewed various other theories such as the social reaction theory which conceptualises the theory of place utility focusing on migration. I concluded the discussion with the postcolonial black identity theory to understand the persistent trouble with racism and whiteness.

The following chapter deals with research design and methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter departs from the literature review presented in Chapter 2 and explores the methodological orientation and paradigm in which this research is located. Outline of the chapter is as follows: Research orientation; research design; sampling, gaining access to participants; data collection; data analysis techniques; issues of research rigour; and ethical considerations.

3.1.1. Research Orientation

The research orientation focuses on the research paradigm and in particular the interpretivist paradigm. The research approach of this study was a Qualitative approach in an effort to understand the real life situations of black learners in the ex – model C secondary schools. Burns and Grove (2003) describe a qualitative approach as a “systematic subjective approach used to describe life experiences and situations to give them meaning.”

Anderson and Arsenault (1998) define the qualitative research approach as a form of inquiry that explores phenomena in their natural settings and uses multi-methods to interpret, understand, explain and bring meaning to them .Therefore, because this study sought to investigate the social experiences of black learners in ex – model C schools , the qualitative approach proved to be appropriate because it helped to understand learners’ narrative experiences and their social and cultural contexts within specific institutions.

Maree as cited in Hood (2008) defines a qualitative research approach as an umbrella term for a wide range of approaches intended at collecting rich and descriptive data in respect of a particular phenomenon in order to understand a situation from a participant's point of view. This was accomplished by entering into the subjects' life worlds and much effort was made to understand as much as possible the true feelings and experiences of the participants. Holloway & Wheeler (2002) describe qualitative research as a form of social enquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live, hence the researcher chose to interview participants on one on a one basis and gave each participant enough time to explain their thoughts and feelings about their social experiences in ex-model C secondary schools.

According to Creswell (1994); Leedy (1997); Merriam (2001); Sherman and Webb (1998), a qualitative study is an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in a natural setting. The researcher spent a substantial amount of time during the interview process asking participants to explain their views and also gave them enough time to think more when probing questions.

Giroux (1991) posits that qualitative approach can be a socially empowering and emancipatory experience for participants that can change their lives for the better. In the case of this study, using this approach appeared suitable to change their lives for better. In other words, it can provide the learners with an opportunity of a voice, in a context where often they are the minority.

According to Silverman, (2004), a qualitative approach is more concerned with an understanding of the way in which individuals create, modify and interpret the world in which they find themselves and was developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social phenomena. The phenomenon in this study is the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C secondary schools. Therefore as the

researcher, I was concerned more about how black learners in ex- model C schools experience life socially.

However, Adam (2010) states that one of the disadvantages of qualitative research is that the subjectivity of the inquiry leads to difficulties in establishing the reliability and the validity of the approaches and information. This means that even though the researcher's aim is to explore the behaviour, perspective and feelings of the participants, the researcher cannot influence the participant's views during the interview process in any way and therefore avoids leading suggestions.

3.1.2 Research Paradigm

The phenomenon under investigation is the social experiences of learners classified as black in ex-model C secondary schools. An experience is the accumulation of knowledge or skills resulting from direct participation in events or activities (Ridley, 2003). The best way to investigate experience is through a phenomenological approach (Lester, 1999). Thus, the research orientation which facilitates the use of a phenomenological approach is the interpretative paradigm. The interpretative paradigm deals with understanding the subjective world of human experiences and their social lives.

This paradigm is adopted as the broad methodological framework of this study because the interpretative paradigm deals with understanding the subjective world of human experiences and their social lives. This paradigm was also adopted because social life is constantly changing and decisions have to be made and the decisions made should be in accordance with the subjective understanding of situations in which participants find themselves in. Littlejohn (2000) states that people make decisions and act in accordance with their subjective understandings of the situation in which they find themselves.

Interpretive researchers do not suggest that research can be perfectly objective but they argue that through carefully implementing procedures such as triangulation a large part of the bias inherent in individual researchers can be identified and thus controlled (Kaplan and Maxwell, 1994). This paradigm opened opportunities for the researcher to follow a procedure of interacting with the participants during the interview process, and listen to their lived stories in the ex-model C schools.

Cohen, et al (2007) state that interpretive paradigm gives the participants freedom to express their views on the question without the intervention of the researcher. The interpretive paradigm allows for study of the participants in their natural worlds so as to understand their social experiences in ex - model C schools without the intervention or undue influence of the researcher. Furthermore, Cohen et al, (2000), declare that the central endeavour in the context of the interpretive paradigm is to understand the subjective world of human experience. Therefore the researcher made sense of the participants' subjective experiences of their worlds and the understanding of how they perceived social life in the ex-model C schools.

The researcher in this instance provided the participants an opportunity to speak their lived experiences, their individual perceptions and their understanding about their social lives. Littlejohn (2000) concurs with this view by stating that researchers who agree with interpretive paradigm are interested in the social construction of meaning and that people's actions are based on their interpretive paradigm. Phenomenology is often considered central to the interpretive paradigm (Clark, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Koch, 1995).

This gave the researcher an opportunity to give voice to the black learners to share what they experienced in an ex - model C school. In this study, the phenomenon under study is the how black learners experience life socially in ex-model C schools.

I gathered this kind of information through the use of semi structured interviews and observations.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Mouton, (2003) defines research design as a blueprint of how you intend conducting the research. Research design refers to the structure of an enquiry; it is a logical matter rather than a logistical one. Research needs to be structured in such a way that the evidence also bears on alternative rival explanations and enables us to identify which of the competing explanations is most compelling empirically. Research design is different from the method by which data are collected. Mouton (2001), states that a research design outlines how the research is conducted from the beginning until the end of the research. Similarly, Creswell, (1998) defines a research design as the entire process of the research from conceptualizing the phenomena to write the narrative analysis of the research.

According to Yin (2003), a research design is a plan, blueprint or structured framework of how a researcher intends conducting the research process in order to solve the research process (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Burns & Grove, 1993; De Vos et al 2002; Leedy, 1997). In this study the phenomenon under study is the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C school and therefore in order for the researcher to ascertain and understand how learners, classified as blacks in ex-model C schools, experience life socially and how the socio-economic status of these learners mediates the nature of their social experiences.

The research design in this study was phenomenology. Phenomenology design was chosen because it suited the qualitative paradigm of the study. Swanson and Wojnar (2007) explain that at the core of phenomenology lies the attempt to describe and understand phenomena as explained by individuals who have lived them. Groenewald (2004) supports Swanson and Wojnar, when he states that the

operative word in phenomenological research is to 'describe'. I intend to describe as accurately as possible the phenomenon refraining from any pre-given framework, whilst remaining true to the facts. Phenomenologists are concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspective of the people involved. The aim of phenomenology is the return to the concrete, captured by the slogan 'back to the things themselves (Groenewald, 2004). A student of Husserl, Martin Heidegger (1889 –1976), introduced the concept of 'Dase in' or 'Being there' (Groenewald, 2004). Embree (1992) identifies seven unique perspectives:

A descriptive (transcendental constitutive) phenomenology is concerned with how objects are constituted in pure (transcendental) consciousness, setting aside questions of any relationship to the world in which it lives. Naturalistic constitutive phenomenology is concerned with how consciousness constitutes things in the world of nature, assuming that consciousness is part of nature.

Existential phenomenology is concerned with concrete human existence, and includes the issue of free choice of actions in life situations. Generative historic phenomenology is concerned with how meaning, as found in human experience, is generated in the historic context of collective human experience over a period of time. Genetic phenomenology is concerned with the genesis of meaning of things within individual experience.

Hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology is concerned with interpretation of the structures of experience and with how things are understood by the people who live through these experiences and those who study them. Realistic phenomenology is concerned with the structures of consciousness and intentionality, assuming they occur in a world that is to a large degree external to consciousness (Groenewald, 2004).

In this study hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology is used. The interpretive phenomenology in this study was useful to describe the experience of black students in ex- model C secondary schools in relation to historical, social, and political forces

that shape the meanings of their experiences when talking about who they are. Phenomenologists believe that the researcher cannot be detached from his/her own presuppositions and that the researcher should not pretend otherwise (Hammersely, 2000; Wojnar & Swanson, 2007). Phenomenology is often considered central to the interpretive paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Wojnar & Swanson, 2007).

3.3 METHODOLOGY

In this section I discuss the audit trail with respect to gaining approval for the study and arriving at the criteria used for data collection. The actual process of data gathering and the process of the interviews are described. This is followed by a description of how the data analysis proceeded.

3.3.1 Approval process

The proposal for the study was first presented to the School of Postgraduate Studies at the University of Fort Hare. With the approval and support of the committee, the application for the M. Ed study was approved.

3.3.2 Sampling and sample size

Sampling is the process of drawing a sample from a population (Johnson & Johnson 2000). A sample is a small portion of the total number of objects, events, or persons that together comprise the subject of one's study. They argue that the major consideration in sampling is feasibility. According to Patton (1990), the decision about sample size and sampling strategies depends on prior decisions about the appropriate unit (s) of analysis of the study. The unit of analysis in this study is "social experiences of black students".

Qualitative research participant sampling should follow a well-defined rationale and fulfil a specific purpose, which is why qualitative sampling is often called purposive. In particular, purposive sampling refers to selecting participants who serve a specific purpose consistent with a study's main objective. Hence, the researcher in this study purposively selected participants whom she regarded as relevant to provide the phenomena she sought to find.

In sampling the research participants, I chose purposive sampling for this research. This research study involved forms of data collection methods such as semi structured interviews in order to understand the social experiences of learners in ex-model C schools.

The sample of this study was 10 black students who are in ex –model C secondary schools in the East London district. The 10 students were diverse in gender, socio economic background and residential areas. The ex-model C schools were also diverse in socio- economic background. The study focused on ex-model C schools that were predominately white with a few black students and schools with a majority of black students and a few white students. There was only one school that was almost fifty percent white and fifty percent black.

A total of ten participants were interviewed. Of the ten participants four of them were males and six females; they were all isiXhosa speakers, five from the Township; four from urban areas of East London and only one from an informal settlement. The types of schools from which these students attended varied. Some were well resourced and these schools were characterised by a majority of white students. The under-resourced and fairly poor schools were majority black. What was common was that all the schools were ex-model C schools and the teachers were white.

The research site was the home of each and every participant; I did so to get the consent of the parent and to ensure the comfort zone of their own homes. According to McMillan (1996), the purpose of sampling is to obtain a group of subjects who will

be representative of the larger population or who will provide the specific information needed. Grinnell (1990) describes samples as a portion of the population that is chosen or identified to take part in an investigation of a study. He goes on to define population as the totality of persons or objects with which a study is concerned. This means that the population must be identified first and the process of selecting people to take part must be known as well.

There are several types of purposive sampling techniques. For instance, criterion sampling, selects participants who have experienced the phenomenon of interest which is particularly important in phenomenology where the goal is to investigate an experiential phenomenon. Phenomenological researchers may also use maximum variation sampling, which involves selecting participants who can provide a variety of descriptions of the phenomenon of interest (Johnson & Christensen, 2000).

Ten participants were chosen for individual interviews and were all learners from ex-model C secondary schools in East London. I chose students to participate in this study because of their relevance to the topic. They all ought to have experience of being in ex-model C secondary school for more than a year. Hence, I chose the sample from black learners across the different grades from grade 9 to grade 12. .

The sample of the study consisted of learners, classified as black, in ex-model C schools. Black in this sample refers to political identity; it excludes other kinds of blacks like Coloured and Indian people. It is also possible that black learners can be found in each of the different grade levels of the schools.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The methods used for collecting data in this study were semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 3). Since the purpose of this study is to investigate the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C secondary schools, the researcher

interpreted these experiences based on the central questions asked during the interviews.

3.4.1 Semi structured interviews

Arksey and Knight (1999) describe semi structured interviews as interviews in which the main questions are fixed, but the interviewer is able to pose follow up questions and to explore meanings and areas of interest that may emerge. Furthermore, as the researcher in this study expected the participants to give information about their real life experience and feelings towards a certain social element in a school setting, some ethical considerations were taken into account during the interview process such as the assurance of respondent's permission to remain anonymous, confidentiality, informed consent, voluntary participation and avoidance of harm.

As this study is about the lived experiences of black learners, semi-structured interviews were used because the interviewer communicates personal interests and pays attention to the subject by actively listening; these interviews gave the researcher access to the participant's thoughts. For clarification, the researcher may use paraphrases such as *what do you mean by that? I am not sure I am following you, could you explain that?* and ask open ended questions related to the context of the interviewee. Also the researcher will have a set of certain questions but can change their order or give examples whenever needed.

Therefore interviews in this regard enabled participants to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. According to Cohen, et al (2007) the interview is a flexible tool for data collection, and for ambling multi-sensory channels to be used like the verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard. Dyer (1995) as cited in Cohen et al (2007) submits that an interview is not an ordinary, everyday conversation because it has a specific purpose and is often based on questions asked by the interviewer. The researcher designed an interview guide that investigated the

individual's background, their everyday activities, major and minor events in their lives and their relationships with others. This included information on activities that are currently the target.

Advantages of the semi-structured interviews

- The great advantage of the semi-structured or non-directive interview is 'its flexibility...'
- With semi-structured interviews, the researcher has a set of questions on an interview schedule which guide the interview by the schedule rather than dictates it. In this type of an interview, the ordering of questions was less important and free to probe any interesting areas that arise (Stones, 1988).

Disadvantages of the semi-structured interviews

- Language can block understanding between the researcher and the participants. This is especially true if they do not share a common vocabulary and meanings. There is a possibility that some elements of the interviews may not be properly understood by the participants or the responses not properly comprehended by the researcher.
- The researcher was aware that participants were not always willing to share all that needed to be explored (Stones, 1988).

3.4.2. Interview setting

Initial contact with prospective participants was made either face-to face or by telephone. Speaking to both a guardian of a learner as well as a learner and introducing myself and the study to the prospective participants. They were told that the aim of the study was to understand the social experiences of black students in ex-model C secondary schools in the East London districts. If this information prompted interest an appointment was made so that I could carry the interview. The interviews took place at the homes of the participants at a time convenient to the participant and the parent. Permission to audio tape the interviews was also a pre-requisite. Efforts were to ensure that the audio- taping occurred in a quiet place free from interruptions. Most important was that the environment was comfortable and none threatening.

An invitation was extended to them as black people to play a role as storytellers of their own life and to construct a story of their past, present and what they saw as their future as black South Africans. This posed quite a challenge for this study but because I made it clear at the time of securing appointments interruptions were very few. When they occurred I would ask for the permission of the participant to revisit the question or response interrupted. The interview was in English but interviewees were free to code switch to IsiXhosa. Most important was that the environment was comfortable and non-threatening.

At each interview I first went through the introductory comments I had prepared, which entailed an explanation of the aims of the interview as well as the role of the participants in the presence of the guardian. I also assured the participants that the information they gave me would be treated as confidential and that their names would not be published. I asked the participant's guardian as well as the participant to sign. For the guardian the form was consent that his/ her child could participate in the study (see Appendix 1). The participants were also given a written consent at the beginning of the interview to consent that they agree to participate in the study see

Appendix 2) and verbal consent was recorded. The time allocated for each interview was an hour to one and half hours and it was audio recorded and later transcribed.

3.4.3 Discussion of interviews

Interviews consisted of four sections, A-D. Section A was the background information of the participants. The background information included grade, name of school, number of years attending ex- model C schools and home background; section B - D, questions on experiences of being black in ex- model C schools.

The interview consisted of 10 questions (see Appendix 3). The first question is about the positive experiences that the participant has had of being black in his/ her school. The second question was the opposite. The participants were asked to tell the negative experiences they had experienced as a blacks in the school. The third question asked them to suggest changes that they would like to see happening in their school in the future. The fourth question asked them about their choice of friends, whether they like white or black friends. They were asked to elaborate on the choices they made. It is in this question that they talked about their academic achievement and sport participation.

Question five asked them about advice they would give to other black students that would like to join their school. Question six asked them to say what they would share as experiences learnt from being in ex –model C schools. The seventh question asked them about what positive future black students had in ex- model C schools. The eighth question was about the negative future for black children in ex - model C schools, the ninth question was about their participation in sports and the kind of experiences they had. The last question was about challenges that she or he had experienced in participating in sport.

3.4.4. Transcribing the interviews

There is a variety of transcription conventions of varying degrees of complexity employed in discourse analysis (Wood & Kroger, 2000). However, according to Macleod (2002), most of the transcription systems emphasise readability and ignore nuances of pronunciation, speed and intonation. Sandelowski (1995: 371) cautions against the *recipe* approach to data management as it could “lead to lack of creativity and violation of the spirit of qualitative research.”

According to Macleod (2002: 21), whichever system is adopted the process is one of translation, requiring “decisions concerning where to place a full stop, a comma, a pause, inverted commas, *etc.* so as to reflect as closely as possible what I as listener hear, so that you as reader may ‘hear’ the same thing when reading the material.” Wood and Kroger (2000) contend that there are some common requirements for making and using transcriptions regardless of the system utilised, in particular the need to make a thorough transcription. Thus, a transcription of all the speakers’ contributions is required; hence I transcribed each interview word for word, including the questions and comments of the researcher, which are included as a context for the answers.

It is, of course, impossible for a reader to *hear* the recorded speech from the written transcript no matter how detailed it may be, and different listeners would possibly translate the spoken text into written text in different ways. Transcription, particularly in the notion of translation, also imposes an *interpretation* on speech (Fairclough, 1992). Consequently, no single authoritative version of a transcript is possible (Macleod, 2002; Wood & Kroger, 2000).

All interviews were transcribed verbatim including repetitions, grammatical and syntactical ‘errors’, and the narrative sections chosen for the first draft of the thesis were exact copies of the original transcripts. However, in many instances this

hindered both the narrative flow and comprehension. The material chosen from the transcripts for inclusion in the finished work was subsequently *re-interpreted*, by removing hesitations, repetition and digression; grammar was introduced on the basis of accepted conventions and text added for clarification. In addition, the isiXhosa parts of the transcripts are left as they are because mostly they made reference to IsiXhosa tradition.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS

Transcripts from the interview amounted to between 6 to 11 pages each (see Appendix 3). The analysis began by close reading and re - reading of the material in order to sort out the material into thematic 'bites'. I then identified themes relevant as social experiences and that were constructions of black students' identity.

Coding as a central process helped the research to sort data and uncover the underlying meaning. Pseudonyms are used in research studies to protect the identity of participants in the analysis of data and/or in the published outcomes of the study. In this study the school names were not used but a reference was made according to their categories. For example, advantaged schools that were more white were coded as Y schools and disadvantaged schools (more black than white) were coded as S schools. The students from the latter were mostly from Townships. Self-selected pseudonyms (Morrow & Smith, 1995) were used for the protection of identities at the point of publication. It was hugely successful initially in embracing the spirit of openness and collaboration and in easing the balance of power between the participants and me.

The data was analysed through the research technique of coding. The coding process involves two stages i.e. the first one is when the data is broken down into categories and sub-categories doing observation. Creswell, (1997) describes a systematic process for coding data from a phenomenological inquiry in which

specific statements are analysed and categorized into clusters of meaning that represent the phenomenon of interest. According to Blackie (2000), coding involves the use of concepts like events; labels add other instances of phenomenon and the use of categories.

