

**Constructing Ambiguous Identities:  
Negotiating Race, Respect,  
and Social Change in 'Coloured' Schools  
in Cape Town, South Africa**

Daniel Patrick Hammett

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## **Declaration**

This thesis has been composed by myself from the results of my own work, except where otherwise acknowledged. It has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree.

## ***Abstract***

South African social relations in the second decade of democracy remain framed by race. Spatial and social lived realities, the continued importance of belonging – to feel part of a community, mean that identifying as ‘coloured’ in South Africa continues to be contested, fluid and often ambiguous. This thesis considers the changing social location of ‘coloured’ teachers through the narratives of former and current teachers and students. Education is used as a site through which to explore the wider social impacts of social and spatial engineering during and subsequent to apartheid. Two key themes are examined in the space of education, those of racial identity and of respect. These are brought together in an interwoven narrative to consider whether or not ‘coloured’ teachers in the post-apartheid period are respected and the historical trajectories leading to the contemporary situation.

Two main concerns are addressed. The first considers the question of racial identification to constructions of self-identity. Working with post-colonial theory and notions of mimicry and ambivalence, the relationship between teachers and the identifier ‘coloured’ is shown to be problematic and contested. Second, and connected to teachers’ engagement with racialised identities, is the notion of respect. As with claims to identity and racial categorisation, the concept of respect is considered as mutable and dynamic and rendered with contextually subjective meanings that are often contested and ambivalent. Political and social changes affect the context within which relations to identities are constructed. In South Africa, this has shaped a shift away from the struggle ideology of non-racialism and the respect that could be accrued through this. This process also complicated the status recognition respect historically associated with teaching. As local, national and global contexts have shifted and processes of globalisations have impacted upon cultural and social capital, the prestige and respect of teaching have changed. Appraisal respect has become increasingly important, and is influencing contested concepts of respect and identity. As these teachers exert claims to identities which include assertions of belonging in relation to race and attempts to earn respect, these processes are shown to be elusive and ambiguous.

As a trans-disciplinary thesis, this work is located at the intersection of, and between, geography, education, history, anthropology, politics and sociology. Utilising a wide range of materials, from documentary sources, archives, participant observation, interviews and life histories, a multilayered story is woven together. The work’s originality stems from this trans-disciplinary grounding and its engagement with wide ranging theoretical approaches. This thesis argues that the lived experience of educators reflects the ambiguous and contentious experience of ‘coloureds’ in Cape Town. Drawing upon wider literature and debate, the contested location of education – its commodification – in South Africa reflects broader concerns of educationalists in the North and South, and is imbued within concerns over development and sustainability.

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## ***Abbreviations***

AA	Affirmative Action
ANC	African National Congress
APO	African People's Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CAC	Coloured Advisory Council
CAD	Coloured Affairs Department
CCTV	Closed-Circuit Television
CED	Coloured Education Department
CLPP	Coloured Labour Preference Policy
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
CPEA	Coloured Persons Education Act
CPRC	Coloured Persons Representative Council
DA	Democratic Alliance
DoE	Department of Education
GAA	Group Areas Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
NECC	National Education Co-ordinating Committee
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NP	National Party
NUM	New Unity Movement
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PAC	Pan African Congress
PAGAD	People Against Guns And Drugs
PRA	Population Registration Act

SACOS	South African Council on Sports
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SAP	South African Party
TLSA	Teachers' League of South Africa
UCT	University of Cape Town
UP	United Party
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WCED	Western Cape Education Department
WECTU	Western Cape Teachers Union

## ***Introduction***

Identities are narratives, stories people tell themselves and others about who they are (and who they are not)... The identity narratives can be individual or they can be collective... Although they can be reproduced from generation to generation, this reproduction is always carried out in a selective way. The identity narratives can shift and change, be contested and multiple. They can relate to the past, to a myth of origin; they can be aimed at explaining the present and, probably above all, they function as a projection of a future trajectory. Constructions of belonging, however, cannot and should not be seen as merely cognitive stories. They reflect emotional investments and desire for attachments...always produc[ed] through the combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong. (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 202)

The power of identity narratives was evident throughout my research. They revealed contested, multiple, ambiguous, and ambivalent identities, drawing upon ‘myths of origins’ explaining the present and asserted in connection with future fears and expectations.

During an interview with David,<sup>1</sup> a 57 year old teacher at a former ‘Indian’ school in Cape Town,<sup>2</sup> I was struck by the power of his narrative and the processes shaping his identity. A dedicated educationalist, his patience with education policy and the ‘new’ South Africa was wearing thin. The strength of his story as an individual recognised for his involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle and continued efforts to provide a non-racial, equitable education, had an immediate impact upon me:

I started out teaching in Manenberg, I was there during the 1976 riots. I remember our [‘coloured’] kids used to come in the morning as ordinary pupils. Within ten minutes there would be a sound that we were going to boycott school. And all of a sudden those kids turned around and walked out, right past you with no regard to the teacher because they were going to fight for their liberation.

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<sup>1</sup> All school, teacher and student names have been changed as required by the Western Cape Education Department.

<sup>2</sup> During apartheid, responsibility was devolved to 19 different education departments including separate departments for each racial group (‘white’, ‘coloured’, ‘Indian’, ‘black’) as well as for each homeland.

I remember in '76, I approached the Sula Lounge in Manenberg – it had been looted and policemen were inside. They were waiting – they had heard that people from Gugulethu, the 'black' township, were coming to loot. And we were standing there waiting and as these guys approached from Gugulethu, we warned them, "don't go in there, the police are waiting for you." They just ignored us completely and went into the bottle store. And we saw bodies flying as the police shot at them from inside. That was first experiencing death right in my face.<sup>3</sup> I took the kids back to school. Three days later I was picked up by the Security Police.

While I was at Hewat Training College. We were in what is now Klipfontein Road. We were at the bottom of Klipfontein marching towards Rondebosch, which was a 'white' area. So what the cops did, they covered the 'white' area to keep us out. Now the tactic of the police was that they would shoot the main person in that crowd. They would identify the leader – he's got a white shirt or a red shirt and a sharp shooter would kill that guy and everyone else would disperse.

On this particular day, one of my colleagues at Hewat, he had on a red shirt and we were marching towards Rondebosch; and he was shot right in front of me; blood spattered on my face. A sharp-shooter had taken him out upon the order of a 'coloured' sergeant. That evening, we went to this youngster's home. His father was there and we spoke to him and the father was waiting for his son to come home. The son never came home. It was the same sergeant who had given the order to shoot. He had killed his own son. He committed suicide, I think, a month or two later. (David, int. 13/05/2005)

I include this story to highlight how sensitive, emotive, and violent research on identity in South Africa is. The experiences of many of the teachers I worked with included memories of physical, mental, and emotional violence. The vividness of these memories emphasised the strength they retained. The stories that are presented here, and the beliefs which continue to shape identities, are rooted in this history of violent oppression.

The narratives herein elicit a number of questions. How do such experiences of (often violent) intrusions into the individual lived experience continue to shape teachers' identities and ideologies? How have such experiences affected their

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<sup>3</sup> During these riots, a total of 108 people were killed by police actions in the Cape Peninsula (Cillier, 1980: 85-108).

relationship with the classification ‘coloured’? How have social and legislative changes shaped their location as teachers within their communities? How have they sought to assert themselves as respected members of their local communities?

## **I.1 Coming to the Research**

Why would a British student, who had never lived in South Africa nor taught, come to research the complexities of race and respect amongst ‘coloured’ teachers in Cape Town? Growing up in Britain during the 1980s in a household where everyday began with Radio Four’s *Today* programme meant I was exposed to news and political analysis from an early age. At that time my father also had links with a number of campaign groups including those offering international solidarity to those opposing the apartheid state in South Africa. With this home environment I grew up with an awareness of global politics, perhaps best illustrated by my recollection of running home from the school bus in order to watch the television coverage of Nelson Mandela’s release from prison. This interest in politics and in South Africa in particular was further developed at the University of Oxford where I read for my first degree in geography with Dr Anthony Lemon as my principal tutor. His research interests in South Africa were transferred to me whilst taking an option course on the social and political geography of South Africa, including sessions considering questions of racial identities.

Alongside this developing interest in South Africa, was an underlying engagement with debates around education and the role of teachers in society. Both my parents worked as teachers and I was very aware of their feelings on many developments which impinged upon their ability to teach – I was told from a young age ‘never go into teaching – it’s not worth it’. Financial pressures on educational institutions and teachers themselves, as well as the use of teachers as scapegoats for poor student performance, problems with your behaviour and other social ills by politicians, the media, policy makers and the general public were common complaints. Government and policy makers seeming inability to grasp these as contributing factors to my own, and that of many of my peers, reluctance to consider becoming teachers ourselves

leant itself to questioning how and why respect for teachers was changing and what could be done about this. With these influences over my own development and upbringing, my research interests evolved prior to and during my PhD to focus upon an intersection of these – the social location of ‘coloured’ teachers in South Africa.

## I.2 A Note on the Term ‘coloured’

The continued use of apartheid racial classifications in post-apartheid censuses (see Table 1 for 2001 returns) and employment legislation remains contested and politicised, the use of the category ‘coloured’ particularly so. Authors use varying terminology to render the term in different ways, some more problematically than others: coloured, Coloured, ‘coloured’, so-called coloured (for instance Adhikari, 1981, 2002; Battersby, 2002). Underlying the use of the term ‘coloured’ (deliberately placed in quotation marks) is the importance that the received categories (‘black’, ‘white’, ‘coloured’, ‘Indian’) be rendered problematic – as contested and imaginary – in order not to reinforce these social constructs (see Jansen, 2005b: 24). This terminology allows recognition of the invented nature of racial identities whilst acknowledging their “pseudo-reality because of socio-political consequences” (Burman, 1986: 6). In this way, the “relationship between professional dialect [academic writings] and more general discourse [everyday use of the concept]” can be seen as well as both *what* the concept allows us to think as well as *how* these terms frame our thinking (Wolf, 1994: 1, 2). With the continued salience of race, questions around this issue remain significant and Race remains ingrained in attitudes and perceptions, and discussions around these terms need to be reopened.

**Table 1: 2001 Census returns for the Western Cape and South Africa.**

	Western Cape	South Africa
Black/African	1,207,429	35,416,166
Coloured	2,438,976	3,994,505
Indian/Asiatic	45,030	1,115,467
White	832,901	4,293,640
Total	4,524,335	44,819,778

(Statistics South Africa, 2001: 10)



### **I.3 Thesis Outline**

Developing the themes of race, respect, and identity of ‘coloured’ teachers in Cape Town, this thesis will emphasise the problematic, contested and ambiguous nature of identities. The development of ideas of ‘colouredness’ and respect will be framed by ideas of ambivalence and ambiguity so as to avoid the loss of “the complexity and fluidity that characterize emergent cosmopolitan cultures in these global times” associated with speaking to rigid and fixed categories (Yon, 2000b: 144).

The context within which this study was undertaken is sketched in chapter one, outlining the construction of the racialised political, social and educational systems of Cape Town. This history frames the lived experience of teachers and continues to influence their identity and behaviour. Recognising this allows deliberation of the constituted (and therefore subjective) experience of time and place by an individual, not only through an immediate, reflexive consideration of this moment but also through reflection upon this moment subsequently, through which it is given meaning and shapes the individual (Burch, 1990: 134). Background questions must therefore “delve into history and ideology” (Shaefer, 1983: 13) to analyse the context. The development and location of the ‘coloured’ community within this environment plays a vital role in constructing changing notions of respect and respectability.

Chapter two will explore the concept of respect in more detail. This notion emerged as a key lens through which community members located themselves and others, although not always drawing upon the same criteria. Developing a localised construct of the contested nature of respect, this term will be used to explore questions of identities – as teacher and as ‘coloured’ – within the local context. To allow for the complexities and conflicts of notions of identity and respect to be explored, the idea of identities as ambiguous and ambivalent will be introduced. Drawing upon the ideas of Bhabha (1994), Baumann (1996), and Yon (2000a) I will situate the following chapters in a framework which recognises the multiple layered and dynamic nature of identity.

Building upon the preceding chapters, outlining the historical context of South Africa and theoretical constructions of respect, chapter three specifies the research questions and examines the methodological framework within which the fieldwork was conducted. The major research sites are introduced in some detail, and the reflexive process through which data were gathered is discussed.

Elucidating teacher identity through the notion of respect begins in chapter four. Drawing upon legislation and life histories, the location of 'coloured' teachers in the mid twentieth century is examined. Racialised legislation forced aspiring 'coloureds' into a few careers, in the process disrupting and contesting the respected social location of education. Through the politicisation of education as a site of resistance the troubled position of the teacher is shown to have a contested relationship to honour and respect. At this point, challenges to the dominant form of respect will be highlighted as a contested and ambiguous process.

Chapter five brings this narrative to the twenty-first century, considering how teachers contest their social location. In line with global trends, the prestige of teaching is under attrition whilst teachers continue to struggle, both to retain their occupational prestige and to promote non-racialism. Key issues are identified as impacting upon teacher identity including the intrusion of crime and a sense of fear, a decline in classroom discipline, a shift to a student-rights based educational culture, pressure and stress resulting from policy initiatives as well as classroom behaviour, and the belief that financial rewards are insufficient. Underlying these complaints is a sense that the respect and social capital previously afforded to teachers are rapidly disappearing.

In chapter six, the re-emergence of race as a social discourse in the post-apartheid era is considered in relation to teachers' identities. Continued claims to marginalisation remain problematic. Teachers who were 'resistance' or 'struggle' teachers (those who opposed apartheid and utilised their position as teachers to mobilise against the state) find themselves continuing the same struggles under a different guise, as the

external reality of social inequality and entrenched racism intrudes into their attempts to construct a non-racial classroom reality. At this juncture, the ways in which teachers continue to grapple with their identities, political ideals and experience of respect remain contested. The identity categories that are both sought and imposed are recognised, dismissed, revalorised and reclaimed, each unable to contain the identities teachers wish to claim, leaving a sense of ambivalence and ambiguity.

Chapter seven continues to explore the interplay of identity, race, education and respect outside of the classroom. Developing the historical association of the 'coloured' population with the musical trajectory of the Western Cape and the strong influences of the Black Atlantic in these local negotiations of global cultural flows, this chapter considers the contested influences of local and global hip-hop on expressions of identity and conceptions of respect within and beyond the classroom. Focussing upon the life history of former teacher, now hip-hop artist, Emile Jansen, the political role and power of music is related to anti-apartheid struggle teachers' claims to respect. Tracing Emile's life history into the post-apartheid period, the continued attempts of local hip-hop artists to promote knowledge, social cohesion and community activism are shown to be marginalised by the dominance of African-American hip-hop and gangster rap in student consumer practices. The inscription of self and claims to respect that this encourages within and beyond the school setting contest struggle teachers' claims to respect and teachings of non-racialism.

These ideas are furthered in chapter eight, where the influence of global cultural imports upon renegotiations of respect and identity within Cape Town are considered. The simultaneous presence and claiming of multiple forms of respect, allied to social and cultural change, are shown to be a contested and often ambiguous process experienced within and outside of schools. The apparent pre-occupation of students with expressing and claiming identities and respect through the styles and means idolised in African-American gangster rap and hip-hop is problematised, as the historical association of 'white-is-right' and privileging of claims to Western ancestors and cultural flows is revisited. Practices of consumption, inscribing access to both economic and cultural capital, are shown to be the result of local

renegotiations of global influences, which in turn shape the habitus within which teachers' and students' claims to respect are situated in a context where claims to marginalisation and alternative forms of respect expressed in music find resonance with perceptions of the realities of life in the new South Africa.

The concluding chapter draws together the strands of identity discussed – 'coloured' and teacher – and positions them within the changing frame of respect. The intrusion of external realities into an individual's reality highlights how the *Zeitgeist* and lived experience shape the framework within which attempts to construct and maintain identities are shown to be an ongoing, incomplete process.

# **1. Historical Context**

Race has preoccupied writings on South Africa since the emergence of the Cape liberal tradition in the 1820s. Bank (1997: 262) claims the publication of John Philip's 1828 *Researches in South Africa* sparked this historiography, tying missionaries and liberal opposition to the degrading treatment of the 'coloured' population: "all of the coloured population of South Africa, under the jurisdiction of the British government, including the Bushmen, Caffers, Bechuana captives and refugees, and also the prize negroes, are suffering under the same oppressions with the colonial Hottentots" (Philip, 1828: 360). The subsequent evolution of conservative and liberal texts embedded race as the central discourse of South African writings, reflecting social and political developments, and framing educational policy.

Constructions of race reflected changes in global thinking, such as the abolitionist movement in the 1830s and the rise of Social Darwinism and eugenics later in the century. These developments reflected doubts over the future of humanity and civilisation resulting from a series of major conflicts and the rise of imperialism (Bell, 1998: 153). Environmental determinist ideas of Semple (1996 [1911]) and Huntington (1924) followed in the 1910s and 1920s, framing global debates reflected in dominant South African ideas about race supremacy. These writers claimed that geographical and climatic conditions determined the character and intelligence of populations, and that the conditions in Africa produced lazy, ignorant and violent populations. Dubow has highlighted the progression of racial thinking in South Africa, from the racial Othering of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century to the scientific racism which followed in the 1850s. He identifies how "racist ideology [of apartheid] both reflected and grew out of already existing notions of human difference...to entrench them legislatively and ideologically" (Dubow, 1995: 6).

By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the social location of 'coloureds' below 'whites' but above 'blacks', and the government's utilisation of them as a 'buffer group' between 'white' and 'black' positioned them akin to Park's 'marginal man'; "the man of

mixed blood is one who lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less a stranger” (Park, 1928: 893). In the 1960s, some writers likened the institutionalised South African racial hierarchy to the Indian caste structure (for instance van den Berghe, 1964). Srinivas’s discussion of castes as endogenous, hereditary and hierarchical, governed by “the concepts of pollution and purity” (Srinivas, 1962: 3), with dominant castes “stimulat[ing] in lower castes a desire to imitate the dominant caste’s own prestigious style of life” (Srinivas, 1967: 17), informed thinking on South African social relations (for example West, 1971). Psychologists have likened these structures to slave-master relations, containing elements of symbolic dehumanisation whereby the slave opposes his enforced dehumanised position but simultaneously colludes to maintain this (Manganyi, 1991: 12-13).

The importance of understanding the historical context within which the ‘coloured’ communities developed is linked to discussions of mimicry and ambiguity, and to Yuval-Davis’s theorisation of belonging. Yuval-Davis emphasises the importance of the changing historical context and the use of calls to belonging for mobilising resistance to oppression and imposed identities. “As Frantz Fanon crucially argued, [in *Black Skins, White Masks*] such a politics of resistance needs to be directed not only at oppressed people’s social and economic locations but also against their internalizations of forced constructions of self and identity” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 203). Taking this further, she argues that “Belonging, therefore, is not just about social locations and constructions of individual and collective identities and attachments but also about the ways these are valued and judged” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 203). Therefore, the contested political location of being ‘coloured’ and an individual’s rejection or acceptance of this term (an action which itself is often uncertain and ambiguous) can be seen as vital in individual’s identificatory claims.

## **1.1 ‘Creating’ the ‘coloured’**

An African tries to go into a cinema reserved for coloureds and is thrown out with the line ‘No Kaffirs are allowed here’. The African then counters this tirade with, ‘God made the white man, God made the black man, God made the Indian, the Chinese and the Jew – but

Jan van Riebeeck [the Dutch commander who landed at the Cape in 1652], he made the Coloured man'. (Adhikari, 2002: 44)

This joke, analysed by Mohamed Adhikari, illustrates a common perception of the origins of the 'coloured' population, one that Cilliers describes "as a result of White settlement at the Cape... and the subsequent processes of biological and cultural assimilation between slaves, aborigines and Whites" (Cilliers, 1971b: 1), and at a later stage the admixture of 'coloured' and 'black' (Cilliers, 1971a: 28). The belief that the 'coloured' population developed separately, but as a result of 'white' actions and ideology, was expressed by many 'coloureds' during fieldwork. During one interview, Abdullah, a retired Muslim 'coloured' teacher, outlined his belief that "the word 'coloured' came into existence the very moment the 'white' person set foot in South Africa in 1652" (Abdullah, int. 21/02/2005). Whilst legislation increasingly divided the population and made cross-race relationships illegal, initial settlers were relaxed about 'race-mixing'.

The first people of the Cape, the Khoe-San,<sup>4</sup> pre-date the arrival of European and Bantu-speaking settlers. Initial semi-cooperative symbiotic relations between the Khoe-San and Europeans were rapidly replaced by proletarianised wage labour dependency. Europeans dispossessed the Khoe-San of their land and livestock, forcing them into servitudinal relations during the first period of European settlement under Dutch jurisdiction between 1652 and 1795 (Crawhall, 1999: 35; Iliffe, 1995; MacMillan, 1927; Marais, 1957 [1939]: 6-7; Penn, 1989: 2). The 'white' population of the Cape grew rapidly during this time; excluding Dutch East Indies Company employees, the number of 'whites' rose from 168 in 1672 to 5,419 by 1752, including the immigrant French Huguenots in the 1680s (Magubane, 1979: 31).

Initial acceptance of inter-racial relations following 'white' settlement extended to inter-racial marriage (Marais, 1957 [1939]: 10). The development of 'white' pride in

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<sup>4</sup> The term Khoe-San refers to the Khoekhoe and San peoples, and reflects developments in anthropological terminology in which Khoe-San is emerging as the preferred term of reference, rather than the previously accepted term, Khoisan, to emphasise the different political interests and objectives of the Khoekhoe and San. This debate is discussed further and situated in broader debates in (Barnard, 2006: 1-16), which builds upon Adam Kuper's controversial paper attacking the essentialised notions of 'indigenous peoples' focussing upon claims to identity and history by various groups in post-apartheid South Africa, (Kuper, 2003: 389-402).

the late 17<sup>th</sup> century discouraged such relations, subjecting them to social sanctions. In 1681 the Dutch East India Company banned “lewd dancing and cohabitation of Europeans and freed slaves” and prohibited the marriage of whites and freed slaves (except mixed-race slaves) in 1685 (Cox, 1943: 146; Loram, 1917: 36; Worden, 1985: 148). However, power relations between ‘whites’ and slaves meant sexual relations continued despite conservative denials of acts of miscegenation. Conservatives claimed that despite a shortage of European women in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the ‘white’ male settlers “had no Inclination to meddle with the *Hottentot-Women*”<sup>5</sup> (Kolb and Medley, 1731: 21-22).

In 1795, the colony was annexed by Britain following the Napoleonic Wars before the Treaty of Amiens saw possession revert to the Dutch in 1803. The British re-took the colony on January 19<sup>th</sup> 1806 and the territory was ceded to the British in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1814, remaining in British hands until the Act of Union in 1910. Under British rule, dominance was secured militarily and reinforced through processes inculcating “the British institutions, language and culture as superior” (Magubane, 1979: 33). The spread of the Industrial revolution influenced the development of the Cape colony imbued with Protestant work ethic and desire for capital accumulation, with the exploitation of ‘non-whites’ fuelling economic development. The industrial revolution not only encouraged emigration from Europe to the Cape, but also provided much of the ideological basis upon which colonial practices followed. During this period, Comaroff has identified three main forms of colonial practice; British ‘state colonialism’, Afrikaner ‘settler colonialism’, and Missionaries ‘civilising colonialism’, viewed as bureaucratic, brutal, and benign, respectively (Comaroff, 1997: 179).

Popular depictions of the Khoe and San in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries included the preoccupation with them being violent and depraved (Kolb and Medley, 1731), and as “little yellow, monkey-like people”, with whom a white person would only have a relationship if they were mentally unbalanced and whose offspring would be forever cursed (Millin, 1986: 28). These portrayals reflected the view that

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<sup>5</sup> The term Hottentot was historically used to refer to the Khoekhoe but is now viewed as a derogatory term and has been replaced by Khoekhoe.



'coloureds' were inherently inferior to 'whites', depicted "as an undersized, scheming and entirely degenerate bastard...a potential menace to Western Civilisation, to everything that is White and Sacred and majusculed" (Dover, 1937: 13).

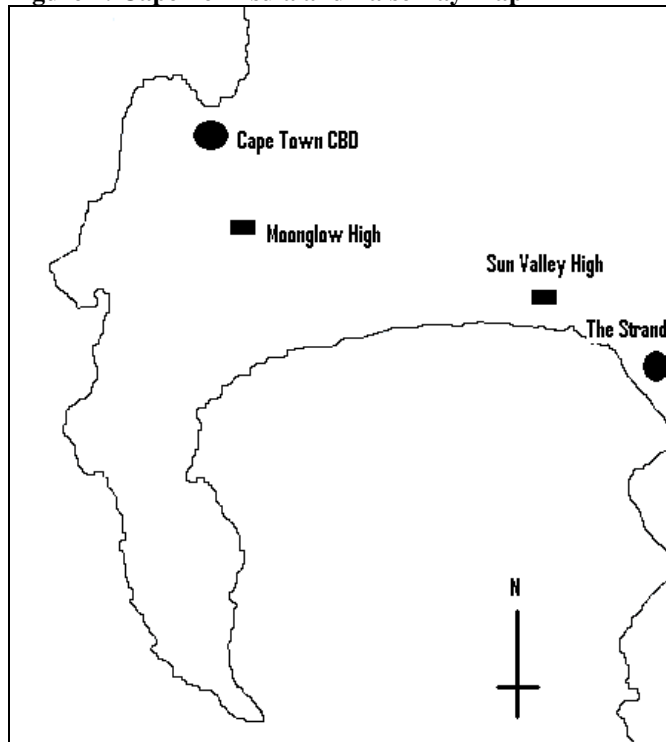
The early missionary, John Philip, viewed the Khoe-San differently, describing them as "remarkable for the excellence of their morals, that they kept the law of nations better than most civilised people, and that they were valiant in arms". He argued that their interactions with the 'white' settlers had resulted in their sacrifice of land and freedom in return for "tobacco, and spirits, and a number of vices unknown to them in their former ignorance" such that the "injuries inflicted upon the Hottentots by the colonists must have had a deteriorating influence on their character" (Philip, 1828: 3, xi, 5).

This early period of expansion and slave importation from elsewhere in Africa and the East Indies, was a "period of contact [which] produced the genetic crossing of Whites, Khoikhoi, San and Negroids, with an admixture of south-east Asians" producing the 'coloureds'; "a transitional group, geno- and pheno-typically, as well as socio-culturally" (du Toit, 1983: 366). The importation of slaves and political exiles from the East Indies from 1667 onwards had a major impact upon the development of the Cape colony, as these arrivals included Sheik Yussuf, the founder of Islam in South Africa (du Plessis, 1946). Islam formed the mainstay of East Indian slave identity and was adopted by many other slaves who found Islamic teachings free from European participation, providing a philosophy that was free of the oppressor/oppressed power relations of Christianity (Lewis, 1949: 588).

Whilst informal Muslim education had existed earlier, Islamic schools were established in the nineteenth century, depicted in paintings such as George Angus's 1857 *Malay School*. In 1864 a Muslim school was founded in the Strand (figure 1), 50 kilometres south-east of Cape Town, to provide an alternative to the Christian (Wesleyan) Missionary School (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005). In Uttar Pradesh, India, similarly Muslims elites developed religious education "as a means of resisting

imperial rule, in the colonial era, or as a way of protecting religious identities, in the postcolonial period” (Jeffrey, et al., 2004: 965).

**Figure 1: Cape Peninsula and False Bay Map**



The racial hierarchy of South African slave society (‘black’ slave – free ‘black’/mixed race – ‘white’) was perpetuated after the emancipation of slaves in 1834 through legislation which ascribed social status by physiognomy (Stone, 1972: 41). The alignment of class and race meant the “Khoisan and ex-slaves together began to emerge as an urban proletariat” (Sales, 1975: 1) separate from the Bantu-speaking population (Goldin, 1989: 242). Capitalist industrial development in the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century fuelled urbanisation and a separate ‘coloured’ politicised identity began to emerge (Adhikari, 2001; Beinart, 2001: 38; Pickel, 1997: 24). In this context, with the dramatic rise of industrial modernity replacing agrarian society and emergent anxieties, Dubow (1995: 286) has argued that racial science ideas “helped to rationalise social strictures against racial and cultural intermixture”.

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century a ‘coloured’ elite developed utilising ‘European’ measures of success - occupation, education, religion, family background and skin

colour - to privilege their position (Lewis, 1987: 13). The formation of this intermediate position, Adhikari (1994: 103) has argued, was the result of a “Coloured identity...defined from below by assimilated colonial blacks who were anxious to secure a status of relative privilege for themselves, it was also partly delineated from above by the dominant white population determined to entrench their supremacy and unwilling to countenance the assimilationist aspirations of colonial blacks”. Such behaviour reflects the psychological enslavement described by Manganyi (1991), and Bhabha’s ideas of mimicry (1994) through the appropriation of ‘white’ symbols of respectability.

## **1.2 Reaching a consensus? - The problem of defining ‘coloured’**

The in-between location of ‘coloureds’, bridging and threatening the ‘pure’ racial categories of ‘white’ and ‘black’, speaks directly to Stoler’s consideration of “the construction of colonial categories and...those people who ambiguously straddled, crossed and threatened these imperial divides...[who] called into question the distinctions of difference that maintained the neat boundaries of colonial rule” (Stoler, 1997: 198). Linking these ideas with the recognition of colonialism and apartheid as incoherent processes (Comaroff, 1997: 165) provides a frame within which to consider the conflicted construction of the ‘coloured’ population. These contested processes have led Lewis (1987: 2-3) to label the ‘coloureds’ as “a heterogeneous collection of individuals ‘lumped together for administrative purposes’”, and Lemon (1987: 255) to observe that the “very existence of a separate and identifiable coloured population in South Africa is questionable”. The legislative history defining the ‘coloured’ population further emphasises these dilemmas and points towards the ambiguities suggested by Stoler.