Open coding is when conceptual categories have been identified and named into which the phenomenon observed will be grouped. Therefore, themes emerging from raw data are identified through open coding. Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data (De Vos, 2007). All the data collected were transcribed and categories and themes of data were generated. The themes generated were then compared to the literature of this study and expectations were developed by analyzing themes.

Categories are the basic building blocks of qualitative data analysis because qualitative research makes sense of data by identifying and studying the categories that appear in the data (Johnson & Christensen, 2000). From the categories the researcher tries to identify relationships and connections between things.

3.5.1 Data analysis from interviews

In this study, the semi structured interviews featured as the primary data collection method. Semi structured interviews allow the researcher a focused, conversational or two way communication. They start with more general questions to the questions planned for the interview (Kvale, 1996). Creswell (1997) describes a systematic process or coding data from a phenomenological inquiry in which specific statements are of interest.

In the interview, then, both the interviewer and the interviewee are understood to use language to present themselves and the people and events about which they speak

in a certain way. In this context, words are not assumed to speak for themselves. Thus, the interviewer may need to ask clarifying questions about the meaning the participant intends to convey through the use of specific terms.

As already mentioned (cf 3.4.3) about ten questions were designed to allow participants to share their experiences as black learners in ex-model C secondary schools. These questions were general, open ended and intentionally broad to allow participants to describe their own feelings rather than the researcher trying to focus the interviews on a particular aspect. Semi-structured interviews allow all participants to be asked the same questions within a flexible framework. Although all the participants were asked the same questions, there was no defined ordering of the questions.

The researcher encouraged participants to talk more about their experiences through open ended questions. Semi structured interviews also facilitated the development of trust between myself and participants, and this led to entranced quality data to be generated.

3.5.2 Bracketing

Bracketing is the process of identifying and holding in abeyance any preconceived beliefs and opinions that one may have about the phenomenon being researched (De vos & Van Zyl, 1998).The researcher brackets out the world and any presuppositions that he or she may have in an effort to confront the data in as pure a form as possible. According to Wall, Glenn, Mitchinson, and Poole (2004), bracketing is an investigator's attempt to achieve the state of transcendental subjectivity (neutrality) by putting aside prior understanding or preconceptions about the phenomenon under investigation. The researcher had to hide her ideas and her feelings about the phenomena in order to get rid of the preconceived ideas. This

suggests that I immerse myself with in the data; I needed to be honest and be aware of my own perspectives, and preconceived ideas and thoughts.

Bracketing may be accomplished by using the field notes as reflective “diary” to write down the investigator’s observations, assumptions, and confusions; by seeking critique for the investigator’s insights. I decided to make my personal notes from the observations of the non-verbal communication.

3.6 RESEARCH QUALITY TRUSTWORTHINESS, CREDIBILITY, TRANSFERABILITY, DEPENDABILITY AND CONFIRMABILITY AND AUTHENTICITY

It is recommended that in quality research, one ensures rigour otherwise the work becomes worthless. Central to assessing the rigour or quality of quantitative research are the criteria of reliability and validity. A number of frameworks have been put forward (and debated) in the qualitative inquiry literature; however, a widely adopted set of criteria has been that proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). They have replaced the concepts of reliability and validity with that of *trustworthiness*. Rather than criteria of *internal validity*, *external validity*, *reliability* and *objectivity* which are typically used to establish trustworthiness within a quantitative research paradigm, they originally proposed that research using qualitative methods, such as this study, should consider the criteria of *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*. In response to their critics they later expanded these criteria to include that of *authenticity* (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

3. 6.1. Trustworthiness

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985:290) with respect to trustworthiness the basic issue is simple: How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of?

What arguments can be mounted, what criteria invoked, what questions asked, that would be persuasive on this issue?

Using the criteria outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) the following discussion will establish the trustworthiness (or rigour) of the study by auditing the events and influences on the research process and my reactions to them. Koch (1994) notes that although the readers may not share the interpretation presented by the researcher they should be able to follow the way in which it was derived. This is a result of the fact that each of us brings to the analysis our own preconceptions that influence the dialogue between researcher and text or the reader and the interpretation. My own prejudices and preconceptions are what will be discussed below. During the period of this study these initial beliefs were challenged and rescripted; a process that continues as part of the constant dialogue that sustains and creates knowledge.

3.6.2 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a number of techniques that make it more likely that credible findings and interpretations will be produced: activities in the field that increase the probability of high credibility, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy and member checks. Of these techniques, four were adopted during this study: activities in the field, peer debriefing, member checks and negative case analysis. The latter criterion has been considered as being synonymous with Potter's (1996b) concept of deviant-case analysis.

Activities in the field

With respect to activities in the field that increase the probability of high credibility, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest three techniques: prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation. As a parent who has sent her children to

ex- model C schools in this district of East London, I have heard certain comments they make about schools that they are in and sharing their experiences with the school and encounter with other black children and with their teachers and their white peers.

I sense the need for my children that they have to work harder to prove the white people wrong about them. At times I sensed that they too (my children) wanted to be white. For example my daughter would spend time on the mirror trying to make her hair cover her forehead and shaking the head so that her hair feels loose. This experience and continuous struggle around my children's own identity suggest that I need to understand the social experiences of black students in coping in the two worlds – my world as a black parent and the school as a former world. Of course, such prolonged engagement risks the introduction of “distortions based on *a priori* values and constructions” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:302). In an attempt to minimise this problem notes were written and kept for referral as new ideas and challenges emerged. These challenged my *priori* beliefs such that they came to be perceived as too simplistic in light of the complexity of the issues being explored.

It is, no doubt, the nature of preconceptions to be simplistic; however, there is a danger in adhering to simple tenets in the face of complex and dynamic interacting factors as it may lead to ignoring the change processes that may be occurring and maintaining unwarranted commitment to ethnocentric beliefs. I look back on those early declarations and now perceive them as both right and wrong; each one could be (re)viewed through a different lens leading to agreement or disagreement.

The analysis that I have produced is, therefore, only one of many interpretations that could emerge from a study of black identity construction in ex model C schools and I accept that others may disagree with particular aspects of this interpretation. The exploration of the literature and the use of interviews were a form of triangulation, that of the use of different sources of data.

Peer debriefing

This involves exposing the work to a disinterested peer in order to illuminate aspects of the research that might otherwise remain implicit.

In my case my supervisor became the reader and the guide for this work as well because she is the authority of my research (Lincoln and Guba (1985).

3.6.3 Transferability

Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) argue that it is not the responsibility of the researcher to “provide an *index* of transferability”. The responsibility of the researcher lies in providing sufficient contextual data, or “thick description”, such that the reader can make a judgement of transferability. Thus, Sandelowski (1986:27) proposes the notion of *fittingness*: A study meets the criteria of fittingness when its findings can ‘fit’ into contexts outside the study situation and when its audience views its findings as meaningful and applicable in terms of their own experiences. Even though I have not tested the findings of this project with other black people, literature on experiences of being black in encounter with white and racism seem to be in line with the findings of this study. From the above it can be contended that this work meets the criterion of transferability.

3.6.4 Dependability

One way in which the study can be shown to be dependable is through an audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As Sandelowski (1995) notes, a study and its findings are auditable when another researcher is able to follow the decision trail used by the investigator in the study. This requires explicit discussion of the theoretical, methodological and analytic choices taken throughout the study. In the present study the findings from earlier writers in the field are contrasted with my findings in a critical

way, while acknowledging multiple versions or readings of any text to consider the usefulness of one to the other. Finally, readers' evaluation is made possible as a result of the presentation of the transcripts alongside the interpretations being made. As skilful interactions, judgements can be made by the readers about cultural competencies and the wider claims made by the study.

3.6.5 Conformability

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), conformability can be achieved as part of the audit to determine dependability; a process that is supported by keeping a reflexive journal. I kept a diary as a reflective tool throughout the journey of this study. I posted insights, questions, issues to explore, matters to return to and so forth. The diary contained (i) *personal notes*, on which questions, emerging insights and new directions were posted. I found the question the future of black students in ex-model C schools students confusing for my participants. I observed that the participants would look puzzled when asked the question and would provide long responses and still show lack of confidence I then paraphrased to question to "Moving forward to the future what kind of advice can you give to other black Children that wish to come to your school?."

3.6.6 Authenticity

Lincoln and Guba (1989) proposed five authenticity criteria: fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity. As the authors themselves note, these criteria have not been received without challenge (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). It is difficult to assess to what extent this study has met the hallmark of authenticity, as the last four criteria focus on the ability of the study to have social and political impact.

Authenticities are concerned with the ability of an inquiry to prompt action on the part of the research participants and the involvement of the researcher in training

participants in social and political action if wanted by the participants. Responses such as “I do not know Ma’am; I wish I could tell you” I had not thought about that” or “I want to get back to you about that”. While it is to be hoped that this study has generated new awareness and action amongst the participants; this would appear to be a response that is better evaluated from a future perspective. For example, some of the participants appreciated the fact that they were interviewed and perceived it as an opportunity to think and talk about who they are for the first time.

As Bryman (2001) notes, the authenticity criteria have generally not been as influential as the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability and it may be that the criteria to determine authenticity are better associated with a specific form of naturalistic inquiry such as action research. According to Lincoln and Guba (2000:180) the criterion of fairness is about balance, that “all stakeholders’ views, perspectives, claims, concerns, and voices should be apparent in the text”. Thus, the evaluative focus is turned back on to the researcher as the key research instrument (Carpenter & Hammell, 2000). By my earlier declarations of my positioning, both biographical and philosophical, the reader has some measures with which to assess the extent to which my own positions have affected my engagement with the subject matter, data collection and analysis. The best I can argue is that through the reflexive process I have striven to ensure that the findings have emerged from the data and not from my own positioning.

Coherence

Finally, consideration with rigour in research is coherence. The question that provides coherence is the extent to which the work provides a check of adequacy of previous studies. Not only was it possible for me to read on migration from Township schools to ex-model C schools, but I also read literature that was supporting how this move and encounter with white people influence social experiences of black students in these schools.

3.7 ETHICS

Wassenaar (2006) claims that, one of the most important aims of research ethics is to protect the welfare of research participants. Wassenaar (2006:67–68) mentions four basic principles applicable to research, namely, autonomy and respect for dignity of persons, nonmaleficence, beneficence and justice, this addition to other researchers' views were used to guide my ethical conduct of this project

3.7.1 Autonomy and respect for the dignity for persons

One of the ethical requirements for research on human participants is that the researcher must obtain informed consent from participants (de Vos et al., 2002; Wassenaar, 2006). According to Wassenaar (2006:67) the autonomy principle “finds expression in most requirements for voluntary informed consent by all research participants”

Due to ethical considerations participants were informed of the nature of the study, as well as the purpose of the study and the fact that their names were to be protected through the use of pseudonyms were followed in order for the participants to know their rights, Johnson & Christensen (2000)

Ethical issues are a priority in research hence therefore it is important that all the necessary processes are adhered to including the informed consent, voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality. Seidman 1998 states that providing people ahead of time with as much information and towards protecting the participants from reaction and their human dignity is very important. Therefore from his statement the researcher used the most fundamental principle for ethical acceptability which is that of an informed consent.

By giving consent forms to the participants was a way of protecting the rights neither to harm nor to have their interests overridden. This was used as a way of assuring them that they are free to remain anonymous and to pull out of the interviews if they so wish. Informed consent as defined by Diener and Crandall,(1998)as the procedure in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decisions. This is also important to the researcher as the researcher provides the participants with real and legitimate opportunity as well as freedom to withdraw from the research anytime they want. A copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix 2.

3.7.2 Nonmaleficence

Wassenaar (2006:67) explains that this principle of nonmaleficence “supplements the autonomy principle and requires the researcher to ensure that no harm befalls research participants as a direct or indirect consequence of the research”. In this study I guaranteed the participants’ anonymity. This was done by not publishing the participants’ real names, and removing information about their area of residents, their surnames and the name of their school.

The language used in my interview schedule was simple and direct. As explained previously, participants were free to code switch between isiXhosa and English even though the interview was conducted in English. This was done to ensure that language did not become a barrier to their participation. This code switching happened a lot during the interview; some participants preferred to be interviewed in isiXhosa but used English whenever they used the language of symbols and cultural practises like ‘ukutyityimba’ etc. However, what I had not anticipated were some of the participants’ reactions to the interview. The three most difficult issues that I encountered were, firstly, the anger of one of the participants towards white people in the moment of the interview, secondly, one respondent’s monetary compensation issue, and thirdly, an office space problem with two interviewees.

One of the first problems I encountered related to asking participants to share their experiences of being black in ex-model C schools. At times participants spoke about personal traumas related to racism and I found myself under pressure to act as a counsellor. This happened on two occasions when participants became very upset about recent experiences of racism. These emotions surfaced in the middle of the interview. I then realised that I could not continue the interview until we had cleared the air. I asked if they would like to reschedule the interview, or to withdraw from the study if they thought that it would make them feel uncomfortable in any way.

As none of the participants decided to withdraw from the study, I asked them if we could deal with the traumatic events after the interviews, explaining that this suggestion did not mean I was asking them to withhold these experiences from the interview if they felt they were part of their experiences of being black in the school. After they had agreed to continue with the interview, I reread the introductory comments. When the interview upset the participants, I recommended that they seek professional help to deal with their anger and frustrations. For example, I recommended that they continue speaking to their parents about their experiences.

The second problem that I did not anticipate was that parents insisted on staying with their children during and throughout the interview. This happened with one participant when the mother refused to leave the room in spite of having signed the consent form. She insisted that she was not going to leave me with her child even though I felt that the child was uncomfortable sharing experiences in her presence but nevertheless I encouraged the child to tell her story.

3.7.3 Beneficence

The principle proposed by Wassenaar (2006: 67) “obliges the researcher to attempt to maximise the benefits that the research will afford to participants in the research study.”

As a researcher, I avoided engaging in what Collins (1998) terms 'voyeurism' and 'academic colonialism'. I merely applied typical qualitative research methods to address issues affecting the black community. It was for this reason that I asked black people to tell their own experiences using in-depth interviews; this allowed the participants to have a voice in the construction of their own identity and, in eliciting their voices, they were given 'power' and control over how they constructed their experiences in ways potentially not heard or examined before. Such an approach challenges those who have taken it on as their responsibility to define and circumscribe who the black students have become in ex- model C schools.

The methods used to establish the validity of the interview process and the data included the methodological structure of the interview format and structured analysis, both techniques suggested by a range of scholars (Seale, 2004; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I also considered concerns about the validity of the interview process. Firstly, in order to get comprehensive input from the participants on the topic of 'accounting of self', I ensured that I asked a number of questions that would access these experiences (see Appendix 3).

3.7.4 Justice

The principle of justice is complex. According to Wassenaar (2006: 68), this principle entails the participants being treated by the researcher with fairness and equity. It also includes the fair selection of participants. In this study the criteria used for selection did not exclude participants on the basis of gender or place; as has already been explained, a diverse population was selected.

SUMMARY

This chapter described the methodological processes involved in bringing this study to fruition, commencing with the audit trail for gaining approval for the project and arriving at the criteria used for one part of the text collection, that of participant interviews. The chapter also provided an overview of the process of data analysis as well as the rigour in qualitative inquiry probing issues of trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability and authenticity. I concluded the chapter by discussing ethics. The following chapter will provide an analysis of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the methodology used in this study and the aim of this chapter is to present, analyze and interpret data gathered in the previous discussed chapter.

The main focus of this empirical chapter is taken from the post structuralism literature. Chapter 2, which has a particular feature on how discourses interact within different power relations and interactions to produce shifting meanings in identities and experiences. For the purpose of this study the focus is on black students in ex-model C Secondary schools. The student's experiences of being black in a supposedly desegregated space were of segregation and struggle with the construction of their identities because of racism and their encounter with white people in the schools. In this chapter, I present and analyse data. I also present the findings of the study. In conclusion, I present the summary of this chapter.

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

For the study I collected data from ten participants who were learners attending ex-model C secondary schools in East London. These selected learners came from seven different ex – model C Secondary schools around East London and they were all black and isiXhosa speakers. Although they all attend the ex- model C secondary schools in the urban areas of East London, they came from different diverse areas such as Mdantsane Township, Scenery Park, Amalinda, Cambridge, Beacon Bay and Abbotsford.

Mdantsane is a township near East London and the community around this township is mostly black isiXhosa speakers and is associated with poverty, with low income

families like the domestic workers, hawkers and factory workers. There are few middle class families like public and civil servants who constitute part of the population in this area.

Scenery Park is a black informal settlement of East London situated closer to town and it comprises low income earners and is also associated with poverty and low socio economic status. The community in Scenery Park comprises of mainly low income families and fewer middle class families and is more of a squatter camp than Mdantsane Township. Therefore learners from these areas tend to take a taxi or a train to school because their schools are far from their homes.

Abbotsford, Amalinda and Cambridge are regarded as urban areas with high income families and of a high socio economic status but there are those suburban areas like Beacon Bay and Abbotsford that are situated in East London and the community is largely white dominant and English speakers. The communities in these suburban areas are mainly middle class and high class families. There are those high class families who are regarded as high income earners like government employees, members of parliament, business people and some public servants in higher positions. Therefore, learners from the urban areas are either dropped off at school by their parents or some of them drive their children to school and most of them live closer to their schools.

Of the seven secondary schools attended, three of them are extremely well resourced and have the high percentage of white learners than black learners, and another three are well resourced and have a high percentage of black learners than white learners and only one school that seems to have a 50/50 number of black and white learners; all seven schools use English as a medium of instruction and are situated in town or city areas of East London.

The research tool used during the interviews began by asking the participants about their background information. This information helped me throughout the process and with the procedure to follow during the analysis to generate categories and the themes that emerged. This information led to the following background of each participant:

4.1.2 The Background Information about each Participant

The schools have been categorised as S, Y and SY. S for schools that have high percentage of black learners, Y for schools that have high percent of white learners and SY for a school with an equal percent of black and white learners.

Hlumi: is female aged 18 years old. She is now in grade 12 in one of the schools categorized as Y in this study. Hlumi has been in ex – model C schools from the lower grades and early age of her life. Her family background is as follows: she lives in Mdantsane Township. She lives with her mother and her two siblings. Her mother is a teacher and she is driven by her mother to school.

Gcogco: is a female aged 18 years old. She is now in grade 12 in one of the Y schools. Gcogco has been in ex-model C schools from the lower grades of her life and early age of her life. Her family background is as follows: She lives in Amalinda, one of the urban areas of East London. She lives with both her parents and her three siblings. Her mother used to work as a shopkeeper in one of the photo shops in Mdantsane and her father works as a school principal. She uses her neighbour's car most of the time to get to school as they take their child to the same school as her and besides that she takes a taxi.

Goli: is a female aged 18 years old. She is now in grade 12 in one of the secondary schools categorized as S schools. She has been in ex-model C schools from grade eleven which means that she has been in ex-model C schools for only two years.

She started schooling in a township school. Goli's family background is as follows: She lives in Mdantsane. Her mother works as a teacher and her three siblings also attend ex- model C schools. Her mother owns a small business. She uses a train to get to school.

Athi: is a male of 18 years old. He is now in grade 12 in one of the secondary schools categorized as S schools. He has been in ex- model C schools from the lower grade and early age of his life. His family background is as follows: Athi lives with his mother and his three siblings who also attend ex –model c schools. His mother works as a business woman. He uses a taxi to get to school or sometimes her mother takes him to school.

Siya: is a male of 18 years old. He is in grade 12 in one of the schools categorized as S schools. Siya has been in ex-model C schools from the lower grades and early age of his life. His family background is as follows: He lives in Cambridge which is one of the urban areas in East London. He lives with his parents and his two siblings who also attend ex-model C schools. His mother is a prosecutor and his father works in the Department of Labour although he did not say what he is actually doing. He is driven by his mother to school.

Mihlali: is a female of 15 years old. She is in grade 10 in one of the schools categorized as S schools. Mihlali has been in ex- model C schools from her lower grades and early age of her life. Her family background is as follows: She lives in Beacon Bay which is one of the suburbs of East London. She lives with her parents and her two siblings who do not attend ex – model C schools. Both her parents are working; her mother works as a teacher and her father as a traffic officer. She is driven by her mother to school.

Chuma: is a female of 15 years old. She is in grade 9 in one of the schools categorized as Y schools. Chuma has been in ex- model C schools from her lower

grades and early age of her life. Her family background is as follows: She lives in Mdantsane Township. She lives with both her parents and her cousins and her older sister who is now in a tertiary institution and who also used to attend ex-model C schools. Her parents are both working; her father works as a taxi driver and her mother works as a nurse. She uses a taxi to get to school.

Lobs: is a male of 17 years old. He is in grade 11 in one of the secondary schools categorized as S schools. Lobs have been in ex- model C schools from his lower grades and early age of his life. His family background is as follows: He lives in Abbotsford originally but he spends most of his time at his godmothers place in Quigney because his biological parents got divorced. He lives with his godmother, mother and two siblings who also attend ex- model C schools and his older sister who is at a tertiary institution and used to attend ex- model C Schools. He uses a bus to get to school or sometimes drives his mother's car.

Imitha: is a female of 15 years old. She is in grade 9 in one of the schools categorized as the S schools. Imitha has been in ex- model C schools for six years from the lower grades and early age of her life. Her family background is as follows: She lives in Scenery Park which is one of the informal settlements in East London. She lives with both her parents and her three siblings who also attend ex- model C schools. Her mother is a teacher and her father is a business man. She takes a taxi to get to school.

Mzukisi: is a male of 17 years old. He is in grade 11 in one of the schools categorized as S schools. Mzukisi has been in ex – model C schools from the lower grades and early age of his life. His family background is as follows: He lives in Amalinda with his aunt, two young siblings and cousins, and his biological parents live in Mdantsane. He also stated that his parents are unemployed and his aunt who is looking after them works at the municipality. He uses a bus or takes a school bus to go to school.

Table 4.1 **Demographic characteristics of the participants.**

Key to acronyms F for Female, M for Male.

Student	Grade	Age	Gender	Experience in model c school	Home	School Type
1. Hlumi	12	18	F	12	Mdantsane Township	Y
2. Gcogco	12	18	F	12	Amalinda Urban area	Y
3. Mhlali	10	15	F	6	Beacon Bay	Y
4. Mzukisi	11	17	M	11	Mdantsane Township	S
5. Athi	12	18	M	12	Mdantsane Township	S
6. Siya	12	18	M	12	Cambridge Urban area	Y
7. Chuma	9	15	F	10	Mdantsane Township	Y
8. Imitha	9	15	F	6	Scenary Park Informal	S

					settlement	
9. Lobs	11	17	M	12	Abbotsford Urban area	SY
10. Goli	12	18	F	2	Mdantsane Township	S

In this table we also learn that the total number of participants was ten and four of them were males and six females. The table also shows that participants were in the age group from 15 years to 18 years which means that they are of an appropriate age for the secondary school grades. Learners from Mdantsane Township appeared to constitute the largest population compared to those from the urban areas; for example there are five learners from Mdantsane Township compared to those from urban areas.

With regards to their grades the table shows that 5 of them were in grade 12, 2 in grade 11, 1 in grade 10, and 2 in grade 9. Also the table shows that only two participants were in Grade nine which is the lowest grade and the grade suitable for the sample which was expected to begin from grade nine as I assumed that Grade eight learners were still new to the secondary phase with not too many experiences to share.

From this table we also learn that the majority of students were in a Y type of school and only a few in S type school. The choice of learners was not based on the type of school. From this table students from both township and urban area were found in schools that were majority white. Also students from urban areas could also be found in schools that were majority black.

4.1.2 Data Coding

The data was collected through semi structured interviews during fieldwork and the qualitative data was gathered and transcribed. The transcribed data was then analyzed and coded and themes and sub themes emerged. The remainder of this chapter provides an analysis of the interview data as narrated by the participants. The discussion is divided into two sections, the experiences of racism that determine which black students enter ex- model C schools and the variety of black identities in encountering with racism and white people.

4.2 EXPERIENCES OF EVERYDAY RACISM

In this category the participants made claims of discrimination against teachers because they are black. The experiences of racism were overt ongoing hidden racism, discrimination, rejection and avoidance and economic inequality.

4.2.1 Experiences of overt racism

The participants saw racism as pervasive and a way of life for black people in ex-model C schools. The following extracts are examples of overt racism including racial slurs and name calling. all the Matrics were called to a meeting by the white teachers, we had a disagreement and she called us kaffirs. We felt so insulted and we decided to walk out of the meeting. Under no circumstances is that word acceptable, no matter how angry she was Ja but from then on we wanted nothing to do with her because she called us kaffirs

Imitha : I have always been criticised and classified as “dumb” and been told that I wouldn’t make it in certain things, always been discouraged and seen as a threat, as a threat in the sense that when class activities are given the teachers will tell me that I should be in top and not lower the school standards of her class. Discouraged when white learners say “you people don’t speak good English

From the above two extracts we learn that black learners in ex - model C schools still experience direct abusive language including derogatory terms “ kaffir “ and dumb that was used in the apartheid context. Goli expressed anger associated with them being called kaffirs by the white teacher. She claims that word is not acceptable no matter how angry the teacher becomes. Imitha makes reference to the slur ‘dumb’ as a means to make her feel stupid and unable to do things. This insult according to Imitha was accompanied by teacher’s insults that she should not lower the ‘white’ standards. Her white peers have also been making comments that she does not speak good English. The use of the terms ‘kaffir’ and dumb imply the discourse of black learners is minimised or marginalised in order to position white identity as the “other” who is enlightened and clever.

Not only were the learners making reference to the naming and slurs used towards them but were also making claims that in spite of the integrated school system, racism was still ongoing. The following are extracts from Mhlali and Hlumi giving evidence of continuing racism in model C schools.

MIHLALI: Honestly, the whole apartheid thing people might say it has ended now and everything, it’s actually still there... Ja, the white people they always say black people now they are the same and they are treated the same. But then if you go inside they are still racist..

Hlumi : The white learners say you don’t even belong here. Even though apartheid ended, but it’s still in their genes because the parents have some kind of influence on them so the racism grows and it never ends. Amongst us learners there’s always a racial under tone. Even at break time, the black children sit alone, the coloured people sit alone, only a few groups are racially integrated but mostly we are segregated and separated along racial lines during break time. Even in class if you are black you have to know your place

Mihlali make claims that apartheid racism is evident and ongoing in spite of the fact that it is no longer part of the law. Racism is still part of the black learners’ lives in

the space of desegregation and the teachers, according to Mhlali are racist inside the classrooms. Hlumi 's experience of ongoing racism is inflicted by the white peers as she says" the white learners say you don't even belong here" Hlumi seems to be suggesting that racism is growing instead of coming to an end . Hlumi goes on to map out the segregation that exists in her school. The segregation is through racial divide.

From these extracts we can deduce that black students experience racism continuously in their daily lives in these ex-model C schools.

4.2.2. Discrimination

In this category the experience of racism is discrimination. The following extract is an example of discrimination.

Mihlali : Because people say apartheid is over now blah blah blah, but they are very much racist still...they always criticise you. It's like the same as sport, it's like water polo and swimming is meant for white people, only white people can swim, black people are not allowed to do these kind of sports. And we go out there and prove them wrong and we actually go on top. Even debating and everything, debating is only for white people because white people know the words and the vocabulary and everything. But then we actually go out and we actually do it. So it's all this whole thing that they get so surprised when black people go up there and everything. It's just that whole thing...

Mihlali claims that the episodes of discrimination become clear in sport activities; sports like water polo, swimming and debating are exclusively for white students. To elaborate on discrimination she uses words like "blacks not allowed". Contrary to the pressure of being discriminated against she claims that black students prove the school wrong by doing very well in these sports. These ways of speaking about racism seems to be based on their experiences and shared cultural background; they know what individuals, who have an appearance similar to theirs, or a comparable racial profile, are likely to experience. According to the words of Davies and Harré (1999: 46), individuals are thus "committed to a pre-existing idea of themselves that they had prior to the interchange" at stake. Therefore the use of

such language could be a predominant view of being black in a white context and racism.

4.2.2 Experiences of hidden racism

In this category participant' related stories of racism couched in language that sounded politically correct but was racist in essence. For example Hlumi says:

Hlumi: What I would like is to see the classroom being integrated instead of being separated and divided along racial lines. Even the teachers should respect us as blacks. For example, from personal experience my maths teacher has made me feel very inferior for the past three years ... Like when you don't understand something and ask for help, she makes racial comments

; like black people are darker hence they tend to forget, their memory is short and that is their nature...

Hlumi reports that the teachers (white) position black people as inferior to white people and treat them with less respect. The colour of black people is associated with darkness and this is linked to the memory as short. This is similar to the extract under overt racism calling black people kaffirs. But in this instance it is hidden in a way that seems to justify why Hlumi seems to lack understanding. Instead of being labelled as a "stupid black" the teacher hides behind memory and implies that black people have an inherent lack of memory when she says "like black people are darker hence they tend to forget, their memory is short and that is their nature."

4.2.3 Avoidance and rejection

The participants made reference to negative responses towards them as black students to the extent of being neglected and marginalised in the school. Rejection

and avoidance refer to a negative response towards black people to the extent of being unrecognised and invisible in desegregated places like these schools.

Gcogco:... because now white people fail to understand how we feel. They think we are not human they talk badly about us and other black people as if we do not exist in class. The teachers prefer asking questions to white students even if you put your hand up first, they do not expect us to have the answers...

Hlumi: For instances being classified and isolated in certain things. For example if something happens to a white student only whites are addressed as if we do not belong to the school” we are made to feel that we are the culprits.... when something happens at school, like theft, it’s almost assumed that a black child is the culprit.

Goli: Some white learners still have the old apartheid mentality; they want nothing to do with black people. They view us as ugly because we are black and they are beautiful because they are white.

4.2.4 Individualisation to assimilation into whiteness

The following extract shows how black identity as individualisation precedes assimilation into whiteness.

Imitha : It all happened in sport and during the debates so they would come to me to show them how to do something and we would continue our friendship from there. And my teachers would say “come Imitha you do not belong to them” referring to my fellow black group members and take me to the group of mainly white students, that’s how I ended up having many white friends.....

From the above extract it shows how Imitha, because of her involvement in debates has been made to feel that she is a ‘special’ black, has become friends with white learners. We see that she gets influenced in rejecting and avoiding the ‘other’ black

learners. She claims that the teacher would call her out of black crowds and say ““come Imitha you do not belong to them”. Imitha not only adopting a position of individuality compared to other blacks but assimilates in to the culture of white people, rejecting and avoiding black people.

4.2.5 Economic and social inequality

The participants here were articulating experiences of feeling inferior in terms of economic relations and social relations compared to whites.

Athi : Okay, however racism will never end because we are not equal in some way. White people will always be recognised in sports because they know their parents and their parents bribe them with sponsors so that their children can play in the top teams... They should give blacks a chance to show themselves, for example their talents in sports, whether they are rich or poor. And when electing prefects, they should guarantee black people too

Goli : I think white schools are good because there are no strikes like the township schools. However, it is important to keep a cool head when it comes to the racism issue, study and leave. Focus on what you are there for, studying and when you done studying, leave the school and move on

Athi and Goli in these two extracts highlight the disadvantages of being black in comparison to white. White people here are portrayed as being better and rich whilst black people are seen as poor and disadvantaged. For example, Athi make claims that because of racism black and white people will never be equal in terms of socio economic status. He makes claims that in his school white learners have an advantage of getting positions in sport not because they are better players but because of their parents’ monetary offering to the school. Goli on the other hand highlights the advantages of being in a white school compared to a black township school.

It is evident that the experiences of racism are complicated in the context of desegregation. The complication is the segregation in a supposedly desegregated

space and that black people attend the same schools as white people and are friends with them. Unlike the segregation era where the lines of division were clear now it is surprising that black learners recognise and experience racist actions from their white peers and teachers. Furthermore, at times we find blacks being invited into white cultural positions in this desegregation. For example, Imitha was invited to join whites in avoiding and rejecting her black counterparts. She is positioned as a black that fits the white culture because of her ability to speak good English and part of the debating society.

From these entire black students experiences one can deduce that they have experiences of encountering racism every day and that they experience the power relations that reproduce the stereotypical views about being black. This is evident throughout the expressions of the black participants. In all the racism categories presented in this section the experiences of racism seem ordinary and unquestionable. This is line with Essed's (1991) ideological dimensions of racism to attitudes, everyday racism where it becomes part of normal practice. In this regard, Essed (1991) claims that the concept of everyday racism does not apply to uncommon or accidental racist acts but rather to everyday situations that are impacted on by existing racist ideology. In a sense the racism experiences as discussed in this section have shown that black learners become who they are based on their racism experiences.

4.3 Struggles within black Identity

In here I address the nature of struggle in putting together a black identity in the context of a white environment and racism.

4.3.1 Black as the 'other' of white

In constructing black identity the participants seemed to resist the white identity to the extent of being in opposition to white. The discourses were used to position white as 'other' different from black. The discourses and stereotypes were used to position black identity as inferior to white identity.

Athi : White people are rich, they stay in suburbs. Mostly black people stay in townships.

MIHLALI ...I would like to see more white people and black people working together because white people they are clever alone so they must work alone. So I would like everyone to be together and support each other. Because we're always like black people they can't do this and white people can do it. So I would like to see us uniting as a school and everything...

Both Athi and Mhlali position black identity as oppositional to white identity. Athi claims that white people are rich and position black people as poor. He uses residential differences like suburb and township as places that segregate black from white. At the same time Mhlali associates white identity with cleverness and positions the black identity as stupid. Mhlali claims that white people are capable and black people are not capable as she says "black people they can't do this and white people can do it."

From the above extracts we assign societal distinctions and worth based upon these imagined divisions, where white identities are positioned as superior to black identities. In fact what is happening here is that not only the European has 'imaginary' hierarchical divisions but the problem occurs when the 'other' sees himself through colonial eyes (Said, 1978) and creates a sense of identity in this sense. This shows that in the binary opposition relationships are dependent on each

other; the construction of the 'Other' as backward is necessary for the construction of the 'self' as culturally superior, which justifies the exercise of domination and control as a 'duty' to intervene in the name of progress – to civilise, to educate, to modernise and to develop. Said, (1978) advocates that the colonial should try to see him without the European looking glass or at least be aware of European cultural mappings. Not only that the colonial must also deal with a problem but a colonial must face his own perception of the colonial power, and of the colonial 'Other'. The two problems that are identified here make it difficult for the idea of 'other' to change.

However Bhabha (1991; 1994) sees those two identities implicating each other, and that power is never possessed by the coloniser entirely, because of an ambivalence that lies at the root of the West's approach to subaltern 'otherness'. In this regard Bhabha (1991; 1994) provides a framework on how stereotypes and identities are constructed in a complex relational process and how they relate to the notion of black as inferior.

The following section deals with how stereotypes are constructed as well as how the power of the stereotype remains part of society. It stands to reason why in othering and stereotyping, white as essential subjects have made black people into devalued beings, into objects defined against the norm.

4.3.2. The other as fixed by stereotypes in black identity construction

Siya:... I would say the low self-esteem because we are used to be treated badly and not being able to trust yourself....

Hlumi...also there's a perception that the school is corrupt because there's lots of blacks. Perhaps if there were more whites it would be back to some kind of order...I: Being one of the few black girls at my school, I was able to eradicate the stigma of blacks depicted as "dumb" and that they inferior, I think I have proved them "whites especially" incorrect in different aspects whether it be sport or academically

Hlumi and Siya use the stereotypes that black people have low self-esteem and are corrupt. Siya associates the stereotype of low self-esteem as rooted in the cause of being treated badly as a black person. Hlumi treats the stereotype of black as corrupt as a perception. But then she claims that more whites in the school would disrupt the stereotype of corruption so that the school retains its old order. Not only is Hlumi using the stereotype that black people are corrupt but she also claims that having more blacks in the school has caused chaos and lack of order.

This suggests that black people are corrupt and chaotic whilst whites are not corrupt and orderly. Imitha sees black identity as a stigmatised identity. She uses the same stereotypes that black people are stupid and inferior to white identity. She disassociates herself with these stereotypes by claiming that she proved the stereotypes wrong by being an excellent black. What we see here as a black construct is what Pickering (2001) says that blacks are not only 'other' to whites but also to themselves. The objectification of black people themselves in as much as they have accepted white objectification of them – the white essentialist versions of what blackness is and the conceptions of black inferiority – thus affirming white superior status.

As we can see from Imitha, construction of her black identity is separated from other black people. It can be said that stereotypes are used to separate black people from white people but also have the potential to separate black from other blacks. This latter view retains the status quo of the black position as stigmatised that some black people would shy away from being in equal position as whites. The following extracts show how stereotypes at times are seen as having a 'particle' of truth.

Gcogco : I think for me it was theft. Like the children stealing other children's things and most of the time it was the black children. They always liked to point to the black children and not the white children... black children pointing to black children. They could never automatically think it's the white children... most of the time it was the black children I think that's why I automatically used to think that it's the blacks that steal....

Hlumi: In some cases the accusations turn out to be true because things like smoking in school are typically done by black people so automatically you know when there's an accusation it is most likely a black person, and indeed it almost always turns out to be a black person. We steal from each other; we don't steal from white people. Even your friends who know your locker number steal from you. Yes you do get the naughty white people who like to pull pranks, but they don't steal, they just play practical jokes on us like opening our lockers and leaving them unlocked. But black people will not just open your locker; they will open it and take what is inside. Then you don't understand why anyone would steal your sports bag because what are they going to do with your sports bag and things like that....