The Cape government clearly differentiated the ‘coloured’ in the late nineteenth century, evidenced by the change in Census categories between the 1865 Census of the Cape of Good Hope (‘White or European’, ‘Hottentot’, ‘Kaffir’, and ‘other

aborigines’) (Cape of Good Hope, 1865: 9), and the 1891 Census, which returned ‘coloureds’ as separate from other groups (Cape of Good Hope, 1892: xvii). The 1904 Census spoke of “three clearly defined Race Groups...distinguished by colour and may be designated, first, White or European; second, Black...; and third, Yellow and coloured, i.e. the intermediate shades between the other two” (Cape of Good Hope, 1905: xxi). Since 1904, despite changes in definition, ‘coloured’ has remained as a quantifiable population (table 2). The creation of this category, and location between ‘black’ and ‘white’ reflects Stoler’s contention that such groups were separated and encoded as “a political danger predicated on the psychological liminality, mental instability, and economic vulnerability of culturally hybrid minorities” that are examined later, and based upon fears “about groups that straddled and disrupted cleanly marked social divides and whose diverse membership exposed the arbitrary logic by which categories of control were made” (Stoler, 1997: 225).

**Table 2: The 'coloured' population of South Africa, 1904-1996.**

Year	Total Population	Percentage by race			
		White	Coloured	Asian	African
<b>1904</b>	5,174,827	21.6	8.6	2.4	67.4
<b>1911</b>	5,972,757	21.4	8.8	2.5	67.7
<b>1921</b>	6,927,757	21.9	7.9	2.4	67.8
<b>1936</b>	9,587,863	20.9	8.0	2.3	68.8
<b>1946</b>	11,415,925	20.8	8.1	2.5	68.6
<b>1951</b>	12,671,452	20.9	8.7	2.9	67.5
<b>1960</b>	16,002,797	19.3	9.4	3.0	68.3
<b>1970</b>	21,794,328	17.3	9.4	2.9	70.4
<b>1980</b>	28,979,035	15.7	9.1	2.8	72.4
<b>1991</b>	38,268,720	13.2	8.6	2.6	75.6
<b>1996</b>	40,583,573	10.9	8.9	2.6	76.7

(Beinart, 2001: 353)

Following the Act of Union in 1910, which brought together the Cape Colony, Natal and the two Boer Republics (Orange Free State and Transvaal), the 1911 Census returned figures for ‘European or White’, ‘Bantu’ and ‘Mixed and coloured other than Bantu’. This final category included ‘Bushman’, ‘Hottentot’, ‘Griqua’, ‘Mozambiquean’, ‘Chinese’, ‘Indian’, ‘Koranna’, ‘Namaqua’, ‘Malay’, ‘Mixed

Race' and 'Other' (Union of South Africa, 1913: 10). The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 stated that, "'coloured person' means any person of mixed European and Native descent and shall include any person belonging to the class called Cape Malay", whilst Khoe and San were included as 'native' (1923: 188).<sup>6</sup> The Immorality Act of 1927 prohibited "illicit carnal intercourse between Europeans and natives and other acts in relation thereto" (1927: 14), and cast the origins of many 'coloureds' as undesirable, the result of immoral (and now illegal) sexual relations, a position reinforced by the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages (1949). In these Acts, the South African government expressed one of the major fears about race mixing that had been evident in many parts of the colonised world, that such acts were "Conceived of as a dangerous source of subversion...seen as a threat to white prestige, an embodiment of European degeneration and moral decay" (Stoler, 1997: 199).

The exclusion of the Khoe-San from 'coloured' was evident in the Pensions Act (1928), when 'coloureds' were defined negatively as neither "Asia[n] nor...a member of an aboriginal race or tribe in Africa nor a Hottentot, Bushman or Koranna" (February, 1981: 190-191). The 1928 Liquor Act, which determined access to alcohol by race, maintained 'coloured' as "any person who is neither European nor an Asiatic nor a native [including the Khoe-San]" (1928: 621).

By 1936, Census definitions covered "three main racial groups, plus a fourth of mixed origin", defined as 'European', 'Native', 'Asiatic', and 'Mixed and other coloured' who were "chiefly made up of the result of miscegenation" (Union of South Africa, 1938: viii). The ambiguity of who was 'coloured' continued with the 1937 *Commission of Inquiry Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union's* failure to agree a definition. Part of the committee favoured the definition of "a person living in the Union of South Africa, who does not belong to one of its aboriginal races, but in whom the presence of Coloured blood...can be established with at least reasonable certainty", a situation opposed by those who claimed that it

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<sup>6</sup> The Khoe-San were previously included in the 'native' category in the Natives Land Act (1913), the Native Definition Amendment Act (1916), and the The Liquor Law Amendment Act (1898).

was “well-nigh impossible, to adopt any satisfactory ‘type definition’” (Wilcocks, et al., 1937: 10).

The passage of the Population Registration Act in 1950 was a definitive legislative moment. This legislation, utilised in many subsequent Acts, defined a ‘coloured’ person as “a person who is not a white person or a native”, with the caveat that all proclamations of identity could be changed at the Governor-General’s discretion (1950: 276, 279). Problems with this definition led to fifteen amendments between 1956 and 1986, including the stressing of descent over appearance, and adding education, habits and demeanour to the consideration for being ‘white’ (West, 1987: 3). Different interpretations were used elsewhere. In the Group Areas Act (GAA), any woman or any ‘white’ man who was married to, or cohabiting with, a ‘coloured’ person was then considered as ‘coloured’ (1957a: 1300). However, for the purposes of the Immorality Act (1957b: 276) , ‘coloured’ meant “any person other than a white person”.

By the 1970s, a suggestion of sexual intimacy between ‘black’ and ‘white’ was considered *crimen injuria*.<sup>7</sup> In cases which fell under the Immorality Act, the fluidity of ‘acceptance as’ created problems in for implementation,<sup>8</sup> although the position of the ‘coloured’ as neither African nor European did gain legal precedent from judgements about the (miss)classification of individuals. In the case of REX vs. Radebe, the presiding judge stated “Where the cross is between a native or African and European we commonly employ the term ‘coloured’” (1945: 610).<sup>9</sup> Malherbe offered a different definition for being ‘coloured’; “the Coloured people themselves define a South African Coloured as a person who is discriminated against” (Malherbe, 1971: 3-4).

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<sup>7</sup> See the findings of (1975) where a black male was found guilty of impairing the dignity of a white woman through the suggestion of sexual intimacy.

<sup>8</sup> In the Immorality Act case of (1976) the appeal against a conviction of unlawful sexual relations between a ‘coloured’ woman and a ‘white’ man was upheld as the evidence was deemed to indicate that the woman was accepted as ‘white’. In a separate case, a respondent was reclassified from between ‘coloured’ to ‘Indian’ as he was ‘in fact Indian’ *and* ‘substantially accepted as coloured’. (1972)

<sup>9</sup> The judge in this case reclassified the son of an Indian father and African mother from ‘native’ to ‘non-native’.

The arbitrary nature of racial divisions in South African legislation, particularly for the 'coloured' population category, was remarked upon by the 1976 *Theron Commission of Inquiry into Matters Regarding the Coloured Population Group*, which recommended changes to legislation in order to simplify the category and to include both acceptance and descent as criteria for classification (van der Horst, 1976: 9). The ambiguous construction of 'coloured' was emphasised by attempts on the part of some 'coloureds' to 'pass for white' (Lewis, 1987: 3; Union of South Africa, 1938: xi; Wilcocks, et al., 1937: 30), and shifting definitions which classified a wide range of people as 'coloured' despite variations in religion, language, class, and historical experience (Whisson, 1972: 2). That individuals could be classified differently under different pieces of legislation reflected the uncertain and ambiguous location of 'coloureds'.

Post-apartheid legislation continues to use racial identifiers. The 1996 and 2001 Censuses asked respondents to define themselves as 'African/Black', 'Coloured', 'Indian/Asiatic', 'White', 'Unspecified/Other'. The continued use of these terms was defended as being ascriptive rather than prescriptive (Statistics South Africa, 1996: 3) and for allowing the government "to monitor progress in moving from the apartheid-based discrimination" (Statistics South Africa, 2003: vii). Christopher (2001c: 450) has noted the symbolic change in ordering of population groups in the 1996 Census, where the category 'African/Black' was offered first, and 'white' last – the reverse of apartheid practice. Other legislation, including the Employment Equity Act (1998a), the Public Service Laws Amendment Act (1998b), the Skills Development Act (1998c), and the Skills Development Levy Act (1999), all use these terms to facilitate redress. Despite the defence of these terms as necessary for moves to equality, their continued use, as will be shown in chapter six, remains contested.

### **1.3 Laagering the 'coloured'**

The correlation of race and class during the nineteenth century contributed to widespread racial segregation. Racial prejudice divided 'white' from 'coloured', and

legislative distinctions between 'black' and 'coloured' discouraged solidarity (Goldin, 1989: 247). Social construction and legislative language cast 'coloured' as an intermediate and negated identity between essentialist discourses of 'whiteness' and 'blackness'. For 'whites', the 'coloured' population functioned as a negatively defined Other to maintain a stable 'white' identity (Reddy, 2001: 66). For 'coloureds' this "meant knowing that I was *not only* not white, but *less than white; not only* not black, but *better than black*" (Erasmus, 2001b: 13); a hybrid, ambiguous identity that left people feeling "as confused as a chameleon in a Smartie box" (Field, 2001a: 104). This meant that whilst 'coloureds' were seen as, and encouraged to be, "mainly western in culture" they simultaneously "occup[ied] a marginal position in the structure of the western society in South Africa" (Cilliers, 1971a: 30). Their position in a 'white' dominated and racially structured society meant "that Coloured persons who qualif[ied] in terms of domicilium as subjects of the state, [did] not enjoy the full rights as citizens on par with their fellow white subjects of the state" (Cilliers, 1972: 113), expressed through discriminatory legislation and social and spatial segregation.

### **1.3.1 Political Expressions**

Political expressions of 'coloured' identity, aided by the coincidence of race and class (Worden, 1985: 138), developed in the mining areas of Kimberley in the 1880s (Adhikari, 1994: 105) before spreading to the Cape. 'Coloureds' in the Western Cape were mobilised by the actions of Francis Zaccharius, Santiago Peregrino, and John Tobin, with the 1902 establishment of the African Political Organisation (APO), the publication of the *South African Spectator*, and weekly rallies in District Six, a multi-racial area of central Cape Town (Lewis, 1987: 16-19). Founded 10 years before the African National Congress (ANC), the 'coloured' APO represented petty bourgeoisie interests and assimilationist desires, whilst distancing themselves from 'blacks' to prove their civilisation and simultaneously espousing non-racialism but appealing to a 'coloured' racial identity.



The end of the South African War in 1902, and British renegeing on promises of greater political participation to 'coloureds' - instead prioritising of the 'poor white problem' - meant growing numbers of 'coloureds' recognised the futility of seeking incorporation into the dominant 'white' population. At this juncture, the rise of eugenics resonated with 'white' ideals about 'purity', the immorality of miscegenation, and the potential degeneration of the 'white' population. However, eugenic theories were divisive as they confronted the "peculiar articulation of race and class in South Africa" which in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was focussed upon the protection and upliftment of the 'poor whites' (Dubow, 1995: 16).

The development and exercising of a 'coloured' identity became a survival strategy with increasing workplace conflict between the races as economic hardship, 'white' unionisation (Goldin, 1987: 161), urban migration and the return of demobilised soldiers increased competition for employment after World War One. These developments were utilised by 'white' political parties to divide the oppressed masses by promising 'coloureds' employment privileges over 'black' workers (Goldin, 1987: 243-247).

By the 1930s, the APO's conservative leanings and confused political rhetoric saw them challenged as the main 'coloured' political grouping by the radical National Liberation League (1935) and Non-European Unity Movement (1943) (Adhikari, 2004: 8). Further attempts to locate 'coloureds' 'in-between' and prevent 'non-white' unity included the creation of the Coloured Advisory Council in 1943, although the entire council resigned in 1950. The NP government also removed 'coloured' voters from the common role, establishing a separate Board of Coloured Affairs in 1951. Established for the 'non-European' who was neither 'white' nor 'native' (1951: 272), this Board was abolished within five years and replaced in 1956 by the Coloured Affairs Council whose function was to "advise the Government of the Union at its request on all matters affecting the economic, social, educational and political interests of the non-European ['coloured'] population" (1956b: 761). In 1959, this was replaced by the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CPRC) and the newly formed Coloured Affairs Department (CAD). The CAD had responsibility for

matters relating to the ‘coloured’ population of the state and had three ‘white’ representatives to promote ‘coloured’ interests to Parliament. The (‘white’) Minister of Coloured Affairs’ opening address to the CPRC in 1969 underlined the subordinate position of the ‘coloured’ by stating, “I wish to give you the assurance that from the White side that we as Whites...will not let go your hand until you are completely ready to stand on your own feet” (Viljoen, 1978: 70). These Councils proved divisive, as many activists saw them as “represent[ing] a further division on racial lines within the constitutional framework” (de Villiers, 1949: 525), whilst others saw participation as a means to personal and community upliftment.

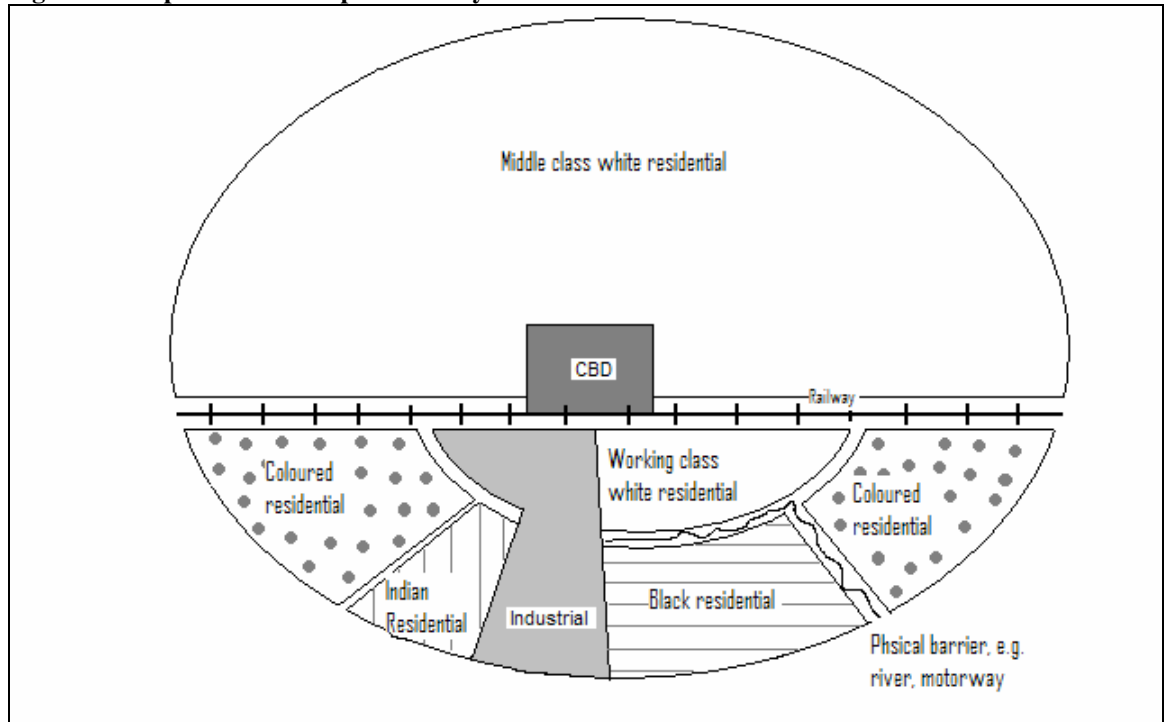
### ***1.3.2 Spatial and Social Distancing***

The ‘coloured’ community were increasingly spatially segregated, located in marginal and intermediate locations in keeping with Friction Theory – the belief that wherever racial groups came into contact, friction would inevitably result. This was utilised in the Group Areas Act (GAA) (1957a) which used ‘coloured’ residential areas as buffers between ‘white’ and ‘black’, in addition to natural or infrastructural barriers (Figure 2). In the workplace, the Industrial Conciliation Act (1956a) and Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act (1959) split trade union membership and provided job reservations to prevent inter-racial competition and secure the superior status of ‘whites’. At the macro-level the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP), which privileged ‘coloured’ employment in the Western Cape over ‘blacks’ labour, and at the micro-scale the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953b), which legislated for ‘petty apartheid’ in the provision of separate amenities, further entrenched physical divisions.

The CLPP, introduced in the 1950s, had two explicit aims: influx control to prevent ‘blacks’ moving into the Western Cape (to keep the Western Cape demographically ‘white’ dominated); and protecting ‘coloured’ involvement in the economy (Humphries, 1989). As a consequence, by 1970, 90% of the 2.1 million ‘coloureds’ lived in the Western Cape, including 29% in the Cape Town metropole (Cilliers,

1971a: 29). The lived experience of the spatial and social outcomes of these politics, which both fragmented and coalesced communities, are central to the habitus. Taking from Massey, who argues for the reconceptualisation of place as a ‘throwntogetherness’ which “demands negotiation...places as presented here in a sense necessitate invention” (Massey, 2005: 142), the construction of community identities in the ‘throwntogetherness’ of group areas can be considered as inventions of necessity.

**Figure 2: Simplified 'model apartheid city'**



(Derived from Christopher, 2001a: 105)

The implementation of the GAA forcibly relocated 150,000 ‘coloureds’ (Ahluwalia and Zegeye, 2003: 254), institutionalising asymmetrical access to power and the reciprocal relations between place and social grouping; reinforcing status differences through spatial location and “the enforced coincidence of race and space” (Lupton, 1993: 33; Western, 1978: 297). This encouraged the development of identifications “firmly rooted in material experience” (Goldin, 1987: 168-169). These removals to new group areas in the Cape Flats which lacked infrastructure, caused numerous problems with the social service delivery (Christopher, 2001a: 112). This was commented upon by Steven, a ‘coloured’ teacher evicted from District Six and

relocated to Hanover Park in the 1980s. These removals destroyed community cohesion and social relations, whilst the environmental factors of living in “a building site” (Steven, int. 15/07/2005) were not conducive to academic accomplishment and instead fostered pathological and anti-social behaviour including alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, and crime (Randall and Burrow, 1968; Venter, 1974: 329).

During the 1970s and 1980s, as anti-apartheid activism spread, shops built with money from the Coloured Persons' Representative Council (CPRC) were targeted for looting and vandalism (Taylor, 1976: 8). This generation's actions signalled a change in attitude away from their parents who were seen as the last to accept or negotiate with the 'white' government. The dominant 'non-white' political parties of the time, the Labour Party and the United Democratic Front, reflected this new mind-set, espousing the ideals of BC. This politicisation saw the emergence of the phrase 'so-called coloured' opposing imposed racial group boundaries (Jung, 2000: 175-179), as part of a shift to viewing 'coloured' as part of the oppressed 'black' identity (Curry, 1978). This stance was reflected in the opposition to, and widespread boycott of, the elections for the Tricameral parliament in 1984. The establishment of the Tricameral parliament, with three houses – one for 'whites', one for 'coloureds', and one for 'Indians', followed a 1983 referendum amongst the 'white' electorate which approved this political reform (Deegan, 2001: 53). The reform was presented as a step towards power sharing, devolving responsibility for key concerns including health and education to individual racial populations, whilst securing the alliance of 'coloured' and 'Indian' South Africans to protect against a feared 'black' uprising. The 'coloured' and 'Indian' communities were divided in their reaction. The Coloured Labour Party and the Indian National People's Party supported the elections, whilst many other organisations – including those aligned to BC ideals – rejected the imposed political dispensation (Western, 1996: 21). These divisions were manifest in low 'coloured' voter turnout, with 32.5% of registered 'coloured' voters casting their ballot (Deegan, 2001: 56).

### 1.3.3 *Passing for White*

The rejection of the Tricameral Parliament symbolised the hostility towards apartheid's divide and rule policies, in which 'coloureds' were manipulated to remain as a buffer between 'black' and 'white':

I hated that word 'coloured'. You see the 'blacks' were oppressed. We ['coloureds'] were given just a little to be *draadsitters*<sup>10</sup>. You're not on this side or that side. So they just gave us a little bit to keep us happy and I hated that. You will always find there was the split in the 'coloured' communities. (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005)

The split that Mysha describes was between those who accepted the simultaneously privileged and marginalised position above 'blacks' and those who rejected these discriminatory practices. The notion of 'coloureds' being located as *draadsitters* reflects the difficult position they faced. They were in an ambivalent location between the need for security (the achievement of basic needs of security, shelter and food) and desire for material goods, and the desire for freedom of expression and self-identification. With access to resources based upon race, the mobilisation of a racial identity, whether externally imposed or internally articulated, could be argued as "constitut[ing] a rational strategy in the competition for such resources, not a false consciousness or an irrational xenophobia" (Lewis, 1987: 4-5). As Adam Small described it, this location was like being between two stools (Small, 1978: 341); on the one hand between the 'black' and 'white' population groups, and on the other the desire for freedom in opposition to an interest in material benefits arising from the position of relative privilege in the oppressed society.

Divisions and tensions emerged as darker and lighter skinned 'coloureds' experienced different opportunities. The subjective nature of race classification could lead to individuals being reclassified against their will, often with negative psychological impacts (for instance Evans, 2002; Pilger, 1989). The system also allowed people to appeal their population grouping upon application to the authorities who would then assess individuals categorisation based upon a number of

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<sup>10</sup> *draadsitters* – someone who sits on the fence.

criteria including appearance, descent and their common 'acceptance as'. 'White' privilege meant people generally tried to move 'whitewards'. In 1986, 1,624 applications to change racial status were made, primarily from 'black' to 'Cape coloured' (666, of which 387 were approved) and 'Cape coloured' to 'white' (506, with 314 passing and 192 remaining) (West, 1987: 5). Martin West's work on the Red Hill community, near Simon's Town in the Western Cape, highlights the process of becoming pass-white and the reciprocal rejection this invokes (West, 1967). Watson's work at 'Colander High School' offers a detailed exploration of the process by which 'coloureds' would seek to 'pass-for-white' within the school environment (Watson, 1970). In this study, Watson points to several important issues including the inherent ambiguity of racial identities and status, and the ways in which Colander was utilised by the Department of Education and School Boards as a space for 'borderline whites'.

For Joe, a 'coloured' school principal, the passing-for-white of one of his brothers irrevocably split the family:

I have a brother who is 'white'; unfortunately not just in terms of classification but in terms of mentality as well. He left our house when he was about 17 and stayed with a 'white' aunt who got him a 'white' identity card. Unfortunately he eventually worked for the National Intelligence Services. He was in every respect on the other side. When I was 17 he was about 27, and during one Christmas lunch, as the Bible says, 'brother will turn against brother', and we promised to kill each other if we found each other on the other side, and that was the last I ever saw of him, and that was 1972 – I don't know if he is alive, what frame of mind he is in. It was tragic. (Joe, int. 07/12/2004)

Alex, a 'coloured' former teacher, also experienced the trauma of part of his family passing-for-white, and severing contact with the remainder. "My mother's family came from a more middle-class area. Most of her uncles and aunts applied to be 'white' so that they could stay in the area and we, as children, were asked to break ties with that part of the family who had turned 'white'" (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). For some, this passing was an ambivalent process. Harold Herman, a 'coloured' retired academic, recalled how a cousin who looked 'white' would ignore him in public but

would socialise with the ‘coloured’ family in private, “she would not greet me [on the trains]; she would enter on the ‘white’ side of the platform and take first class. But on weekends and at parties, we’d all be together in the ‘coloured’ community” (Harold, int. 15/09/2005). Such behaviour emphasises the uncertain and socially constructed nature of racial categories.

‘Passing-for-white’ was often a strategic move to maximise resource access and quality of life. Simultaneously, however, it can also be interpreted as symptomatic of the wider internalisation of ‘white’ ideals evidenced in beautification practices (see Wicomb, 2000), cultural preferences, and other behaviours. The racial structuring of life meant that “[s]ince colour was the sole criterion at times, ‘coloureds’ too started evaluating themselves in terms of pigmentation” (February, 1981: 2). The practice of skin lightening, also common in Zimbabwe, was tied to the “intersections between commodification and a racialized consciousness of class, status, and power...to purchase fashionable respectability in order to confirm power already possessed – or equally, to escape the colonial margins of powerlessness by appropriating fashions associated with the wealthy” (Burke, 1996: 188). Following Bhabha (1994: 85), these processes can be seen as integral to the colonial (and apartheid) colonial project, where “mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge”. The practice of mimicry in the colonial situation, Bhabha (1994: 86) explains as a double articulation involving the appropriation of the colonial Other through education and practice, whilst simultaneously articulating a difference or recalcitrance towards this dominant force.

## **1.4 Educating Race - The development of ‘coloured’ education**

The education system provided a means to socialise the ‘coloured’ community into a segregated society. Cross and Chisholm (1990: 44) have argued that “the constitution of racial and ethnic subjects, of people seeing themselves primarily in racial and ethnic terms...has in no small way been shaped by a racially structured system of

education”. Ideologically laden colonial education “legitimated differential educational and other opportunities, on the basis of these differences with a view to entrenching minority hegemony” (Moodley, 1997: 134), meaning that “[t]he salient feature of education in South Africa [was] the differential pattern of educational development of the different race groups” (Pillay, 1990: 30). As McGrath (1996b: 63) notes, during apartheid “Bantu education, Christian National Education and the schooling provided to Indians and coloureds were particularly ideologically laden and this was reflected strongly in the syllabi of individual subjects”.

Pre-apartheid and apartheid education systems utilised schools as sites of reproduction in an attempt, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990: 210) would argue, to legitimate the dominant social systems and to “contribute towards persuading each social subject to stay in the place which falls to him...to know his place and hold to it”. Education was linked to the maintenance of the racially hierarchical society through entrenching dominant ideologies through hidden and visible curricula (Keto, 1990: 29). In an inequitable and segregated education system, the politics of privilege were inculcated through the symbolic violence of education.

Whilst there is an extensive literature on the history of South African education, many texts made scant reference to ‘coloured’ education, or excluded it from specific consideration (Frankel, 1947; Krige, 1997; Smuts, 1937). Loram’s (1917) seminal work, *The Education of the South African Native*, barely mentions the ‘coloured’ community, a criticism which can also be levelled at Brookes’ update of Loram’s work (Brookes, 1930: 7, 10-11). This absence continued in books which claimed explicitly to deal with ‘coloureds’: Pells’ (1978 [1938]), *European, Coloured and Native Education in South Africa, 1652-1938*, gives scarce consideration to ‘coloured’ education compared to ‘European’ and ‘Native’. The 1922 *Phelps-Stokes Commission* report dealt uncertainly with ‘coloured’ education in South Africa, varying between a discussion of “the splendid types of white and Native peoples” (Jones, 1922: 179), and using 1911 census data, including ‘Mixed’ as a separate category and stating that “[t]he coloured or mixed people in South Africa are rather strongly differentiated from the Natives by the public opinion, customs and



language” (Jones, 1922: 183). Exceptions include Maurice’s (1966) historical review of ‘coloured’ educational policy, and Horrell’s (1970) *Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652-1970* which provide detailed historical consideration of the development of education for the ‘coloured’ population of South Africa.

#### **1.4.1 Pre-colonial and colonial education policy**

Although indigenous non-formal educational systems existed prior to 1652 (Abdi, 2002: 12; Keto, 1990: 19), this section will focus upon the post-1652 development of Westernised education. The first Westernised school in the Cape opened on 17 April 1658, providing a Christian education to slaves as a means to facilitate communication, conversion, and coercion of the ‘uncivilised’ ‘non-white’ population (Venter, 1974: 311). The school closed after three weeks as the tot system<sup>11</sup> failed to encourage adequate attendance, but the school reopened in 1661 (Horrell, 1970: 3).

A second, multiracial, school opened in 1663, attended by twelve ‘whites’, four slaves and one Khoe-San (Horrell, 1970: 3), before encountering opposition from the Church Council in 1676 (Behr, 1952 in Horrell, 1970: 4). The Dutch Reformed Church was central to European colonial influences which precipitated the development of formalised education in South Africa (Keto, 1990: 21). However, educational outcomes were primarily concerned with meeting the labour demands of white settlers; “[m]easures for the betterment of the coloured races [were] kept in strict subordination to the supreme necessity for making their labour as cheap and plentiful as possible for work” (MacMillan, 1927: 142). This focus of educational development for the ‘non-white’ South African populations reflects ambivalent colonial policy, caught between civilising and oppressing, as Bhabha identifies in colonial India.

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<sup>11</sup> Similar practices continue in the use of wine as a means of payment for labourers on some farms, commonly referred to as the ‘tot system’ and widely castigated as contributing to problems of alcoholism.

British colonial policy in India sought to promote political reform along Christian lines and the development of a colonial subject identity, tempered by the fear of encouraging Indian liberatory claims. The result was an ambivalent, compromise, policy to generate an “appropriate form of colonial subjectivity” (Bhabha, 1994: 87). A careful balancing act had to be struck between education for development and the political imperative for control and subjugation, the danger being “to create needs is to create discontent, and to invite disillusionment” (Ignatieff, 1984: 12). South Africa experienced similar processes, encouraging mimicry amongst ‘coloureds’ akin to Bhabha’s suggestion that all mixed-race peoples in colonial textuality were “almost the same, but not white [not quite]” (Bhabha, 1994: 89). ‘Coloured’ education policy contended with the dilemmas of balancing civilising needs with the necessity of maintaining the separate and superior ‘white’ identity, and therefore drew upon existing colonial boundaries to disseminate education but retain ‘white’ privilege.

The arrival of missionaries in the 18<sup>th</sup> century advanced Khoe-San and slave education beyond that provided for ‘whites’ (McKerron, 1934: 159) at institutions which “became very effective tools of ideological change” (Keto, 1990: 24). Pioneering the missionary endeavour were the Moravians: George Schmidt worked with the Khoe-San between 1737 and 1744 as a teacher and became a spokesman for them, before he was banned by the government who felt his actions were antagonistic to state development. Fifty years later, the Moravians and London Missionary Society returned; although the education and conversion of Khoe-San, seen as bringing them closer to the ‘European’ (Marais, 1957 [1939]: 137) was seen as “suspect...inadvisable if not positively dangerous” (MacMillan, 1927: 142).