Both Gcogco and Hlumi illustrate the stereotype that black people commit crimes at school like theft and smoking. In both instances, the participants do not see these as just stereotypes associated with being black but as having some 'truth' in them. Hlumi says "... In some cases the accusations turn out to be true..." according to Gcogco not only are black students associated with stereotypes of stealing by their white counterparts, but she also believes that indeed black students are the thieves. In so doing, she distances herself from them by using "I", the use of 'I' shows that she is not part of her black fellow students instead she has joined the 'other' in seeing black students as thieves. Hlumi not only distances himself from black students because of the stereotypes of being thieves and smokers but he also claims that when a white student opens your locker they are joking, but the same cannot be said about black students.

From these stereotypical constructions of other black people, we see the stereotypes have the potential to position black as relational to white, but at the same time black people in opposition of other black people.

Therefore the process of 'othering' does not displace the concept of stereotype but renders it rather more complex, opening up for interrogation its ambiguities and contradictions of meaning and effect. Pickering (2001) is of the view that compared with the concept of the stereotype; a more complex understanding is the fruit of a fuller theorising of Otherness. This is what is conceptualised by Bhabha (1994: 66) as "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that can be anxiously repeated."

Not only was 'otherness' and stereotypes used to construct versions of black identity, but black students also construct other blacks as white- blacks.

Hlumi: : I don't know but I think it's because a coconut is brown on the outside but it's white inside so as a black person you are dark skinned but you act like a white person in terms of speaking English and stuff...there are those blacks that you can see they are only black by virtue of their skin a complexion but they have forgotten our rituals and traditions...: as a person, I am proud of being Xhosa wherever I am when I am sitting with other black people I speak mainly Xhosa because when you speak English it's like you are showing off and bragging about your English skills. I don't want to be labelled as a coconut. I don't like that label.

Goli: . All I know is that I'm not a coconut... coconuts are black people who engage too much with white people, their lifestyles are different to us, they don't want to have anything to do with us black people even though they are also black.

Both Hlumi and Goli seem to distance themselves from other students that they construct as white- blacks. Hlumi's construction of white- blacks relates to the way they speak English, similar to whites. Goli constructs white- blacks as people who

engage too much with white people. According to Hlumi, their lifestyle is that of white people and they reject anything that has to do with black people.

Black identity was also constructed as an identity that should be different from white identity. In so doing the participants used the history of being black, being authentic blacks, culture and commodity as markers of difference to white identity.

In-between black identity

Imitha :... it would be to represent a lot of black people and I would feel most comfortable to be around my own race would easily relate to the, would not have to think about my competition and the fact that everything has to be at a certain level or standard because I need to impress the white people, I can be myself...but in sport and debates It all happened in sport and during the debates so they (whites) would come to me to show them how to do something and we would continue our friendship from there.... my teachers would talk me take me to the group of mainly white students, that is how I ended up having many white friends...

Imitha positions herself as a representative for black people and that she would prefer to have more black friends, compared to her current position of having many white friends. She claims that her desire to befriend black people would be based on her power to represent them. In this instance she is torn between black and being white. Her status as 'white' is disrupted by the fact that this is a position she has to earn through hard work. She says "would not have to think about my competition and the fact that everything has to be at a certain level or standard because I need to impress the white people, I can be myself..."

The extract above shows how Imitha seems to be negotiating the tensions of being both inside and outside black identity. She is struggling between the two cultures, hence constructing an incomplete, fragmented identity that is neither white nor black,

finding herself in unidentified circumstances. On the one hand, being black would constitute that she abandons her equal status with whites. On the other hand she wishes to abandon her white position to revert to her black identity. Bhabha (1985) refers to hybridity as a position of advantage of in-betweenness.

4.3.3 Black identity as rooted in history

Imitha: ...due to the routine and the conformity of an ex-model C school, we black students tend to get used to their life styles and forget that we also have our ways of doing things so this challenge makes us to act white when we are not at school, then for me that's challenging....

Hlumi : ...they interact mainly with white people not that interacting with white people is a bad thing but it's when they end up adapting the white peoples' culture then that becomes a problem you cannot forget your culture where we come from . We have been poor and our people died because of white people that should not be forgotten not ever...

Gcogco : I would advise them that they should adapt to the new generation, they should think for themselves and not be influenced by what happened in the past and I also think that they should also socialise and not isolate themselves from other cultures and to explore other cultures and not be in this little box. I would also advise them that in order to learn you must learn from other people. Just because we do come from different backgrounds, we do have different races we could learn a lot from each other.....

Imitha, in constructing a black identity different from a white identity, accuses the conformity of black students in former white schools. She aligns this accusation with the fact that black students adopt white people's lifestyles. Hlumi claims that the

interaction with white people is not a bad thing; however adaption of white culture is the problem. Both Imitha and Hlumi seem troubled about this perspective and construct black identity in the history of being black and that it should not be forgotten. Even though Hlumi seems to agree with them in the issue of black identity as inscribed in history and that it should not be forgotten, she differs slightly from Hlumi and Imitha in that she advocates that black students should not isolate themselves from white people because of the history of segregation which is in the past.

The construction of white- black and the construction of black identity is rooted in the past and history of oppression; however, white continues to be the standard against which black is judged. However, in this instance, instead of the binary opposite of black people deficient in comparison to whites, it is used to label blacks deficient who share white characteristics.

4.3.4 Authentic blacks versus white-blacks

In an attempt to construct black identity as black different from white and in an attempt to reclaim black identity as authentic in its struggle with white identity, the following responses were recorded. Hlumi ... so I speak my Xhosa the way I do..also the sport I play and the games I play...we play our typical township games and have fun...amongst my friends, we always reminisce about our childhood and the games we used to play so we never forget where we come from....also we are not allowed to speak Xhosa in class I don't stick to that. I only speak English when I am talking to a white person or to the teacher.... but there's no need to speak English when interacting with my peers.....

Imitha; ...we have a cultural evening where we invite other schools and our parents to come and watch what you have been doing...we put on our traditional clothes like "umbhaco" and do Xhosa dances and stuff... Xhosa people don't lift their legs when

they dance, only the Zulus do that...she teaches us things like the Xhosa dance is called “ukutyityimba”..

In the extracts above Hlumi and Imitha construct black identity as different from white identity by using cultural symbols. Hlumi’s construction of her black identity as black is different through the use of language as an authentic black person. She rejects English as a language and speaks it when speaking to white students and teachers because it is compulsory in the school that they speak English. We see that she uses culture to preserve black identity. She makes reference to games she plays with her black friends as anchors to their black identity as she says “... we always reminisce about our childhood and the games we used to play so we never forget where we come from....”

Imitha in her attempt to construct a black identity that is different from a white identity also uses traditions and rituals like “imibhaco” and “ukutyityimba “. Umbhaco is a traditional dress for ama Xhosa and ‘ukutyityimba ‘is a traditional Xhosa dance.

The following extract shows how authentic black identity is differentiated from a white identity based on products you wear, traditions and rituals. Hlumi They hang around with white people more so they adapt more to the white culture... the black people that associate more with white people don’t want to get involved with the cultural society.... you can also see the way a person dresses that even their fashion sense, is more “white”...there are some clothes and fashion that is adaptable for all races but some clothes are just “white”.... we black people don’t introduce our boyfriends to our parents, white people do. So you get those blacks who want to introduce their boyfriends to their parents, adapting the way white people do things... another difference is that they can never just have their natural hair but always have an 18 inch long weave...they speak Xhosa with an English accent....it is like they are so ashamed of being black so they are trying to change....another thing is some people don’t do rituals because of their religious beliefs, but other black children just view

rituals in a negative manner...then when we talk about our rituals and traditions they are always lost and don't know what's what...and we just don't understand them

Hlumi here is constructing the black identity as a peculiar identity. She uses dresses as codes and hairstyles of difference as claims that there are clothes that are whiter. She criticises blacks who choose the white fashions as people who have lost black taste. In line with her criticism of the way these people dress she includes more fashions like the hairstyles.

The blacks that wear weave instead of their natural hair are seen as wanting to be white. Hlumi uses hairstyles and dress codes as symbols of black identity. She uses culture as symbols of difference like the introduction of boyfriends as a culture of white people but not of blacks by saying that the black students who do that are adapting to the white culture. She also uses English and criticises the blacks who speak English with an accent. In this claim of authentic black identity we witness Hlumi rejecting the black people that she constructs as not 'pure' black. She claims that these black people are not only different because of their similarity with white culture and identity but are 'lost' in the presence of 'true' black people as she says "then when we talk about our rituals and traditions they are always lost and don't know what's what...and we just don't understand them."

The use of 'we' and 'them' shows that the traditions and rituals are the markers of difference in black identity. The following extracts show that the difference between 'us' and 'them' is also based on socio-economic conditions.

Siya : Because I don't have to wear the brands and I cannot afford them...no, but it's the way they treat you when you are not wearing the brands so we have to wear them, even though we know we cannot afford them...the blacks that afford have white friends, many white friend and we don't have many white friends since we are from Mdantsane....Siya: black is black ma'am but there are those black students at school that are treated different from us because they are from high class families and they act like whites...the way they dress, act, whereas we black students and the others from Mdantsane

are not taken seriously and not recognised in many things and sometimes they call us “them”, “they” and others....

Gcogco : I would rather have friends that come from urban areas not the township because we find that at school like in Y most of the children come from Mdantsane and you'll find that things are very different from us who come from Amalinda because the children from Mdantsane they always think that they come from the hard background...and if you come from Amalinda or Beacon Bay or anything they'll be like you don't know nothing, you don't know about the township area and crime and stuff like that. Ja.

Whilst the construction of the black other is framed in whiteness there is also a frame for constructing a black or a black who is considered to be white, depending on anywhere you are. This is in line with Tihanyi in Chisholm, (2004) when he states that there is a reproduction of class inequalities and the reconstitution of social class is widening. In both extracts the participants claim that black people in the school are divided according to levels of affordability.

Siya alludes to the fact that he does not have white friends because he cannot afford to wear certain brand clothes and that he stays in a township. He also claims that blacks who are 'high' class, meaning that they are well off are recognised and this socio – economic difference plays as a difference between blacks. Gcogco's construction of her identity is based on the difference in place of residence. She seems to shy away from those black peers who come from the township. Black identity is constructed as dilemmatic. In both extracts one can learn that moving towards a white identity affords a superior black identity.

4.4 SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings of this study show that the experiences of black students in ex-model C schools are complicated by the fact that these learners attend the same school in a post- apartheid South Africa. The complexity of the relationship is that the relationship between black and white people is complicated by desegregation, black

people attending the same schools as white people, and being friends. In this light, to understand the social experiences of learners classified as black in ex- model C school the theory of Everyday Racism by Essed (1991) is used as well as the theory of postcolonial identity by Said and Bhabha (1994) (cf. Chapter 2). In reviewing both, literatures suggest that black identity is problematic in encounter with racism. The literature on everyday racism argues that the encounter with racism and the encounter with whiteness are everyday experiences of being black that are fixed and are reproduced through power relations. From this perspective the postcolonial identity literature argues further that the black identity construction cannot escape the tensions and struggles with racism and whiteness.

In this section of discussion of findings, the questions that lead the section are the following two research questions:

- What are the lived experiences of black learners in ex- model C schools?
- How do black learners in ex- model C schools talk about being black?

4.4.1 Lived experiences of black learners in ex model schools

The experiences of black learners in their daily contact with white people in ex-model C schools are classified as experiences of everyday racism and experiences of struggling with the ever present white identity. The black students in this study made reference to everyday situations of racist actions as part of their lives and that the school system continually reproduced everyday racism. In this light, it became evident that the interpretation of racism was of cognitive experiences. By this I mean, that the language used by black students in positioning black identity was a repetition of the historical construction of black as inferior to white.

The following is the summary of the research findings of this study.

1. Black students in former white schools are confronted ...with everyday experiences of racism.

2. White identity is used as a benchmark against which black identity is found deficient.
3. Black identity is stigmatised.
4. The societal positioning of black identity becomes a frame of who you become as a black person.

From these broad themes above I will briefly discuss what they entail and an overall discussion will form part of the final chapter.

4.4.1.1 Black experiences of everyday racism

From the experiences of black people, racism has been constructed as something that is deeply embedded within the nature of being black. From the empirical work, it seems as if the participants deal with internalised and deep seated pain of racism rather than the experiences of what happens in their surroundings. Essed (1991) refers to experiences of racism as cognitive experiences in which experiences of racism drive black people's perceptions of what it means to be black. Therefore, I claim that understanding the social experiences of black students in encounters with racism becomes a combination of social structures and psychological consequences. It is in this light that the following identified themes of racism are discussed as overt racism, discrimination, rejection and avoidance, ongoing hidden racism, economic inequality and assimilation.

It became evident that although the days of writing 'whites only' on the walls were gone, but segregation continues behind the walls of ex- model - C schools. The experiences of black students were not much different from experiences of racism in apartheid South Africa as they still experienced racism daily. In looking at the content of the stories of racism one realizes that the difference is that these racist ideologies are no more practiced publicly but instead in private spaces like these ex- model C schools. These are spaces where people are supposed to be treated equally and that are supposed to be integrated. However, racism is still pervasive and a way of life for black students in ex- model C schools that have not changed. However, there

is evidence that there are new ways of racist practices in these desegregated spaces.

- **Overt racism experiences**

Overt racism experiences have been the experience of black people in the past. Today we learn that black students in ex-model C schools still experience overt racism. Racial slurs continue to be part of black students' experiences of racism in ex- model C schools. The participants claimed that the white teachers in the classrooms used derogatory terms like 'kaffir' straight to their faces. During the apartheid period, the word "kaffir" was used as a general nomenclature for blacks, in addition to being a racial slur. We witness, for example, Goli being called 'kaffir' by a white teacher because the black student disagreed with her.

In one extract Imitha recalls being called "dumb" which also means stupid. The question posed here problematizes black encounters with whiteness, and questions the presence of black students in ex- model C schools that some regard as supposed to be white. These incidents were perceived by the participants as being a direct means of continuing racial slurs in a desegregated space. This use of 'kaffir' and 'dumb' signifies and applies the discourse of black identity as a binary opposite in order to position white identity as the 'other' who is enlightened. According to Said (1978) white people construct an "imaginative geography" assigning societal distinctions and worth based upon these imagined divisions. Thus the construction of black identity becomes inferior because of the power relations with white.

- **Experiences of discrimination**

Discrimination experiences are believed to have occurred in the classrooms and in sport. For example, Mihla in an extract says "It's like the same as sport, it's like water polo and swimming is meant for white people, only white people can swim,

black people are not allowed to do these kind of sports ...” This is evidence that black students in these schools are excluded from participating in social activities like sport. Mhlali is even justifying discrimination by saying blacks are not allowed.

This shows that for black students in these schools discrimination comes as no surprise. This is different from the old ways of discrimination in that when the black learners joined these schools there was no public announcement that a black learner would not be allowed to participate in a certain sport but it is done privately inside the schools. This suggests that in ex-model C schools, discrimination against black students is covert and it happens in a space where black learners are not expecting it.

- **Experiences of rejection and avoidance**

The participants narrated stories of being rejected and given cold shoulder in classes. The participants made claims that they were made to feel ‘invisible’ in class. The white teachers avoided them even when they put their hand up to respond to questions being asked in class. According to the black learners, this was an act of racism and a message that they were not expected to know the answers, hence the rejection. In this regard the black students used terms like ‘classified’ and ‘isolated’ to show rejection and the avoidance of black learners. Not only did the black students experience avoidance and rejection from the white teachers but also from white students.

- **Experiences of on-going hidden racism**

Experiences of hidden racism were no different in terms of abuse of black students in ex- model C schools. Racism was said to be hidden when the white teachers used language against students that sounded politically correct but was perceived as racist by the students. An example given is that of a teacher making comments that

'black people are darker hence they tend to forget, their memory is short in nature'. This is the same as the derogatory term 'kaffir' or 'stupid' but here the language used seems not racist but at the same time naturalizing black people as people who are not clever because of their dark skin. The skin color of black people is associated with their level of thinking suggesting that light skin is a reflection of intelligence and good memory.

Experiences of discrimination through economic inequality

From the experiences of black learners, we learn that at times black people perceived as being rich, were closer and acceptable to the white culture. The participants commented that poor blacks could not afford certain brands that white learners were wearing which made them feel like outcasts. This included depriving them of the status of having white friends. Here again we find black students constructing white identity as a yardstick through which black identity should be measured.

- **Experiences of individualism to assimilation as racism**

Imitha from above sees herself as being different from other black people by her ability to speak good English and participation in debates. According to her, this ability has afforded her white friends and favour from white teachers. In other words she understands that her inclusion in to white culture comes from her ability to compete in the debating society. These constitute the status of has made a 'special' black who can be friends with whites.

This individualism precedes assimilation into white culture. She is invited to criticize other blacks as her teachers ask her not to befriend other black students. This shows that even when there is inclusion in these ex-model C schools it is still based on racism. It can also be said that the black students even under the guise of inclusion and hidden racism they still understand when they are victims of racism.

The following section looks at how black learners talk about being black in these ex-model C schools.

4.4.1.2 The constructions of black versions

The previous section has shown that the experiences of everyday racism remain a current reality in black student's lives in ex-model C schools. It brought to the fore that it is the experiences of racism that provide them with a sense of who they are as black students in a white context. In this section I focus on how these experiences construct the troubled black identity in encountering with racism and whiteness. The literature on postcolonial identity shows the tension and struggles in the construction of black identity and that black identity is implicitly problematic, (cf. Chapter 2). In this section I use the postcolonial literature as a lens to understand the tensions and struggles in the experiences of black learners seeking an identity in the presence of white culture and racism. There are four sub themes that come under this section namely:

- Experiencing black as the 'other of white'
- Stereotype as fixation of otherness and stigmatisation
- Black identity as rooted in history and
- Authentic black positioning versus the white- black

4.4.1.3 Experiencing black as the 'other' of white

From the empirical evidence it became clear that black students constructed their identities as oppositional to white identities. In the postcolonial identity theory this relationship is labelled as ambivalent. The change of time and politics has not

changed the social positioning and the stereotypes associated with black identity in this binary opposition.

The discourses and stereotypes are used to position black identity as inferior to white identity. We witness the participants using the discourse of white as clever positioning black identity as stupid and the discourse of black as poor and white as rich. This is evidence of the hierarchical thinking about black and white. Black students' experiences of being black in this context are evidence that they are judging themselves through the white eye. It is in this light that Said's (1991) work suggests that black people should resist using the lens of the colonial (cf. Chapter 2).

From this discussion, the liberation of black people has not changed the how black students view themselves. This is evident in the way in which black students must identify themselves through white eyes, thus objectifying themselves in terms of the discourse of white supremacy (Fanon, 1986). It is in this light that the meaning of blackness is constructed through difference with whiteness, fixed and underpinned in discourses of black failure that positions black people as stupid, corrupt and poor.

4.4.1.4 Stereotype as fixation of otherness and stigmatisation

Stereotypes also map the relationship between black and white constructions. The experiences of stigmatised black images continue the repetition of stereotypical images as a feature of difference. We find the participants making claims that it is their own perception that black images are inferior to white images. Siya and Hlumi for example use phrases like “low self –esteem because we are used to be treated badly and not being able to trust yourself...” and “also there’s a perception that the school is corrupt because there’s lots of blacks. Perhaps if there were more whites it would be back to some kind of order....”

What is evident here is that one's experience as a black person works parallel with the images of black identity and the stereotype to reproduce a black identity as historically grounded. In this section, black students had no testimonies of being framed by white people as bad and corrupt but their own experiences of being black seem to persistently stigmatise their way of constructing black identity. There is also an element of predicting that when an ex-model C school has more black students, there will be corruption and chaos in that school. This shows how the racial order in spite of segregation, remains unchanged.

4.4.1.5 Experiencing black identity as rooted in history

In an attempt to differentiate black experiences from white experiences, that participants use the history as experiences that should not be forgotten. The issue of black students conforming to white culture was strongly criticized by the students. The history of segregation continues to live in the period of desegregation in ex-model C schools because the black students experiences of the past and the history of oppression were inscribed in their identity. In this sense the struggle of black identity is to be retained. The political struggle and the socio- economic struggle are seen as authentic black identity. We hear participants using slogans like "...we have been poor and our people died because of white people that should not be forgotten not ever...." This shows how the multiplicities of black identities occur; in the context of white identity; it comes as a search for authenticity and can be revived by reviving the history of black people in this transitional stage.

4.4.1.6 Authentic black positioning versus the white- black

Here I show how black students contest the notion of being between the black culture and white culture in the quest of authenticity. In so doing the black students

when sharing their lived experience constructed other versions of black identity, and position themselves as outsiders of a black identity in order to criticize other black versions. Having claimed the positioned of being authentic blacks they would then claim authenticity for themselves through criticising other blacks as hybrid versions of black identity, thus calling them coconuts.

At times this position of hybrid was within a person. For example, Hlumi ... so I speak my Xhosa the way I do, also the sport I play and the games I play...we play our typical township games and have fun...amongst my friends, we always reminisce about our childhood and the games we used to play so we never forget where we come from.” Here Hlumi shows how she negotiates the tensions of being a white-black. In order to identify with black identity she is using ‘childhood games’, her language and township to be associated with black identity. In this construction, one sees the ambivalence Hlumi manifests as she is torn between her desire to assimilate into whiteness and her rejection of black culture, which nonetheless maintains a strong hold on her through the ties with her black friends and her childhood memories.

In another instance, we find black students criticising other blacks for being white-blacks. To construct a peculiar black identity we witnessed participants using cultural difference such as traditions, language and cultural symbols.

We have also witnessed that the difference between a black –black and a white – black is interpreted in what you wear and what you eat. The participants in constructing black identity different from white, to food types like sushi salads as well hairstyles and clothes.

4.5 SUMMARY

The findings of this chapter relate to the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C schools result in a troubling black identity. The everyday experiences of

racism seem to be the reproduction of racism in the past. This argument is in line with Essed (1991) who claims that everyday experiences of racism are familiar and repetitive experiences. I have demonstrated in this chapter how the everyday experiences of racism remain a current reality in black students' lives in ex-model C schools. Having used the lens provided by postcolonial literature which maintains that blackness cannot overcome the burden of whiteness, it is evident in the black/white dichotomy of societal positioning that blackness has been permanently positioned as inferior to whiteness and always found to be wanting. The implications for this continuing way of constructing black identity have been the stereotypical images of blackness inhabiting the imaginary realm of the black self in contact with the white other.

The following chapter concludes the study by drawing conclusions, making recommendations for policy and recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the overall conclusions of this research. I also highlight the limitations and make recommendations for this study.

5.1 MAIN IDEAS OF THE STUDY

The first chapter of the study sets the background and context that position the study within the field in which the research is being carried out. It then goes on to formulate the research problem, research questions, significance of the study and gives an indication of the methodology to be used in the study.

The second chapter explores the phenomenon under study and seeks some conceptual and theoretical understanding of desegregation, social reaction and the place utility theory. In order to understand how black students understand and talk about being black in ex-model C schools that were historically racist, the theory of everyday racism by Essed (1991) and the postcolonial identity theory are discussed.

Chapter three outlines the methodology which was a qualitative approach and the underlying philosophical assumption of the interpretive phenomenological paradigm.

Chapter four is a presentation and analysis of data. It is also a presentation of findings as well as a summary of the chapter.

This chapter is the final chapter; it presents the main ideas of the study, chapter by chapter, summary, conclusion and recommendations.

5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study is concerned with the social experiences of black students in ex- model C secondary schools in East London. In order to address the aims of this study the following research questions were explored.

Main research question

How do learners, classified as black in ex-model C secondary schools, experience life socially in these schools?

Sub-research questions

- What are the lived experiences of black learners in ex- model C schools?
- How do black learners in ex- model C schools talk about being black?

5.2.1 The position of black identity in experiencing racism

It can be said that black learners' experiences of everyday racism are a repetition of racism and segregated old apartheid black people's experiences. However, these tend to make it different in the desegregation context in these schools. The racist and the form of racism in ex- model C schools become tricky in that sometimes there are hidden forms of racism as well invitations for black students to join white people in criticizing other black people. At times there were instances when black students experienced violent and abusive language like racial slurs and name calling. I take that to mean overt racism. There is evidence that these students at times were called to their faces, 'dumb' and 'kaffir'.

It also shows that black students have a cognitive framework that they bring to a situation (Essed, 1991). We learn that black students anticipate racist actions when they come into contact with white teachers and students. The claims that racism was still ongoing behind closed doors were made clear by the participants.

This was evident in the way they denied that there was no equality. Claims were made that white learners tell them that they do not even belong to the school and that if you are black you 'have to know your place'. In this regard, Essed (1991: 50) explains that "everyday racism is locked into underlying dynamics of relations and forces of racial and ethnic domination and governed by the powers to which they give rise." Thus the underlying racial and ethnic relations are realised and reinforced through familiar practices in everyday situations. The interlocking forces include oppression and repression.

Oppression is implemented in society through situated practices that create structures of racial and/or ethnic inequality. On the other hand, repression, in the form of prevention or management of the subordinate groups' opposition, is implemented in society to maintain the existence of racial and/or ethnic inequality (Essed, 1991). Even though all students in ex-model C schools are supposed to be treated equally, there is evidence that black students are discriminated against. Inequality continues not because it is a governance structure but because societal relations are based on inequality; therefore black students continue to experience oppression, hence the continuing naming and rejection of black students in the ex-model C schools.

From this empirical work we also learn that black students are regarded as invisible in the schools and feel excluded and, so must learn to manoeuvre and handle the situations accordingly. The fact that the participants made claims that the white teachers ask questions only to white students because black students are not expected to know the answers is a typical example of rejection in the white context. However, black students seem to have found ways of dealing with this dilemma, of being outsiders inside ex-model C schools. Essed's (1991: 52) defined this as a "socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable."

The experiences of racism for the participants were ongoing as the participants claimed they were 'always criticised', 'always been discouraged'. This is in line with (Essed, 1991: 52) that "practices with racist implications become in them familiar and repetitive." From the empirical work there is evidence that racist practices enabled the dominant white group continue to exploit black people. With regards to experiences of everyday racism, three things came up clearly in this empirical work that:

- 1) Experiences of desegregation do not necessarily translate into improved racial relations; instead one gets individualised and invited to be assimilated into white culture.
- 2) Everyday racism experiences were and still are the background against which black people live their lives in South Africa and that
- 3) The understanding of the social experiences of black students in encounters with racism becomes a combination of social structures and psychological consequences.

The black students in these schools experience racism because racism has been seen as intertwined in the historical, economic and political conditions. These lived experiences assign black identity as inferior and opposite to white identity.

The social lived experiences of black students in ex- model C schools are characterized by overt racism, ongoing hidden racism, rejection and avoidance and economic inequality. It became evident that even though there were no written rules that blacks were excluded, in practice and experience black students were discriminated against in all spheres of life. Discrimination is their daily life experience. Inside the stories shared by the black students was evidence that whilst racism in South Africa is said to be a thing of the past, the reality was that behind closed doors it was still rife and alive. Even though there were reported incidents of overt racism there were also stories of hidden racism. The latter complicated the issue of continuing segregation and racism because black students needed cognitive knowledge about racism of the past to bring meaning to the everyday racism that

was taking place in schools. The fact that they were 'friends' with white students and at times were invited by their white teachers to join the white culture in criticizing other black students complicated their social experiences in these schools. It also became evident that these experiences of everyday racism were repetitive and became the background through which black students lived their lives.

Therefore the societal frame and position of these students becomes a frame of their identity.

5.2.2 The talk about being black

The societal positioning of black identity becomes a frame of who you become as a black person. The white identity is used as a benchmark against which black identity is found deficient and that being a white- black means adopting a high status subject position while in contrast to black was found to be a stigmatised subject position. This view relates to the postcolonial literature reviewed which proposes that blackness is a singular, collective identity that is positioned as inferior. Black identity has been constructed in binary opposition to white identity.

This construction of black identity as contradictory to white identity has also been carried through by the use of stereotypes. Stereotypes are capable of (1) fixing the dichotomy of inferior/superior binary oppositions of black/white relations; 2) complicating the relational aspect of black identity in its encounter with whiteness as it precedes and predicts the inferior black identity; and (3) complicating this relationship as has been shown and qualified in their positioning of black identity. Black identity has also been considered a reproduction of the past through the cultural reconstruction of blackness reflecting shared historical and cultural experiences of what constitutes blackness.

In this chapter, participants used the interviews to illustrate the history of the struggle against social oppression as being a characteristic of blackness. It seems that black participants have a desire to secure black identity with the political and social

struggle being used as markers and a frame of reference to give meaning to blackness.

In this analysis, the experience of being trapped in the past in changing times has resulted in tension between the conflicted and contested cultural positions of black people. Blackness has become two opposing views: those that strive to maintain the black 'traditional' view and those that challenge and transform the dominant view of black identity. In this new position, on the one hand, we learn that the participants used cultural symbols like "ukutyityimba and 'imibhaco' to claim a traditional black position. On the other hand, a transformed black identity is constructed through the claims made by those who identify themselves with 'white', but who also criticized those that could not identify with being black. This means that the hybrid / new space of being a white - black were not without problems. Whilst it offers white-blacks a sense of belonging to these ex-model C schools, but it still conflicts with the desire to claims black identity leaving no option but to be torn between the two identities.

In relation to other forms of blackness, black identity has been constructed as criticism of other black versions in which the background of whiteness has been found. Participants constructed self as the 'other' black. In so doing, black identity construction has involved drawing on and invoking particular kinds of distinctions as well as contracts between the supposed 'us' and 'them'. Thus the black self is placed outside black identity and critiques discourses of blackness. In constructing a difference within blackness, whiteness becomes a hierarchical standard for measuring the black identity. For example, from the analysis we have witnessed urban black people construct rural black identity as naïve, traditional and uneducated, whilst constructing their own identity as clever, educated and sophisticated. In this way, they construct urban blackness as being closer to whiteness whilst rural blackness is constructed as being as far away from whiteness as possible. This proves that the difference in blackness is marked by thinking about blackness as being different from whiteness.

The essence of this discussion is that black students in ex- model C schools struggle with experiences of racism and experiences of segregation in desegregated space. It is evident that it is impossible to shake off the stereotype that is socially associated with black identity. This remains the case because stereotypes interfere with how black students construct their identity. Not only is a black identity constructed as inferior to white identity but other black people too are constructed in stereotypical ways.

The way of talking about being black seems to be trapped in past in changing times and changed space. Black subject position has been constructed binary opposition to white identity. In a similar vein as prophesied in postcolonial literature, black as a colonised identity cannot escape white identity as the coloniser. Within this struggle of constructing a new version of black identity the stereotypes and stigma are associated with black identity by fixing the opposition of black/ white identities. This fixity allows for a black identity but the social positioning and experiences of the black students remains inferior against the superior white students and teachers in ex- model C schools.

The manifestation of such experiences predicts that black identity remains opposite to white identity and it is the black identity that remains wanting. The experiences and talk about being black become a reproduction of the past and attempts to reconstruct a black identity that is a hybrid is terminated by being interpolated to the socio -historical position of black identity. In relation to other forms of blackness, black identity has been constructed as criticism of other black versions in which the background of whiteness has been found. Participants construct self as the 'other' black. In so doing, black identity construction involves drawing on and invoking particular kinds of distinctions as well as contracts between the supposed 'us' and 'them'. Thus, the black self is placed outside black identity and critique discourses of blackness. In constructing a difference within blackness, whiteness becomes a hierarchical standard for measuring the black identity.

In conclusion, black students in ex-model C schools experience life a troubling because of racism and white identity that becomes a lens through which black students see themselves.

5.3 CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

The migration of black students from black schools to white schools has not changed the social experiences of being black in South Africa. The societal positioning of black identity becomes a frame of who you become as a black person. White identity is used as a benchmark against which black identify is found deficient and that being a white - black means adopting a high status subject position in contrast to being black which takes on a stigmatised subject position. How do learners, classified as black in ex-model C secondary schools, experience life socially in these schools?

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Here I provide recommendations for policy as well as recommendations for future study.

5.4.1 Recommendations for policy

I recommend that former white schools should be renamed to represent the school communities rather than the former community. I particularly suggest that the ex – model C schools and the way in which black students continue to feel as foreigners is also in the name. This is a reason that white students claim that black students do not fit in their place of belonging. To facilitate the negotiation and renegotiation of the position of a black student, the policy that black teachers should be appointed and

integrated as members of staff rather than being tokens for teaching African languages is recommended.

5.4.2 Recommendations for further study

I recommend that future studies should look at the ways of integrating black students in ex – model C schools such that they have a sense of belonging. Another study should also look at mechanisms that can be used such that both white and black students take ownership of the desegregated space they are in, in ex – model C schools.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Anderson, G. (1998) *Fundamentals of educational research* (2nd ed.): The Falmer Press, London.
- Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. (2002) *Social Research*: London, Oxford.
- Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research*: Woodsworth, Australia.
- Battersby, J.(2004). *Cape Town's Model C schools*. Desegregated and Desegregating Spaces? Urban Forum, Vol 15.No 3, July-September 2004.
- Battistich V, Solomon D, Kim D, Watson M, Schaps S, Schools as communities, poverty levels of student populations, and students attitudes, mixtures, and performances: a multilevel analysis. Am Educ. Res J. 1995; 32:627-658.
- Becker, H. (1997). *Outsiders*. New York: Free Press.
- Bhabha, H. (1983). Difference, discrimination, and the discourse of colonialism. In F. Barker (ed.) *The politics of theory* (pp. 194–211). Colchester: University of Essex.
- Bhabha, H. (1985). Signs taken for wonders: Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817. *Critical Inquiry*, 12, 144–165.
- Bhabha, H. (1991). *Nation and narration*. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. (1993). 'Remembering Fanon: Self, psyche and the colonial condition. In L. Williams & P. Chrisman (eds), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory*: (pp.148-168). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. (1996). Culture's in-between. In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (eds), *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage.

Biko, S. (1978). *I write what I like*. London: Penguin.

Bogdan, R. & Biklein, S. (1998) *Qualitative research for education*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Brown, B., & Shumba, A. (2010). Managing Africa's Multiculturalism: Bringing the "Madiba Magic" into the African School Curriculum. In AB Nsamenang, & MS Tchombe (Eds). *African educational theories and practices: A generative teacher education textbook*. Cape Town: HSRC Press (FORTHCOMING).

Bryk A.S & Driscoll M.E.(1988). *The school as a Community: Theoretical Foundations, Contextual Influences, and Consequences for Students and Teachers*. Madison, Wisc: National Center on Effective Secondary Schools.

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2007). *Business research methods*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Childs, P. Williams, P. (1996). *An introduction to post-colonial theory*. London: Prentice Hall.

Chisholm, L (2004). (Ed) *changing Class: Education and social change in post – apartheid South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Christie, P (1999). *Open schools: Racially mixed Catholic Schools in South Africa, 1976-1986* Johannesburg: Sached trust/ Ravan Press:

Clausen,J.A. (Ed.) (1968). *Socialization and Society*, Boston: Little Brown and Company.

Cohen, I Lawrence & Morrison (2000) *Research Methods in education*: London, Routledge.

Cohen,L, & Manion, L. (1994). *Research Methods in Education*. London (Fourth Edition): Routledge.

Collier,M.J. (1994), *Cultural Identity and Intercultural Communication*. In L.Samovar & R.Porter(Eds.),*InterculturalCommunication: A reader* (7thEd). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Collingridge, D.,S. & Gantt, E.,E (2008) . *The Quality of Qualitative Research*. *American Journal of Medical Quality*. 23. (389).

Corbin, J, & Strauss, A. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory, Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Coutts, A. (1992). *Multicultural Education: A way ahead*. Pietermaritzburg: shutter and Shooter.

Creswell, J.W. (1994). *Research designs: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oakes: Sage.

Dallamba, Y and Vally, S. (1999). *Racism, racial integration and desegregation in South African public secondary schools*. Johannesburg, A report on a study by the South African Human Rights Commission.

Davies, B. & Harré, R. (1999). Positioning and personhood. In R, Harré & L. van Langenhove. *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action*. (pp. 32–52). Oxford: Blackwell.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincon, Y.S. (1994) *Handbook of qualitative research*: California. SAGE Publications.

Department of Education (DoE) (1997). *Draft Norms and Standards for School Funding in Terms of the South African Schools Act (No. 84 of 1996)*, Government Gazette, Vol 388, No. 18349. Pretoria: Government Printers.

De Vos, S. Strydom, H. Fouche, C.B. & Delpont, C.S.L. (2002). *Research at grass roots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (2nd Ed.). Pretoria. Van Schaik.

De Vos, A.S., Schurink, E.M. & Strydom, H. (1998) *Research at grass roots: A primer for the caring professions*: Pretoria, J.L. van Schaik Publishers.

Diener, E. & Crandall, R. (1998). *Ethics in Social and Behavioral Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Durrheim & D. Painter (Eds.). *Research in practice* (2nd Ed.). Cape Town: Juta.

Durrheim, K. & Mtose, X. (2006), *Being-black-in-the-new-South-Africa*. In G. Stevens, V. Franchi & T. Swart (Eds), *A race against time: Psychology and challenges to deracialisation in South Africa* (pp. 153–169). Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.

Education Management Information System (EMIS). (2008). *School and Learner Quantitative Study, Abridged Report*: Eastern Cape Department of Education.

Erasmus, P. (1999). *The Accommodation of the Black Grade Nine learners in a Traditionally White school*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Pg 28-35.

Fataar, A. (2006). Educational renovation in South African township on the move: A social spatial analysis. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27: 599-612.

Fordham, S and Ogbu, J (1986). Black Students school success: Coping with the "Burden of acting White". *Urban Review* Vol.18, pp 176 – 206.

Fraser, B.J.(1991). Two decades of classroom environment research. *Educational environments*, Evaluation antecedents and consequences (pp.3-27) Oxford: Pergamon.

Fouché, C. B. (2007). Qualitative research design. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (3rd Ed.). Pretoria: JL Van Schaik Publishers.

Gordon, R, (1998). *Education and Race* (Oakland, Calif: Applied Research Center, 1998) 48-49.

Grant, R. (2005). *A Phenomenological Investigation into Lecturers' understanding of themselves as assessors at Rhodes University*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Grahamstown, Rhodes University.