When the British took control of the Cape in 1806, state education provision expanded with a mixed-race admissions policy and English as the medium of instruction. The Governor, the Earl of Caledon, encouraged missionary and church endeavours in slave education, and his successor, Sir John Craddock, established *koster-scholens*<sup>12</sup> to enhance rural education provision. This expansion of Christian mission education was encouraged (including the first teacher training provision by

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<sup>12</sup> *Koster-scholens* were schools established inside churches in small towns.

the Moravians to ‘coloureds’ (Troup, 1976: 9)) to counter growing numbers of Islamic schools, which it was feared would facilitate the development of an alternative ‘non-white’ identity and world view (Behr and MacMillan, 1966: 329; Horrell, 1970: 10). The third governor, Lord Charles Somerset, attempted to introduce compulsory schooling for slaves in 1823 although, as with Governor-General van Goens’ similar decree in 1682, this was never enforced (Behr and MacMillan, 1966: 328).

The granting of equal rights to the Khoes in 1828 and emancipation of slaves in 1834 increased demand for schooling. Educational development in the 1830s was driven by Sir John Herschel, John Fairbairn, Colonel Bell and Sir George Napier, culminating in the appointing of a Superintendent General of Education in 1839 (Ferguson and Immelman, 1961; Pells, 1978 [1938]: 27). State aid was made available to missions to provide education outside of Cape Town. However, most of this funding benefited poor ‘whites’ rather than ‘coloureds’ (Horrell, 1970: 11). Despite ‘white’ opposition, ‘coloureds’ could not be barred from European schools – although by 1861 government schools were *de facto* for ‘whites’ only as ‘white’ public opinion and pressure agitated against open admissions (Marais, 1957 [1939]: 270). The 1865 Education Act made no provision outside of mission schools for ‘coloured’ education (Watson, 1970), until the widening of state education responsibilities under the 1870 Education Act. By 1900 ‘coloured’ student numbers in state schools had trebled from 22,000 to 66,000 (Pells, 1978 [1938]: 43).

The emergence of industrial capitalism was “intimately connected with the development of segregationist social [and educational] policy” (Cross and Chisholm, 1990: 44). Although some schools for mine-workers’ children were racially desegregated in the 1890s (Chisholm, 1987: 9), ‘white’ children were discouraged from attending mission schools in favour of state schools. Of 38,000 mission school pupils in 1883 less than 6,000 were ‘white’ (Goldin, 1989: 249). This voluntary segregation by ‘whites’ reflected a desire to perpetuate dominance through access to cultural capital and the means to production. The 1889 Cape Superintendent General of Education’s assertion that the superior position of ‘whites’ must be maintained

through the provision of a suitable education to their descendents further illustrates this (Troup, 1976: 11). Consequently, state financial support during the 1890s was channelled to ‘white’ mission schools (Adhikari, 1994: 110). As the Cape government took increasing financial responsibility for education, the principle of equal treatment of ‘white’ and ‘coloured’ was abandoned: ‘white’ education was made compulsory, ‘coloured’ education was not (Cross and Chisholm, 1990: 48; Marais, 1957 [1939]: 272). Differential government expenditure widened disparities in educational expenditure, (table 3) helping to perpetuate ‘white’ domination and preventing ‘black’ advancement that, it was claimed, would result in the ‘nightmare’ of “race mixture with the European” (Loram, 1917: 35). The restriction of ‘coloured’ education to segregated mission schools further “contributed to the forging of Coloured identity, as pupils and teachers came to recognize their common exclusion and mobilize to increase their claim to the state system” (Goldin, 1989: 249).

**Table 3: Government educational expenditure per pupil by race, 1894-1909.**

	1894	1909
Mission schools (mainly serving ‘non-whites’)	15s 3.75d	17s 7d
European Schools: Farm schools (‘whites’)	£2 8s 9d	£3 15s 11d
1st Class schools (‘whites’)	£3 5s 0d	£5 13s 6d

(Marais, 1957 [1939]: 272)

The 1905 School Board Act made ‘white’ education compulsory and gave local communities power to dictate school entrance policies (1905). Theoretically providing the possibility of desegregated education, in reality the Act facilitated the exclusion of ‘coloured’ and ‘black’ learners by ‘white’ communities. The Education Act of 1907 barred ‘coloureds’ from ‘white’ schools (Abdi, 2002: 23) and replaced *de facto* separation with *de jure* segregation, although curriculum content remained unchanged to provide for communication between ‘European’ and ‘Native’ workers (Wilson and Thompson, 1971: 77). The Act also abolished the differentiation between ‘black’ and ‘coloured’, leaving a dichotomous ‘black’-‘white’ distinction.

‘Coloured’ opposition to differentiated education was widespread. The APO disparagingly depicted South African education policy in 1909 as being a tool of discrimination and oppression:

...[education] is not the drawing out of the faculties of the child. It simply means filling his mind with those facts which may be of service to him in fulfilling the work he may be called upon to perform...The Coloured races are manual drudges...Their education should therefore be confined to the narrow circle of learning to appreciate the honour they enjoy at the hands of the white man. (APO newsletter volume 1, issue 3, 1909 quoted in Adhikari, 1981: 9)

Opposition to the idea of ‘education for one’s position in society’, which was the foundation of both pre-apartheid and apartheid education policy, was clearly articulated.

### **1.4.2 Union Education Policy**

In 1910, the APO – headed by Dr Abdurrahman – identified education as a key mechanism for ‘coloured’ upliftment, although this potential was compromised by the 1911 Supreme Court *Moller vs. Keimos School Committee* ruling, which set the precedent for the exclusion of ‘coloureds’ from ‘white’ government schools (1911). Adhikari described the APO stance thus; “Knowledge is power, no matter what may be the nature of it...[education] is the greatest uplifting power in the world, and by means of it more will be accomplished than by any other means at our disposal” (Adhikari, 1994: 116). This belief in education’s potential for upliftment was a key factor in ‘coloured’ political campaigning.

Following the Act of Union, the ‘white’ (Afrikaner and English), pro-British and pro-Unity, South African Party (SAP), headed by Louis Botha and his deputy Jan Smuts, won the 1910 election. However, in 1914, the party split and Hertzog formed the National Party (NP), focussed upon Afrikaner interests. Prior to his split from the SAP, Hertzog had supported the political and economic accommodation of ‘coloureds’ within the ‘white’ population (Beinart, 1971: 7; Cilliers, 1971a: ii).

Despite the 1922 *Phelps-Stokes Commission* report’s concerns that segregated education would result in races “regard[ing] one another with indifference, distrust or hostility” (Jones, 1922: 220), separate curricula were introduced in 1923 and

educational statistics differentiated between 'coloured' and 'Native' (Republic of South Africa, 1976: 163). Combined with the 1922 Apprenticeship Act, which stipulated minimum levels of education for those entering skilled trades, this closed many career paths to 'coloured' learners (Pells, 1978 [1938]: 110). The 1926 *Commission on Coloured Education* report recognised a lack of resources but described 'coloured' education provision positively. Whilst stating "there should be no differentiation between the curricula for coloured and European schools" (Viljoen, et al., 1927: 8), there was tacit acceptance of orientating 'coloured' education towards vocational subjects, as befitting their societal position. At the primary level, 'coloured' schools in the Western Cape employed a syllabus emphasising practical subjects from 1921 before reverting to the 'white' syllabus in 1930, whilst both 'white' and 'coloured' post-primary schools followed the same syllabus and sat the same examinations (Horrell, 1970: 87).

During the Union era (1910-1948), some 'white' politicians saw education as "an instrument of social progress" (Smuts, 1937: 3), and by others as a means to perpetuate 'white' privilege. During this period, South African politics saw the anti-British NP and pro-British SAP join forces as the United Party (UP) under the leadership of Jan Smuts. Reflecting Smuts' opposition to growing segregationism, the 1937 *Wilcocks' Commission of Inquiry* recommended that, whilst recognising different socio-economic experiences, 'white' and 'coloured' education should have "no essential difference" (Wilcocks, et al., 1937: 165). However, differences remained in content and 'coloured' education was not compulsory, reflected in high 'coloured' drop-out rates due to the costs of schooling and the diminishing career opportunities education offered. The *Wilcock's Commission* reported that of those primary school 'coloured' students beginning Standard 1 in 1931, only 33% were in Standard 5 in 1935 (Wilcocks, et al., 1937: 144). The figures for 'coloured' secondary school students indicate an even higher drop-out rate of 97% for the same period between Standards 6 and 10 (Wilcocks, et al., 1937: 150). These exceedingly high drop-out rates may also have been influenced by the impacts of the economic recession of the 1930s, which would have increased the imperative for school-age children to find paid employment to help support their family.

Union-period government spending remained inequitable, and continued into the apartheid era (table 4). Although spending on ‘white’ education dropped from almost 90% of government education spending to just under three-quarters between 1930 and 1970, this still exceeded the resources made available to other population groups.

**Table 4: Percentage of government educational spending by racial group, 1930-1970.**

	<b>1930</b>	<b>1940</b>	<b>1950</b>	<b>1960</b>	<b>1970</b>
<b>White</b>	89.1	85.0	73.0	77.2	74.2
<b>Coloured</b>	4.0	6.4	9.4	9.1	10.2
<b>Indian</b>	0.8	1.2	2.3	3.0	3.6
<b>Black</b>	6.1	7.4	15.2	10.7	11.4

(Malherbe, 1977: 654)

By 1945 government spending stood at £3.7.10d per ‘black’ pupil, £10.16.2d per ‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’ pupil, and £38.5.10d per ‘white’ pupil, a rise from £14 per ‘white’ student and £5.5.0 per ‘coloured’ student in 1924. These inequalities were exacerbated by differing attendance levels (Marais, 1957 [1939]: 272; Troup, 1976: 16), affected by compulsory education, already in place for ‘white’ learners, and introduced for ‘coloured’ learners between 7 and 14 years old in 1945 only *if* sufficient schooling facilities were available. By 1953 six districts had implemented this, of which 2 remained in 1975 ([Anon], 1975: 90; Pollak, 1971: 9). In 1930, five years after the first ‘coloured’ secondary school opened, only 1,139 students were enrolled – with just 5 learners in standards 9 and 10. Ten years later, in 1940, overall enrolment had increased and there were 193 and 143 learners in standards 9 and 10 respectively (Venter, 1974: 309-310). Drop out rates remained a major concern, although they were beginning to fall (Horrell, 1970: 39) as employment opportunities for ‘coloured’ matriculants increased with recruitment for the Second World War reducing the number of ‘whites’ available for work ([Anon], 1975: 95).

### **1.4.3 Apartheid Education Policy**

Smuts’ decision to enter World War Two on the Allied side, and his opposition to apartheid ideals precipitated the disintegration of the UP and the creation of the Purified National Party (NP) under D.F. Malan. The election of the NP in 1948

ushered in the apartheid era. The introduction and passage of apartheid legislation was contested by conservative and liberal sections of the NP, and by opposition parties. Symbolic of these challenges was the introduction of the 1951 Separate Representation of Voters Act (to remove 'coloured' and 'Indian' voters from the common roll), advocated by J.G. Strijdom who had followed Malan as Prime Minister. This was challenged in the courts by a number of voters and the UP, with the Appeal Court finding against the government.

The racialised, Calvinistic philosophy of Christian National Education framed education policy and banned the use of anti- or non-Christian or nationalist material (Troup, 1976: 19). Education became a battleground. The 'coloured' elite attached great prestige to education as a 'civilising' force for social advancement and political betterment. For the aspiring petite bourgeoisie "[e]ducation and being educated became entrenched as a central value and aspiration in the[ir] consciousness...Education thus became the principal means to breach the citadel of white privilege" (Bonner, 1982: 288). However, to achieve equality with 'whites', the transfer of culturally important knowledge and privileging of 'whiteness', that impacted upon the sense of identity of 'coloured' pupils, would need to be disrupted.

By 1954, President Verwoerd believed that education should be "for one's position in society"; for the 'black' man "[t]he school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him...There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour" (Verwoerd, 1954: 15, 21). The introduction of the Bantu Education Act (1953a) transferred control of 'black' education to the Department of Native Affairs, providing a separate and inferior curriculum. This Act continued the 'road to nowhere' of the education policies from the 1920s for 'blacks', the main purpose of which, Dube (1985: 95) contends, "was to handicap African children with the introduction of an inferior syllabus, coupled with inadequate learning conditions and poorly educated teachers". Two years later, the ANC committed itself to a free and equal South Africa, including opening the 'doors of education and learning' to everyone (ANC, 1955). As opposition to apartheid increased, the tactics of the



struggle evolved and peaceful protest was soon joined by a (comparatively limited) armed struggle, precipitated by the deaths of 69 ‘black’ protesters during a peaceful demonstration against Pass Laws<sup>13</sup> on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1960 (Boddy-Evans, 2006).

Until the creation of the Department of Coloured Affairs in 1964, which included responsibility for ‘coloured’ education throughout the state, control of education had remained with Provincial authorities. With the implementation of the Coloured Persons Education Act (CPEA) (1963) and the Indians Education Act (1965), apartheid education practice sought to reproduce class and social position through differential experiences of education. The introduction of separate curricula by the Department of Coloured Affairs in 1964 initially mirrored ‘white’ curricula but moved towards differentiated syllabi for ‘coloured’ schools, “adapted from basic ones for all schools that were decided upon by representatives of all the education departments in South Africa during 1966” (Horrell, 1970: 171). After the 1969 National Education Policy Amendment Act, ‘coloured’ education policy increasingly emphasised vocational courses alongside academic courses for ‘coloured’ learners (‘white’ education retained its academic focus), in preparation for separate examinations sat under the jurisdiction of the Administration of Coloured Affairs ([Anon], 1975: 96). This allowed ‘coloureds’ “to obtain the type of education that would satisfy individual abilities, aptitudes and interests” so as to be able “to render all services to all levels in their own community” ([Anon], 1975: 97). The enforced coincidence of race and class meant that “the material and ideological processes by which schooling has assisted in the formation and reproduction of classes...In South Africa...they have contributed to the reproduction of classes that are broadly racially defined” (Chisholm, 1987: 1). At the level of higher education, government acts also provided for separate and segregated institutions. For ‘coloureds’, this provision was the University of the Western Cape (UWC) which opened 1960. A fuller discussion of the role of UWC follows in chapter 4.

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<sup>13</sup> The major piece of Pass Law legislation was the 1951 Abolition of Passes Act which tightened residential controls and required ‘blacks’ to apply for and carry permits allowing them to travel, live, and work in certain areas (Christopher, 2001a).

The separation of 'coloured' from 'white' education and the creation of the CPEA were contested within the 'whites'-only parliament in 1963. Advocating separation, the 'white' Minister of Coloured Affairs stated that, "[w]hat we are suggesting...is in conformity with South Africa's traditional policy; it is another step in the application of the Government's socio-economic upliftment policy" (HA, 21/02/1963: vol 5; c1742), whilst also providing for the separation of any nascent 'coloured' and 'black' unity. Some politicians urged caution in upliftment, there was "a fear on the part of the Whites that an educated Coloured is a danger to South Africa" (HA, 21/02/1963: vol 5; c1750). To others, such separation "ran the risk that those two groups ['coloured' and 'Indian'] would make common cause with the Bantu" (HA, 22/04/1963: vol 6; c4435). The Minister's view held sway, and the CPEA was passed in 1963, promoted as a means for 'coloured' upliftment.

The CPEA did not go as far as many 'coloured' intelligentsia wanted. Compulsory education was at the Minister's discretion if "suitable and sufficient school accommodation is available" (1963: 458). Others demanded "education, not coloured education" (Troup, 1976: 49). The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) argued that "the economic and social realities of our times demand that Coloured people...be educated so as to develop their innate potential to the full" (Pollak, 1971: 16). The CPEA recognised the potential for anti-apartheid activist teachers to disseminate their ideas through the classroom. To prevent this, teacher misconduct included "publicly, otherwise than at a meeting convened by an association or organization recognized by the Minister as representative [of teachers]...criticiz[ing] the administration of any department, office or institution of the State", or if a teacher were "a member of any party political organization or of any organization which the Minister may...declare... [he] may not be a member, or... takes part in any activity or furthers the objects of any organization to which any such notice relates, or encourages disobedience to or resistance against the laws of the State" (1963: 512). These steps recognised the 1961 Education Panel's statement, that "it is the task of education not only to prepare individuals to adapt themselves to change, but also and even primarily to help play their part in initiating or influencing the direction of change" (The 1961 Education Panel, 1963: 2). This

included teachers propagating anti-apartheid sentiments and influencing changes opposed to the racially hierarchical state.

The implementation of the 1969 National Education Policy Amendment Act in 1973 changed the 'coloured' curricula, 'allowing' ([Anon], 1975: 90) 'coloureds' to "obtain the type of education that would satisfy individual abilities, aptitudes and interests; to equip themselves adequately to render all services to all levels in their own community" ([Anon], 1975: 97). This significant development (Pollak, 1971: 13) meant 'coloureds' were educated for an intermediate social position, befitting the 1961 Education Panel recommendations to "ensure that at least enough people are educated to the minimum level required by each broad class of work; so that the economy may never suffer from a shortage of trained or easily transferable manpower" (The 1961 Education Panel, 1963: 30). This report rarely mentioned 'coloureds', focussing upon 'black' and 'white' education. Such discriminatory education practices continued despite calls by SAIRR for universal education and that all children, regardless of race, should be given the fullest opportunity to develop to the best of their capabilities (Venter, 1974: 317).

Christian Nationalism's influence upon education policy was clear throughout the apartheid era, as the 1961 Education Panel noted; "Any theory of education, if it is to be complete and consistent, necessarily involves a theory of man and a theory of society" (The 1961 Education Panel, 1963: 14). Internal contradictions with regard to theories of man and society became increasingly noticeable in the development of education policy. During the later stages of the apartheid era there was a gradual shift from authoritarian to a more liberal educational discourse. This recognised the need to empower and train individuals to support the economy as more valuable than the focus upon education as a tool to promote the political meta-narrative of apartheid.<sup>14</sup>

According to the 1976 *Theron Commission Report*, government spending on 'coloured' education rose from R41,602,368 to R97,789,300 between 1964 and 1974/5 (van der Horst, 1976: 50). Despite this, in 1963 the Church supported 1,340

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<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of this change in education policy, see McGrath (1996b).

schools, and 1,279 schools in 1974 ([Anon], 1975: 88; Republic of South Africa, 1976: 161), with 304,830 ‘coloured’ students in 1960 rising to 536,037 in 1971, of whom 474,354 were in primary grades and 61,683 in secondary grades. This decline in numbers reflected the imperative for many to drop out and find paid employment ([Anon], 1975: 95; Pollak, 1971: 10; Republic of South Africa, 1976: 172; Venter, 1974: 326). The rise in enrolment also reflected the implementation of the Botha Commission recommendations in 1974 to make ‘coloured’ education compulsory on a progressive basis, replacing a 1968 regulation enforcing continued attendance for pupils enrolled at a school within three miles of their home for the remainder of the academic year (Pollak, 1971: 13). Although government spending on ‘non-white’ education increased as a proportion of ‘white’ expenditure, with the exception of ‘Indian’ schools, spending remained far inferior to ‘white’ schools (table 5). Expenditure on ‘coloured’ schooling rose from 20.5% to 40.7% of ‘white’ per student spending between 1971 and 1987 reflecting the government’s recognition of the economic imperative to improve the national skills base. These measures were also aimed at preventing ‘coloureds’ aligning with ‘black’ opposition through concessions and inducements, whilst maintaining social distance. It can be argued that the level of spending on ‘coloured’ education of just under half of white expenditure, reflected a view of ‘coloureds’ as ‘not-quite-white’.

**Table 5: State education spending on school pupils (Rand per capita per annum).**

	<b>African per capita</b>	<b>African as % of ‘white’</b>	<b>‘Coloured’ per capita</b>	<b>‘Coloured’ as % of ‘white’</b>	<b>‘Indian’ per capita</b>	<b>‘Indian’ as % of ‘white’</b>	<b>‘White’ per capita</b>
<b>1971-72</b>	25.31	5.50	94.41	20.50	124.40	27.00	461.00
<b>1975-76</b>	41.8	6.5	139.62	21.7	189.53	29.4	644
<b>1976-77</b>	48.55	7.50	157.59	24.50	219.96	34.20	654.00
<b>1978-79</b>	71.28	9.80	225.54	31.20	357.15	49.30	724.00
<b>1979-80</b>	91.29	7.80	234.00	20.00	389.66	33.30	1169.00
<b>1980-81</b>	176.20	17.30	286.08	28.00	Na	Na	1021.00
<b>1981-82</b>	165.23	13.50	418.84	34.30	798.00	65.70	1221.00
<b>1982-83</b>	192.34	13.90	593.37	42.80	871.87	63.00	1385.00
<b>1983-84</b>	234.45	14.20	569.11	34.40	1088.00	65.80	1654.00
<b>1986-87</b>	476.95	19.00	1021.41	40.70	1904.20	75.90	2508.00

(Pillay, 1990: 31)

The 1976 decision to make Afrikaans the compulsory medium of instruction resulted in student riots in ‘black’ and ‘coloured’ schools across South Africa (for example

Own Correspondent, 1976a, 1976b; Uys, 1976a). During these protests, as with the widespread school disruptions in the 1980s when Emile – a ‘coloured’ teacher turned musician – was at high school, students and teachers became involved in the struggle (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). The role of teachers in mobilising students in the 1976 disturbances was recognised in the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, in which the Director of Coloured Education testified “that teachers had systematically inculcated resistance in their pupils to such an extent that children grew up with a sense of injustice” (Cillier, 1980: 275). From this point, education increasingly became a site of anti-apartheid activism.

By the 1970s, Catholic Church schools were defying the government and admitting learners regardless of race (1977; Ashford, 1977a, 1977b; Uys, 1976b). Despite a commitment to equal education for all, enshrined in the 1984 National Policy for General Education Affairs Act, segregated education continued (Berkhout, 1996: 106). This legislative commitment did not translate into spending patterns; R1211 per ‘white’ student, R711 for ‘Indians’, R498 for ‘coloureds’ and R156 for ‘blacks’ (Adam and Moodley, 1986: 236). These disparities were reduced proportionally by 1988/9, as spending increased to R656 per ‘black’, R1221 per ‘coloured’, R2077 per ‘Indian’, and R2882 per ‘white’ student (Harber, 2001: 14; Pillay, 1990: 31; Unterhalter and Pampallis, 1990).

The content of curricula and textbooks reinforced apartheid philosophy. A common feature of imperial and colonial states, the negation of ‘black’ history and achievement would be replaced with a reified ‘white’ history of civilisation through a racially polarised narrative (Barnes, 2005; Diop, 1991: 2). The content of colonial historiographer George Theal’s textbooks “clearly demarcated racial identities that could be distinguished by physical and what he called ‘cultural’ characteristics” (Witz, 2000: 321). Apartheid textbooks were dominated by master symbols which socialised learners into apartheid philosophy (Dean, et al., 1983; du Preez, 1983). The dominance of ‘white’ history in education was such that political activist and intellectual, Neville Alexander, commented that it was only during his incarceration on Robben Island between 1963 and 1974 that he learnt about African history

(Wilson, 1988). This is not to say that ‘white’ history was a single, uncontextualised monolith. Several approaches offered competing interpretations, including those from Marxist, liberal, and radical perspectives overlaid on differences between British and Afrikaner historiographies. Since the end of apartheid, textbooks and curricula have changed to encompass principles of non-racialism and equality, including consideration of South African history prior to 1652 (Witz, 2000: 318).

#### **1.4.4 The Ending of Apartheid Education**

Education policy anticipated the end of apartheid. One of the driving forces behind educational change and planning for democratic education, was the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) and its initiate the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), which provided the framework for thinking about democratic education as non-racist, non-sexist, equitable and focussed upon redress (Jansen, 1999a: 4). In 1990, the government adopted the ‘Model C’ schools policy, aimed at facilitating racial integration within schools through the introduction of open admissions policies. Whilst 96% of ‘white’ schools had adopted this status by August 1992 (Beal, 1998: 9), many used fees and other mechanisms to entrench racially privileged education through class barriers (Lemon, 1993).<sup>15</sup> In 1992, the NP government introduced the Education Renewal Strategy, rescinding apartheid legislation and selectively emphasising the country’s diversity, and in doing so made the claim for multicultural education with the right to ‘Own’ or segregated schools (Abdi, 2001: 229). This approach was not part of the ANC’s *Policy Framework for Education and Training*, which promoted democratic participation in education and the empowerment of all citizens (Abdi, 2001: 230).

Education, however, remained largely segregated, especially for the working classes. In 2001, 84.6% of ‘coloured’ learners remained at previously ‘coloured’ schools which suffered from financial shortages in part due to the low average fee level of R30.87 per pupil per annum, compared with R35.82 at mainly ‘black’ schools,

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<sup>15</sup> Under a 1990 policy decision, ‘white’ schools could adopt one of three models of governance, with the majority opting for Model C status, allowing them to become state-aided institutions with an open admittance policy and supplemental income generation through fees (Lemon, 1994).

R59.90 at mainly 'Indian' schools, and R839.08 at mainly 'white' schools (van der Berg, 2001: 408). This low fee level reflects both the lower average economic standing of 'coloureds' compared to 'whites' and 'Indians', but also the necessity in 'coloured' schools to balance the need for increased fee income with the number of families who would be unable to pay fees of a higher level which would negatively impact the overall fee income of the school.

Average school fees in the Western Cape in 2002 at formerly 'black' secondary schools stood at R105, formerly 'coloured' schools at R333, previously 'Indian' schools at R283, and at previously 'white' schools fees averaged R2,701 (Fiske and Ladd, 2003: 28). These figures imply continued racialised economic divisions, and have implications both as socio-economic barriers to learning and a culture of learning (see Lomofsky and Lazarus, 2001: 311) and for the quality of education provided (staff levels, resources, infrastructure) once linked to public funding for schools per learner of R3,402 at former 'black' schools, R3,972 at previously 'coloured' schools, R3,803 at ex-'Indian' schools, and R4,419 for learners at previously 'white' schools (Fiske and Ladd, 2003: 28). With fee levels at 'coloured' schools providing an additional 9% of state income, whilst formerly 'white' schools attract fee income at about 50% of a higher level of state income, resource outcomes reflected in the school fabric, resources, and ability to finance additional teaching staff (school governing board teachers). On average, the additional fee income allows ex-'white' schools to employ 6 extra teachers, and ex-'coloured' schools just one additional teacher (Fiske and Ladd, 2003: 28), with knock-on effects on class sizes.

Free and compulsory education for all was a main election pledge in 1994 and enshrined in the Interim Constitution (Bray, 1996: 36; Potgieter, 1996: 173). Despite this, 'coloured' education remained sidelined in ongoing discussions and policy strategies. One key DoE document, the *Education Renewal Strategy: Management Solutions for Education in South Africa*, only mentions in passing the issues facing 'coloured' schools (Department of National Education, 1992). The final constitution included the right to education for all, but did not guarantee that this would be free (1996: section 29.(1)), and the 1996 South Africa Schools Act provided for schools

to gain supplemental income through fees, allowing class barriers to remain in education.<sup>16</sup> The nineteen apartheid era education departments were dismantled, and education for all in South Africa was placed under the auspices of a single national department and nine provincial departments. The South Africa Schools Act also provided for the creation of School Governing Bodies to provide greater autonomy and fund raising at the local level (Lomofsky and Lazarus, 2001: 309).

These education reforms were shaped “by global influences and local needs” (Motala, 2003: 3), situated in the context of globalisation, poverty, and the negotiated settlement (Kgobe, 2000: 2). Resource redistribution in education, within a budget of R31.8 billion, included the recruitment of 434,932 new teachers, curricular alterations, expansion of facilities to make up for the 50-65,000 classroom shortfall, and meeting a 400,000 intake of new students, an increased demand for higher and further education, and inclusion of 800,000 children out of school (Berkhout, 1996: 108). The 35% increase in education budget between 1988/9 and 1998/9 was dwarfed by the 144% rise required to equalise education at the formerly ‘white’ level (Harber, 2001: 14). The constraints of GEAR, and the need for cost saving and rationalisation led to teacher retrenchments in 1996, and an inability to meet policy demands (Fataar, 2005). Lemon believes that “the danger is that the democratic and social justice goals that inspired the liberation struggle will be severely compromised” (Lemon, 2004: 65). Race has remained a contentious issue; during the 1996 retrenchments, the Coloured Teachers Professional Association utilised race as an argument for dismissing more ‘white’ teachers to make room for ‘coloured’ teachers at Model C schools (Campbell, 1996b, 1996d).

The 1995 *White Paper on Education and Training* identified historical racial structuring, but in making recommendations to promote democratic and social justice values in education, race categories were used only to identify the major challenge of enrolment rates to equity in education as being of primary concern for “Coloured or African” communities (Republic of South Africa, 1995: 112). The social justice aims

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<sup>16</sup> The inability to pay school fees cannot be used as a means to prevent a pupil from attending *per se*.



outlined in the *White Paper* focussed upon tolerance and mutual respect, without recourse to race:

It should be a goal of education and training policy to enable a democratic and peaceful society to take root and prosper in our land...[through] the active encouragement of mutual respect for our people's diverse religious, cultural and language traditions, their right to enjoy and practice these in peace and without hindrance. (Republic of South Africa, 1995: 15)

Pledges to ideals of equity and equality were also detailed in the DoE's *Equity in the Classroom* (Department of Education, No Date). Within this framework, curricula have changed and new policies, including Curriculum 2005 and the move to Outcomes Based Education, have been introduced.<sup>17</sup> The development of Curriculum 2005 was, according to Manganyi (2001: 26), a policy decision "seeking to break, once and for all, the stranglehold of the old Bantu Education and Christian National Education pedagogy". The declaration of OBE as national policy in 1997 was based upon the belief that all learners can succeed and that teachers would be given support to respond to the diverse styles and speeds of student learning (Lomofsky and Lazarus, 2001: 308-309).

South African government educational expenditure has remained comparatively high. In 2002, government education spending accounted for 5.3% of GDP and 18.5% of total government spending; in excess of the 3.5% of GDP spent on health, 1.6% on the military and 2.7% on debt repayments (Watkins, et al., 2005), and on a parity with the UK educational expenditure (5.3%), and ahead of the USA (4.8%) and Germany (4.6%) (Education International, 2004: 126, 302, 305). In nominal terms, GDP has grown from R564,164 million in 1995 to R1,674,016 million (\$78,650 million to \$233,300 million using an exchange rate of \$1 to R7) in 2006 (average 9.5% per annum), and government expenditure has risen from R151,385 million (\$21,083 million) to R456,393 million (\$53,562 million) over the same period (average 9.7%). Increases in education spending have lagged behind, rising

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<sup>17</sup> Outcomes Based Education (OBE) involves a shift in educational focus away from what 'should be taught' to what students 'should learn' and how they demonstrate the outcomes of the learning process (Kies, 1997: 3). Debates around OBE are returned to in chapter 5.

from R33,773 million (\$4,703 million) to R85,697 million (\$11,935 million) (8.0% average), with the Western Cape education budget increasing from R3,467.5 million (\$483 million) to R6,288.5 million (\$876 million) (5.3%). These figures conceal a real term GDP growth of 3.2%, whilst national education spending has fallen slightly between 1995 and 2005 both as a proportion of GDP and of total government spending, but remains a significant outlay. The Western Cape's share of the national budget has fallen from 10.3% to 7.3%, and education spending declined in real terms by an average of -1.9%, although this was primarily due to a -6.2% average decrease from 1995-1999 during the period of retrenchment and redeployment, and a 1.8% annual growth from 2000-2004 (Department of Education, 2005; Financial and Fiscal Commission, 2005: 7).

Policy shifts have not necessarily changed social relations nor achieved social justice. A survey in KwaZulu Natal, as cited by Harber, shows that despite desegregation "there was a general attitude of 'business as usual'" and racial divisions remained (Harber, 1997: 150). A 1999 SAIRR report also concluded "little progress has been made to ensure an end to racial prejudice and discrimination in schools...Schools continue to be characterised by racial separation and discrimination" (cited in Harber, 2001: 29). Such changes are vital; education shapes identities and social relations, and the development of equality and a culture of respect within schools will lead to a reduction in racially based violence (Harber, 1997: 153).

Government aims at educational redress since 1994 have succeeded in some ways, and failed in others. The aim of equal treatment in education has been achieved to an extent and state schools are now technically open to all potential learners. However, inequalities remain with the legacy of under-funding leaving many schools suffering shortages of classrooms, teachers and teaching resources (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). High drop-out rates remain, reflected in declining net enrolment from 89% at primary school to just 66% at the secondary level (Watkins, et al., 2005).

## 1.5 Retaining Race: The failure of non-racialism

The end of apartheid provided theoretical spaces for renegotiations of identity, rendering identity categories fluid and unstable. ‘Coloured’ identities were no exception in a country “striking for its imbrications of multiple identities – identities that mythologies of apartheid, and resistance to it, tended to silence” (Nuttall and Michael, 2000: 1). Even through this silence, it is clear that there was no single ‘coloured’ experience or identity, but identity “is located, as always, in its multiple and specific sites and contexts” and that in the freedom of the post-apartheid era ‘coloured’ identities have become increasingly contested and could “involve claims to [previously denied] Nama (Khoe Khoe), San, European, African and Asian ancestries, histories and identities” (Grunebaum and Robins, 2001: 168, 160). This meant that “long standing and much used signifiers such as black, white, Africa, coloured, Indian, Asian, Malay, European and others were simultaneously being emptied out, refilled, reconfigured and stabilised” (Soudien, 2001b: 114). For some, the psychological freedom from imposed apartheid categories produced a reclaimed, positive, self-asserted ‘coloured’ identity:

We were disgusted with the label Coloured...we would say ‘so-called Coloured people.’ ‘So-called’ meaning we didn’t call ourselves Coloured people... I didn’t see myself as Coloured. Then I was Black. [Now] I would say I’m a Coloured. And I wouldn’t have said that ten years ago (Jung, 2000: 212).

Political discourses of the ‘rainbow nation’<sup>18</sup> and ‘African essentialism’<sup>19</sup> have constrained the renegotiations of identities. These concepts have denied voice to critical conversations around complex configurations of South African identities, especially those previously denied cultural existence and relegated to sub-cultural anomalies. As outlined in chapter two, consideration of identities – in reference to both race and respect – will see them as ambiguous and mutable constructs.

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<sup>18</sup> The ‘rainbow nation’ ideal is commonly associated with Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s vision for the South African nation to become harmoniously multi-cultural and multi-racial.

<sup>19</sup> African essentialism here refers to the privileging of African-ness as black-ness within South Africa.

The continued use of racial categories in post-apartheid legislation and policy has problematised government claims to non-racialism. This practice has been defended as reflecting ‘rainbow nation-ism’ and as a means to monitoring AA policies (Christopher, 2001c: 450). However, increasing perceptions amongst sections of the ‘coloured’ population of marginalisation resulting from AA and BEE (Mutume, 1997) are encouraging the expression of an excluded and oppressed identity, of ‘coloured’ as victim – previously of ‘white’ authority and now of ‘black’ domination.

Throughout these changes, the ‘coloured’ teachers considered here have sought to negotiate their role in society and their communities. During the apartheid era, they were faced with difficult decisions about how to teach in the face of racialised educational policies and how their own location vis-à-vis the term ‘coloured’ affected their teaching. These decisions incorporated considerations of respect, politics, identity, and individual security. The next chapter examines the concept of respect, drawing upon theoretical debates as well as South African literature that speaks to the grounded everyday-ness of respect. As has already been pointed to, the construct of ‘coloured’ has historically been associated with questions of respectability and rejections or acceptances of this label were contested and linked to claims for respect. Drawing upon the contested, mutable and often ambiguous nature of ‘coloured’ outlined above, the notion of respect is shown to be elusive, context-specific and rendered in multiple and often conflicting ways.

## ***2 Defining Respect***

Respect forms part of the everyday lexicon and remains central to many debates in the early twenty-first century: the focus on respect as a component of anti-social behaviour; the launch of a Respect initiative in the UK (Blunkett, 2003; Respect Task Force, 2006); British commentators arguing that academics are due more respect (Jardine, 2006); whilst letters to South African newspapers refer to a lack of respect (Jansen, 2005c). Problems emerge when “people believe that the respect they deserve is not being shown” (Jones, 2002: 342), and it is “when people are treated disrespectfully that the true force of respect as an expectation is [most] powerfully driven home to us” (Middleton, 2006b: 60). Perhaps the most publicised examples are murders arising from someone being ‘dissed’ (disrespected) or in honour killings. Throughout these commentaries, and in much academic literature, there is an assumption that people know what respect means.<sup>20</sup>

In liberal philosophical thinking, respect forms a “moral infrastructure, an expectation of the way in which individuals from diverse cultures might relate to one another” (Middleton, 2006a: 1). However, its meanings and expressions are context specific. In politics, “respect has a sharp rhetorical focus...the ascription of social ills to a breakdown of respect...respect for our elders, respect for justice...respect is all about the way in which community cohesiveness has broken down” (Middleton, 2006a: 1-2). This chapter will consider these political and academic discussions to provide an overview of the theoretical construction of respect. The importance of context specific constructions of respect are then linked to teachers’ experiences of respect in a situation where different conceptualisations of respect simultaneously exist in competition with one another, rendering quests for respect ambivalent and elusive.

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<sup>20</sup> See Vester’s use of the term ‘respectable popular classes’ which is linked to a situation of insecurity and powerlessness but without sufficient theoretical underpinning (Vester, 2005); or Dulek’s discussion of the ways in which business networking undermines respect without outlining his construction of this term until the last page (Dulek, 2006).

Notions of respect are integral to the performance and construction of identities. Different means of eliciting respect compete for importance at certain historical moments. Within the space of schooling, it will be shown that status recognition respect is increasingly challenged by appraisal respect – initially through resistance to apartheid and subsequently through the exhibition of conspicuous consumption. Behind these trends are changing balances between social, cultural, and economic capital. This proposition is complicated by the ambivalence and ambiguity of identities. Complex negotiations of global and local cultures, between individuals and communities, between cultures and sub-cultures, prevent the elision of discrete categories and storylines. Instead, the development and practices of respect are contested.

Within ‘coloured’ communities, these uncertainties are underpinned by continuing contestations over the legitimacy and meanings of the category ‘coloured’. Bridging an historical juncture that has facilitated a change in constructions of race and race-relations in South Africa, this thesis provides insights into a moment where the ambiguities of being ‘coloured’ and rejections of this term are re-cast in a new political dynamic. Integral to these processes are questions of respect, resistance, consumption, ambivalence, and ambiguity. For teachers, further complications arise from global shifts in social expectations and discourse around education and a decline in their social position.

## 2.1 What is Respect?

in our times, increasingly, what we hear are demands for *respect* (Hill (Jr), 2000: 59).

Respect is a notion which triggers conflict, promotes pride, and fosters *bonhomie*, but struggles for definition. Central to definitions of respect is “a stress on economic independence, on orderliness, cleanliness” (Goodhew, 2004: xviii), through which respectability is cast as the antithesis of shame (Bourdieu, 1965: 211). Towards a definition of respect, there are two main schools of thought: respect as a universal

abstract applicable to all, and respect as an individual resource granted to those deemed worthy of receiving it.

Hill (2000: 59) elaborates the Kantian universalist approach, stating that respect “answers to a deep and pervasive human need beyond the more concrete needs...What they want...[is] full recognition as a person, with the same basic moral worth as any other, co-membership in the community”; respect is accorded to everybody because of their existence. Darwall (1977) construes this as ‘recognition respect’. The other major form of respect is termed ‘appraisal respect’, “the idea of respecting individuals for *their achievements or special merits*” (Hill (Jr), 2000: 70). In other words, appraisal respect is accorded to individuals based upon that which is “owed to their specific qualities as individuals” (Ignatieff, 1984: 16).

Recognition respect can be split: the abstract universal morality of individuals, and the recognition of and response to the differences and particularities of individuals which is required to respect the other. If recognition respect for an individual based upon their particularities is to be given, this requires an appraisal of that individual, becoming linked to appraisal respect to determine the level of respect afforded (Gibson, 2006: 80-87). In this sense, Darwall’s ideas of respect are cumulative – one must recognise the other as worthy of respect and then appraise how much respect to afford them (Middleton, 2006b: 62).

Middleton (2006b: 63) provides another element, theorising the notion of ‘status recognition respect’:

a very strong sense that certain offices should bring respect for their holders...This would appear to be a form of recognition respect in that it is not strictly speaking concerned with qualities that the incumbent holds but a respect for the office *per se*. The office represents a form of status and it is the status rather than the qualities of the holder of the status that is accorded respect.

This could be explained as the respect one is expected to grant to the Prime Minister of Great Britain or the President of South Africa due to their office, regardless of one’s view of their abilities. The idea of status recognition respect can be applied to

professionals. Teachers have traditionally enjoyed a high level of status recognition respect, although this was politicised and challenged during the apartheid era, and continues to experience a decline in the post-apartheid era. Indeed, it would appear that as status recognition respect falls, the importance of appraisal respect increases whilst simultaneously being challenged by the promotion of alternative structures of respect amongst those excluded from traditionally prized sources of social and cultural capital. This trend is identified in the USA by Hemmings (2002: 300-301), who observes that:

discourses of respect govern relations of authority... Historically, dominant discourses of respect pressured people to submit unquestioningly to those holding positions of authority.... But current trends are such that many authority figures are no longer able to wield power simply by virtue of the offices or roles they occupy. They must now earn, and keep, respect.

Key to the following discussions is not only the changing nature of respect but also the 'respect standing', "the degree of respect other people have for me" (Wolff, 1998: 107), of teachers. I will contend that the respect standing of 'coloured' teachers has undergone several major changes resulting in a decline in status recognition respect and shifts in the qualities considered for appraisal respect. Common complaints voiced about a decline in respect in schools will be shown to arise from a perceived decline in common courtesy – one of the three main ways in which Wolff (1998: 108-109) believes people do not feel respected as an equal, along with a lack of trust and demeaning behaviour.

Respect can be seen as a form of social capital, one that is reciprocal and dynamic in nature which requires constant attention lest one's standing fall (Middleton, 2006a: 1). To maintain respect standing, one is required to work to achieve this, akin to Bourdieu's construction of social capital and the need to work to maintain one's level of this. The earning and maintaining of respect are context specific, "culturally defined and constructed" (Jones, 2002: 342). Although respect is a generic concept, like honour in the Mediterranean, local interpretations determine the form it takes (Pitt-Rivers, 1965: 21). As Ignatieff comments, "our needs are not the same: what respect means to you may not be what respect means to me" (Ignatieff, 1984: 16).



Respect is an active concept, its expression and meanings are spatially and temporally specific, subject to the state's mediation of social relations (Marston, 2004) and communal renegotiations of local and global influences. Local cultures act as "the mediating moment...that shapes the relationship between society and the construction of subjectivities in a particular space and time" (Marston, 2004: 2), and in turn affect the construction of respect. The theory and practice of respect can be considered as "aspects of communication and dialogue" enacted through social and interpersonal skills (Jones, 2002: 342). Therefore, respect is locally defined, expressed, and performed through context specific acts (Sennett, 2003: 59) reflecting gender, rural-urban, class, and religious divisions (for instance Khayyat, 1990; Salo, 2005). Further, the constructions of respect, as with resistance, within local contexts are subject to multiple "dominant normative discourses" (Ansell, 2002: 181) which interpret one set of behaviour in multiple ways. As such, what is a rebellion in one interpretation is a reinforcement of dominant relations in another, and therefore what is used to construct respect may both be rebellious, conforming, respected, disrespected, treated with ambivalence, and often ambiguous.

## **2.2 Contextualising Respect**

Respect goes beyond status and prestige, and is related to the broader principle of honour (Sennett, 2003: 54-55). When offering their definition of respect, Miller and Savoie (2002: 13) juxtapose this term against a number of synonyms for disrespect, including "shame, disgrace, contempt, stigma, degradation, dishonouring", all of which remain context specific.

In the Mediterranean, for example, there are similarities between respect and the notion of honour. In Andalusia, Pitt-Rivers (1965: 21) defines honour as the value of a person in their own eyes and in the eyes of their society. Bourdieu (1965: 211) takes this further with the idea of respectability as "the characteristic of a person who needs other people in order to grasp his own identity and whose conscience is a kind

of interiorization of others... Defined essentially by its social dimension, respectability must be conquered and defended in the face of everyone”. In turn, this is reflected in Pitt-Rivers’ (1965: 22) assertion that honour “provides a nexus between the ideals of a society and their reproduction in the individual through his aspiration to personify them...it implies not merely an habitual preference for a given mode of conduct, but the entitlement to a certain treatment in return”. Reciprocity is essential in local interpretations and relations of honour and respect.

Khayyat (1990: 21) incorporates these definitions of honour and respect with a set of rules which govern acceptable and conventional norms of behaviour in Iraqi society. She identifies influences on constructions of honour and respect due to class, gender and rural/urban location (Khayyat, 1990: 22). In her thesis on ‘coloured’ identity in 1980s Cape Town, Ridd (1981) addresses gender and respect, identifying female assertions of respectability through a clean and tidy household, as is also discussed in Ross (1999). These constructions of respect must be contextualised. The South African habitus has been historically dominated by the marking of social distance and the creation of racialised Others. The dialectical relationship between habitus and history, as the cause and consequence of each other, disposes the perpetuation of these processes manifested in individual and collective behaviour (Bourdieu, 1995: 82), and evidenced by the re-emergence of race as a key identificatory category. In order to elucidate these changes, their context and the relationship with teachers, it is useful to turn to Bourdieu’s notion of habitus.

## **2.3 Respect and Habitus**

Habitus, the material conditions and structures which frame a particular environment and the individual (and group) experience of this location, both spatial and psychological, generates experiences, practices and representations of life, culture and community through a symbiotic relationship with these products (Bourdieu, 1995: 72). This provides a framework within which local constructions of respect can be examined. It is “a sense of the social places of oneself and that of others” (Hillier

and Rooksby, 2002: 9) constructed by social conditions and changing with time in which there are systematic expressions of identities through elements of common behaviour by groups in similar social spaces (Bourdieu, 2002: 28-29).

Bourdieu (2002: 29) emphasises that “habitus is not a fate”, but a set of acquired characteristics produced by social conditions, themselves “a product of history, that is of social experience and education, it may be *changed by history*”. In these situations, an individual’s acquired behavioural characteristics are moulded by the social conditions experienced depending upon position (the amount of capital possessed), education, and life history (Bourdieu, 2002: 29-31). These actions and reactions determine relationships with others encountered through their habitus – similar to Castells’ thinking on identity construction, which “uses the building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations” (Castells, 1998: 7). Respect is also based upon relationships as defined through individual life experiences and social interactions over time; the institution of respect is formed through individual agency.

These behaviours form a dialectical relationship between habitus and history perpetuated through individual and collective behaviour and dispositions (lasting structures of practice and thought) (Bourdieu, 1995: 82). In this way, those aspects of culture seen in an individual or group’s everyday behaviour are shaped by, and continue to shape, local social relations and identities. The interpretation of respect is derived from, and influences, constructions of identity as Kubrin’s (2005) discussion of identity, respect and gangsta rap music illustrates. Respect is generated by individual life experiences and social interactions framed within the local context and wider social processes, including the penetration of global culture and capital.

Individual histories reflect the temporal and spatial evolution of habitus whilst considering interactions with wider social processes (Bourdieu, 2002: 31), such as intrusions of globalisation and the conspicuous consumption of contemporary capitalism mediated and negotiated by local conditions. As these negotiations change

the locale, so the individuals' predisposition to choose certain behaviours will adapt to those which seem most "likely to achieve a desired outcome with regard to their previous experiences, the resources available to them and the prevailing power relations" (Hillier and Rooksby, 2002: 5). This position recognises that whilst individuals can employ economic, social and cultural capital for self-advancement, constraints of the habitus resulting from "embodied practices and institutional processes...generate far-reaching inequalities" (Devine and Savage, 2005: 13).

As these situations change, individual attempts to gain respect within 'coloured' communities in South Africa are mediated by access to and the prestige of different forms of capital - social, economic, and cultural. In the early years of the twenty-first century, the association of respect with social and institutional cultural capital (educational and other qualifications) is being replaced with economic capital inscribed through its links to Westernised embodied cultural capital (Western hip-hop and rap music consumed through a local understanding). In the urban schools studied here, it is possible to borrow from Triulzi (1996: 79), who describes cities as being the sites of the "symbolic production of the 'post-colonial'", where in the "apparent chaos of the everyday" one can find "the new urban rites and languages, the multiple memories and a rediscovered identity". Working in schools provides a space in which different generations, whose histories are differentially affected by apartheid and framed in modified habitus, negotiate these meanings and collisions.

## **2.4 Respect in South Africa**

The history of social relations in South Africa is imbued with inequitable relations of respect associated with the subjugation of the 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'black' population groups. These relations undermined even the Kantian philosophy of the universality of 'respect for people as human beings', a claim central to the underlying ideology of the anti-apartheid movement.

Goodhew's critique of Ross's 1999 work on *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony* underlines the importance of contextualising the concept of respect. He states that Ross based his concept of respectability in the Cape Colony between the mid-eighteenth to the mid-late nineteenth century on non-African works, which amounted to respect derived from seeking education and Western principles of behaviour (Goodhew, 2004: xix). Ross's work does focus upon the "imposition of British ideas of respectability onto the Colony...[that enabled people] to make a bid for acceptance, by adopting the behaviour and outward signs of respectable society" (Ross, 1999: 4). Although Ross's analysis concentrates upon non-African ideas of respectability, it reflects the dominant social discourses of the time and highlights the processes by which Western constructs of the 'good African' (King, 1970) were internalised in the colony.

Goodhew concurs that respect has received scant coverage in literature on 20<sup>th</sup> century South Africa. He states that there were three strands of respectability in working class 'black' communities in Sophiatown in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: religion, education and a commitment to law and order. During the course of the century, this concept changed, it was "defined against other people. Partly, this meant being defined against those deemed to be unrespectable, although this divide was far from neat. But respectability was increasingly defined by its conflicts with the state" (Goodhew, 2004: xix). Goodhew's observation that the division between respectable and unrespectable was 'far from neat' alludes to ambiguities of not only the construction of respect but associated identities. The second contention, of the correspondence of respect and resistance, will be shown to have strong similarities with the experiences of 'coloured' teachers in Cape Town.

In Sophiatown, schools were officially viewed as a means of control during the late pre-apartheid and early apartheid era, an approach "subverted by the enthusiasm with which black people seized upon education and sought to mould it to their own ends" (Goodhew, 2004: 28). During the 1940s and 1950s education was a priority and an "extension of the political struggle of our people" (ANC leader quoted in Goodhew, 2004: 95). There was, however, another side. Whilst education was a key element of

respectability for those able to access it, many were denied, and some of those who completed school became increasingly likely “to be disillusioned by the lack of opportunities beyond drudgery and unemployment” (Goodhew, 2004: 98). These frustrations encouraged people to seek alternative structures for success and respect; “by contrast *tsotsidom* offered glamour and a sense of importance. It could be more lucrative to subsist by robbery than to seek work...*Tsotsis*<sup>21</sup> were feared but also respected in an environment that offered few ways of leaving one’s mark” (Goodhew, 2004: 98). In this context, whilst education equipped individuals with social and cultural capital the habitus precluded its transformation into status recognition respect. Instead, youths would seek alternative forms of appraisal respect and, it could be argued status recognition respect, through alternative structures. It will be shown that similar practices are evidenced within ‘coloured’ communities in Cape Town.

The development of a racially hierarchical society laid the foundations for competing senses of respectability and offered differing levels of respect to ‘white’, ‘black’, ‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’ residents. This past demeaned the lives of the majority of the population. In such a situation, Sennett (2003: 3) posits that:

[l]ack of respect, though less aggressive than an outright insult, can take an equally wounding form...he or she is not *seen* – as a full human being whose presence matters. When a society treats the mass of people in this way, singling out only a few for recognition, it creates a scarcity of respect.

For the ‘coloured’ community, Adhikari argues that notions of identity and respectability remained stable but fluid during the apartheid era and were shaped through continuous negotiations of the four emotions of hope, fear, shame and frustration (Adhikari, 2002: 7). This thesis will suggest that a better way to conceive of notions of ‘coloured’ identity is through an acceptance and elucidation of identities – racial and respectable – as ambiguous and ambivalent.

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<sup>21</sup> *Tsotsis* and *tsotsidom* refer to township gangsters and gangsterism, derived from the Sesotho word *tsotsi* used in township patois which translates as ‘thug’ or ‘robber’.

Since the 1990s, changes in habitus have renegotiated respect and identity, resulting in contested and ultimately ambiguous identities. The compression of time and space and South Africa's reintegration into the world economy have increased international flows of capital, information, and the penetration of external cultural and social values resulting in local renegotiations of global cultural flows. Within these changes there has been a change in prestige associated with different forms of capital.

Capital can be divided into three main forms according to Bourdieu; "as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money...as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital" (Bourdieu, 1997 [1986]: 47). Cultural capital exists in three forms; embodied (in the disposition of someone), objectified (in the form of cultural goods such as books, pictures) and institutional (represented by educational and other qualifications) (Bourdieu, 1997 [1986]: 47; Hillier and Rooksby, 2002: 8). The value of social capital is the aggregate of resources accessible through social ties and relations that are "the product of investment strategies...aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu, 1997 [1986]: 52; Field, 2003). Social capital extends not only to direct interpersonal relationships but includes wider social norms which themselves can embody a form of social capital. Coleman (1997 [1988]: 86) identifies how these norms can be "reinforced by social support, status, honor and other rewards", rewards which can include respect.

In order to understand local forms and rewards of respect, it is necessary to go beyond these global trends, to ground them in lived experience. Attempts by some 'coloureds' to 'pass for white' under apartheid required them to demonstrate their 'respectability' by being 'generally accepted as a white person'. Educational success was viewed by parts of the 'coloured' elite as a mechanism for 'coloureds' to prove their 'civilisation' to the 'whites' and gain incorporation. Other 'coloureds' viewed

education as a means through which to oppose apartheid and advance the anti-apartheid struggle, instead seeking respect through resistance.

Historically, education systems in South Africa were imbued with a focus upon civilising the slave population whilst instilling respect for the racial hierarchy. This reflected the broader desire to instil into Africans a belief in settlers' values of respectability, respect for one's betters, and an ethos of hard work (Comaroff, 1997). These sentiments were inculcated through missionaries who formed "the vanguard of empire and its most active ideological agents", many of whom had emerged "from the ideological core yet the social margins of bourgeois Britain" and who prized their social elevation based upon an "unremitting commitment to self-improvement...And inasmuch as they were to evangelize and civilize by personal example...the road along which they were to lead the heathen was to retrace their own pathways through British society" (Comaroff, 1997: 166, 168-9).

By the start of the twentieth century, education was seen as the panacea to social ills and the primary means for 'coloured' social upliftment and their acceptance by 'white' society. Consequently, "teachers formed a very important part of the elite of coloured society. Teachers were very conscious of their professional status because the coloured group had no other substantial professional class...Teachers had high prestige" (Adhikari, 1981: 43). Despite this prestige, teachers' pay was low, they had no sick leave, no pensions for those working at mission schools, and were vulnerable to dismissal if they went against the Department of Education (Adhikari, 1981: 48-52).

## **2.5 Respect and Schooling**

In 2005/6, statements from the British government with regards to declining social values located schools as vital to the learning of respect:

What lies at the heart of this [anti-social] behaviour is a lack of respect for values that almost everyone in this country shares... Most



of us learn respect from our parents and our families – they are later reinforced by good schools. (Blair, 2006: 1)

This emphasises the critical position of teachers in inculcating values of respect in their learners. However, the common perception that teachers are being afforded less respect by both government and society, in the UK and South Africa, problematises this statement.

Within schools, work concerning respect has focussed upon bullying and social justice (for example Morrison, 2006). Flores-Gonzalez's work in the USA at the predominantly Hispanic Hernandez High School identifies the different ways in which two peer cultures – school orientated and street orientated – sought to gain respect. School orientated pupils sought high grades, membership of prestigious sporting and cultural societies, and interactions with teachers. Street orientated pupils were generally low achievers, occupying marginal spaces within schools and who "sought respect, a different form of popularity that is based on deference and fear" (Flores-Gonzalez, 2005: 635). Also in the USA, Hyams (2000) identifies the gendered nature of constructions of respectability within schools: between succeeding at school and avoiding intimate relationships, and being a bad student by becoming someone's girlfriend. Hemmings' (2002: 301) work identifies how youth produced a culture of respect as reputation, where in hostile socioeconomic conditions violence and hostility were employed to gain power, wealth and respect: again a division between 'school-' and 'street-orientated'.

The expression of a street code (a way of life governed by a set of rules and rituals developed as a sub-culture by marginalised communities, often in inner-city areas), commonly through gangsta rap, focuses upon the embodiment of social identity and respect (Kubrin, 2005: 363). Here, respect is "defined as being treated right or granted the deference one deserves" (Andersen, 1999 used in Kubrin, 2005: 363), based upon a self-image that conveys the message that one possesses the capacity for violence. Through this subversion of state hegemony over violence, alternative social status is achieved.

Respect concerns teachers, doctors and other professions, for whom “respect is one of the cornerstones of professional ethics” (Gibson, 2006: 77). The respect that teachers were previously afforded arose from the social and institutional cultural capital of their position. This depended upon status recognition respect, appraisal respect, their ability to access objectified cultural capital, and to a lesser extent the economic capital that went with their employment. Today, however, many ‘coloured’ youth believe that they remain excluded from prestige based upon these forms of capital due to perceived marginalisation of the ‘coloured’ community. These contestations concern both individual respect and what Miller and Savoie (2002) describe as ‘group respect rating’ - the social capital of a class or identity group. For ‘coloured’ teachers, a number of identity groupings are implicated: as professional (teacher), as ‘raced’ (‘coloured’), as political (struggle teacher), and as consumer. These contested and incomplete inscriptions and claims for belonging dynamically intersect and change, making claims to identity and respect conflicted and ambiguous. Such trends have been identified more widely as young people use cultural innovations (McRobbie, 1994) to adapt their aspirations to the limitations of the habitus through alternative cultural expressions and hierarchies.

This is not always the case. In Uttar Pradesh, India, young Dalits and Muslims have found that education does not prevent their exclusion from professional employment and instead have “reacted to th[is] exclusion...by embracing education as a form of embodied cultural distinction” (Jeffrey, et al., 2004: 961). Being educated is used as a label of success, a form of cultural capital to demarcate social distinction and privilege. This trend has manifested itself in physical appearance through the adoption of ‘respectable’ forms of Western clothing and high levels of cleanliness and hygiene.

Alternative expressions of respect often draw upon economic capital inscribed through a consumer culture branding of the public and private self. It is not only the display of wealth that counts, but the style with which it is done; a Western style derived from Hollywood films and American television and music stars. Such behaviours have been identified by Dolby in the actions of ‘black’ and ‘white’

learners at Fernwood High School in Durban, South Africa during the late 1990s, whose attempts to re-inscribe their identities in a newly integrated school environment were driven by commodity culture imbibed through global popular culture. ‘Black’ learners used popular culture to rework their identities to exhibit their racialised selves through fashion and music (Dolby, 2001a), while ‘white’ learners repositioned themselves as part of a globalised white identity circumventing the nation-state (Dolby, 2001b). As in Dolby’s work, and this thesis, there is a “need to consider not only the relational production of identity but also its material embeddedness. The students identify themselves as actors in a material world. The space of material performance they identify is, however, spatially and temporally removed from the space of production” (Ansell, 2002: 181). It is clear that both teachers and students experience multiple identities that interact with each other, reflecting and contributing to ambiguous and ambivalent identities that slide between positions, and draw upon local, national, and international resources to claim and assert these identities. Through these processes the overlaps between debates on racial identities and questions of respect and respectability are evident.