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 3(1).

Hofmeyer, J.(2000). *The emerging school landscape in post-apartheid South Africa*, Paper presented at the EASA Conference, Bloemfontein.

Hood, M., A. (2008). *The experience of Mature in Postgraduate Study*. Retrieved August 08, 2010 from University of Fort Hare Digital Dissertation.

Hullinan, M.T., & Williams, R.A 1989. Interracial friendship choices in Secondary – schools. *American Sociological Review*, 54, 67 – 78. doi: 10.2307/2095662.

Huberman, M.A. & Miles, M.B. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis* (2nd ed.): London. Sage Publications.

Jansen, J. (1991). Implementing education policies: The South African experiences. *International Journal*, 247 (7).

Jones, A. (1997). Teaching post-structuralist theory in education: student resistance. *Gender and Education*, 9,3: 261-269.

Joseph (1998), Slavin, S, Braddock, W. 1998. Multicultural education in South Africa. In *Vision and Reality*. Changing education and training in South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Koch, T. (1994). Establishing rigour in qualitative research: The decision trail. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 19, 976–986.

Kvale S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Leedy, P.D. and Ormrod, E.J. (2005). *Practical Research Planning and Design* (8th ed.): New Jersey, Pearson Prentice Hall.

Lemon, A. (2004). Redressing Schools Inequalities the Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(2): 270-290.

Lester, S. (1994). *An Introduction to phenomenological research*. Stan Lester Developments: Taunton.

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 163–188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Littlejohn, S. (2000). *Theories of Human Communication*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lombard, K (2006). *Reasons why educator-parents based at township schools transfer their own children from townships schools to former Model C schools: Schools of Educational Sciences, North West University, and Vaal Triangle Campus South African Journal of Education, Vol 28, Issue 4: 02560100, SAGE Publications*

Macleod, C. (2002). Deconstructive discourse analysis: Extending the methodological conversation. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 32(1), 17–25.

Mannathoko, C. (1999). Theoretical perspectives on gender in education: The case of Eastern and Southern Africa. *International Review of Education*, 45,5/6: 445-460.

Maree, K. (2007). *First steps in research*: Pretoria, Van Schaik Publishers.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching* (2nd edn): London, Sage Publications.

McMillan & Schumacher, S. (1997). *Research in education: New York, A conceptual understanding*, Harper Collins.

Mda, T.V A & Mothatha, M.S, (Eds) (2000). *Critical Issues in South African Education after 1994*. Cape Town, Juta and Company Limited.

Miles, M. & Huberman, H. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis*. London: Sage Publication.

Moody. (2001). Race, School integration, and Friendship segregation in America. *American Journal of Sociology* 107 (3) 679 – 716. doi:10.108/338954.

Morrow, W. (1998). Multicultural Education in South Africa. *In Vision and Reality*. Changing Education and Training in South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Mouton, J. (1996) *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Mouton, J. (2001). *How to succeed in your Master's and Doctoral studies*. Pretoria: Van Schalk Publishers.

Naidoo, J.P. (1996). *Racial Integration of public schools in South Africa. A study of practices, attitudes and trends*. Education Policy Unit, University of Natal. Durban.

National Educational Policy Investigation NEPI (1993): The Framework Report. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Ogbu, J, and Fordham: (1996). Black students' school success: Coping with the "Burden of acting white". *Urban Review*, 1986, vol.18, pp. 176 – 206.

Pampallis, Narsse, H.S Mampuni M (1998). *Education reform and school choice in international perspective*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Pickering, M. (2001). *Stereotyping: The politics of representation*. New York: Palgrave.

Republic of South Africa (R.S.A) (1996). *Constitution Act No. 108 of 1996 Pretoria, South Africa*: Government Printers.

Republic of South Africa (RSA). (1996). *South African Schools Act No 84 of 1996*. Pretoria, (South Africa): Government Printing.

Republic of South Africa (RSA). (1995). *White Paper on Education and Training*. Government Gazette, No. 16312. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Republic of South Africa South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).1998. Johannesburg: South Africa Survey (1997 / 1998).

Republic of South Africa Government Gazette; Education Management Information System (EMIS). (2008).School and Learner Quantitative Study, Abridged Report: Eastern Cape Department of Education.

Ridley, M. (2003). *Nature Via Nurture: Genes, Experience, and What Makes us Huma*. Harper Collins. ISBN 0-00-20663-4.

Samuel, M., & Sayed, Y. (2003). Inside and outside the school gates: exploring marginalization in KwaZulu Natal schools in South Africa. *IDS Bulletin*, 34(1): 90-95.

Sandelowski, M. (1995). *Qualitative analysis: What it is and how to begin*. Chapel Hill, NC.: University of North Carolina .

Smit. M., E., (2010). The role of school discipline in combating violence in schools in the East London Region. Unpublished Thesis: Retrieved August 08, 2010 from University of Fort Hare: Digital Dissertation.

South African Schools Act,(1996).No 84 of 1996, (vol. 377, No 17579). Government Printer.

Soudien, C. (2004). Constituting the class” an analysis of the process of integration in South African Schools: School of Education, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

Strydom , H., (2007). *Ethical aspects of research in the social sciences and human service professions*. (3rd Ed.). African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPHERD) Vol. 13, No. 1 (March) 2007, pp. 103-113.

Sujee, M., & Chisholm, L. (2006). Tracking racial desegregation in South African schools. *Journal of Education*, 40: 141-159.

Terre Blanche, K., Durrheim K. and Painter, D. (1999). *Research: Applied methods for the social sciences*, University of Western Cape Press: South Africa.

Tihanyi, K (2003). Racial integration and implications for reconciliation in Post – Apartheid South Africa: *White Paper on Education and Training 1995 (Vol 357, No. 16312) Pretoria: Government Printers*.

van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Vermar, G. & Pumfrey, P.(1988). *Educational Attainments: Issues and Outcomes in Multicultural Education: The Falmer Press*.

Wassenaar, D.R. (2006). *The ethical issues in social science research*. Souyh African Research Ethics Initiative, School of Psychology, University Of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.

Wojnar, D. M., & Swanson, K. M. (2007). Phenomenology. An exploration. *Journal of Holistic Nursing*, 25, 172-180.

Wolpert, J. (1989). Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress. *Journal of Social Issues*. 22(4):92-102.

Wood, L.A. & Kroger, R.O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis: Methods for studying action in talk and text*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Appendix 1: Consent form for parents

I, Nozuko Stuurman a M.Ed student at the University of Fort Hare, in the faculty of education, as part of my academic programme, am conducting a research on social experiences of Black learners in ex-model C schools. As part of this research, I am requesting permission to interview your child.

Should you consent, I wish to guarantee you that as part of my research ethics any information your child provides me with will be treated confidential. His/her identity also will not be made available to anyone without your consent.

Thank You

Nozuko Stuurman (Miss)

Signature

Date

I..... hereby give / do not give consent for my child to participate in the research. I do understand that his/her participation is voluntary and that if I wish him/her to withdraw from participating at any time I am free to do so at any time.

Signature

Date.....

Appendix 2: Consent form for learners

I, Nozuko Stuurman an M.ed student at the University of Fort Hare, in the faculty of education, as part of my academic programme, am conducting a research on social experiences of Black learners in ex-model C schools. As part of this research, I am inviting you to participate in an interview process.

Should you consent, I wish to guarantee you that as part of my research ethics any information you provide me with will be treated confidential. Your identity also will not be made available to anyone without your consent.

Thank You

Nozuko Stuurman (Miss)

Signature

Date

I, hereby give / do not give consent to participate in the research. I do understand that my participation is voluntary and that if I wish to withdraw from participating at any time I am free to withdraw at any time.

Signature

Date.....

Appendix 3: Interview Questions:

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

Section A:

Background Information

My name is Nozuko Stuurman a Med student at the University Of Fort Hare.

I invited you to participate in my Study about the social experiences of 'black learners classified as blacks in the Ex – model 'c' schools.

The interview will be conducted in English; however you are free to switch to isiXhosa if you wish to do so.

We both agree that you are a female / male.

- How old are you?

.....

You are in Grade.....?

- What is the name of your school?

.....

- How many years have you been attending at the ex- Model C schools?

.....

- With whom do you stay at your home?

.....

.

.....

.

.....

.....

.

- In your household how many children attend ex-model C schools?

.....

- In your neighborhood are there children going to ex – model C schools?

.....

- What mode of transport do you use to get to school? (drive, train, bus, taxi etc)

.....

- Are your parents both working, if so, can you tell me where?

.....

.....

.

SECTION B

SOCIAL EXPERIENCES.

1. *POSITIVE EXPERIENCES:*

Describe for me your greatest positive experiences that you have had as a black child in your school?

.....
.....
.....

2. *NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES:*

(From what you have said) Describe your greatest negative experiences that you have had as a black child in your school?

.....
.....
.....

3. With what you have said so far as negative experiences for you, what changes would you like to see happening in future in your school?

.....
.....
.....
.....

4. *SOCIALISATION*

a) If you had a choice to make would you choose to have more black learners than white learners in your school?

.....
.....

b) Would you feel comfortable with that?

.....

c) Why? Can you elaborate on that? (Probe more e.g. what kind of black are you)?

.....

d) Tell me are you treated equally when coming to academic activities in your school?

.....

5. Moving forward to the future what kind of advice can you give to other black

Children that wish to come to your school?

.....

.....

6. [What lessons would you like to share with them about being black in your school?]

.....

7. What is the positive future of a black child in an ex-model C school?

.....

8. What is the negative future of a black child in an ex-model C school?

.....

.....

9. Do you participate in sport? If yes, what experiences would you like to share about being black in sport?

.....

.....

.....

10. If not, is there anything that hinders you from participating in any other sport that you like or in sport in general?

.....

.....

11. Is there any other thing that you have thought of but that I did not ask you?

(Please feel free to add that)

.....
.....
.....

Thank you so much for your time and for sharing this information with me, I really appreciate. God bless you!

Appendix 4: Examples of Extracts

Example 1: Athi

Interviewer: Hi my name is Nozuko Stuurman. I'm doing Masters at the University of Fort Hare. I invited you to participate in my study. My study is about the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C schools. This interview will be conducted in English, however you are free to switch to isiXhosa if you wish to. We both agree that you are a male?

Interviewee: Yes I am a male.

Interviewer: And how old are you?

Interviewee: I'm eighteen (18).

Interviewer: And you are in grade?

Interviewee: I'm in grade 12.

Interviewer: What's the name of your school?

Interviewee: My school is [REDACTED] College.

Interviewer: [REDACTED] College.

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Alright. How many years have you been attending Model C schools?

Interviewee: I've been studying for twelve (12) years now.

Interviewer: You mean?

Interviewee: I started in Pre-Primary to Matric.

Interviewer: So Junior Primary and Higher Primary you were there?

Interviewee: Yes, here at [REDACTED]

Interviewer: In your household, how many children do attend ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: All three (3) of them. Two (2) are my brothers and then my sister.

Interviewer: Okay. And then in your neighbourhood are there any children going to Model C schools?

Interviewee: Yes, there are.

Interviewer: They go to schools like?

Interviewee: [REDACTED]
and some go to [REDACTED]

Interviewer: Okay. Where do you stay?

Interviewee: I stay in Mdantsane.

Interviewer: What mode of transport do you use to get to school?

Interviewee: I sometimes go with a taxi but then sometimes I go with my mother's car.

Interviewer: Okay. And are your parents both working?

Interviewee: Yes. Both of them are.

Interviewer: Where is your mother working?

Interviewee: My mother owns a taxi.

Interviewer: And your father?

Interviewee: My father owns a bricklayer business.

Interviewer: Okay. Describe for me your greatest positive experiences that you ever had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: I had a great opportunity to study English and my home language hence I studied Xhosa as my first additional language.

Interviewer: Okay. So you do isiXhosa as a subject available as part of your learning areas? So you chose it as a second language?

Interviewee: No, we don't have an option. We have to do English as a home language but then you can do Xhosa as a first additional language or you can do Afrikaans as your first additional language.

Interviewer: Okay. Alright. Can we proceed from your positive experiences then?

Interviewee: I played varieties of sports and I was given a high rated education.

Interviewer: Alright, I'm coming to sport Athi. So that is all about your positive experiences?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you describe your greatest negative experiences that you have ever had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: Okay, however racism will never end because we are not equal in some way. White people will always be recognised in sports because they know their parents and their parents bribe them with sponsors so that their children can play in the top teams.

Interviewer: How do they bribe them? What do you mean when you say they bribe them?

Interviewee: What I mean is that like if your parents are well known...

Interviewer: You mean if your parents are well known even if you are a black child?

Interviewee: Ja...not really like black children their parents are known, only White children.

Interviewer: So, these parents that bribe are the White parents?

Interviewee: Yes, the white parents. They sponsor like the top teams at the school so that their child can play in the top teams.

Interviewer: How do they sponsor the teams?

Interviewee: Like t-shirts and rugby...

Interviewer: So they sponsor the whole team?

Interviewee: Ja, the whole team. For example for rugby they sponsor them with rugby jerseys and boots.

Interviewer: So when they give sponsors, does that make their children to be in the top team?

Interviewee: Yes but not necessarily like they are doing it for their children to be in the top team but then the coaches feel the need to place them in the top teams.

Interviewer: Oh, okay. And then is that all about your negative experiences?

Interviewee: Yes it is.

Interviewer: Okay, with what you have said so far as your negative experiences for you, what changes would you like to see happening in future in your school?

Interviewee: They should give blacks a chance to show themselves, for example their talents in sports, whether they are rich or poor. And when electing prefects, they should guarantee black people too.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Interviewee: Let's say they chose twenty one (21) prefects, there'll be like four black people and then there'll be like mostly whites and like one coloured and one Asian or something.

Interviewer: And then you guys you do not like that?

Interviewee: Ja, we don't.

Interviewer: But why don't you say you don't like it?

Interviewee: Well we can't do anything about it.

Interviewer: You want to tell me that your voice is not heard Athi?

Interviewee: Ja, you could say that.

Interviewer: Okay. So if you had a choice to make would you choose to have more black learners than white learners at your school?

Interviewee: Yes I would, I would.

Interviewer: I don't know what do you mean, would you choose to have more black learners than white?

Interviewee: Yes I would choose to have more black people.

Interviewer: Okay. Why?

Interviewee: I feel like we would understand each other better than white people would understand us.

Interviewer: So you would feel comfortable?

Interviewee: Yes, more comfortable.

Interviewer: Okay Athi. And can you elaborate for me, what kind of a black are you as Athi?

Interviewee: I am a kind of a black that...I'm kind but then I don't want people to take advantage of me. Like mostly at school white people always take advantage of black people like calling them names and bullying young blacks like the juniors. We will always stand up for the black children that are junior.

Interviewer: How do they bully them? How do they do these things?

Interviewee: They make them do things like swimming in a field with grass.

Interviewer: But there's no water? How can you swim on grass?

Interviewee: That's the whole point of the bullying.

(Laughs)

Interviewer: And then you guys you fight for them?

Interviewee: No we don't really like fight, we just stop them or else we take the white children that are in the lower classes and then we bully them.

Interviewer: Okay then Athi. Moving forward to the future, what kind of advice can you give to other black children that wish to come to your school?

Interviewee: I'm not going to lie, [REDACTED] is a good school. I do recommend it. One thing is that you shouldn't mind the negative issues; you should just stay strong and do what you came for.

Interviewer: What lessons would you like to share with them about being black in your school?

Interviewee: Okay, lesson number one, you shouldn't compare yourself with the white students. Don't turn away from your background.

Interviewer: And why should you not compare yourself to them?

Interviewee: White people are rich, they stay in suburbs. Mostly black people stay in townships.

Interviewer: And other lessons?

Interviewee: Lesson number two you must stay strong because at the end of the day difficult things are bound to happen.

Interviewer: Okay. What is the positive future of a black child in an ex-model C school?

Interviewee: The positive future is that you can get a good job easily if your school is well known for a good education.

Interviewer: Okay. . What is the negative future of a black child in an ex-model C school?

Interviewee: I don't really know. Actually if you didn't enjoy your Model C life at school you wouldn't want a job where white people work because you would still have the same view that you had from the past

Interviewer: Do you participate in sport Athi?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What sport do you play?

Interviewee: I play rugby.

Interviewer: What other sport do they play in your school?

Interviewee: They play water polo, swimming, and cricket, and hockey, squash...a lot.

Interviewer: So how did you choose your own sport?

Interviewee: I've played rugby my whole life.

Interviewer: Is there anything that hinders you from playing any other sports besides rugby?

Interviewee: No there's nothing. I could play any sport that I want to play.

Interviewer: Is there anything like when you play in sport; are there any experiences that you would like to share about being black in sport?

Interviewee: From my experience, no, it's okay.

Interviewer: You play fine and there's never been anything?

Interviewee: Except for what I've said the bribing and sponsors...

Interviewer: Otherwise you are given opportunities to play?

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: Right, is there anything that you think I have not asked you that you thought of but I did not ask you?

Interviewee: No there's nothing but I want to say to the black students, you should know it's your education, your life, your future, so fight for your rights and be strong.

Interviewer: Thank you so much for your time Athi. I really appreciate it. Thank you so much.

Interviewee: Alright. It's my pleasure.

Example 2; Goli

Interviewer: Hi. My name is Nozuko Stuurman. I'm doing Masters at the University Of Fort Hare. I invited you to participate in my study and my study is about the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C schools. This interview will be conducted in English; however you are free to switch to isiXhosa if you wish to do so. We both agree that you are a female?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And how old are you?

Interviewee: Eighteen (18).

Interviewer: And you are in grade?

Interviewee: Twelve (12).

Interviewer: And how many years have you been attending ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: Two (2) years.

Interviewer: What do you mean by two (2) years, you are in grade 12 right?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So you started in which grade there?

Interviewee: Grade 11.

Interviewer: Oh so you started grade 11 there. Where did you do your other lower grades?

Interviewee: In Mdantsane.

Interviewer: And in your household how many other children do attend Model C schools?

Interviewee: Three (3).

Interviewer: All three (3) of you in your family?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: With whom do you stay at home?

Interviewee: With my mom.

Interviewer: Is your mother working?

Interviewee: She owns a business.

Interviewer: Alright. And then in your household you said you are all going to ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And in your neighbourhood are there any other children going to ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What mode of transport do you use to get to school?

Interviewee: Train, mostly train.

Interviewer: Oh you take the train?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Are your parents both working?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Is your father working as well, because you mentioned you're your mother?

Interviewee: Yes he's working although we don't live with him. . .

Interviewer: Oh so you don't live with him. Alright then sorry about that. Can you describe for me your greatest positive experiences that you ever had as a black child in your school? Just the positive experiences

Interviewee: To be able to speak English and be fluent in English. When there's strikes we don't get affected.

Interviewer: Strikes where?

Interviewee: In Mdantsane. When there are strikes in Mdantsane we can't go to school so we get left behind in our studies. Things are much better now that I am in a school in town.

Interviewer: So you decided to run away?

Interviewee: Yes. I decided to run away as fast as I can.

Interviewer: So is that all about your greatest positive experiences? It's only the language and the fact that you don't get affected by strikes?