## **2.6 Respect, Identity and Ambiguity**

These contradictions and selective practices highlight how “identifications emerge as contradictory, ambivalent, imbued with tension” (Yon, 2000b: 143). To engage with these aspects of identity it is necessary to move away from the inscription of identity as stable and statically identifiable. Instead there is a search for what Yon has termed ‘elusive culture’ (2000a). This move, influenced by the writings of Bhabha (1994) and Baumann (1996), talks to the ambivalence and ambiguity of identities, and considers the fixed identity categories of modernism – such as the binary division of Us and Them – as insufficient. This approach is central to the post-colonial literature, and furthers McClintock’s (1995: 15) challenge that “the sanctioned binaries – colonizer-colonized, self-other, dominance-resistance, metropolis-colony” are inadequate. Instead, the difficulties of representing identities are recognised, they are “fluid, situational and fundamentally political” (Cheater and Hopa, 1997: 208).

For instance, Mondal's consideration of Indian novels argues that the development of nationalism and communalism breaks the structure of Self and Other. Instead, each forms the double of its partner and in doing so each, in part, constitutes its partner which forms the divided self, producing anxiety and ambivalence (Mondal, 2003: 28). Emphasis is transferred to the tensions between personal and cultural identities, their mutability and dynamism, considering not only the 'being' of identity but its 'becoming' (Yon, 1999). Individual identities are created through "complex relationships...to the various categories and groups with which they are affiliated and from which they draw the components of their specific identities" (Cheater and Hopa, 1997: 208). Their construction and expression therefore remains contested and often ambivalent: this recognition "reflects the mutable, contextual and relational nature of identity" (Lepri, 2006: 67). Identity can be considered as processes, of intersecting identificatory continua, along which individuals locate themselves and others – and in turn are located by others – and through these intersections identities are constantly produced and reproduced.

### **2.6.1 The Role of Mimicry**

Bhabha's (1994: 86) discussion of mimicry through the colonial process "as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite" is important. It is a discourse "constructed around an *ambivalence*" that "continually produce[s] its slippage, its excess" and "becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial (Bhabha, 1997: 153). The development of colonial social and educational policy in South Africa was an often ambivalent attempt to construct 'good colonial subjects' – in particular for the 'coloured' community – which encouraged desire and mimicry of the dominant 'white' minority. The continuation of this trend is embodied within the negotiations of global cultural (consumer) capital and the appropriation of forms of Western cultural and social capital to display and express success and respect. Such practices of mimicry, according to Bhabha (1994: 86), are "constructed around an ambivalence", of being "almost the same, but not quite" which "does not merely 'rupture' the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the

colonial subject as a ‘partial’ presence”. McClintock (1995: 62) has explained this as “a flawed identity imposed upon colonized people who are obliged to mirror back an image of the colonials but in imperfect form”. The process of mimicry results in uncertain, contested, and ambivalent identities, containing both a rejection of but also a desire for the dominant Other. This in turn becomes a threat, as mimicry “in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority” (Bhabha, 1997: 155).

Such practices are exemplified in the ambiguous nature of Ese Ejja identity in Bolivia, which Lepri (2006: 67) characterises as “a mixture of fear and admiration, of avoidance and at the same time of emulation” of Bolivian Others. In Benson’s 1981 work on mixed-race families in Brixton, London she identifies how the ambiguous location of being ‘mixed-race’ in a system of discrete, external, ethnic identifications, problematises these neat categories (Benson, 1981). Identities are mutable and dynamic in their being *and* becoming, and, amongst marginalised populations, often involving mimicry in these constructions. Reiterating Said’s theorisation of Orientalism (Hall, 1992; Said, 1995), it is vital to remember that the processes by which the Us and the Other are constructed to form systems of representation comprise an ongoing dynamic exchange. This provides the space for mimicry to function as the ironic compromise between the quest for a stable, static identity and the diachrony of history – of change and difference (Bhabha, 1997: 153). These same contests are identified within ‘coloured’ teachers’ narratives – of the appropriation and aspiration towards certain elements of ‘whiteness’, but a simultaneous rejection of ‘whiteness’ because of its political implications.

### ***2.6.2 The Possibility of Ambivalence***

The use of ambivalence – “the possibility of assigning an object or an event to more than one category” – can induce a sense of discomfort (Bauman, 1996: 1). Moving away from attempts to classify stable, discrete identities, one can leave behind the postulation that the “world consists of discrete and distinct entities” (Bauman, 1996: 1). In South Africa, and particularly considering the ‘coloured’ community, this

allows for engagement with expressions of identity that simultaneously inscribe, re-inscribe and dis-inscribe identifications relating to imposed and self-expressed identifiers. This provides a tool to consider relations to the term 'coloured', to ideals of political 'blackness', to mimicry of colonial impositions and global cultures. In a context where the (symbolic) violence of apartheid involved the deliberate inclusion and exclusion of individuals from resources, rights, and communities, the consideration of ambivalence is essential.

Abbey (2004: 331) proposes that ambivalence in identities is a result of conflicting ideas about particular aspects of identity and "the co-presence of seemingly exclusive meanings". The outcomes of which are the constructions of symbolic meanings, both overtly and covertly (what is said/done and how this happens) through the adoption of one set of values over the others (monologicalization) or the retention of multiple ideas which are renegotiated and reframed to reduce the level of uncertainty (circumvection). This process is one of "back-and-forth between the collective and personal aspects of culture, [through which] meanings are symbolically communicated in multiple ways" (Abbey, 2004: 31). It is then possible to go beyond clear-cut distinctions, and explore the hybrid, ambiguous, and uncertain; the elements of post-colonialism that Stuart Hall (1996) highlights as the vital strengths of this theoretical approach. Understanding that identities are the result of these contests and reflections, it will be possible to consider how negotiations and dialogue between personal and collective beliefs and cultures are essential to the self-image constructed by 'coloured' teachers.

Craig and Martinez (2005a; 2005b) consider attitudinal ambivalences in identity, beliefs and behaviour. Armitage and Connor have argued for the importance of recognising ambivalence not at the level of public opinion but at the individual level (Armitage and Conner, 2005: 146). Thaler's (2001) deconstruction of historiographies of Austrian nationalism suggests a continuum of fluid and ambivalent national identities. However, Payne and Grew (2005) caution against the notion of ambivalence. Their work on class in the UK asserts that, rather than following the work of Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst (2001), who proposed a

notion of class ambivalence (the reluctance to self-identify by class but a willingness to use this construct to discuss general issues), class identification can be considered as occurring along two axes – one of personal identification and the other for general ('out-there') identifications – along which people can occupy different locations simultaneously. I would suggest that both of these approaches recognise key elements of ambivalent identities – that they are continually (re)constructed with reference to wider social relations as well as personal self-reflection, and that the categories against and within which people identify themselves and others are not monolithic, but instead are themselves changing and mutable, forming spectrums of identificatory behaviour.

This approach will allow for the recognition of belonging and identifying as both “an act of self-identification [and] identification by others, in a stable, contested or transient way” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 199). Identity is expressed through claims to forms of belonging which are constructed on three levels: social location; individual “identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities”; and “ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others’ belonging/s” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 199). All three of these levels are subject to contest and change, so that “Even in its most stable ‘primordial’ forms, however, belonging is always a dynamic process, not a reified fixity, which is only a naturalized construction of a particular hegemonic form of power relations” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 199).

### ***2.6.3 Ambivalence, Respect, and Elusive Identities***

Using the notion of ambivalence will allow the move beyond Miller and Savoie’s (2002: 15) problematic position when they treat respect as “a yes-no proposition: either you have it or you don’t”. Whilst they do recognise this as a ‘gross simplification’, such a position fails to allow for consideration of the complex and contested construction of the term and the ambiguous ways in which it is enacted and inscribed. Rather than considering respect as something you have or do not have, individuals simultaneously have, do not have, and expect to have different forms of respect and respect standing. Therefore, respect can - as with space (Massey, 2005)

and culture (Yon, 2000a) – be seen as elusive, and constructed within dynamic and contested processes.

From this premise, the different constructions of respect discussed above cannot be considered as separate from each other. Rather, they interact in the construction of an individual's respect standing as they are located along multiple continua of respect. These processes are inherently conflictual: what produces respect in the eyes of one person, may not for another, resulting in multiple and contested readings and assertions of respect. Just as Massey (2005: 141) argues that place should be constituted as unfinished, as process, “as open and internally multiple”, so constructions of identity – and respect – can be seen as moments within processes, specific constructions comprising the ‘throwntogetherness’ (Massey, 2005: 140) of various trajectories and experiences.

In discussions with teachers, their relationships with race, identity, and respect were imbued with ambiguities. There is a search for belonging as part of a coherent and stable community which is, as with Yon's work at a Toronto high-school in the mid-1990s, “placed in tension with the conditions of the late twentieth [and early twenty-first] century” (Yon, 1999: 638). With regard to the construction of racialised identities, the development of education policies and the evolution of respect, questions of local renegotiations of global cultural trends are central.

Post-modern interest in uncovering multiple forms of identities outwith modernist binaries faces criticisms. One concern is the tendency for postmodernists to universalise and overlook the importance of local experience – particularly of colonialism – in shaping identities (Mondal, 2003: 19-20). Said (1995: 12) has stated the need to problematise and contextualise the local experience of global influences. It is essential, therefore, to recognise the local experience of colonialism and apartheid by the ‘coloured’ community and within this to consider how the historical edifice of race and apartheid can be located as ambiguous.



Dubow (1995: 17) notes that race in South Africa was a loose term often conflated with 'nation' and at other times "merged with the bio-cultural metaphor of 'blood'". Race remained a dynamic and evolving social construct, and its success in South Africa rested in part upon its ability to embrace contradictory thinking as Dubow (1995: 17 [my emphasis]) suggests that "ideologies may be more, rather than less, compelling if they are fundamentally *ambiguous* or even inherently contradictory – so long as a semblance of overall consistency is maintained". The philosophical underpinnings of colonialism and apartheid were themselves conflicted and contested, with Dubow pointing to apartheid ideologues inferring rather than asserting "biological theories of racial superiority" so to permit the ambiguous relationship of biological, theological and cultural explanations of racial difference (Dubow, 1995: 246).

The construction of personal identities through the lived experience of the social system of apartheid, itself founded upon contradictions and ambivalences – particularly in the construction and treatment of the 'coloured' population, will therefore be expected to embody many of these facets: ambivalence, ambiguity, mimicry, conflict, uncertainty, elusivity, and a search for belonging.

## **2.7 Combining respect, identity and education**

The expression of identity embodies an articulation of individuals' assertions of their terms of respect – their projected persona is used to elicit respect from others and to demonstrate self-respect. In the school setting, constraints provide a certain space and scale within which these expressions can be made. The interplay of absences and presences provides for the construction and expression of identity, "whether self-consciously or unconsciously, in relation to other people and to particular spaces" (Bain, 2004: 420) – in this instance other teachers, students, and a researcher, primarily within a scholastic space. The ways in which these assertions are articulated are examined through this thesis.

Economic capital and its expression through embodied cultural capital reflect changes in the habitus. Within this changing environment and grounded in the experiences of three schools in Cape Town, the value of social and institutional cultural capital associated with education is declining without mitigation from the economic capital accrued from teaching, making recruitment and retention harder. Through these processes, respect for teaching will be shown to be shifting from status recognition respect to appraisal respect. This has been problematised by a move from appraisal respect lauding resistance to apartheid, to an ambivalent engagement with struggle ideals of social justice and non-racialism, and then to a situation where appraisal is made of the potential for economic gain and cultural consumption. Further complicating this slide, is the ongoing ambiguity of ‘colouredness’ in South Africa. The creation of the category ‘coloured’ was inherently ambivalent, producing a discomfiting location from which attempts to escape are interwoven with claims to respect.

Whilst there is an extensive literature on the ‘coloured’ community (see for example Erasmus, 2001a; Lewis, 1987; historical texts include MacMillan, 1927; Marais, 1957 [1939]), and a growing number of publications on ‘coloured’ education (see Kallaway, 2002a; Kallaway, et al., 1997; Wieder, 2004), there has been little consideration of respect. The issue of race and shame has been considered in clinical psychology (Julius, 2004), and expressions of identity and shame through art and literature have been analysed (for example Pleasant, 2003; Sauls, 2004; Tobin, 2001). However, there has been an absence of work concerning ‘coloured’ teachers and their shifting roles and position in society. The use of the conceptual tools of ambiguity and ambivalence has also been scant.

### ***2.7.1 Education as Research Site***

Our children are the rock on which our future will be built, our greatest asset as a nation...Education is the key. (Mandela, 2003b: 253)

This is not an education thesis. Education hosts a transdisciplinary inquiry into questions of identity and respect, considering factors that permeate across and occur

between disciplines. This allows for a wider understanding to be developed by working within and between disciplines to open new perspectives (Clement, 2006; Nicolescu, 2005), rather than using the approaches of more than one discipline (multidisciplinarity), or utilising the epistemologies of one discipline within another (interdisciplinarity) (Holistic Education Network of Tasmania, 2005). Educational ethnographers view schools as providing a space in which structure and experience are articulated to emphasise “the interruptions, discontinuities, and attenuations of...identity categories” which produce multidimensional and dynamic identities (Yon, 2003: 421). Geographers have called for a consideration of how students acquire ‘culture’ and develop identities through the schooling experience (Ansell, 2002: 179-180). Working within this space in an African context where relatively little is understood (Jansen, 2005b: 17) provides a richness of data considering the interplay of identity, politics, and education.

A number of other theses have recognised the potential of education as a host for research into educational and other developments during and after apartheid (for instance Beal, 1998; McGrath, 1996a; Stevens, 1996). Ben Kies’s (an influential figure in the anti-apartheid movement) dissertation provides an early example of a contextual approach to the effects of educational segregation upon the ‘coloured’ community (Kies, 1939), whilst Maurice (1966) offers an overview of ‘coloured’ education from 1880 to 1940. More recently, Battersby (2002) and Soudien (1996) have considered the influence of schooling on the shaping of student identities.

Schools are a microcosm of social issues and processes, a site of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Giddens, 1998: 417) situated “in a particular social, economic, political and constitutional context” (Hartshorne, 1985: 254). In South Africa, “the struggle for political freedom...has always been closely linked to struggles for and around formal education” (Morrow, et al., 2004: 5), marking it as a site of reproduction *and* opposition. Reproduction through education includes the “legitimation of the social order and of hereditary transmission of privileges” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990: 210) within the “spatial context of school [which is] constitutive of and constituted by social relations of power” (Hyams,

2000: 635), inextricably linking education to the society framing it (Antwi, 1992: 208).

Within South Africa, education privileged certain knowledge to inculcate beliefs in a racially hierarchical state, as suggested by Loram (1917: 1); “The best hope for the solution of the problem of race adjustment in South Africa...[lies] in the education by the dominant whites of the black race in light of...its mental and moral make-up, and its political, social and economic future”. Through colonial and apartheid education, official and hidden curricula taught students’ their racially predestined social position.

The content and methods of education are embedded in dominant social structures and ideologies, “affected by who defines the needs of society and determines the objectives of its education policy” (Keto, 1990: 29). Apartheid education was structured by Fundamental Pedagogics, an educational discourse drawing upon Christian National Education that “inculcated generations... with religious and cultural beliefs aimed at creating docile citizens effectively sealed off from the influence of mainstream contemporary debates” (Kallaway, 2002b: 11). The underlying assumption of Fundamental Pedagogics emphasises the incorporation of faith, dogma, opinions and philosophies of life to provide a universal education that enriches the in-group culture – in this case, Afrikaner culture (Cross, 1986: 187). This incorporated a rigid curriculum enforced by inspectors who monitored “teachers’ political obsequiousness and students’ conformity” (Soudien, 1995: 74). Focused upon a conserving (Hartshorne, 1985: 254) or constraining (Illich, 1971: 9) function, education policy sought to perpetuate the racially-hierarchical status quo.

Within the education system, “the young learn about their identities... [children] learn the politics of position” (Soudien, 2002a: 8). Recognising that “[i]dentities are constantly remade and reshaped”, Subrahmanian (2003: 6) highlights how “curriculum transactions, community and home life, teachers’ attitudes and behaviours all contribute to reshaping the identity of the student”. In South Africa, differentiated curricula were intended to perpetuate the racial hierarchy, but

education was an ambiguous location, a site of struggle *and* of reproduction, within which teachers were critically positioned (Carrim, 2003: 21).

Karlsson's (2001: 2) belief that "education policy is...a contested political process" and Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) theory of symbolic violence<sup>22</sup> emphasise the teachers' role in shaping student identity. Teachers were therefore integral to processes which affirmed or contested the visible and hidden curriculum of apartheid. The development of a politicised identity within the classroom requires certain social and educational relations which are predominantly controlled by teachers (Nasson, 1986).

Historically, teachers held a prestigious location in local communities. During the colonial era, governments across Africa used schools as a means of social control. Foster has identified how educational transfer from the colonial metropole (UK) to Ghana was used to homogenise the colonised population through the "inculcation of values and appropriate modes of behaviour and the teaching of skills which prepare the individual to participate as an adult member of a community" (Foster, 1965: 6). This encouraged internal population differentiation with academic success signifying social achievement. As Antwi (1992) observes in Ghana, but with resonance across Africa, education was introduced 'as a handmaiden of Christianity' to make locals into 'good' people. McGrath (1996b) provides an overview of South African education's intention to produce 'good Africans' (King, 1971), including an analysis of the impact of Loram's (1917) *Education for the South African Native*. In later years, these educational practices were critiqued by Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko.

The internalization of 'white' values through education encouraged psychological enslavement and internal alienation. Biko relates this to the need for black consciousness (BC), in terms of institutional oppression and the psychological aspect whereby "the black man himself has developed a certain sense of alienation, he rejects himself, precisely because he attaches the meaning white to all that is good" (Biko, 2002: 100). Fanon identifies the processes resulting in an "inferiority

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<sup>22</sup> This refers to the processes by which meanings and ideas are conveyed as legitimate whiles concealing the underlying power relations.

complex” as a “double process: - primarily, economic; - subsequently, the internalization-or, better, the epidermalization-of this inferiority” (Fanon, 1986: 13). This privileging of ‘whiteness’, according to Fanon (1986: 11-12), meant that “The black man wants to be white”. As explored later, such desires evolved into the practices of mimicry outlined by Bhabha (1994).

Apartheid segregation created intellectuals within each population grouping. The emergence of ‘traditional intellectuals’ within the ‘coloured’ community under apartheid with the potential to mobilise communities posed a potential danger to the government. In this situation, Gramsci (1971: 10) argues that a government would “assimilate and conquer ‘ideologically’ the traditional intellectuals” to perpetuate their dominant position. In South Africa, the apartheid government sought to control the curriculum and to police how this was taught. The segregated experience of education which reproduced patterns of class and racial identity was challenged in the 1970s. Teachers were necessary in providing a space and mobilising the set of relations to assist the development of pupils’ political consciousnesses, a practice pursued by many associated with the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) and the Teachers’ League of South Africa (TLSA).

In post-apartheid South Africa, “schools have been identified as the primary source for the construction of a new unified South African nation” (Potgieter, 1996: 171). Education policy has been overhauled, aimed at creating an inclusive society (Carrim, 2003: 20) by “providing opportunity, rectifying racial injustice and underpinning economic development” (Beinart, 2001: 330). Education is “a key site wherein social reconfiguration in the present context can be observed” (Fataar, 2005: 23), exemplified by debates around exclusion, segregation, achievement and integration. Fataar’s (2005) work on Muslim schools in Cape Town illustrates how specific groups can mobilise education through community schools to create formative spaces in which policy and pedagogy can be engaged to constitute religious identities within national citizenship. The classroom provides a powerful moment of intergenerational socialisation, and student experiences of these moments can have a profound impact upon their personal and ideological development (Keto,

1990: 19). Schools are contested spaces, they were often at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle: for example, the death of Hector Petersen in the 1976 school protests, and the boycotts of the 1980s. They are locations where identities are renegotiated and social categories are translated into individual consciousness (Soudien, 1998).

The social problems which beset the 'coloured' population during the apartheid era were viewed as inextricably linked to poverty, low socio-economic status and poor-housing, and education was seen as the keystone for overcoming these (Cilliers, 1971a). The underdevelopment of 'black' labour by apartheid education remains a structural constraint on South African economic development (Ismail, 1995). Taking science and mathematics as two key skills areas, the inequitable outcome of apartheid education policy can be seen in the worryingly low participation by 'black' and 'coloured' populations as a consequence of apartheid-era policies that saw mathematics education for 'blacks' as nonsensical and determined that 'coloured' education should emphasis practical skills more than the academic-orientated 'white' education (table 6). Faced with severe skills shortages, seen in the 500,000 skilled vacancies that cannot be filled by nationals (Kassiem, 2005a: 3), Western Cape Provincial Minister for Education, Cameron Dugmore, has emphasised the role of education as the "primary source of future growth and development" (Kassiem, 2005c: 3). Education, in conjunction with other factors, is a major mechanism for encouraging long-term economic growth and reducing poverty (Akoojee and McGrath, 2005; McCarthy, 1995), developing human resources to meet global production demands (Kraak, 2003: 662), creating human capital, and combating entrenched prestige (Jeffrey and McDowell, 2004: 132; Pillay, 1990: 46). The quality of a state's human resources are increasingly important to the wealth of nations as the shift to an open global economy has increased competition for economic production, placing teachers in a crux position for workforce development (Brown and Lauder, 1997 [1996]: 174).

**Table 6: Participation rates in maths, 1990.**

	Participation rates in matriculation level maths (%)
White	64
Indian	70
Coloured	45
African	24

(Reddy, 2006: 393)

The relevance and sensitivity of this research was evident during fieldwork. The Department of Education's (DoE) 2005 school survey, utilising racial categories, sparked a media and political storm (for instance Gophe, 2005a), whilst the importance of studying teachers was highlighted by South Africa's need to train 20,000 teachers per year to avoid a critical lack of teachers to provide a basic, inclusive education. Further findings in 2005 indicate a 5% attrition rate of the 350,000 teachers with further strains from overseas recruitment and low salary levels (Mtshali, 2005: 3).

The history of the development of South African social relations is one of contest and uncertainty. Identities were imposed, asserted, claimed, and rejected. Relations to racial classifications became politicised, the labels themselves evolved as ambiguous and uncertain, their meanings and definitions contested and fluid. Bound up within these processes and claims to identity were aspirations towards and assertions of respect – itself a concept that is dynamic, mutable and experienced as ambivalent. The intersection of these claims to identities was, and remains, vital in the education sector. 'Coloured' teachers negotiated claims to (non)-racial, professional, personal, consumer, and other identities that were imbued with assertions of respect. Drawing upon these dynamics and on post-colonial theory to frame this research, the research questions that this thesis addresses are outlined in Chapter Three.



### **3. The Research Process**

Political change in post-apartheid South Africa removed legislation constraining opportunities based upon racial classification. Internal political changes, expanding employment opportunities, increasing penetration of elements of Western culture and capital, and developments in education policy have reduced the allure of teaching as a profession of high status, prestige, and respect. Teachers face a double dilemma; the decline in the prestigious social location of teaching, and the challenge of race as a revitalised social discourse. Education remains a contest-laden space, a microcosm of the South African crucible, providing a frame within which to consider how notions of respect, race, and identity are renegotiated.

An aging sticker reading “Hands off our teachers!” on a blackboard in Moonglow High (Figure 3) underlines the respect in which teachers were held, any threat to which required challenge. Today, the damage to the sticker can be seen as symbolic of the erosion and attrition of the respect afforded to teachers – the statement could refer to increased threats of violence, government policies, or overseas recruitment of teachers from South Africa.

**Figure 3: 'Hands off our Teachers' - a statement with different meanings today?**



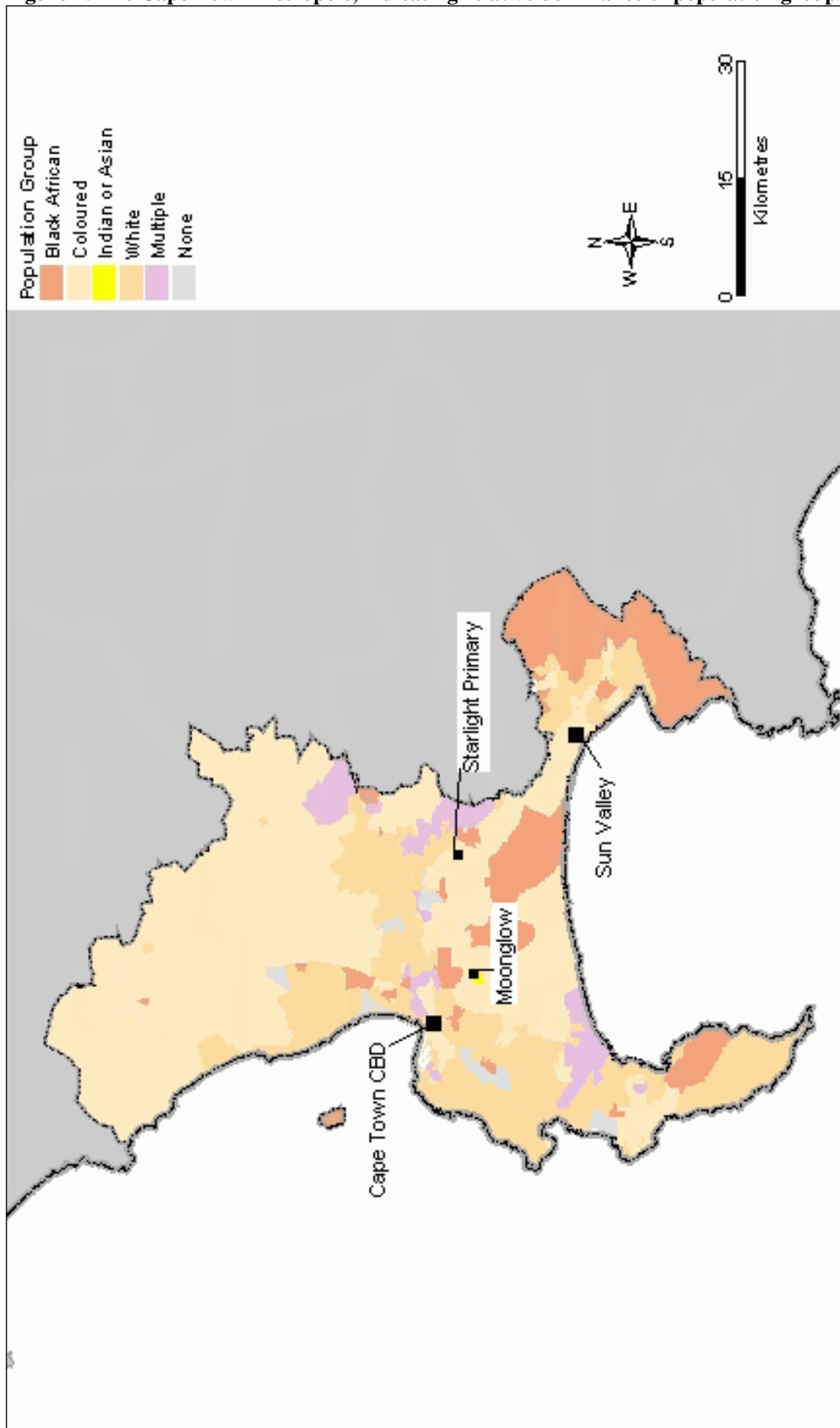
The renegotiation of political and social space in the transition from apartheid provided the potential for challenges to hegemonic official and oppositional identity treatises. However, many of these have been sidelined in the current political climate.

Non-racialism, a founding tenet of the African National Congress (ANC) (ANC, 1955) and cornerstone to the 1996 Constitution of South Africa (1996), has been sidelined by Rainbow Nation and Two Nations rhetoric. These approaches retained race as a key discourse, whilst denying space for broad discussions on identity and signalling for some commentators the retreat of non-racialism, “a political ideal for which people gave their lives” (van Graan, 2004: 8). The challenge to non-racialism has made associated political identities uncertain, leaving non-racialist teachers in an ambiguous position between political ideals and lived experience.

This thesis considers how these developments have affected a number of ‘coloured’ teachers in contemporary South Africa. The central consideration is whether or not in the post-apartheid context ‘coloured’ teachers are still respected? Implicit within this overarching question are two subsidiary investigations. During apartheid, how was the social location of ‘coloured’ teachers constructed? And how and why did these teachers gain respect – was this sought through professional identity, a resistance identity, or other means? Examination of the historical narrative of teachers’ identities with reference to race and respect will provide the backdrop to consideration of contemporary dilemmas and ambiguities in claims to, and assertions of, identity. The discussions of identity and claims to respect that follow are framed in the post-colonial thinking outlined in Chapter Two, as notions of ‘coloured’ and respect are rendered problematic, subject to multiple and competing meanings and as concepts with which teachers hold ambiguous and contested relationships.

Recognising and outlining these trajectories emphasises how identities are created by experiences of particular times, spaces and places. Explorations of identity with forty-two current and former ‘coloured’ teachers (for a list of interviewees, see Appendix 1) highlighted the role of lived experience in constructions of identity anchored in a racialised society that entrenched lived experience in a spatialised hierarchy of deprivation within Cape Town (figure 4). Forced removals, group areas, and job reservation conflated lines of racial and economic difference by geographical location. When I drove into the area around Sun Valley High, or to meet informants in Hanover Park, this history is evident in the ubiquitous “decaying schemes of three

Figure 4: The Cape Town Metropole, indicating relative dominance of population groups.



(Adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2006)

storey apartment blocks which...were built by the apartheid state for coloured people only” (Lohnert, et al., 1998: 87). Relocation to such conditions undermined self-esteem and self-respect; the denigrating apartheid system produced a scarcity of respect, contributing to social problems in many dislocated communities.