Interviewee: Ja. The sports are the same

Interviewer: Okay. Describe for me your greatest negative experiences that you have ever had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: Oh, where should I start?

Interviewer: What do you mean by that?

Interviewee: Okay, first of all you get suspended for unpaid fees, it doesn't matter if you are in the middle of your exams, if your fees are not paid you have to leave the school.

Interviewer: Is it because your fees are in arrears? For how long a period must your fees be in arrears?

Interviewee: Even if you miss just one month. Let me say for example you paid your fees last month and then this month is almost close to an end, they will suspend you at the beginning of the following month if your fees are not paid. Then you find us roaming around town and we get left behind in our studies.

Interviewer: And what are your parents saying about that?

Interviewee: They try to phone the school and make arrangements.

Interviewer: Is it the school's policy that you get suspended from school if school fees are unpaid?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So it's there, it's written down?

Interviewee: Yes, it's there.

Interviewer: Is that all about your negative experiences?

Interviewee: No, there's also the issue of the school uniform. We wear skirts at school and if your skirt is too short they send you home. What I hate is that when you are in Grade 12 you can't afford to buy new uniform because you are almost out of the school. So what they do is they call a police van to come and fetch you, the police take you home and wait for you while you undo the hem of your skirt, so it back and they take you back to school.

Interviewer: Is that because your skirt is short that they send you away?

Interviewee: Yes and that skirt is very expensive, we can't afford to buy a new one regularly.

Interviewer: So what is it that they send you home for? Is it because the skirt is short?

Interviewee: Yes, because your skirt is short.

Interviewer: So then who calls the police van?

Interviewee: The teachers.

Interviewer: And then is that allowed for the police van to come to school?

Interviewee: Well they do. Only one police van comes there and it's because it's one of the teachers' husband.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Interviewee: It's the husband of one of the teachers.

Interviewer: Is she the school principal?

Interviewee: No, she's not the school principal.

Interviewer: Just an ordinary teacher?

Interviewee: I think she owns the school. I think she's the owner of the school.

Interviewer: Can you just tell me more about that? I know that you are beginning to be emotional but I really want to know about this police van, is it the one from South African Police Services?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So this one police man has this responsibility of fetching you guys?

Interviewee: Well we don't know but that woman gets very angry because we talk back when she's being unfair. Then she phones her husband to come fetch us from school.

Interviewer: So when this van takes you home, does it bring you back to school?

Interviewee: Yes, it brings you back to school.

Interviewer: So he waits for you?

Interviewee: He waits for you outside your house to undo the hem and sew it back. You can imagine just how untidy you look after undoing the hem because the colour of your skirt is not the same.

Interviewer: But is that okay with the teachers?

Interviewee: It's okay with them because they want us to buy those skirts whilst they are too expensive.

Interviewer: Is that all about the uniform and your negative experiences?

Interviewee: For now, because it makes me so angry and emotional.

Interviewer: I know. I can see that. I am not going to lie and say I am going to do this or what but the only thing I can say is that you guys need counselling. I am sorry but I have to ask the questions. Perhaps the only thing I can maybe do after the study is to take my views to the department but I can't promise anything.

Interviewee: There's another thing. We had a disagreement about the Matric dance, they wanted it at the end of October and we wanted it at the end of July. One of the black teachers offered to fund us to do it July, he also offered to negotiate for us to have it in July. All the Matrics were called to a meeting by the white teachers, we had a disagreement and she called us coffers. We felt so insulted and we decided to walk out of the meeting. Under no circumstances is that word acceptable, no matter how angry she was.

Interviewer: And then after that was there anything done about it?

Interviewee: Nothing.

Interviewer: So school went on as normal the following day?

Interviewee: Ja but from then on we wanted nothing to do with her because she called us kaffirs. We escalated it to the SRC but there wasn't much we could do because we are just students.

Interviewer: With what you have said so far as your negative experiences for you what changes would you like to see happening in future in your school?

Interviewee: I want them to treat us fairly as they would their own children. They also wouldn't like to have their own children the way the way they treat us, like missing school for unpaid school fees. And I want them to respect us because we are all human beings despite our differences in complexion.

Interviewer: Is that all?

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: Alright if you had a choice to make, would you choose to have more black learners than white learners in your school?

Interviewee: I wouldn't mind if black people would dominate the white schools because this is so unfair. I think even if we had a 50/50 split they would still favour white people. I would like it if we could dominate, have 80 per cent black people and 20 per cent white people.

Interviewer: Why do you say that?

Interviewee: My school is too white. I mean the majority of teachers and learners, general workers are mostly white.

Interviewer: So you would like to change that?

Interviewee: Yes. I can see that they employ mostly white people and there's a whole lot of black people who don't have jobs that would want to do those jobs.

Interviewer: Are the teachers all white? Are there no black teachers?

Interviewee: There are black people.

Interviewer: And do they treat you well?

Interviewee: Yes, they do.

Interviewer: So this treatment only comes from teachers specifically, not from learners?

Interviewee: Yes, it's the teachers not the learners.

Interviewer: Okay, from what you have said to me, you said you would like to have more black learners. What exactly would make you feel comfortable with that?

Interviewee: I think where there are many black people we would understand each other better because now white people fail to understand how we feel. They think we are not human.

Interviewer: So tell me, when there are a lot of you, how do you think you would get them to understand you?

Interviewee: Some white learners still have the old apartheid mentality; they want nothing to do with black people. They view us as ugly because we are black and they are beautiful because they are white. But there are some white people who like us, they treat us like we are one of their brothers and sisters. So I think it would be better if there were more black people to show them that we do have voices and we want our voices to be heard.

Interviewer: What kind of a black are you?

Interviewee: I don't know. All I know is that I'm not a coconut.

Interviewer: What do you mean you are not a coconut?

Interviewee: I blend well with other black people and at the same time if a white person wants to be my friend, it's fine I won't treat you any different from my black friends.

Interviewer: So what are these coconuts you are talking about? What exactly is a coconut?

Interviewee: Coconuts are black people who engage too much with white people, their lifestyles are different to us; they don't want to have anything to do with us black people even though they are also black.

Interviewer: And then moving forward to the future then what kind of advice would you give to other black children who wish to come and study in your school?

Interviewee: I think white schools are good because there are no strikes like the township schools. However, it is important to keep a cool head when it comes to the racism issue, study and leave. Focus on what you are there for, studying and when you done studying, leave the school and move on.

Interviewer: Alright. And what lessons would you share with them about being black in your school?

Interviewee: I don't know.

Interviewer: Any lessons to share with them about being black in your school?

Interviewee: I don't want to say anything about that.

Interviewer: Okay then. What is the positive future of a black child in an eex-model C school?

Interviewee: Being able to go to a good university because white schools are mostly recognised in universities so you get in there easily and it's easier to get a job. White schools have prefects and SRCs and such things prepare you for leadership roles.

Interviewer: But there are SRCs in township schools?

Interviewee: It's not the same.

Interviewer: How is it not the same?

Interviewee: No it's not the same because at Model C schools you associate with white people and you can get into their brains and you get to see how they function.

Interviewer: Okay. What do you mean? How do you get into their brains?

Interviewee: We try to live their lifestyle and see okay....

Interviewer: But you said you are not that kind of a black that wants to live the white lifestyle?

Interviewee: No, I wouldn't even want to copy their lifestyle. I've got it in my head that all white people are the same.

Interviewer: Okay then, do you participate in sport?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What sport do you play?

Interviewee: Netball

Interviewer: Why netball?

Interviewee: I love it, it's my passion.

Interviewer: Alright. What experiences would you like to share with me about being black in netball or in sport in your school?

Interviewee: In sport, in netball there isn't much racism. Its sport, we just play. White people don't like netball so you'll find them in water polo, hockey, swimming. We black people we don't even like swimming.

Interviewer: I have picked up that in what you have said that in netball there isn't racism. In other sport is there any racism?

Interviewee: Yes, there is racism in hockey, you wouldn't find black people I don't know why and also in swimming.

Interviewer: Is that why you decided not to play hockey because there are no black people?

Interviewee: Yes. And then there are those white clubs, I don't like white clubs. You bring food there, white food.

Interviewer: What do you mean? What is white food?

Interviewee: Those salads.

Interviewer: But you can't say salad is white food. Don't you guys eat salads?

Interviewee: And sushi? We don't eat sushi. .

Interviewer: Is there anything that you can think of that I have not asked?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Do you want to add on anything maybe?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thanks a lot then. I really appreciate your time. I'm sorry for all

Example 3: Mhlali

Interviewer: My name is Nozuko Stuurman. I'm doing Masters at the University of Fort Hare. I invited you to participate in my study and my study is about the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C schools. The interview will be conducted in English; however you are free to switch to isiXhosa if you wish to do so. Can you tell me your name and surname please?

Interviewee: [REDACTED]

Interviewer: And how old are you?

Interviewee: I'm sixteen (16).

Interviewer: And we both agree that you are a female?

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: And tell me, you are in grade?

Interviewee: Ten (10).

Interviewer: The name of your school?

Interviewee: [REDACTED] High School.

Interviewer: How many years have you been attending ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: It's been ten years now.

Interviewer: And your previous education was in which school?

Interviewee: [REDACTED] Primary School.

Interviewer: And with whom do you stay at home?

Interviewee: My mom and my dad, and my two (2) brothers.

Interviewer: Alright. In your household how many other children do go to ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: I'm the only one.

Interviewer: In your neighbourhood are there any other children going to ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: Where do you stay?

Interviewee: Amalinda.

Interviewer: In Amalinda. What mode of transport do you use to go to school?

Interviewee: My mom takes me.

Interviewer: Are your parents both working?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And where is your mom working?

Interviewee: My mom is a teacher.

Interviewer: And your father?

Interviewee: My dad works as a Traffic Officer (unclear)

Interviewer: Alright. Describe for me your greatest positive experiences that you ever had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: Ok well I've had to...I have represented black people in the cultural society because many people are ashamed of their culture so I kind of stand up for them. And in other sport like water polo, there's this stigma that only white people are allowed to play water polo so I've kind of like represented them and clear away that stigma. Ja basically that's the positive things that I've had. I've kind of like taken away that brainwashing that people have that it's only white people that can dominate the school.

Interviewer: Okay. Is that all about your positive experiences?

Interviewee: Well basically I've grown because I've had a public speaking show that I had and then there was only a few black people. So I have been there and I represented black people so that's a positive thing for me.

Interviewer: Yes, thank you so much. And your negative experiences? From what you have said are your greatest positive experiences, can you describe your greatest negative experiences that you have ever experienced as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: Okay as I said I have always represented black people so when we go out to shows and stuff, it's always like wow a black person can do this and everything like that so the people like to judge wherever you go. My mom is a teacher, right, people like to think that we can't afford it and stuff so I've had that thing, people like say wow you actually go to [REDACTED], an all girls' school. And I was kind of like proved them wrong that you can actually do it. So people here are like... always like and to judge me and think that I can't do or make it. I've always not been so clever and everything but then now here I am and I've made it. I've accomplished a lot and jah...

Interviewer: And is that all about your negative experiences, even in your academic, in your classroom and stuff like that?

Interviewee: I have never been good in Maths so there was a time when I wasn't doing very well. In grade 10 you have to choose your own subjects so people used to tell me no don't do it because you are not good at it. And I actually proved them wrong and I got good marks and everything. People typically like to judge and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Is it the black children that do judge you guys?

Interviewee: No, white. We can't bring each other down as black children. We are always support each other. It's only the white people.

Interviewer: So when they do that, is it during break times and stuff?

Interviewee: Even in class we are all separated. Black people sit alone, white people sit alone.

Interviewer: Who lets you sit like that? Is it the teachers?

Interviewee: We just choose to sit where we want.

Interviewer: And then, the teachers do not say no it's wrong you should mix?

Interviewee: No they don't.

Interviewer: They just allow it to go on like that?

Interviewee: No we can sit wherever we want but then it's just that thing that white people sit there and white people sit wherever they want.

Interviewer: With what you have said as the negative experiences, what changes would you like to see happening in future?

Interviewee: I would like to see everyone uniting and not because if we like to criticise each other we are all going to be bring each other down as a school. So we need to support each other and I would like to see more white people and black people working together because white people they are clever alone so they must work alone. So I would like everyone to be together and support each other. Because we're always like black people they can't do this and white people can do it. So I would like to see us uniting as a school and everything.

Interviewer: If you had a choice, would you choose to have more black learners than white learners in your school?

Interviewee: Yes. I would.

Interviewer: Which one would you like to choose?

Interviewee: More black people.

Interviewer: The majority now in your school is...?

Interviewee: White.

Interviewer: Okay so would like to have more black people. Why?

Interviewee: Because [REDACTED] has always been seen as a school for white people only so I want to show that there are some black people who can represent and make other people proud and that we are there.

Interviewer: Okay, moving forward to the future what advices would you give to other black children who wish to study in your school?

Interviewee: Okay. I would like to say that they must not listen to people. Basically the first thing is people will tell you, you can't afford to go to [REDACTED]. There's something called a bursary so you can always apply for a bursary and if you think you've got the qualifications and the marks and everything, apply. Don't let what someone else tells you affect you. I have always been told I was an okay pupil, I got average marks and people always told me that I would never be accepted in [REDACTED] and I've proved them wrong. I applied at [REDACTED] and I got accepted. So don't always listen to other people's opinions about you. Another thing is that I would encourage them to go and apply at [REDACTED] because we need more black people to dominate.

Interviewer: Okay, do you participate in sport?

Interviewee: Yes I do.

Interviewer: What sport do you play?

Interviewee: I do netball.

Interviewer: And are there any other sports?

Interviewee: I do power walking but now I'm busy with exams.

Interviewer: Okay, is there anything else that you have thought of that I did not ask maybe? What is the positive future of a black child in an ex-model C school?

Interviewee: I don't know...I think it's about the teachers...I don't know

Interviewer: Do the teachers treat you equally?

Interviewee: Yes they do.

Interviewer: So there's no issue there. It's only you guys, the learners?

Interviewee: Honestly, the whole apartheid thing people might say it has ended now and everything, it's actually still there.

Interviewer: What do you mean by that, that it is still there?

Interviewee: Ja, the white people they always say black people now they are the same and they are treated the same. But then if you go inside the classroom you will see that there's still apartheid.

Interviewer: In the classroom?

Interviewee: Ja. Because people say apartheid is over now blah blah blah, but they are still racist. They are very much racist still.

Interviewer: What do they actually do?

Interviewee: So many things like they always criticise you. It's like the same as sport, it's like water polo and swimming is meant for white people, only white people can swim, black people are not allowed to do these kinds of sports. And we go out there and prove them wrong and we actually go on top. Even debating and everything, debating is only for white people because white people know the words and the vocabulary and everything. But then we actually go out and we actually do it. So it's all this whole thing that they get so surprised when black people go up there and everything. It's just that whole thing.

Interviewer: Alright, thank you, thank you so much. Thank you

Example 4 Interviewer: Hi my name is Nozuko Stuurman. I'm doing Masters at Fort Hare. I invited you to participate in my study about the social experiences of black learners in ex-model C schools. The interview will be conducted in English; however you are free to switch to isiXhosa if you wish to. We both agree that you are a male?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And how old are you?

Interviewee: Eighteen (18).

Interviewer: And you are in grade?

Interviewee: Twelve (12).

Interviewer: What is the name of your school?

Interviewee: [REDACTED]

Interviewer: Alright. How many years have you been attending Model C schools?

Interviewee: Twelve (12) years or can I say all my life.

Interviewer: All your life, what do you mean by that? Junior primary school and others?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Alright. With whom do you stay at home?

Interviewee: My mom and my two (2) younger sisters.

Interviewer: In your household, how many children attend ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: All of us.

Interviewer: And in your neighbourhood are there any other children going to ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: Yes, in my neighbourhood we all go to ex-model C schools like [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

Interviewer: What mode of transport do you use to get to school?

Interviewee: My mom drives me to school.

Interviewer: Are your parents both working?

Interviewee: Yes my mom works as a Prosecutor in the Magistrates Court in Bhisho and my dad works as at the Department of Labour, although we don't stay with him.

Interviewer: Okay. Can you describe for me your greatest positive experiences that you ever had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: To have the advantage of speaking good English, to have access to computers and facilities like libraries, science labs and different sporting codes.

Interviewer: Okay. What other sports do they play in your school?

Interviewee: Water polo, swimming, tennis, hockey and squash.

Interviewer: Okay. And is that all about the positive experiences that you ever had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: Also to mingle or learn with the white children and be friends with them, learn their way of doing things.

Interviewer: What do you mean by their way of doing things?

Interviewee: Their life and stuff, you know.

Interviewer: What stuff?

Interviewee: To get the opportunity to go to well recognised universities and be able to get good jobs and be marketable to the outside world.

Interviewer: What do you mean by being marketable to the outside world?

Interviewee: Like we do debates, we are given leadership roles when we are prefects so that we can learn to be responsible.

Interviewer: Oh so when you are a prefect you can learn to be responsible?

Interviewee: Yes, because you learn to lead.

Interviewer: Leadership roles wow. Alright then from what you have said as your negative experiences, describe your greatest negative experiences that you have ever had as a black child in your school.

Interviewee: To be given names like “you people” or “them”.

Interviewer: What do you mean by you people?

Interviewee: Because one time I came to school with my braids not tied at the back and then in lines the Head girl was addressing students talked about my braids and said “You people should stop imitating us, you don’t have long hair, keep your hair and remove those”.

Interviewer: What other names do they give you guys?

Interviewee: “Them”. When we give class activities the teacher would expect us to groups all of us. If you happen to be in a group with many whites she would remove you from that group and tell you that you are not supposed to be there, go to them

Interviewer: Who is them?

Interviewee: Black people.

Interviewer: Like in a class there’s a group of blacks?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Why? Do they group them according to their abilities or according to the colour?

Interviewee: According to the colour.

Interviewer: So if you happen to be in this group of white learners then you perform badly that particular day, is she going to remove you?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Is it fine? So no one says no you are not supposed to do that?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Alright. Okay then Is that all about your negative experiences?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And with what you have said so far as the negative experiences for you, what changes would you like to see happening in future in your school then?

Interviewee: To have a policy within the school, a policy which will be against racism. To have black teachers teaching Maths, Science, English etcetera and not to teach Xhosa and LO only or Physical Education.

Interviewer: So do you have black teachers at your school that teach you?

Interviewee: They only teach Xhosa and LO.

Interviewer: So they are not given subjects like Mathematics and other learning areas?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: They only teach Xhosa and life orientation?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And then what can you add on?

Interviewee: Because black teachers in my school are more educated than white teachers.

Interviewer: How? How do you know that they are educated?

Interviewee: When we look at their qualifications during our annual prize giving ceremony and you can see that even the School Principal has a Diploma in teaching whereas black teachers have Honours, Masters.

Interviewer: Okay, so now you saw that they have all these qualifications and all that, is that why you want fewer white teachers? Or you want more black teachers to come to your school and teach there. What other reasons besides the learning areas? What other things do white teachers do?

Interviewee: They undermine our intelligence.

Interviewer: What do you mean by that?