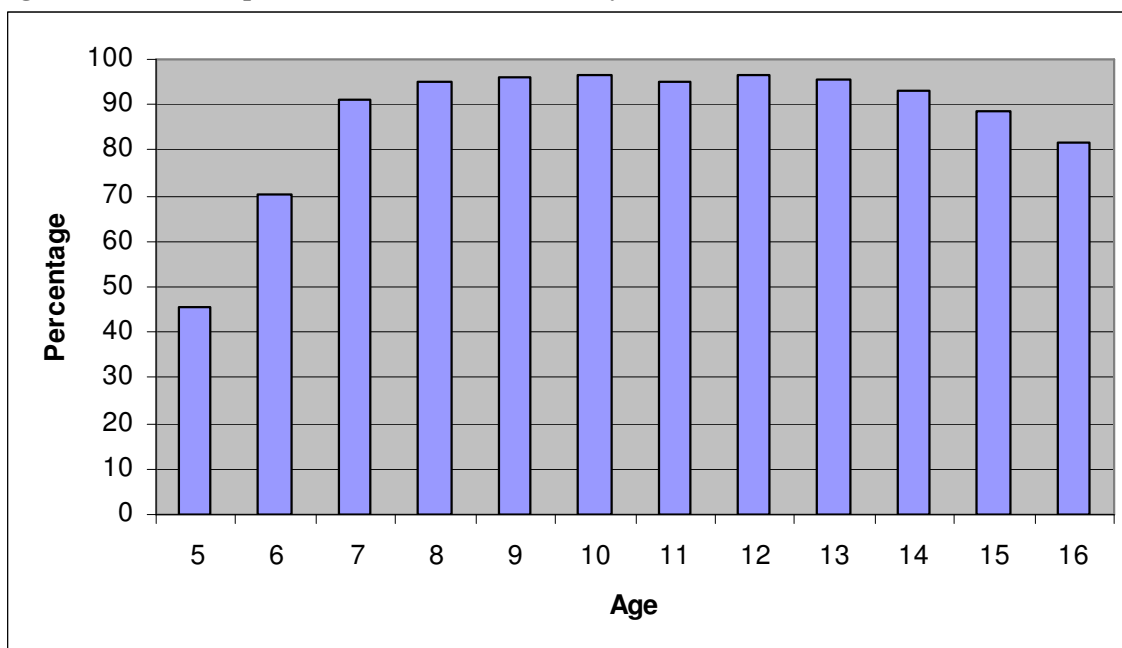
The reality of lived experience, the *Zeitgeist*, forms a kernel from which identities are developed. The nature of apartheid schooling, with segregated schools and differing syllabi, was central to government philosophy. Differing levels of politicisation at schools and teachers’ struggle involvement shaped many youths’ consciousnesses. The promotion of anti-racist ideals disrupted the apartheid curriculum and fostered ideals of equality and non-racialism. The locations in which current teachers received their education and where they taught during the later struggle years are reflected in their identity.

### **3.1 Research spaces – fieldwork sites**

In 2001, the Western Cape was the richest province, with approximately 10% of the national population (4.5 million) (Statistics South Africa, 2001). In 1996, its Human Development Index ranking of 0.702 was second to Gauteng, and above the national average of 0.628 (Taylor, et al., 2002: 52). In 2001, the Cape Town metropole comprised 2.9 million inhabitants, of which 48.13% were ‘coloured’, 31% ‘black’, 18.75% ‘white’ and 1.43% ‘Indian’ (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

Compared with a national average educational enrolment of 78%, and an adult illiteracy level of 17.6% (Watkins, et al., 2005), the Western Cape demonstrates favourable educational statistics. At the 2001 census, only 5.7% of those aged 20 or over had received no formal education (for ‘coloureds’ this figure was 6.3%), whilst enrolment rates for 7 to 16 year olds were over 80% (figure 5) (Statistics South Africa, 2005: 37, 38). Data for the ‘coloured’ community highlights an above average enrolment in junior and lower secondary years, but a higher drop-out rate in later years of secondary schooling (table 7).

**Figure 5: Western Cape school enrolment levels, 5-16 year olds, 2001.**



(From Statistics South Africa, 2005: 38)

**Table 7: Percentage enrolment by age for 'coloured' and overall population in Western Cape, 2001.**

Age	% 'coloured' enrolment	Overall % enrolment
5	37.3	45.3
6	68.1	70.5
7	92.6	91.2
8	96.1	95.2
9	96.7	96.2
10	96.9	96.5
11	96.4	96.2
12	96.6	96.5
13	95.4	95.6
14	92.3	93.3
15	86.4	88.8
16	76.8	81.7

(Statistics South Africa, 2005: 48-49)

The majority of fieldwork was conducted at three schools in the Cape Town metropole (figure 4). Cape Town was selected due to the historical concentration of 'coloureds' in the Western Cape (table 8), a consequence of settlement and migration patterns framed by political and economic factors, including the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The CLPP was a policy aimed at reducing 'black' migration to the Western Cape through legislation that meant 'black' workers could only be employed if no suitable 'white' or 'coloured'

**Table 8: 'Coloured' population by province, 2001.**

Province	Number	%
Eastern Cape	478,807	12
Free State	83,193	2.1
Guateng	337,974	8.5
KwaZulu-Natal	141,887	3.6
Limpopo	10,163	0.3
Mpumalanga	22,158	0.6
Northern Cape	424,389	10.6
North West	56,959	1.4
Western Cape	2,438,976	61.1
National	3,994,505	100

(Statistics South Africa, 2005: 5)

The selection of Moonglow High, Sun Valley High, and Starlight Primary reflected wider considerations. Opportunities to work in additional schools presented themselves, but I felt that spending more time in fewer schools would allow for the development of rapport and more detailed data collection. Conversely, I wanted to work in more than one school to provide data from a range of contexts. These three schools were selected because of their locations and previous designation as schools for 'coloured' and 'Indian' population groups, and because I had established links with staff members who facilitated my entry as a 'known other'. Although unknown to me at the time, I have since learnt that both high schools are located in the only non-'black' majority wards to return ANC representatives at the 1996 elections (Merten, 2000: 4), suggesting that there is a stronger pro-struggle ethos to these areas.

Existing contacts often yielded invitations to work at their school, although these were not always taken up. I declined two invitations after initial visits because principals were not prepared to provide adequate access. Time pressures upon another principal meant that access to his school was constantly delayed, and whilst I visited him and spent time in the local community I never accessed the school. At two other schools, the principals declined research requests due to researcher

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workers were available. The ultimate aims of this were to retain the 'white' demographic domination of the Western Cape, and to secure 'coloured' participation in the economy.

fatigue.<sup>24</sup> A final school agreed upon access but delayed final confirmation for several weeks until the principal withdrew the offer, citing exam period pressures.

The inclusion of two high schools reflects interests in questions of identity, including some discussions with matriculation year students. However, as my work progressed and my interests increasingly focussed upon teacher identities I felt able to move beyond the high school setting and to capitalise upon links with Starlight Primary school to work with teachers there.

### **3.1.2 Moonglow High**

Moonglow High (figure 6) was built in 1976 in the densely settled suburb of Rylands on the edge of the extensive ‘coloured’ group areas of the Cape Flats. Originally serving the local ‘Indian’ population, both Christian and Muslim (figure 7), increasing numbers of ‘coloured’ and ‘black’ students now attend. The student population remains primarily Indian, with a high proportion of ‘coloured’ students and teachers, and only a handful of ‘blacks’. The school is an English language medium school, with Afrikaans occasionally spoken in the staffroom and school corridors. Located in a lower middle-class and upper working-class area, students are attracted both from the local suburbs as well as more distant informal settlements, such as Khayelitsha, illustrating the reputation of the school. It also emphasises the links between parental choice, social class and spatial mobility, as aspirant and existing middle-class families invest in “attempts to accumulate ‘institutionalized’ and ‘embodied’ forms of cultural capital” (Waters, 2006: 180), with Moonglow viewed as providing an affordable and accessible conduit to these forms of cultural capital. With an enrolment of 1,033 students and 30 teachers, there is a student to teacher ration of 34:1 (2006b).

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<sup>24</sup> Researcher fatigue occurs when a person or site is over researched. For the two schools in question, several international, local, and government researchers had spent time in these locations, and the head teachers felt that their staff and students would react negatively to further research at that time.

**Figure 6: Moonglow High School, Cape Town.**



Whilst Moonglow is a former House of Delegates (the 'Indian' tier of the Tricameral Parliament) school there are several reasons for its inclusion here. Since the end of apartheid there has been a significant increase in the number of 'coloured' students and teachers. These trends have posed a number of potential problems to the school, as formerly segregated groups have come together within the school environment with the possibility of antagonisms due to cultural differences. It was of interest to observe differences, and similarities, in the motivations for 'Indian' and 'coloured' teachers to enter the profession. Another element that I wanted to consider was the interactions between 'coloured' and 'Indian' teachers within the school setting, and to what extent anecdotes that 'coloureds' felt 'Indians' held a superior attitude was evident. Relations between 'Indian' and 'coloured' teachers were generally positive, although there were occasional signs of divisions within the staffroom with some 'coloured' teachers sporadically mentioning that they felt excluded by 'Indian' cliques.



**Figure 7: The religious influence on the community around Moonglow High is evidenced by the near-by mosque.**



Rylands has a majority of English speaking residents, over 25,000 compared with 4,461 Afrikaans speakers. Located on the edge of the Cape Flats, the local community is dominated by ‘coloureds’ (table 9) but contains an unusually large number of ‘Indians’ for the Cape Town area. With a potential economically active population of 21,121 this suburb reflects the problems of unemployment currently plaguing South Africa, with only 11,136 employed (Statistics South Africa, 2006).

**Table 9: Moonglow's local community Census 2001 returns by race.**

Description	Number
‘Black’	805
‘Coloured’	20,526
‘Indian’	8,874
‘White’	151
Total	30,356

(Statistics South Africa, 2006)

### **3.1.3 Sun Valley High**

Sun Valley High, (figure 8 and 9) architecturally typical of 1980s government works, opened in 1989 to serve the growing population of a newly formed 'coloured' Macassar group area on the outer fringes of the metropole. The surrounding areas comprise a mix of single-storey houses with small gardens (lower middle class), three storey flats (working class), and informal housing (figure 10). Macassar remains a predominantly 'coloured' area (table 10) and primarily Afrikaans speaking (over 28,000 of the 32,000 population). Widespread problems of drugs, alcoholism, crime, gangs, poverty and violence reflect the socio-economic problems of the area, where 11,122 are employed from a potential economically active population of 21,047 (Statistics South Africa, 2006).

**Table 10: Sun Valley's local community Census 2001 returns by race.**

Description	Number
'Black'	1,075
'Coloured'	27,992
'Indian'	72
'White'	2,632
Total	31,771

(Statistics South Africa, 2006)

It is an Afrikaans medium school, with an enrolment of 1,130 students and 38 teachers (2006b), giving a student to teacher ratio of 30:1, and charges annual fees of R600. The composition of the student body reflects the racial breakdown of the local community, attracting almost exclusively 'coloured' students with a few 'black' students. In addition to Sun Valley, there is another Afrikaans medium high school (one that is viewed as a weaker school) in the suburb and a significant number of students travel to the English medium school in the near-by Strand. The school has a high matric level pass rate of 80%, although only one-third of students complete their schooling (Karin, 2005), reflecting continued problems with high drop-out rates.

**Figure 8: The staffroom at Sun Valley High.**



**Figure 9: Sun Valley High's 'tuck shop', with typical housing in the background.**



**Figure 10: Sub-economic housing area served by Sun Valley High, as seen from the window of one of the new permanent properties being built to re-house the informal settlement.**



### ***3.1.4 Starlight Primary***

Starlight Primary was designated as a ‘coloured’ school and retains a predominantly ‘coloured’ enrolment, with an increasing minority of ‘black’ students. Situated in Kuils River, the school is Afrikaans medium but with the growing ‘black’ enrolment is looking to appoint a Xhosa-speaking teacher. The school caters for 958 students and employs 25 teachers, a ratio of 38 students per teacher (2006b).

### ***3.1.5 General Observations***

To varying degrees the schools demonstrated the four themes identified by Lemon with reference to Indian and ‘coloured’ schools in Pietermaritzburg: school pride, Africanisation, hierarchies of schools and living on borrowed capital (Lemon, 2005a: 87). All three of the schools demonstrated pride in their achievements and those of

their alumni, both academic and sporting. Moonglow High demonstrated successful pupils' achievements in collages of results and two trophy cabinets in reception. Sun Valley focussed upon former pupils who had achieved sporting success at Provincial, National and International levels, with photos of these individuals adorning the staffroom and corridors.

Levels of Africanisation were more evident at Sun Valley High and Starlight Primary, both situated in areas close to informal settlements but lacking staff with Xhosa language skills. All three of the schools were seen as being well placed in the local hierarchy of schools - Starlight Primary for its comparatively excellent facilities and resources; Moonglow High for its academic achievements; Sun Valley for higher achievement and discipline than nearby Foggy High – although it did trail the English-medium Somerset West High where many parents (including some of the teachers at Sun Valley) preferred to send their children. The academic success of Moonglow High, and its cultural links with the local 'Indian' community, meant it was the preferred school of many local people and for those who could afford to pay the transport costs for their children to come from further away as the school fees were modest. All three schools participated in fundraising to maintain the existing level of educational provision, involving activities such as annual carnivals, concerts, balls, fashion shows, and tapping external funding sources.

## **3.2 Methodology: Researcher, Teacher, Coach, Student, Friend, and Guest**

### ***3.2.1 Background***

This thesis draws upon twelve months' fieldwork conducted between September 2004 and September 2005 and incorporates archival searches, life-history and ethnographic interviews, participant-observations, focus-group discussions, and survey data. Blaikie (2000: 54-55) describes reflexivity as the basis by which actors understand their actions and social world, actions which can be carried over into the designing of research and generating of data. Through this fieldwork, I found myself

reflecting upon factors which influenced the evolution of my research. These reflections and negotiations are outlined below along with the critical decisions taken during data collection.

The reflexive process included consideration of my comparative advantages in the field. It became clear that my contacts were strongest amongst the teaching community and that I developed rapport with teachers relatively quickly. During semi-structured interviews I was able to react to and follow-up emergent issues. Whilst considering data generated from several interviews it was clear that two major issues were emerging: race and respect. Therefore, I increasingly tailored my interviews and observations to generating data around these issues. Simultaneously, I reflected upon my own ideas of identity, race, and respect, considering the complexities and ambiguities of these notions, their contested and multiple meanings.

Prior to commencing fieldwork in September 2004, I had visited South Africa on two research trips: the first in June and July 2003 considering health care provision in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, and the second in April 2004 to strengthen existing contacts in preparation for my doctoral fieldwork. During these trips I entered into dialogue with several academics at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC). These early conversations helped to frame my theoretical thinking around issues of race, education, and identity in South Africa.

Prior to fieldwork, the thoughts of South African academics Neville Alexander, Crain Soudien, Peter Kallaway, and Harold Herman remained with me, encouraging a critical engagement with the literature and the development of a research strategy to cope with the problems of considering race and identity in post-apartheid South Africa. At this stage my plan was to look at inter-generational differences in identity formation within different 'coloured' communities in Cape Town. My strategy for this pivoted around prolonged access to different communities, developing rapport, and conducting interviews and observations.

The first period of fieldwork, from September 2004 to March 2005, provided time to settle in and re-establish links with potential gatekeepers. I began a Visiting Research Associateship in the Centre of African Studies, UCT, which lasted until September 2005. Over these first six months, I accessed library and archival materials, including newspapers, and grey publications to develop my understanding of the shifting context of my research. I conversed with academics based at UCT, as well as visiting researchers, and developed my theoretical thinking.

Alongside archival work, I interviewed several ‘coloured’ community activists and leaders. In the course of these interviews and discussions the need to focus my work became clear. The topic of education was a recurrent theme during discussions around politics, social change, and constructions of identity. For these individuals, their experience of education was influential in their personal development and shaped their identities and engagement with political and social developments, which they – in turn – sought to affect through their activism.

These first few months also served to focus my research onto a specific section of the ‘coloured’ community – teachers. The decision to concentrate upon teachers was in part informed by the theoretical grounding outlined earlier, but also out of a strategic decision to utilise existing ‘gatekeeper’ contacts and a family background in British education. Meetings with these gatekeepers yielded further contacts, and discussions began around accessing schools and other networks of teachers, utilising a sampling technique known as non-probability, network sampling, or ‘snowballing’ (Blaikie, 2000: 205-6; Schensul, et al., 1999: 269) informed by issues of safety and access. I was also increasingly aware of the need to avoid the pitfall of simplistic and over-generalised writings on South African social relations and instead to focus my work on a more specific topic.

I also conducted a series of interviews in a small, peri-urban ‘coloured’ community which provided useful contextual background to my work, particularly as a number

of residents were, or had been, teachers. One of these, Bryan, facilitated access to Sun Valley High.

A short visit to the UK in April 2005 provided for supervisory discussions and the consolidation of this focus to allow me to (in the words of Crain Soudien) ‘try to tell a simple story elegantly’. Upon my return to Cape Town in late April, I presented a seminar paper at UCT as part of my visiting scholarship (Hammett, 2005). This paper offered an initial analysis of interview data, discussing changing concepts of respect. Discussion and feedback were invaluable in helping to focus the second period of research and in conceptualising the notion of respect in terms of a tension between social and economic capital.<sup>25</sup> The emergence of respect as a key term used by informants had been unexpected but became central to my work.

As time spent in schools and with teachers increased, the importance of respect gained other dimensions and histories - the interplay between political and social change, careers in education, and the construction of respect. Several parallels appeared to emerge between the experiences of teachers in South Africa and the UK. From a household where both parents taught, I was told from a young age “never go into teaching, it’s not worth it”. I witnessed the increasing pressures on my parents from their work, the negative portrayal of teachers by the government and media, and the negative attitude of many students and parents towards teachers. Although I do not analyse apparent parallels here, I expect those familiar with the British education system to see some similarities. With these experiences in mind, my research between April and September 2005 evolved.

During these six months I spent nine weeks in each of the high schools, Moonglow and Sun Valley, attending classes, spending time in the staffrooms, assisting with teaching and sports coaching, and talking with students and teachers both formally and informally. The work at these high schools was complemented by five visits to Starlight Primary School. There was the possibility to spend longer at Starlight but

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<sup>25</sup> I thank my discussant Elaine Salo for her critique of my paper, and also Natasha Distiller for her comments.



this was not undertaken as the focus of my work retained the need to be able to talk about issues of identity and respect with both students and teachers.

### **3.2.2 Data Collection**

Focusing upon people's attitudes and perceptions encouraged the use qualitative methods (the only quantitative data collection was a questionnaire distributed to final year students). These methods allowed me to work towards "capturing the perspectives and activities of teachers and pupils", which Hammersley (1990: i) intimates is central to understanding the social processes of education. They provide for the "rich, descriptive analyses of the context and process (cultural, historical, and educational)" sought in contemporary educational research (Shaefer, 1983: 22). The use of interviews, archives, observations, and other methods meant I could ground my data in respondents' everyday lives – I could draw upon their social actions and meanings to develop my own thinking; a process of abduction (Sanghera, 2004).

Life history and ethnographic interviewing allowed teachers to talk about events and periods in their life which shaped their entry to (and in some cases exit from) education. Semi-structured questioning allowed emergent issues to be discussed whilst a core rubric ensured that major research questions were woven into the narrative. Oral testimonies "seek to be taken of forms of culture and testimonies of its changes over time" (Passerini, 1998: 60), providing a rich source of data. These methods have become a feature of post-apartheid South African life: the most famous project involving life histories being the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings in the 1990s. Other academics have used these methods whilst working with individual communities, for example Sean Field's (2001b) work on Windermere in which he comments that these provide a bricolage of fragments of memory which are (re)interpreted to ascribe meanings to people, places and events, and Goodhew's (2004) study of the history and spirit of Sophiatown. In the educational sphere, Soudien's (2002b) writing concerning the responses of teachers to apartheid education, Wieder's (2003) work with teachers who fought against apartheid, and Wieder and Fataar's (2002) paper on the life of the influential teacher, Ali Fataar, also relied upon oral testimonies. In this area of educational research, life

history interviewing has become a key research strategy used to locate individual experiences in the historical context and its impact upon teachers' engagement with education (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1993; Stephens, 2005). Goodson (1994) has highlighted the possibility for oral history to overcome traditional forms of educational history and to provide alternative insights into this field.

Oral and life histories are texts of social action which, through selective filtering and interpretation, present an alternative relation to and active remembrance of the past (Frisch, 1990). Selective amnesia and individual interpretations produce contradictory accounts of experiences and beliefs as individual "identity is constructed...by the interplay of changing historical and social structures with individual subject positions" (Norquay, 1990: 292). These uncover some of the multiple subjectivities and positions of the respondent, their individual reconstructions of self (and subjectivity) and the social and ideological world in which these memories were formed allows the exploration of the spaces of contradiction between social and subjective realities (Norquay, 1990).

Discussions engaged with respondents' relationships with the historical and contemporary contexts. This allowed for the exploration of the experiences shaping respondents' memories and recollections, framed by ideological beliefs on apartheid, BC, and non-racialism. Therefore, it is essential to recognise that the testimonies presented during these interviews incorporate the respondents' interpretation of the past, whether as part of or in opposition to the hegemony of the time (Grele, 1998). They offer a particular view of power relations and sustain "a particular type of social ideology against the claims of rival or contending ideologies" (Furniss and Gunner, 1995: 8).

To understand more thoroughly what teachers were saying it was essential to recognise not only "where people are (both socially and spatially)...[but] where they/we are coming from, going to, and where on this research path the research encounter has occurred" (Cook and Crang, 1995: 7). By developing trust and rapport, the researcher is able to peel back layers of time and identity, often uncovering things

which would normally remain unspoken (Howarth, 1998; Somner and Quinlan, 2002; Wieder, 2004). Accessing data that took cognisance of the importance of the time and place of lived experience was key to understanding teacher's testimonies, as highlighted by Neville Alexander's discussion of generational differences in identity claims, that "the student generation that came after us, those growing up in the 1960s and 70s as opposed to the 50s, they tended to identify as Africans, as blacks, as opposed to identifying as 'coloured'" (pers comm. 27/10/04).<sup>26</sup> These intergenerational differences and changes in ideology inform the evidence presented.

This method is not without problems. Perks and Thomson's collection (1998) identifies many problems with oral histories including issues of memory, culture, class, race, gender, and power dynamics. These issues are common to many approaches and with awareness of them, mitigating actions can be taken. As Ndebele (1998) notes, the process of retelling memories becomes reflective, and requires the researcher to recognise the speakers' selective amnesia and artificial distance from their past, factors which mean that both what is present and what is absent in testimony needs to be considered (Frisch, 1990: 17). At this stage, the cross-referencing of teachers' histories from similar periods, newspaper and archive records, as well as informal conversations provide opportunities to triangulate evidence around contentious events and actions. Indeed, recognising that "oral sources...are not always fully reliable in point of fact", Portelli proposes that "this is, however, their strength: errors, inventions, and myths lead us through and beyond facts in their meanings" (Portelli, 1991: 2). In this thesis, it is often both what is and what is not stated, and the ways in which events and ideas are remembered that allow for the exploration of their meanings and reasons.

Many of the testimonies were, as Wieder (2003) has also found, moving, harrowing, and inspirational as events with great emotional significance were raised. In one instance, I was interviewing two female primary school teachers when Sally spoke of

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<sup>26</sup> Professor Neville Alexander is the Director of PRAESA (Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa) at UCT. He previously taught German and History at Livingstone High School, Cape Town before being imprisoned on Robben Island for 11 years in 1963 for his anti-apartheid involvement.

her experience of forced removals at the age of 12 and the impact which this had upon her family, resulting in mother's suicide – an event she had never spoken to people at the school about, but found that the interview situation was a cathartic moment to talk about this (Sally, 07/06/2005).

One of the main problems facing interviewers is the tendency of “[r]espondents’ answers [to] reflect what they assume the researcher wants to know as well as what they assume the researcher will do with the information they give” (Foddy, 2001: 189). This was encountered in several interviews, verbalised by respondents asking “I hope you got what you needed/wanted?” Spending prolonged periods of time with respondents allowed for the apparent contradictions between responses and behaviour or later expressed attitudes to be considered. These experiences fit with Bourgois’ (1995: 13) comment that “only by establishing long-term relationships based on trust can one begin to ask provocative questions, and expect thoughtful, serious answers”.

The location of the interviews was also a subject for consideration. Those conducted during the first phase of fieldwork and with those no longer working in schools were usually conducted at the respondent's home. Interviews with current teachers were, wherever possible, done in their classroom or office. By conducting interviews in these spaces I developed a thick description of their surroundings and attire in a professional or personal setting which allowed me to identify additional expressions of identity through the objects on display (Cook and Crang, 1995: 8). For instance, David's classroom at Moonglow High was decorated with posters and student work focussing upon both history (the main subject he taught) and struggle politics and non-racialism; whilst Paul (also at Moonglow) used the walls of his teaching area to display posters and press cuttings about drugs, sex, and healthy living. Both teachers used their classrooms to express their beliefs and identity in ways which would have remained hidden had I not interviewed them in these areas. The classrooms were inscribed by students themselves expressing the social pressures they faced, the music they liked, and the dreams they aspired to through the decoration of workbooks and graffiti on school and personal property. The interview sites were

spaces, “micro-geographies of spatial relations and meanings, where multiple scales of social relations intersect the research interview”, which contextualise informants’ responses (Elwood and Martin, 2000: 649, 652; Sin, 2003).

### ***3.2.3 The Accepted Incompetent***

A major methodological challenge in this research centred upon my own position, both that I sought for myself and others’ perceptions of me. The question of race was central to this work and to the research and writing processes (Lee-Treweek and Linkogle, 2000a). The research process, and of interviews themselves, was fluid. Both subjects (myself and the respondents) studied each other and, despite efforts at equality and unbiased data, interactions were affected, as Portelli (1991) would agree, by the historical and social conditions as well as the immediate surrounds and paraphernalia of the interview itself.

Working in ‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’ schools and communities as a ‘white’ male I was conspicuously ‘different’. This was mitigated by being a non-South African which removed many stigmas of being a ‘white’ South African and, as Lemon (2005a: 71) believes, “helping all those interviewed...to see the interviewer in more neutral, detached terms as a sympathetic but external observer”. Introductions to the schools through a gatekeeper aided this process and the associated development of rapport and trust.

That I was an anomaly in the schools, underlining Badsha’s (2003: 141) observation that very few ‘whites’ will “take the train to the township”, was helpful in disrupting the conception of who I was and the binary of insider-outsider. Working in these schools I disrupted and challenged perceptions of ‘white’ behaviour by participating in school life in areas surrounded by gangs and drug dealers. Indeed, these experiences fit with the nature of qualitative work, where the researcher “encounter[s] the unexpected and threatening...often such experience provides insight into the normal range of threats experienced by participants themselves” (Lee-Treweek and Linkogle, 2000b: 10). During my time at Sun Valley High there

were a number of events which provided this insight, two of which are mentioned here.

One lunchtime, Graham, a science teacher, showed me around the local area. During this journey we visited a number of families living in different socio-economic areas, including the sub-economic informal 'black' settlement, and lower- and lower-middle-income 'coloured' housing areas. Part way through we crossed a particular road, at which point Graham said, "these are not places to be on your own after dark. I won't walk around here at night, in fact even during the day I'll go through by car" (Graham, 31/05/2005). This area was home to a higher concentration of gang activity and drug dealing. At one junction I had to stop the car next to a drug dealers' house – obvious from the reinforced gates, perimeter security walls, extensions and improvements to the property. At this juncture five men advanced upon the car, swearing in Afrikaans – at which point Graham advised me to get us out of there very quickly.

Another event occurred during a rugby match at a school in Kuilsriver. I had travelled to the game to support and coach Sun Valley's U13s team. The school's rugby captain asked me to play for the 2nds in their match, which – with the encouragement of staff and students – I agreed to (figure 11). My appearance in the match was the cause of much entertainment amongst the travelling supporters (six teams were playing, and a noticeable number of students and staff were present). This unexpected cameo appearance in the school rugby team proved to integrate me into the school community very successfully, a process further enhanced by a knee injury sustained in the final few minutes of the game which forced me to miss the following Monday, and to spend the rest of the week hobbling around with a walking stick – much to the amusement of staff and students.

Working across these boundaries coincides with the hybridity, the confluence of internal and external, called for by Brink (1996: 14) to allow writing to "transcend the level of the obvious or the propagandistic". The recognition, and playing, of my own identity as hybrid – as proposed by Bhabha (1994: 1) – and malleable, corresponds with the teacher identities I was researching. In doing so, "the voice of

engagement within the challenge of difference needs to understand very clearly its own politics of enunciation [and] the issues of one's own position (importantly not only physical) in these" (Soudien, 2002a: 9). This challenge is further compounded by the multiple and evolving positions that I was located in during my fieldwork:

The teachers I am interviewing feel that they are expected to be "the teacher, the priest, the social worker, the counsellor, and the parent"; whilst I have become "the researcher, the teacher, the rugby coach, the student, the friend and the guest". This multi-layered positionality is not a hindrance but a help, providing entries into multiple layers of answers and counter-answers, uncovering more than the bland, 'official narrative'. (Hammett, research diary, 26/06/05)

**Figure 11: The author shortly before getting injured whilst playing for Sun Valley's 2nd XV.**



This disruption of binary locations and 'playing the field' was problematic, as Nadine Dolby (2001a: 124-129) also found working in schools in Durban. By strategically occupying different positions at certain times there was the risk that power relations within the schools could have been compromised, especially during interactions with students. On the one hand I was interacting with teachers as a peer, but how was I located by the students? At times I needed to be seen as a teacher

whilst at others I wanted to hold conversations with them as a peer, without the power relations integral to their relations with teachers. When the students at Sun Valley High accorded me the nickname 'Braveheart', it was useful in encouraging dialogue free from one set of power relations, but would occasionally cause tension when I was with other teachers. Fortunately the atmosphere at the school was fairly relaxed, and teacher-student relations provided leeway for informality and these dilemmas soon faded. Consciously positioning myself in these different roles of researcher, coach, teacher, peer, and guest, I was, as Barbash and Taylor emphasise (1997: 46), able to move across and between established categories to some extent. This allowed for a wider range of discussions to be held, and also for the same topic to be approached from different angles.