Interviewee: Like we cannot...I don't know how to put it.

Interviewer: Alright then, we can just proceed?

Interviewee: I want the white teachers to stop undermining our intelligence and fellow students to respect us for who we are and not accept us only when we do their own things or things that suit them.

Interviewer: What does things that suit them mean?

Interviewee: Like to act white because we want them to socialise with us.

Interviewer: So you want to befriend them?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And they don't want to?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: If you had a choice to make, would you choose to have more black learners than white learners in your school?

Interviewee: I would choose to have a kind of 50-50 because there's more white learners presently so that we can have the power to fight back.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Interviewee: We want to be able to fight back?

Interviewer: How do you fight back wena?

Interviewee: Because we are tired of the racism. Presently there's 80 per cent white people and 20 per cent black people so we are not able to fight back.

Interviewer: Do you want to fight?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Like literally fight?

Interviewee: Like we want them to stop this racism thing, I would like them to accept us as we are and not call us names and stuff like that. Not to expect us to wear their brands like Billabong, even for the school magazine pictures they don't put our pictures if you are not wearing their brands and I hate it.

Interviewer: Okay, what brands? So you must wear Billabong?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And what else?

Interviewee: It's mostly Billabong and Adidas and things like that.

Interviewer: So you say you hate that, why do you hate it?

Interviewee: Because as a result I hate their shows and their activities. I don't go there. As if I don't study there.

Interviewer: What sort of activities are you referring to? Why don't you go whereas you are a student there?

Interviewee: Because I don't have to wear the brands and I cannot afford them.

Interviewer: Is it a must for you guys to have those brands or is it because you are not going to be recognised?

Interviewee: It is a must.

Interviewer: How? Do they prescribe for you guys that you have to wear those things?

Interviewee: No, but it's the way they treat you when you are not wearing the brands so we have to wear them, even though we know we cannot afford them.

Interviewer: So is there no other blacks that were those Billabongs and stuff?

Interviewee: There are other blacks, the ones that afford Billabong so for them it's fine.

Interviewer: So do they socialise with them if they wear those? Do they get along with them only? Do they treat you guys differently if you're not wearing those Billabongs and stuff?

Interviewee: Ja.

Interviewer: So what kind of a black are you then? If they treat you differently from other black children in the same school?

Interviewee: Black is black ma'am but there are those black students at school that are treated different from us because they are from high class families and they act like whites.

Interviewer: How do they act like whites?

Interviewee: The way they dress, act, whereas we black students and the others from Mdantsane are not taken seriously and not recognised in many things and sometimes they call us "them", "they" and others.

Interviewer: So within the same institution, within the same schools as you guys are black, there's these blacks and other blacks? So the ones from Mdantsane are treated differently as they don't dress as nice as those from Beacon Bay for example?

Interviewee: Ja because the ones that live in Beacon Bay are mostly coconuts and they want coconuts.

Interviewer: What is a coconut?

Interviewee: You are brown on the outside and white on the inside.

Interviewer: So they act like whites?

Interviewee: Yes they act white, they talk white, they live white.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Interviewee: They speak English.

Interviewer: But you also speak English?

Interviewee: Not all the time.

Interviewer: Oh so do they speak English all the time?

Interviewee: Yes, and they have white friends, many white friends. And we don't have many white friends since we are from Mdantsane.

Interviewer: Okay then, moving forward to the future what kind of advice would you give to black children that wish to come and study at your school?

Interviewee: To be confident and not listen to other negative things, whether it is said by teachers or anyone. To come to my school only to study and not to prove them wrong because we do have the potential.

Interviewer: Alright. Are there any other lessons? What lessons would you share with them about being black in your school, the ones who want to come and study at your school?

Interviewee: That we are intelligent, no matter what. That we should stop thinking that we can't afford these schools because there are bursaries and fee exemptions that are awarded to white students who do afford them but they still apply for them whereas there are many students within the same school who are supposed to get those privileges.

Interviewer: So it means that you do have bursaries and fee exemptions? Then white people do apply for these as well?

Interviewee: Yes, because they don't want us to get the bursaries.

Interviewer: And then is there a prescribed quota, that there should be so many people?

Interviewee: I'm not sure.

Interviewer: How did you see that the others had applied?

Interviewee: From the teachers, the black teachers tell us.

Interviewer: Okay. Alright then, what is the positive future of a black child in an ex-model C school. Is there any future of a black child maybe?

Interviewee: To get a quality education, exposure to English first language taught by an English teacher, to be given first preference when we go to interviews because of language and the way we express ourselves.

Interviewer: How do you express yourselves? What do you mean? Do you want to tell me the kids from black schools can't express themselves?

Interviewee: No they cannot.

Interviewer: How?

Interviewee: I mean because we're used to white students and they have self-confidence and we learn from them.

Interviewer: So you learn from white students?

Interviewee: Yes, even though they don't like us.

Interviewer: Okay then. What is the negative future of a black child in an ex-model C school?

Interviewee: I would say the low self-esteem because we are used to be treated badly and not being able to trust yourself and what else...

Interviewer: Okay, do you participate in sport?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What kind of sport do you play?

Interviewee: Soccer.

Interviewer: Why netball? What other sports are there?

Interviewee: Swimming and...

Interviewer: So why did you choose soccer amongst other sports?

Interviewee: I love soccer.

Interviewer: Is there anything that hinders you from playing any other sports other than netball?

Interviewee: I think being told that black people cannot swim or are scared to swim.

Interviewer: Who tells you that you cannot swim?

Interviewee: I don't know I think it's maybe because there are not many black swimmers out there.

Interviewer: So you decided that you are not going to swim because of that? And you as a person, are you really afraid of swimming?

Interviewee: Yes, and the swimming pool is too deep.

Interviewer: Have you ever swum?

Interviewee: Ja, ja, ja, in primary.

Interviewer: Alright, is there anything that you think I have not asked that you would like to share with me now that we are wrapping up? Is there anything that you think this one has not been asked maybe?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Not all [REDACTED]? Are you sure?

Interviewer: Yes I am sure.

Interviewer: Thank you so much [REDACTED] for your time. I really appreciate it. Thank you so much it was really a pleasure.

Example 5

Interviewer: Hello my name is Nozuko Stuurman a Med Student at the University of FortHare. I invite you to participate in my study and my study is about The Social Experience of black learners in ex-model C schools. This Interview will be conducted in English; however, you are free to switch to IsiXhosa if you wish to do so. Alright.

Interviewee: Ok

Interviewer: We both agree that you are a female.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: your name please

Interviewee: my name is [REDACTED]

Interviewer: how old are you?

Interviewee: I'm 16 years old

Interviewer: how many years have you been attending the ex-model C schools?

Interviewee: 4 years

Interviewer: with whom do you stay with at home?

Interviewee: my father, mother and cousins

Interviewer: are your parents working?

Interviewee: yes they are working. My mother is a nurse and my father is a taxi Driver.

Interviewer: and in your household how many children who attend ex-model C Schools?

Interviewee: two, me and my sister. She actually passed Grade 12 and is in Pen Tech now

Interviewer: and in your neighbourhood are there any other children going to ex model C schools?

Interviewee: a lot yes jha.

Interviewer: what mode of transport do you use to get to school?

Interviewee: taxi

Interviewer: Describe for me your greatest positive experiences that you have had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: yhoo hahahahaha (laughing), firstly neh [REDACTED] is not a big like [REDACTED] and other schools as a result we are united in a way, because you can be noticed by teachers most of the time and another positive thing is that gosh bayakunceda otitshala phayana if you are a good student you know eh.... like they give you previous year study guides. They also call people from the tertiary institutions to do Expos for us to choose careers. They give you papers that will help you like in Maths and they also show us which subject to choose and they help us in choosing careers. For instance kulento ye Maths Co & Maths Lit they tell you one to choose & they will call your parents to tell them that

they are trying to help the child to choose the right subjects (asithi umntwana wakho umuncu but we are trying to help). There are also camps.

Interviewer: I camps as in how?

Interviewee: I camps are more about leadership skills nhe, bayasifundisa how to be a leader and how to differ from other naughty students like they teach us

how to have boundaries in terms of respect i.e. how to respect your teacher for instance abanye mos abantwana bayabaphendula otitshala, Bangxole athi akungxoliswa ashawute utitshala. So they teach not to treat teachers badly as we also need to help from the teachers too. They do not only teach us how to respect teachers only but also to respect other students as well so as to work together and to be in control

of yourself as well uba uziphathe njani wena usisiqu nokuba ungangumntu onjani in the future jah, basifundisa izinto ezinjalo wena ma'am.

Interviewer: so ubusithi ezi Camps ziyi 3 neh? Ndicela undicacisele ngazo.

Interviewee: Grade 8 Camp is the initiation camp where they take grade 8 learners to this camp, to tell you about the school as whole, izinto ezenziwa apha esikolweni, kudlalwa kube mnandi jah.

And then kwi Grade 10 Camp ke, is about your development as a student so if ufuna uzi developer mhlawumbi especially in your leadership roles let's say une (interest) yoba yi prefect you can go there because it is about that any way. Not everyone is perfect when it comes to this but only those who want to go there can go it's not like the Grade 8 camp where everyone must come. Only if you want to develop yourself. Prefect's camp it's when Grade 11 are elected to be prefects the next year.

Interviewer: (From what you have said) Describe your greatest negative experiences that you have had as a black child in your school?

Interviewee: yhooo...! this is a difficult question and its hard to answer it. EL mmmh hhh yhooo, since neh I am a good student I don't disrespect teachers and all that stuff uyabona so, but from what I see neh as a black child phayana esikolweni it would be hard in the sense that we have certain teachers who like white learners than black learners in the sense that uba umntwana womXhosa mhlawumbi uthetha kakhulu eklasini (I mean) you chatting netshomi yakhe kakhulu eklasini, yes uMiss uzomxelela uba can you keep it down please, mhlawumbi naye lomntana angaphezi uyamazi ke umntana omnyama ngengxolo as umXhosa akakwazi ukuyeka ukuthetha uyabona. *But if then there is this mntana womlungu eklasini naye ongxolayo*, the teacher will tell him/her to keep it down neh but you can easily tell from the way athethe ngayo kuye uba ngumntu omnyama the teacher always cause a scene uyabona athi ubana uyabona uyangxola phuma aklasini yam athethe nezinto ubana you failed in class in that Grade, akujongise athi ubana utshoniswe sisigezo kula Grade yiyo lonto you failed, that's the bad thing about being a black in my school. Sometimes I don't know if I should say this yhazi, I Deputy yethu esikolweni has a tendency yokugezela abantu abamnyama uyabona.

Interviewer: how?

Interviewee: she is always picky uyabona, soloko ebona into ewrongo kubantu abamnyama, ba

Interviewer: iba yintoni leyo Chuma mnhlawumbi?

Interviewee: like...ndizothini nah...lets say uba you got yourself in trouble once for instance uba kuthwe kuwe phuma eklasini wakubona neh, yhoo uzokwenza a big issue ngawe ibengathi wenze into enkulu amise ngawe qho and its gonna be like you are the worst person in the world, emane ekuhlalela athi yenza izinto ezithile de ucaphuke, ufuna umphendule, abanye bayabaphendula but if awufuni kuphendula awufuni ke!

The other thing jah nantsenyinto, xana u apply(er) as a black child awukho clever & you are not good at sport neh really you are not that advance as “those” academically & in sport your chances are that your application may not be considered ndikuxelele.

Interviewer: how do you know that [REDACTED]? Because sowufunda phaya mos, ubabone phi aba ba apply(ayo)? Like they don't know your academic level nje ngoba awukafiki.

Interviewee: your Report (school progress report). They look at it bajonge isport, bajonge yonke lonto kwi report yakho. Mos you fill la application form yabo phayana inayo yonke lento bayifunayo bona but for me I think I was accepted because of netball since I was very active in netball e primary. If you are a black person they really look at your report bakhangele into encinci abazakumisa ngayo xa bengakuthathi. Sometimes its like they are too picky, well that's the bad thing about being in my school.

As umXhosa awukwazi ukuyeka ukuthetha. For blacks chances are so slim for them to be accepted when they apply for admission in my school. I was accepted because I am academically good but because of sport. If I was a white girl ngendandingene easily.

Interviewer: With what you have said so far as negative experiences for you, what changes would you like to see happening in future in your school?

Interviewee: EL mmhhhhh....for the teachers not to be picky when they look at the progress reports especially for us black people. They must give us a chance too and encourage us to learn.

And enye into isikolo sam saziwa ngobu Racist uyabona since it was a “Boer School” (isikolo samaBhulu) uyabona, it was an Afrikaans school and staff, so ngas'ke iphele lanto neh because noba, some teachers still have that because nathi bazosicaphukisa but they came to us to make remarks.

Interviewer: how?

Interviewee: like uba picky, upicka on blacks & unnecessary, like ndizothini nha, like uzokushauta, ok lets say I am a white person neh and then I do something wrong athule neh & then uphuma kwesikolo akubize athi “jonga girl suyenza lento eklasini yam and then iphele behleka kodwa uba ibingumntana womXhosa ebezothi “phuma aklasini yam undiqhela kakubi ucinga nguwe ophetheyo” ukhubone, abe ethetha izinto ezi-unnecessary uyabona, akwenze the bad person ever and wena ube like haybo lona umyekile yena njena enze lento but why uzondenza lento undenza yona ngokungathi ndenze into engaphezulu kwale yenziwe by the white person. Another thing lo Miss uzothatha umntana omnyama amse kuPrincipal nezinto ezinjalo uyabona so ndifuna itshintshe lonto ke mnake.

Interviewer: If you had a choice to make would you choose to have more black learners than white learners in your school?

Interviewee: ey andiyazi nhe, I want black & white learners uyabona but because if we have more black learners uyabona, ok since sikwi Ex-model C schools, uyafuna uku impresser itshomi zakho zase lokishini okanye uyafuna uku impresser umama wakho like ndikwi Model C schools mandigcine la attitude and high standards nam ndipase okokoko because uzofuna upasa oko kwiModel C schools so uba kungeza more black people to my school bazoba excited uyabona bafune ukupasa nabo so bazakuzimisela because of that bafune ufunda & all that stuff. Like in a Model C school kuya hanjwa like ezinye izikolo ziba neTours & stuff like that, so abantwana abamnyama they can experience those things and other stuff uyabona, ba developer nabo more uyabona.

Ndiphinde ke ndifune iiWhites because, like, white people.....ok, not that they are better than us nhe but like.....they.....are more calm so they are like that uyabona, andiyazi maan uba ndizothini na but ke ba calm.

Interviewer: ba calm njani [REDACTED]?

Interviewee: andiyazi maan uba ndizoyibeka njani but I think xa sinoba ne whites ezininzi bazosi teacher like uba siziphathe njani thina like white people, butndizothini na....but I want white people as well andiyazi uba ndizoyibeka njani sisi maan.

Interviewer: (b) Would you feel comfortable with that? If yes, why?

Interviewee: yes, i want that.

Interviewer: Moving forward to the future what kind of advise can you give to other black Children that wish to come to your school?

Interviewee: ey mmmhhh.... Ok my advice is that xa ufika kwi Model C school nhe, ok ngase as a black child treat a teacher with respect uyabona like give the respect that you want because some black children have a tendency yophoxa uMiss & things like that, its like they say if sendikwi Model C school ndine right yoku phoxa so ngase bayazi into abayiyele esikolweni not ba babe bephoxana noMiss uyabona.

Interviewer: is that all?

Interviewee: ahhhh.....ezinye? I can't think of others now.

Interviewer: What lessons would you like to share with them about being black in your School?

Interviewee: I lessons nhe....ehmmm...being black nhe...ndizothini na, ok ilesson ne endiyifundileyo like in life we all make mistakes but I think they want to make you a better person than what you are, so like the poor people....not really poor people but disadvantaged people like they make you a better person.

Interviewer: how?

Interviewee: like.....ey....bayakufundisa nhe esikolweni. Xa uMisi uyabona uba kukho abantwana bagezayo uyayibiza iGrade yonke athethe nani uyabona anibonise uba "no guys like for instance, since kukho iDagga ntoni-ntoni like the dagga muffins and all that stuff, ukhona uMisi ozohlala nani phantsi athi ubana you can't do that kind of stuff uyabona. Baya kuxelela in a good way not in a bad way because that cause a bad reputation about the school so abafuni lanto yobana wenze into ezi bad for your school and for yourself as well.

Interviewer: What is the positive future of a black child in an eex-model C school?

Interviewee: to learn more, because apha elokishini what I've learned from I cousin yam efunda apha kwezizikolo zilapha elokishini like teachers are selfish apha, some are irresponsible in a manner that uba uMisi akazi for ilesson yakhe ahlale estaff room ahleke netshomi zakhe yonke lonto angazi eklasini for iperiod yakhe kanti ke kwi Model C schools they always care and has to be there unless uyagula or something and ooMisi kwi Model C schools they follow the syllabus and make sure that they finish it, they are strict on their work like they do not take sick leaves unnecessary kanti ke apha elokishini uMiss uyakwazi ukungayi esikolweni njee ahlale endlini yakhe xa esonqena ukwenza umsebenzi whereas kwiModel C bayajongwa nguPrincipal, uthatha I routines ejonga ukuba kuyafundiswa na eziklasini so that yonke into ibe under control uyabona, so into yeModel C is much better than into yase lokishini, that's what I think jha.

Interviewer: What is the negative future of a black child in an eex-model C school?

Interviewee: negative? Ehhh....yilanto yokuziphakamisa since ukwiModel C schools ubabonela phantsi abanye abantwana and think that they are not getting the kind of education you

are getting In anex-model C school and think that since bekwizikolo eziselokishini abakwazi ukukhumsha amagama amakhulu esiNgesi ndibagezele or something or talking to them in English like lonto yokuziphakamisa kuba ukwi model C schools.

Interviewer: Do you participate in sport? If yes, what experiences would you like to share about being black in sport?

Interviewee: Yeeesss..... Netball. And experiences is ahhh....ok....nhe, ii blacks esikolweni sam sibaninzi so in a team I don't know why there has to be a white person noba uyi one I don't know why? Jha ubusithini na? Ok since sinalomntu uyi one omhlophe some were somehow uzosizamela itournaments like asicelele kumama or itata wakhe asifunele abantu boku sponsorisha that's the best part of netball phayana, even the school takes us to tournaments with school buses and teachers shame support us by watching us when we play, that's the best part, ehhhh...what else? That's it.

Interviewer: Is there any other thing that you have thought of but that I did not ask you? (Please feel free to add that)

Interviewee: ahhh....ehhh...ohh I think what I've noticed is that I use to think that it's us that like to fight as children but imbi into yobona ooMisi bexabana, ewe bakhona abantwana abayithandayo lonto ufike be Gossipa ngalonto but I think it's wrong, otitshala ufike bebonisa abantwana uba baxabene like phayana esikolweni one time there was this white teacher.....

Interviewer: ohhh...is it a black and a white teacher fighting?

Interviewee: no, all teachers are white at my school uyabona, there is only one black teacher, the bad thing is that.....

Interviewer: Thank you so much for your time I really appreciate it, God bless you!

Interviewee: It's a pleasure Ma'am