Spending prolonged periods of time in the high schools, and participating in school activities, enabled me to experience the relationship between researcher and researched not as binary insider/outsider, but rather as "an unwritten continuum towards insider status...facilitating a comfort zone for teachers to tell their stories with complexity and meaning and to increase and deepen my understanding" (Wieder, 2004: 25). Strategically using this progression allowed me to access different kinds of data at certain stages, and return to the same discussion and approach it from elsewhere on the continuum. This approach, and the time it required, provided for the culturally sensitive implementation of research methods whilst also allowing for the "foregrounding of the complex interpersonal relationships between the researcher and the researched" (see Omar, 2005).

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I utilised the position of an 'accepted incompetent' with regards to South African social relations to uncover basic information. This also allowed me pose a number of difficult and sensitive questions because people liked to tell me 'how it is'. Over time, as I moved away from the incompetent, we could return to these conversations and people would preface many of their comments with 'you know how it is...' and 'don't you find'.<sup>27</sup> My movement along this continuum was aided by socialising with staff and contributing to school

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<sup>27</sup> Jane Battersby also found this experience useful in her research (Battersby, 2002).



life by involving myself with lessons, coaching rugby, and photographing school events.<sup>28</sup> There were times, both during extra-curricular school activities and outside of the school that I would ‘lurk’ in social settings, allowing me to assimilate contextual indicators and identify broader social issues that framed my research (Strickland and Schlesinger, 1969).

My own family background in education, and personal experience of tutoring and sports coaching allowed me to participate in conversations about education policy and talk about education in the UK. This shift from ‘telling’ to ‘both knowing’ meant I was able to avoid problems of over familiarity and taken-for-granted assumptions early on in the research, whilst developing knowledge of the ways in which to view the locale and develop the rapport which allows for in-depth interviews and data gathering.<sup>29</sup> The change in conversational tone also indicated their acceptance of my shift from outsider towards an insider, and would sometimes provide apparently contradictory opinions to those expressed earlier, differences explored in discussions.

The next chapter begins to build the narrative of how teachers sought a high level of respect standing and the factors involved in establishing this social location during the apartheid period. Far from a straightforward process, the attempts of ‘coloured’ teachers to claim a respected position were, as chapter four illustrates, complicated by questions of racial identity, politicisation and community activism. As the term ‘coloured’ became increasingly conflicted, the granting of respect – and, indeed, the construction of the concept of respect – to ‘coloured’ teachers was also contested during the anti-apartheid struggle.

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<sup>28</sup> At Sun Valley High I assisted with coaching a rugby team, played for their senior team in one game, attended a number of school sporting events, socialised with staff, participated in the ‘Gatsby run’ and communal lunches. At Moonglow High, I contributed to a number of different classes, socialised with staff, and provided photos from the first ‘Dream to Lift Life Tour’ concert held at the school.

<sup>29</sup> LeGallais provides an interesting discussion of insider/outsider issues in research (LeGallais, 2003).

## ***4. Those who could, taught: Education as a Prestigious and Respected Profession in the Apartheid Era***

This chapter begins to consider how the respected location of apartheid-era urban ‘coloured’ teachers was increasingly contested as communities became more politicised and active in the anti-apartheid struggle. Engaging with teachers’ life-histories, the lived experience of the evolving political situation is shown to have affected both teachers’ dominant pedagogies as well as the growing link between respect and resistance in students’ appraisals of their teachers. Attempts to earn respect, and the changing basis through which it was aroused, indicate the interwoven nature of race and respect in teachers’ claims to identities during the apartheid era and with post-apartheid implications.

The fluid construction of respect in popular thinking is indicative of its contextual subjectivity, it adapts and changes as local and global influences are negotiated in an evolving habitus. As teachers attempted to exert claims to respect, these were influenced by changing relations to education (in particular to relations with apartheid pedagogy) and to the racial identifier ‘coloured’. Increasing levels of politicisation as part of the anti-apartheid struggle rendered this identifier problematic. Many people rejected the term ‘coloured’, claiming a non-racial or a political ‘black’ identity. However, the political rejection of being ‘coloured’ was often more ambivalent than a clear cut distinction or rejection – recognition of the lived reality of a racially structured society meant that it continued to influence individual’s identities and behaviours.

The acceptance or rejection of being ‘coloured’ set in motion contested dynamics of respect for teachers – rejections of racial identity were to become increasingly respected amongst those opposing the apartheid state but were viewed negatively by the state and its supporters (and vice-versa for those who accepted the identifier ‘coloured’). Further complicating the respect of teaching as a profession were legislative restrictions upon career choices and employment potential for ‘coloureds’

which meant that teaching was one of an artificially limited number of professions available to them. This chapter will draw together elements which influenced the respected teacher and examine how these changed from the 1960s through to the early 1990s. The stories presented here are built upon the recollections of teachers speaking about events between 15 and 60 years in the past. They were told with the benefit of hindsight and subject to the vagaries of time, of forgotten moments, of selective memory and emphasis, and in their telling are imbued and imbricate in the narrator's current position and claims to identity.

## **4.1 The Lived Experience**

Growing up during the Union and early apartheid periods shaped the career trajectories and ideological growth of 'coloured' teachers. Familial inputs exposed individuals to philosophies which often challenged the dominant ideas of the state, providing the frame within which identities were negotiated.

Race was a key concept used by colonial and apartheid governments to define people from a common lineage, a stance which then evolved – mirroring wider trends in race theory – into seeing racial groups as typological, “signify[ing] a permanent category of humans of a kind equivalent to the species categories” (Banton, 1998: 6). In South Africa, classification by race generated and used clear social categories “to create a hierarchy of privilege” (Banton, 1998: 155). This provided for a conception of 'race as class', the interests of politics and economics intertwined as a class structure developed that mirrored workforce segregation. Challenged by Marxists as a false consciousness to divide the oppressed, and reviled by liberal academics for providing a means to divide and oppress, race is now viewed as a socially created category with no biological basis. This is not to deny the experienced social reality of race which can retain a primordial feel, even when recognised as a false construct (Young, 2004).

For Harold Herman, the spatial experience of growing up in a divided society was instrumental in shaping his identity. Born in 1943, Herman grew up in Raithby, an

old Methodist Mission station near Somerset West in the Western Cape. The experience of growing up in this 'coloured' village was raced, "We grew up in a reality which was clearly a racial one where certain schools and certain areas were reserved for white people, certain areas for coloured people" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). Harold attended the 'coloured' Raithby Primary and Somerset West Methodist Primary schools. When he left primary school, the nearest 'coloured' high school was Trafalgar High School in Cape Town, to which he commuted on a racially segregated train service. In the mid- and late-1950s at Trafalgar High School, renowned for its progressive teachers' anti-apartheid activism, Herman was exposed to thinking that affected his political consciousness and constructs of race and identity:

[My] consciousness about race, about ethnicity, about apartheid, my own ideological views developed. It became clear that these [racial] designations were based on an unequal system....And by the time I was at Trafalgar for two or three years it was very apparent to me that this whole social and political system in South Africa was based on injustice and inequality. (Herman, int. 15/09/2005)

Herman's school experiences and the political ideology this exposed him to proved to be an enduring influence, as it was with many other 'coloured' teachers who had been schooled during the apartheid period.

Alex, born 13 years later in 1956, grew up in Athlone – a 'coloured' group area between Cape Town's southern suburbs and the Cape Flats – in a family with strong political connections. His father was involved in local politics and connected to the United Party and later the NEUM (Non-European Unity Movement) during the 1960s and 1970s. Founded in 1943, as "a product of the world-wide revolt of the oppressed and exploited" (1985: 1), the NEUM's ideals focussed upon equality, non-racialism, unity "of the oppressed African, Coloured and Indian peoples", non-collaboration, and the use of "boycott as a weapon of struggle". (1985: 2) These beliefs placed the NEUM as a radical anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movement,

opposed by the 'liberals'.<sup>30</sup> When the New Unity Movement (NUM) succeeded the NEUM in 1985, it took on this mantle.

Exposed to these influences, Alex's political consciousness was shaped from an early age. Alongside this informal political education, Alex's was sent to 'coloured' schools where it was felt he would receive a more political education:

When I was two, we moved to this side of the railway line which was a 'coloured' group area. I had to attend a 'coloured' primary school, so I went to Athlone North Primary. My parents preferred to send me there, rather than just round the corner to Garlandale Primary, as my father felt that Garlandale Primary was too middle-class. And then there was a big debate about where to go to high school: I ended up at [the 'coloured'] Harold Cressy High. My father had comrades and friends who knew the school and worked there - Helen Kies, the wife of Ben Kies [both key NEUM members] were family friends, and they wanted me to come to Cressy. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

Security Police harassment of Alex's father during the 1960s provided a backdrop to his political education, "I remember visits to this house when the Security Police were talking to him; and the silence; I knew something was wrong" (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). Further influences on his political awareness came through exposure to politicised teachers at Harold Cressy during the late 1960s and early 1970s, whose teachings were profoundly important in shaping his identity and awakening him to the political situation. These included discussions around race and identity, and the lessons of his father and school teachers who encouraged a non-racialist mindset:

At Cressy I had further exposure to the ideas that my father subscribed to... I always remember my father saying 'don't try and find out who your ancestors are because it doesn't matter where you come from, we're all equal. You're not coloured, we're all human beings'. That was reinforced at the high school where there were key influential Unity Movement people - people who were strong proponents of this notion of non-racialism. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

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<sup>30</sup> In 1964, the NEUM changed its name to the Unity Movement of South Africa in order to drop the negative connotations of 'Non-European', and was commonly known as the New Unity Movement.

Whilst at Cressy, Alex was recruited into the South Peninsula Educational Fellowship, a group run by the NUM under the guise of a cultural fellowship to provide a forum for political debate, discussion, and learning. Studying the works of left-wing activists and intellectuals from across the world allowed Alex to situate his anti-apartheid engagement within wider political issues.

The resistance character and reputation of Cressy remained intact ten years later when Edward – now teaching at Moonglow – attended the school between 1977 and 1981. Edward remembered his teachers’ political motivations, advocating non-racialism and encouraging pupils to be “very actively involved in the struggle” (Edward, int. 19/05/2005). As with Alex, Edward’s family’s involvement in the political struggle was influential in shaping a non-racialist, anti-apartheid consciousness. The left-wing influence of this political education was evident in Edward’s class consciousness, viewing apartheid as a tool of capitalism. “Apartheid was a direct spin-off of the oppression of the working class. It was the black majority who were turned into the working class” (Edward, int. 19/05/2005). Such beliefs reflect the influences of radical and Marxist historiographies of South Africa.

When Alex left Cressy, he faced the dilemma experienced by many ‘coloureds’ who wanted to continue their studies, including Harold Herman: whether to attend the segregationist University of the Western Cape (UWC), or to apply for a permit and study at the ‘white’ University of Cape Town (UCT).

## **4.2 The ‘Bush College’: The University of the Western Cape**

Following the 1957 Separate University Education Bill, which provided for separate universities for the different racial groupings, the 1959 Universities Extension Act prevented ‘coloureds’ from attending liberal ‘white’ universities, unless they were

eligible for an exemption permit.<sup>31</sup> The University College of the Western Cape opened in 1960 as a ‘coloured’ collegiate member of the University of South Africa and was initially staffed and governed primarily by conservative ‘whites’, supportive of the NP and apartheid ideology. Granted full university status in 1970, UWC awarded its own degrees and diplomas, although it wasn’t until the University of the Western Cape Act in 1983 that it achieved full autonomy (University of the Western Cape, 2006).

The segregationist basis of UWC meant it was a problematic institute for many ‘coloureds’. At his investiture as Rector and Vice-Chancellor, Richard van der Ross, a ‘coloured’, recognised that some would support the university whilst others would view it as a tool of the apartheid state (van der Ross, 1975). Whilst he also opposed the segregated nature of the university, van der Ross argued that ‘coloureds’ should have been incorporated into the ‘white’ system, based upon a belief that “we [‘coloureds’] do not have any culture essentially different from that of white South Africans” (van der Ross, 1976: 4). This stance undermined his credibility with opponents of apartheid.

Richard van der Ross matriculated from high school in 1937, going on to a 3-year primary teacher’s diploma course at UCT before teaching in Beaufort West and Cape Town. Whilst he was teaching, Richard completed a BA degree by correspondence through the University of South Africa and later gained an M.A., as well as a B.Ed and Ph.D. from UCT. During his career, Richard van der Ross was the Principal of Battswood Teacher Training College, served as vice-president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and has been awarded three honorary doctorates (University of South Africa, UCT, and University of Stellenbosch).

Situated in the City of Tygerberg in the northern suburbs of Cape Town and located within the Cape Flats nature reserve, UWC gained the derogatory nickname of ‘bush

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<sup>31</sup> ‘Coloured’ students wishing to study at UCT required an ‘exemption permit’ to circumvent government legislation designating UCT as a ‘white’ university. If a potential student could show that their preferred course of study was not available at an ‘appropriate’ university, they could apply for a permit to allow them to study at UCT.

college'. Intended as a divisive tool of the apartheid government, UWC actually facilitated a concentration of oppositional 'coloured' (and some 'white') intellectuals within a space where non-racial and BC identities could be mobilised. The ambiguity of this space – both a tool of apartheid and an opposition intellectual arena – meant that many, including Harold Herman, found it a tough decision as to whether or not to attend.

David, now a teacher at Moonglow High, had wanted to study architecture when he left high school in 1965 but without an exemption for UCT and no desire to attend UWC (which he viewed as “a bastion of apartheid”) he studied to become a teacher. His opposition to UWC, based upon his schooling at Livingstone High School<sup>32</sup> in Claremont, Cape Town, reflected his political identity. Instead, David attended the 'coloured' Hewat Teacher Training College (David, int. 13/05/2005), which demonstrates a conflicted ambiguity – he refused to attend a racially-segregated university in protest at the apartheid system, but studied at a racially-segregated training college.

Other teachers made the political decision not to attend UWC, but gained permits to study at UCT which retained a campus ethos of non-racialism. Alex went to UCT, albeit “under protest: I had to do French Intensive as my excuse for not going to UWC” (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). Whilst at UCT, Alex considered his constrained career options. “I wasn't sure what I wanted to do but there were very few options; and I decided to teach...inspired by what some of my friends were doing in the schools; the influence of people in the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA); my growing political awareness; and that school was a base for continuing political work” (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). In 1977, Alex completed his Higher Diploma in Education, allowing him to begin teaching in 1978 at Cathkin High under the tutelage of older TLSA members.

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<sup>32</sup> Livingstone High became renowned in Cape Town for its teachers' defiance of apartheid policy and promotion of non-racialism. These teachers included Neville Alexander and Richard Dudley. Many learners went on to become prominent ANC activists and politicians, including Western Cape Premier Ebrahim Rasool, former ANC whip Peter Gabriel, and Minister of Welfare and Population Development Geraldine Joslyn Fraser-Moleketi.



The TLSA was one of the main ‘coloured’ teaching associations and provided a forum for teachers to develop philosophical and ideological tools to challenge apartheid within the classroom.<sup>33</sup> Established in 1913, representing mainly ‘coloured’ teachers, this organisation sought “to address the professional frustrations and injustices that ‘coloured’ teachers experienced and to advance the educational development of the ‘coloured’ community” (Hendricks, 2005: 2-3). As the TLSA radicalised during the 1930s and 1940s, the moderate Teachers’ Education and Professional Association (TEPA) broke away. During apartheid, the TLSA remained radical and aligned with anti-collaborationist groups including the Anti-CAD (Anti-Coloured Affairs Department) movement and the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) and published *The Educational Journal*. The roots of the Anti-CAD movement and the NEUM predate the apartheid period, as ‘coloured’ political mobilisation began in the late 1930s and gained momentum with widespread opposition to the introduction of the Coloured Advisory Council in 1943, and later the Ministry of Coloured Affairs (see chapter 1).

James, a ‘coloured’ ex-teacher, and Harold (mentioned above) both studied under protest at UWC because of government restrictions and financial imperatives. James’s decision to complete a BA and a Higher Diploma in Education at UWC in the early 1970s, allowing him to begin teaching in 1976, reflected the financial necessity of a bursary and the reality of the artificially constrained labour market:

The right thing to do, for me, was to go to Western Cape. I did a BA and the idea was to become a psychologist but I knew that I had to pay a bursary before I could do that, so I needed to teach first. I then started teaching and enjoyed it. ‘Coloureds’ in the majority either went into the nursing, or teaching or some civil servant job because that was what was available for them; that was the glass ceiling. (James, int. 25/07/2005)

This ‘glass ceiling’ gave teaching a prized and respected position in the job market for ‘coloureds’, and attracted many applicants. Herman’s decision to study at UWC in 1961 was also made under duress with financial commitments forcing his attendance despite rejecting the founding premise of the university:

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<sup>33</sup> For an overview of the Association’s development see Hendricks (2005) and Adhikari (1981).

I qualified to go to the medical school of the University of Cape Town with a permit. But I couldn't afford it. I landed up at the 'bush' college. But I went there under protest, my teachers didn't want us to go there – in fact, they were cross with us because we went there but because of circumstances; I was given a bursary which I wouldn't have got at UCT. So I went there under protest, rejecting the notion that I'm a 'coloured'. (Herman, int. 15/09/2005)

The restrictions which forced Herman into studying a science based undergraduate degree, followed by a one year education course, were more suited to his career aspirations, "I always wanted to be a science teacher, I actually didn't want to be a doctor" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). During his final year at UWC, Herman was trained to teach in a manner befitting apartheid philosophy, "I was exposed to conservative Afrikaner professors who were trying to tell us about education within the framework of what they called fundamental pedagogics which was the philosophy that underlined the strategies of training teachers at the time" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). He began teaching in Somerset West in the 1960s, where he stayed for six years before being made Deputy Principal at a school in the 'coloured' Belville area and then moving into University teaching.

### **4.3 Becoming a teacher**

The limited employment opportunities available to 'coloureds' affected the decisions of both Alex and David. Whilst the CLPP meant the Western Cape provided preferential employment opportunities to 'coloureds' ahead of 'blacks', professional careers were severely circumscribed by job reservation and other discrimination.

Steven initially entered the skilled trades before becoming a teacher later in life. Born in District Six, Cape Town (figure 12) in 1953, Steven attended Wesley Primary in Salt River and Trafalgar High in District Six. His father's death forced him to drop out after standard 8 to support the family. In 1972 they were forcibly moved under the GAA to Hanover Park. He undertook an apprenticeship, training as a welder and boilermaker. In 1996 a 'coloured' school asked Steven to provide

temporary cover for technical workshop lessons, and he stayed for nine years before moving to Moonglow High. Edward followed a similar path to Steven, although his move into teaching after an initial industrial career was based upon a family involvement with education - his mother and two siblings were teachers.

Edward was born and raised in Athlone, a 'coloured' group area across a railway line from the 'white' suburbs of Newlands and Claremont. He attended Heatherdale Primary School in Athlone, and then Harold Cressy High School in central Cape Town. After matriculating in 1981, Edward's employment prospects were limited and the cost of attending university was prohibitively high. He then spent two years working for a French electrical company at the Koeberg nuclear power station, north of Cape Town. Edward wanted to further his education but needed government funding, only available to him if he studied to become a teacher or a nurse, and despite misgivings about becoming a teacher this path provided the opportunity to continue his educational development with the required economic support (Edward, int. 19/05/2005). He graduated in 1987, began teaching in 1988 at Cape Town High School, and moved to Moonglow High in 2001.

Abdullah's educational experiences began earlier. Born in 1938, his schooling bridged the Union and early apartheid periods. In this era, he remembers teachers as being well respected and teaching being a career path he actively sought:

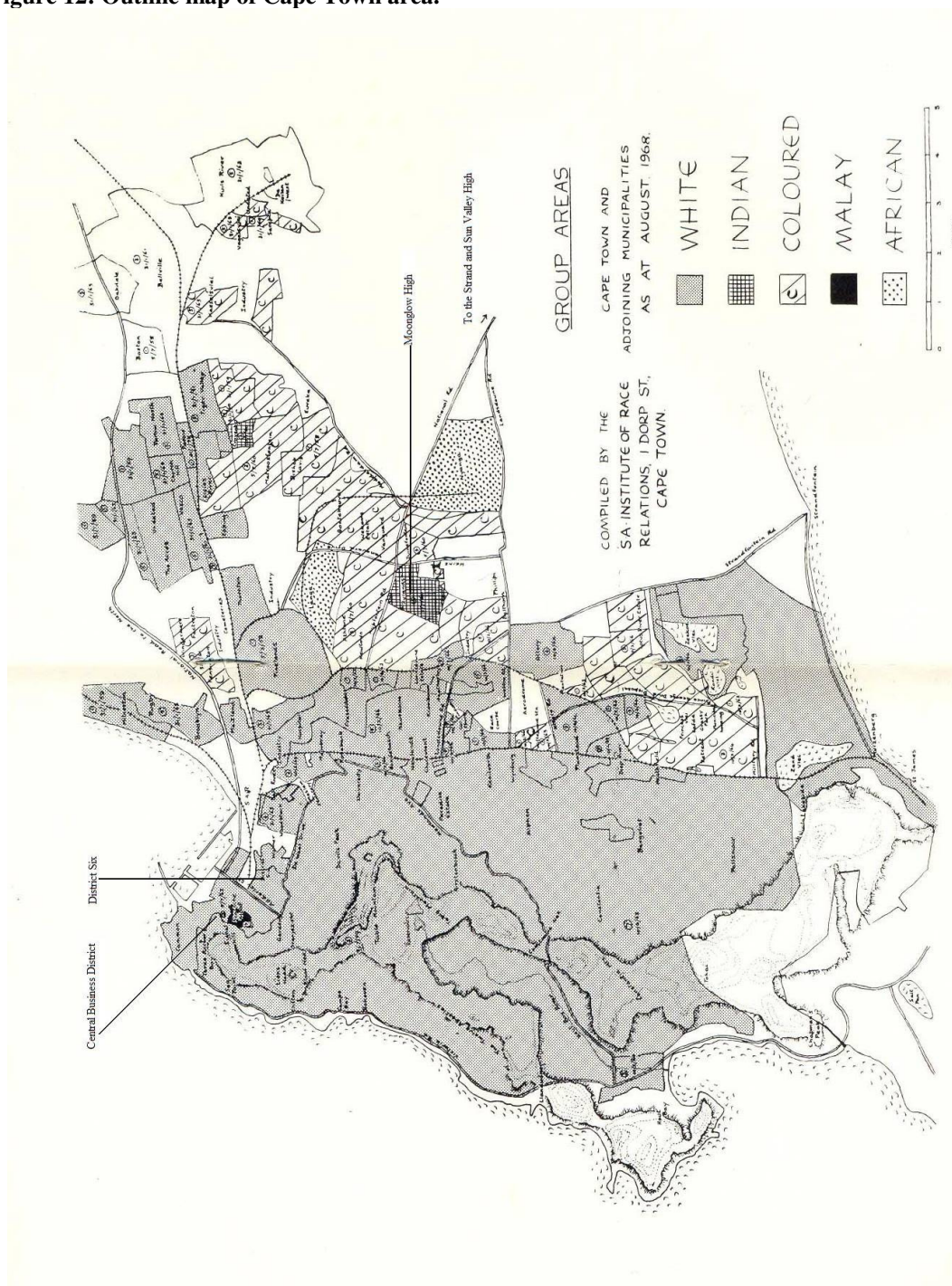
I had a love for teaching first and foremost. Secondly, I loved my community. And thirdly, I had the opportunity to work with the community's children in the school; and through the children *and* the parents we could propagate ideas and mould thinking in conjunction with the Imams using the minbar<sup>34</sup> to change the community's perception of education. (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005)

Abdullah's frequent use of the term 'community' highlights a concept that was vitally important in the struggle against apartheid and one which is being recast in the post-apartheid era - often with many of the same symbolic elements as the apartheid period. The community to which Abdullah refers to comprises two,

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<sup>34</sup> The minbar is the pulpit inside a mosque.

Figure 12: Outline map of Cape Town area.



(Amended from Parks, 1969: 27-27)

overlapping collectives, one being the locality based community in which he lived and the other being the wider Muslim community. Both provide a medium of self-expression through a mentally constructed collective with a highly symbolic nature, “the reality of community lies in its members’ perception of the vitality of its culture. People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity” (Cohen, 1989: 118). In this situation, all three of the broad anthropological variants of community (common interests, common locality, and common social system) (Rapport, 1998: 114-115) are influential in distinguishing the essential commonalities of Abdullah’s overlapping community identities and belongings. Abdullah’s actions mark his identity or belonging to these groups symbolically, often in contrast to others. In Abdullah’s narrative, there is an intimate link between his identity and community - the utilisation of community resources (both local and religious) to exert his identity and express his identity and opposition to apartheid and racism, and his contribution to community through his work in education. During the apartheid era, government attempts to encroach upon the community through legislation motivated a collective assertion against this - as identified throughout this chapter.

Tina also claimed that teaching had been a calling from a young age. Born in 1962, Tina grew up in the ‘coloured’ group area of Bellville, Cape Town before moving to Kuilsriver. Aware of the constraints on employment opportunities, “you could either become a nurse or a teacher”, education was a likely career path until 1976 when her experience of “the riots, when school was disrupted, and being part of that defiance, you seemed to defy everything” (Tina, int. 09/06/2005). Despite this inculcation of an oppositional mentality to state structures, Tina did become a teacher. The impacts of the defiance campaign upon teaching, schools, and the respect afforded to teachers, a problem Tina mentions, will be returned to later. At this stage it should be noted that the utilisation of education as an arena in which to mobilise opposition to apartheid was contested, and the legacy of school defiance remains a concern.

Constrained employment opportunities not only encouraged many to become teachers but also enhanced the prestige and respect of the profession. Mysha, a

'coloured' teacher at Sun Valley High recounted her entry into the profession in 1987 as a resistance to a mix of external constraints and recognition of the potential to use education as an anti-apartheid oppositional forum. "I didn't want to be a teacher; I didn't want to be a social worker; I didn't want to be a doctor; I didn't want to be a lawyer – I wanted to be something else but I couldn't. And it was politics, it influenced everybody's life in South Africa" (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005). The political situation placed 'coloured' relations with education in a contested and conflictual space. Some elements saw education as a means of social upliftment for the 'coloured' community to demonstrate to the 'white' elite their civilisation – reminiscent of Bhabha's ideas of mimicry. Herman's recollection of the emphasis placed upon education by his family in the 1950s underlines this ambiguity, "We lived in a community where, because of its oppression, the parents believed that the children had to get education – formal education. That was the way to upward mobility" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). Alternatively, education was viewed as a means to oppose the apartheid state through knowledge and mobilisation – embodying the fears expressed about mission and other education during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see sections 1.4.1 and 1.4.3).

There was another ambivalent element to the pursuit of education: whilst it provided social capital and the potential for social mobility, this was curtailed by the racially hierarchical social structure. "Education was the way to upward mobility. But at that stage we could only become teachers or preachers; or a nurse" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). This did not prevent teachers from being well-respected in the local community. This position, and the dedication of teachers to their work, was another factor in encouraging people to apply to the profession, "The brilliance of the teachers I had, they were the role-models and they led me to think that I wanted to teach" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). The role of teachers in the community placed them at the crux of negotiations of identity and politics.

This sense of importance attached to education pre-dated the apartheid era, shaped by the historical association of Western education with civilisation. Abdullah's experience of growing up during the Union era emphasised education as providing

the potential for income and independence, “my father saw the importance of a good education, a good education means you can support yourself and you can stand on your own two feet and fight with any person, not with your fists but with your mouth, because you would be able to articulate your ideas” (Abdullah, int. 21/02/2005). There was an underlying economic rationale to this. Abdullah’s father was a tailor and foresaw the impacts of mechanisation upon skilled craftspeople, so encouraged Abdullah to gain a good education so he could find a professional job.

At this time, teachers enjoyed a very high reputation so it is unsurprising that aspirant ‘coloureds’ who were trying to find professional work in an environment with few alternatives looked to education as a prestigious career path. The strength of feeling towards teachers in the early years of the twentieth-century was emphasised by Richard van der Ross, underlining their position not only as teachers, but as community resources. “My parents were both teachers. At that time, there were very few other opportunities for employment and teaching had a very high status. They were highly respected. People virtually revered these people...These were the community leaders” (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005).

#### **4.4 A Respected Profession**

The description of teachers as role models and community leaders underlines their respected position. This continued into the 1960s, as young teachers such as Harold sought to provide the tools by which learners could achieve personal advancement and develop the skills through which to challenge the apartheid system, “They [teachers] were revered people in the community. In the fifties; and even in the sixties, the teachers were really role-models and respected people” (Herman, int. 15/09/2005).

James’ experience of growing up in Cape Town during the 1960s, as Harold began his teaching career, included viewing teachers as respected members of the community:

Teaching then [in the 1960s] was one of the top positions. Even if you were in the private sector, and you earned a lot of money, you never had the type of clout, unless you were a doctor, to a teacher. So in rural communities - the Afrikaans word was meester, you know, and meester meant like everything. It's like the highest respect. So teachers were the crown jewels of the society. (James, int. 25/07/2005)

The social capital which James points to, of being well educated and employed as a teacher, was highly valued at that time.

This emphasis on social capital, when linked with the restricted career opportunities available to 'coloureds', encouraged many learners to consider becoming teachers. The role of politically active teachers in enhancing the standing of the profession aided this process, as their politicised learners looked upon education as a means to develop the struggle and mobilise younger generations. According to David and many others, it was not uncommon for a large proportion of students to want to become teachers. He attributed this to the respect that such teachers commanded:

I think about half [of my peers at school in early 1970s would have wanted to be teachers]. For the simple reason that at that time teachers were respected more, many kids aspired to that. And students would've known at that time that teachers were the ones giving them the philosophical content to be able to grapple with the struggle. (David, int. 13/05/2005)

The respectability of education as a career in this period reflected wider quests for respectability amongst many 'coloureds'. Although the reasons for pursuing education were constructed differently by sections of the 'coloured' intelligentsia, the ability to put one's children through the education system and the rewards this would bring, both intellectually, socially and materially, were highly prized. In the Western Cape, high levels of female involvement in trade unions and political organisations as well as seasonal and other forms of productive labour (Berger, 1990: 398), especially in the textile and food canning industries, emphasised a gendered nature to these processes.



According to Ebrahim, the proletarianisation of the female workforce instilled a greater discipline and sense of purpose to the domestic environment which included “a quest for respectability, due to the proletarianised ‘coloured’ women who were able to save up and put their kids through school” (Ebrahim, int. 27/01/2005). This gendered quest for respectability is also mentioned by Ridd (1981 105-106) in her thesis on identity in District Six, where the ability to maintain a clean and tidy household was a means by which women were able to assert their respectability.

The continued deferential attitude of many students from the 1960s to their teachers indicates the depth of respect for teachers in that period. Emile, who taught in the 1980s, emphasised how his mother’s learners from the 1960s continue to greet her respectfully (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). Abdullah emphasised how the form of address with which both current and former learners greet their teachers has shifted, reflecting a decline in respect, “the teacher, in those days, they call him ‘meneer’ or ‘meester’. And the teacher was the role model in the community, and when the teacher came to your house, it was an honour, because the teacher was not only a teacher, he was also a community leader. But I think that has disappeared” (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005).

As Abdullah suggests, by the 1970s and 1980s challenges were emerging to the respect and prestige of education. By this stage of the struggle, teachers and learners were heavily involved with political movements and this intruded into the school environment and student-teacher relations. For learners whose political consciousness had been raised, there was a symbiotic relationship between the efforts of teachers to politicise them and their respect standing. Greater respect was given to:

those teachers who were the ones who introduced us to politics. Even before we got to the school [Harold Cressy] we heard the names and it was for their internationalism; for their knowledge; and their commitment; and it was for the way they politicised us. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

It was not only at Cressy that teachers who incorporated anti-apartheid politics into their teaching became known and respected both within the schools and within

communities. Livingstone High and Trafalgar High were also renowned for teachers who shared this approach.

Students recognised teachers' differing struggle commitments, and modified their attitude towards them accordingly. This process was more discerning than a simple divide between those who stated their opposition to apartheid and those who did not; teachers who proclaimed their allegiance to the struggle but did nothing to politicise and mobilise opposition to apartheid were also treated with scorn. Writing about his time as a 'white' teacher working in a 'coloured' school in Grassy Park in the 1980s, Finnegan describes a visit to his classroom by two pupils selling a 10 cent mimeograph entitled "Teachers - The Still Born Radicals". In this, the "petty bourgeois attitudes" of teachers were scorned; "Our first, our second, our final impression of *teachers in general*, is that they are a misfit lot condemned to the sewage tanks of Athlone. Their sole concerns are their cheques, their bonds on houses, their cars and a host of other interests. As a body [with the exception of one section who were seen as supporting the struggle in both words and deeds], they cannot be trusted" (Finnegan, 1986: 242). The production of the mimeograph underlines how politicised the school environment had become in many 'coloured' areas in Cape Town during the 1986 school disturbances. The students' contention that the majority of teachers were not committed to the struggle and thus distrusted points to two main issues: firstly, that a significant portion of teachers were involved with the struggle and using their position to mobilise students and oppose the apartheid system, and secondly, that there was an equating of resistance with respect – resistance or struggle teachers were respected, those who were content in the system were not.

#### **4.5 Politicised challenges to the respected profession - problematising the ability to gain respect**

The questioning by students and student organisations of the role and commitment of teachers challenged the discourse of respect. The artificially enhanced prestige of

teaching within the 'coloured' community as a result of the constraints of the racialised political economy was problematised: the social location of 'coloured' teachers during the struggle became increasingly uncertain. The politicised nature of education emphasised broader social contests: teachers who agreed with the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD) were often branded as 'traitors' or 'quislings'; those who opposed the CAD found themselves working within the system they were trying to destroy.

Although teachers were often blamed for failing to mobilise mass support, many attempted to promote the ideals of the TLSA, NEUM, and others, despite government restrictions and vulnerability to persecution by the authorities and conservative head-teachers (Hendricks, 2005: 5). For those teachers who supported the struggle, the politicised nature of education continued outside the classroom. Activist teachers would accrue social and cultural capital through their work within the local community and against apartheid curricula. This maintained and reinforced social networks and relations in which they were respected. Social capital from struggle involvement would be expressed through respect for teachers, such as Alex, who were activists in the late 1970s and 1980s:

We started a civic [organisation] in the area. So I used to meet lots of the parents and it made a huge impression on the students because within a short a space of time I won a kind of respect... The attitude of the students to me [improved] – I didn't have as many disciplinary problems as I had when I started. The parents supported both the work we were doing in class and the work we were doing in the community. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

In turn, teachers such as Alex attributed much of their commitment and methods to their experience of being taught by politicised, activist teachers. Abdullah recalled his time at Trafalgar High between 1955 and 1957, where teachers were influential in shaping his own teaching approach, "I imitated what they did; what they did to us to mould our minds to oppose apartheid, I did the same in my classroom" (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005). Similar ideas were present in the ideology of the TLSA, one of the more radical teaching associations, to which both David and Alex were affiliated, as well as the NUM. These were reflected through Alex's approach to teaching at

Cathkin School where, along with several colleagues, he introduced “a lot of political themes in our English comprehension; talk about what was happening the world and in South Africa. It was a kind-of Freirean approach, both in terms of using interactive methods rather than banking methods but also politicising students” (Alex, int. 29/07/2005).<sup>35</sup>

Usurping the prescribed curriculum, ‘coloured’ teachers such as Alex, James, and David disrupted the symbolic violence of apartheid education. The politicisation of teaching, and offering an unofficial curriculum, was not treated un-problematically; “I remember one little incident where one of the students said - when I was handing out another comprehension on the veil in Iran or Midnight Express;<sup>36</sup> and a critique of how anti-Islamic it was and he said ‘sir it’s politics again, it’s always politics, politics’. I realised that here I was pumping my ideology down their young throats” (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). It was with this awareness of the double-edged nature of education that many struggle teachers balanced providing an education for expanding knowledge and skills, along with providing the tools and encouragement for the political awakening of their pupils.

For James, the incorporation of politics into the everyday curriculum was central to his teaching philosophy in the 1980s, even though many of these actions were not allowed under government legislation:

In a ‘white’ school you would have focussed on Jan van Riebeeck; and the Voortrekkers. I opted to focus on stuff like the African National Congress; on various aspects of the struggle. The trick was to incorporate that into that prescribed curriculum. People were very careful and scared to do it. It was not very clever to do that at that

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<sup>35</sup> ‘Freirean approach’ refers to the thinking of the influential educationalist Paulo Freire, who believed it was necessary to breakdown the existing mode of teaching – which labelled as a ‘banking method’ where the teacher talks to their class without active interactions and the students are ‘filled’ with information – arguing that “Authentic education is not carried out by A *for* B or by A *about* B, but rather by A *with* B, mediated by the world – a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it” (Freire, 1972: 66). Teachers would instead seek an interactive educational relationship with their students, one where they were not indoctrinating them with either the hegemonic ideas of the government, nor their own as teachers.

<sup>36</sup> The autobiographical book *Midnight Express* was published in 1977, and details the experiences of an American tourist arrested in Turkey for drug smuggling. The film version has been widely castigated for its treatment of Turkish people (2007b).

point in time. But it was the right thing to do and a lot of teachers pushed that. (James, int. 25/07/2005)

It wasn't only the content which James sought to adapt, but also the style of teaching. The school served a working class community and many of his learners were unlikely to have breakfasted before coming to school and had shortened attention spans. To compensate for this and to effectively engage his learners, James used innovative teaching methods even though this brought him into conflict again with the education authorities who were concerned that the official curriculum was 'correctly' taught:

I enjoyed teaching but I hated the system that we were prescribed to teach by. I hated the traditional way question papers were set. In 1 or 2 papers I had cartoons. And when the subject advisor saw that, he freaked out completely. How could you have cartoons in a question paper? Which I thought that's bullshit because kids coming from those areas normally have short attention spans. So you had to keep them busy with something and make it worthwhile because if you come to school and you did not have breakfast why the hell must you concentrate in school? So what will motivate you to concentrate? Those were the things I hated. (James, int. 25/07/2005)

Teachers such as Alex and James were fortunate to have supportive principals who allowed, and in some cases encouraged, their politicised teaching (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). School inspections, subject assessments, and exams allowed the authorities to monitor and enforce the curriculum, although as is seen here and elsewhere this was not a foolproof system (Soudien, 2002b; Wieder, 2003). These inspectors were employed to monitor the behaviour of teachers and to ensure the delivery of the apartheid curriculum, placing them into conflict with struggle teachers. Other teachers were less fortunate, TLSA stalwart, Ali Fataar, and many others, were "continually passed over for deserved promotions and were often visited at home and school by government authorities" (Wieder and Fataar, 2002: 35) and some were banned or imprisoned on Robben Island. In 1986 around 700 educationalists were detained and during 1987 1,585 permanent teachers were fired by the Department of Education and Training (Hartshorne, 1999: 97). Teachers under banning orders were prevented from entering educational institutions, and could find their movement and freedom of association restricted. Banning orders were used to

remove struggle teachers from the classroom where their teachings were seen as dangerous and subversive.

David was arrested for his struggle involvement and politicised, resistance teachings. Getting into Hewat training college was difficult because of his involvement with high school politics in the early 1960s, “From Livingstone, I moved to Hewat Training College. I remember the first year I went to study at Hewat, I was allowed in for 3 days but then I was thrown out of the college because I’d been blackballed by the principal of Livingstone, a Doctor Samuels, because I was chairman of the SRC [Student Representative Council]” (David, int. 13/05/2005). He re-enrolled the following year and completed his training whilst maintaining his struggle involvement, despite seeing friends killed during protests (see preface). He then taught at a series of schools in the Cape Flats through the 1970s and into the 1980s. Carrying his anti-apartheid philosophy into his classroom David cites the influences of “great liberationists like Ali Fatar; Doctor Alexander, many others; Victor Wessels; R.O. Dudley; Stella Pietersen. These are big New Unity Movement people who stood for what was right in education” (David, int. 13/05/2005). His reference to the teaching of struggle values and non-racialism as “what was right” indicates his political ideology. Unsurprisingly, David’s lessons during the late 1970s and 1980s fell outside of the prescribed subject matter putting at risk of reprisals from the apartheid authorities:

One night, about 3 o’clock in the morning, I got a phone call from a police colonel. He says: ‘I’m Craig’s father. I’m a colonel in the police’ – a ‘coloured’ guy. ‘Craig says to me that you’ve been teaching kids some other information and I checked it up; and I see that the information is correct. I want to warn you that I’m an informer but I’m not going to inform on you because my son is in your class, continue teaching the right thing.’ However, 2 weeks later I was arrested. My door was kicked down at home and I was picked up and put in jail for a period of ninety days – without trial – because somebody had listened in on Craig’s father’s call to me. (David, int. 13/05/2005)

Despite this encounter David continued teaching as before, and knew that such actions were possible. Whilst a pupil at Livingstone High in the early 1960s many of

his politicised teachers were banned, whilst those who conformed to the system achieved promotion (David, int. 24/05/2005).

The government was concerned about teachers' influence over their learners. The state viewed educated radicals, such as struggle teachers, as dangerous because, as Tabata (1980: 15) would argue, they "were conscious of their proper function as teachers of the young. They were able to bring universal concepts to their people through their schools. They inspired in their pupils a love of knowledge and a conception of liberal education irrespective of colour". This policy of resistance to official state education policy put them into conflict with the government, but also frequently a source of respect from learners and others for this stance.

The view of teachers who supported the struggle and worked with local communities to oppose apartheid differs from the standing given to those who supported the CAD. These teachers were branded by their struggle colleagues as "fifth columnists", and "looked at as traitors" (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005; Arnold, int. 31/05/2005). The respect afforded them was different from those who engaged with the struggle and sought to turn their classrooms into sites of intellectual resistance. David's hostility towards CAD teachers and principals informs the problematisation of education as a respected profession. Whilst the previous deference and respect that was afforded remained, this was being challenged by politicised learners and communities.

Despite their initial success and support, a number of teachers grew disillusioned with the TLSA and their inability to mobilise popular support. Both Alex and Abdullah had begun their careers supporting the TLSA, but increasingly felt the Association was too focused upon the intelligentsia as Abdullah explained, "you see the problem I have with the TLSA, they had beautiful ideas to oppose apartheid and they did everything; they wrote books, they wrote pamphlets; they had public meetings, but it was an elitist group. They never had grassroots support" (Abdullah, 03/05/2005). It was left to these teachers to bridge the gap between the elitist, intellectual oppositional teaching associations and the everyday experience of their learners. Whilst several did move away from the formal associations, their political

commitment to the struggle remained evident in their teaching practices and community involvement. Others have retained their links with the TLISA; David's continued involvement reflects his historical involvement with the anti-apartheid struggle but also, importantly, his continued involvement with education as a tool for political awakening and to tackle intolerance and inequalities, "[I was, and still am] involved with the Teachers' League of South Africa which, in a sense, adheres to a lot of the policies of the New Unity Movement which is anti-imperialist; anti-colonialist; obviously socialist. And as far as we are concerned the struggle still very much continues" (David, int. 13/05/2005). David's identification with an ongoing struggle, in the present day, that links back to the ideals of the TLISA and NUM during the anti-apartheid struggle is reflected in the social positioning and actions of teachers today, as are examined in the next chapter.

## **4.6 Towards some Conclusions**

Changes in late twentieth-century South Africa had implications for the respect and prestige of education. Urbanisation and economic development removed some of the unproblematic power relations between teachers and local communities. However, it was the lived experience of union and apartheid policies and the reactions to these that challenged the social location of teachers. Artificial constraints on the labour market, which precluded 'coloureds' from many professions, enhanced the prestige and respect of teachers whilst simultaneously undermining the benefits of education due to proscribed career opportunities. As the anti-apartheid struggle escalated, education became increasingly politicised and classrooms became sites of intellectual and physical resistance. These events had a number of consequences. As political awareness grew and opposition to apartheid became more vocal, teachers became integral to these challenges and in turn found that the respect afforded to them by learners and local communities was associated with their resistance to the racially hierarchical state. At the same time, the mobilisation of classrooms as sites of resistance, and education as a tool for the struggle, began the tide of attrition against education as a respected and esteemed element in society. Equally, those who became 'struggle teachers' may have found their standing rising amongst those



sympathetic to the struggle, but amongst those who opposed the intrusion of struggle politics into education or who were sympathetic to or supporters/agents of the apartheid system, the respect they would have afforded these teachers would have decreased. The quest to be respected was often the search for an elusive notion – to be respected according to one construction of the idea would not necessarily translate into being respected through another conceptualisation of respect. As the habitus evolved, multiple constructions of respect changed and teachers struggled to locate themselves within these shifting topographies.

Complicating the location of ‘coloured’ teachers was their relation to the apartheid state’s racial hierarchy, their racial classification and intermediate position in society. As political opposition to apartheid grew, the rejection of racial classification (and the label of ‘coloured’ in particular) was increasingly important to the appraisal of ‘coloured’ teachers as worthy of respect. Inherent ambivalences in competing notions of respect reflected uncertainties locating education as integral to resistance without simultaneously internalising ‘white’ knowledge and concepts of success. The dilemma of accepting or rejecting ‘coloured’ is explored in more detail in chapter 6 where the re-emergence of an acceptance of being coloured is examined alongside the historical processes through which this label was often rejected, although relations with this term were (and continue to be) fraught with uncertainties and ambiguities.

The challenges posed by this politicisation to the status respect and respect standing of ‘coloured’ teachers continue to resonate in the post-apartheid period. The shifting political situation has affected the ability of teachers to gain respect through resistance, meaning that the basis of appraisal respect will have changed, with consequences for the social location and respect afforded to teachers. Chapter five develops the ideas presented in this chapter to explore the factors affecting the granting of respect to ‘coloured’ teachers in the post-apartheid period. As in the apartheid period, status recognition respect and appraisal respect are both integral, as are debates around race and the political and cultural elements of racial identities.

## ***5. Those who can, don't teach: The declining prestige of education***

At that time [in the 1960s] teachers were the people. They were well-paid; respected; really looked up to. But today, when they hear you're a teacher, then they say 'oh shame'; they feel sorry for you because of the problems they have at school, the discipline, your salary. (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005)

Teaching was one of a few prestigious careers open to 'coloureds' under apartheid. The post-apartheid era has opened up employment opportunities and undermined teachers' privileged position. The critical engagement of struggle teachers with curricula - both official and hidden - and pedagogy positioned them as key activists and respected individuals within communities. Since the late 1980s, the respect afforded to teachers for these actions has been eroded, along with a decline in the role for struggle teachers, deteriorating relations between communities and schools, opposition to authority and classroom disruption. This chapter will discuss how social and educational changes have disillusioned many teachers and impacted upon the form of respect given to teachers.

Problems with crime, policy change, classroom discipline, the legacy of the anti-apartheid school boycotts and activism, and complaints over wages are linked to wider social changes that are viewed as undermining the status of the teacher. The decline in the social control function of the social capital accrued from being a teacher has been reduced. More broadly, the level of status recognition respect of the teaching profession is decreasing, with teachers increasingly concerned about how to maintain a respected standing through other means such as appraisal respect. Complicating these processes is the increasingly uncertain role of the struggle teacher. Those 'coloured' teachers who rejected the apartheid system and racial thinking and were respected for this are confronted with a situation where race has re-emerged as an accepted terminology. These teachers find themselves in a conflicted position – continuing to pursue a non-racial agenda in an environment which simultaneously seeks this outcome but continues to rely upon racial discourse.

## 5.1 Setting the Scene: An increasingly disillusioned profession

The following anecdote was offered by a trainee teacher to Richard van der Ross's father at a teacher training college in the 1990s:

You know what the difference between my generation and your generation is? In your [van der Ross's father's] day if the students saw the principal coming along the corridor, they'd run and hide. Today, if the principal sees a student coming towards him, he goes and hides. (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005)

This illustrates how shifts in social attitudes have demoralised teachers. The power and respect afforded to teachers is believed to have been undermined in a rights based culture. Recognition of low teacher morale has resulted in several surveys to analyse the causes (for example Hall, et al., 2005; HSRC, 2004; HSRC, et al., 2005). Concerns have been expressed over the numbers of, in particular young, teachers leaving the profession, and potential future impacts on education (Hall, et al., 2005: 1). A 2005 report from the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa (HSRC) indicated that 72.9% of teachers in the Western Cape had considered leaving the profession (Hall, et al., 2005: 8) citing factors including the availability of alternative opportunities, job satisfaction, workload, morale and the spread of AIDS.

What changes have affected these concerns? Apartheid legislation, including racial employment restrictions, was repealed in 1991 increasing the number of careers open to 'coloureds' and removing some of teaching's occupational prestige. Changes in education policy and poorly managed attempts to redistribute teachers and expenditure in the 1990s undermined the teaching profession. The implementation of black economic empowerment (BEE) and affirmative action (AA) are perceived by many as marginalising the 'coloured' community. AA, "a pro-active, conscious effort to redress the disadvantages of the past and to increase the representation of marginalised groups of the population in leadership positions" (Visage, 1998: 5), and BEE, a continuation of AA focussed upon providing economic opportunities to

previously disadvantaged communities, are core elements of policies of redress.<sup>37</sup> The use of race as a deciding factor in BEE and AA and perceptions that their implementation is only benefiting 'black' communities have problematised the teachers' role in combating racial thinking and motivating learners who believe that there are no opportunities open to them. These concerns and perceptions must be located in the historical moment of the move to democracy in 1994 and the hopes and dreams associated with this. The widespread belief that after the elections in 1994 there would be a sudden and dramatic improvement in the living conditions of the disadvantaged and unemployment would be reduced, created an expectation of change that far outweighed the reality. Continued high levels of unemployment, problems with expanding service delivery, and the scope and scale of redistribution and redress required have left many disenchanted with the pace of change. With these levels of disenchantment, policies such as AA and BEE offer a rallying point for disaffection which is expressed through racial terms.

These developments are reflected in the push and pull factors experienced by teachers, including stress levels attributable in part to low socio-economic status (Hall, et al., 2005: 20). The level of respect teachers felt they were afforded by students was another major factor - unsurprisingly, those who felt their learners did not respect them were more likely to leave the profession (Hall, et al., 2005: 17). Barrett, a primary school teacher writing in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper stated that "people just don't respect teachers anymore" (Barrett, 2005: 4). The culmination of these factors is seen by many current and former teachers, "lots of teachers I know are completely demoralised by the situation in school" (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). Alex left school teaching in 1985, travelling to London to complete a Masters Degree, before returning to South Africa in 1986 and working as a teacher educator at Hewat Teacher Training College in Cape Town until it closed in 1996 when he moved into the University sector, electing not to return to high school teaching because of the stress and administrative burden involved.

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<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of the impacts of BEE see Southall (2006).

These trends have resulted in a growing shortage of teachers entering and remaining in the profession. In 2003, South Africa employed 354,469 teachers, and between 2001 and 2006 required 14,615 extra teachers annually to meet expansion and replacement demand, though there was an annual 4.1% shortfall in the total number employed (Kraak, 2003: 671). From 2006 it is expected that 19,000 additional teachers will be required annually (Crouch and Perry, 2003: 494). With 500,000 vacancies for skilled workers in South Africa, attracting new teachers is vital to address this skills shortage (Kassiem, 2005a: 1, 3). Media reports underline this problem (for example Mtshali, 2005: 3). The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) has been looking to recruit teachers from India in a bid to improve poor maths and science results (Horner, 2005). This attempt at alleviating major human resource shortages follows previous health sector policies to recruit Cuban doctors (Hammett, 2007). Such a move would prove controversial given rising levels of xenophobia (Alexander, 2007; Crush, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2006) and opposition to previous suggestions that Cuban teachers be recruited (Kristen, int. 22/06/2003).

Other provincial policies have included attempts to re-recruit primarily 'white' and 'coloured' teachers who were retrenched in the 1990s (in a poorly managed attempt to speed the process of redress in education by redeploying or accepting voluntary severances by teachers from 'white', 'coloured', and 'Indian' schools to provide for more teachers at 'black' schools) and to encourage more pupils to become teachers (Essop, 2005: 1). Reacting to these policies, teachers offered their views on the shortage: "I suggest the true reason for the growing shortage lies in unattractive salaries and working conditions" (Combrink, 2005: 13); "I respectfully submit that any young man who enters the teaching profession at this time needs his head read. As a future family man, he will be faced with a salary that at best can be termed inadequate for his family's needs" (Moll, 2005: 13).

Echoing the concerns of 'coloured' teachers, 'Mr Chips' wrote to the *Cape Argus* detailing his complaints; "Absenteeism and drug abuse are endemic... maintaining discipline in such big classes is my main objective everyday. It is a bonus if we get much meaningful work done". Teachers "complained of outrageous workloads, the

poor behaviour of their charges, uninterested parents, job insecurity and the patent lack of any rewards for their efforts. It is no longer an issue of poor morale. The teaching profession, a precious and irreplaceable human resource, is dying” (‘Mr Chips’, 2005). These factors have been recognised by teaching unions for years. In 1996, newspapers reported “Overcrowding, lack of resources and the threat of teacher retrenchments...a lack of incentives for teachers, who endure poor salaries and conditions of service and a lack of recognition of performance, as factors in the high turnover of staff” (Education Reporter, 1996). Such views are expressed in the TLSA’s *Educational Journal* whose litany of complaints include that teachers “are forced and expected to work under often thankless conditions” including a shortage of classrooms and teachers, wider socio-economic problems impinging on education, and shifts in government policy to a neo-liberal approach which reduce the investment made in education. Therefore, “young people avoid the insecure, problem-riddled teaching profession like the plague” (Kies, 2001: 1, 2004: 6).

The rest of this chapter will analyse these complaints, and others, to consider how the teacher is viewed in society, and why anyone entering this profession needs their ‘head read’.

## **5.2 Fear and Safety**

South Africa is one of the most violent countries in the world (table 11), with the highest per capita rates for rape, assault and firearms murders. The ‘coloured’ community has become synonymous with gangsterism and crime. In 2001, Cape Town had an attempted murder rate of 114 per 100,000 and the highest murder rate in South Africa (82 per 100,000 inhabitants). The former ‘coloured’ group areas of the Cape Flats were the location for many of these deaths. Fears over crime and personal safety affect teachers as the dangers of the outside world intrude into the supposedly safe space of school. Reflecting apartheid era geography, issues of safety and security remain minimal at formerly ‘white’ schools but the experience of

historically ‘coloured’ schools is different as the pervasive levels of poverty and crime are higher.

**Table 11: South African crime levels.**

	Number		Rate per 100,000 persons	
	2001	2002	2001	2002
<b>Total recorded crimes</b>	2,620,974	2,683,849	5,848.8	5,918.7
<b>Murders</b>	21,405	21,553	47.8	47.5
<b>Major assaults</b>	264,012	266,321	589.2	587.3
<b>Assaults</b>	525,898	548,847	1,173.6	1,210.4
<b>Rapes</b>	54,293	52,425	121.2	115.6
<b>Thefts</b>	885,997	931,821	1,977.1	2,055.0
<b>Drug offences</b>	52,900	53,810	118.1	118.7

(Derived from United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2005b: 328)

### **5.2.1 Violence within Schools**

In 2005, the WCED considered over 800 schools in Cape Town to be un-safe (Kassiem, 2005a). Safety issues dominated opening discussions at the launch *imbizo* (a forum for dialogue between government and the people) of Child Protection Week (Goligoski, 2005: 5). Headlines in local newspapers compound the image of schools as places of violence, drug abuse and gangsterism,<sup>38</sup> with one school described thus; “A no entry sign, two guard dogs and six security guards armed only with handcuffs are all that the 1 100 pupils at Arcadia High in Bonteheuwel have for protection” (Kassiem, 2005d: 3). The need for such protection is an indictment of the social problems surrounding and intruding into many schools. In May 2005, a report warned that “‘erosion’ into the school system by violence was at an ‘advanced stage’” (Kassiem, 2005e: 1). Recommendations included addressing anti-racism in schools, encouraging de-segregation, and for staff and governing bodies to reflect pupil composition.

Security precautions were visible at all of the schools visited. Moonglow High’s security reflected the area’s troubled history; previously a stronghold of the Pan

<sup>38</sup> See stories such as Bailey (2005a, 2005b), Johannes and Hartley (2005), Johnstone (1996), Joseph (2005a), Kassiem (2005b, 2005d) and Smith (2005a).

African Congress (PAC) in the 1980s (figure 13)<sup>39</sup> and later the vigilante group People Against Guns And Drugs (PAGAD). PAGAD began as a popular vigilante group seeking to force the police to tackle drug dealers and gangsters, before taking justice into their own hands, executing gangsters and precipitating a circle of violence, undermining their local support. PAGAD became increasingly religiously fundamentalist and turned to bombings against religious, tourist and state interests until the group collapsed (David, int. 13/05/2005; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2005a: 109).

Entry to Moonglow was gained through an electronic gate operated by a security guard (figure 14). Perimeter fencing was topped with razor wire and surveyed by CCTV cameras. School windows were barred, doors had multiple locks, and the receptionist was protected by a glass screen and metal bars. Similar experiences at Mitchell's Plain High and Sun Valley High echo the description of Manenberg High in the *Cape Argus*, "The school is like a fortress, with barbed wire, an electric fence to keep gangsters out, and two armed security guards" (Smith, 2005a: 3). These security measures reflect the continuing social and economic problems in neighbouring communities. The end of apartheid has not provided a panacea to poverty and deprivation. These problems remain common around both Moonglow and Sun Valley and contribute to levels of criminality. Problems with drug use and gangsterism in turn fuel other criminal acts including theft and violence against staff and students, inducing fear which negatively affects morale and motivation of teachers working in these areas.

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<sup>39</sup> The slogan 'One Settler One Bullet' referred to the PAC opposition to the settlement of southern Africa by 'whites' and subsequent disenfranchisement and oppression of the 'black' population.



**Figure 13: PAC graffiti near Moonglow High illustrates the area's troubled past.**



**Figure 14: Security measures at Moonglow High reflect local social problems.**



Teachers and students recognised the ease with which violence pervades the sanctity of schools. Echoing the gang-related stabbing of a 16-year-old student at Manenberg High (Bailey, 2005b: 1), Mostapha, a learner at Moonglow High, spoke about a friend who was a gang member. “My friend – he’s a Rich Kid and they’re now mos [fighting] with the Junky Funky; the Sexy Boys; and the other gang came into school and they stabbed one of the kids and the teachers could do nothing about that, otherwise they would also get stabbed” (Mostapha, 26/08/2005). Richard van der Ross also spoke of such incidents, linking them to the decline in status and respect of teaching. “My perception is it [teaching] is not as prestigious. They are subjected to very severe strain, stress, anxiety, fear even; teachers being insulted, assaulted; sometimes very seriously assaulted (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). Such events suggest a decline in the social capital associated with teaching. As well as acting as a resource for advancement, social capital can also be considered as a mechanism for social control – it confers upon the possessor a degree of authority and control. The declining respect and social capital associated with being a teacher is reflected in the decreasing power of social control of teachers and in the challenges made to their authority.

### ***5.2.2 The Role of Gangs***

In these situations the development of an external street culture, often in conflict with mainstream social norms, marginalises and excludes the majority of residents from public social spaces. An obvious manifestation of these developments in Cape Town is gangsterism. There are an estimated 130 gangs operating on the Cape Flats, with a membership in the region of 100,000. These include the Americans, Sexy Boys, Hard Livings, Junky Funky Kids, and the Mongrels all of whom command extensive power networks in the Flats. Recruitment is conducted with enticements “of wealth and gifts, typically designer clothing and drugs” and membership of a gang becomes absolute with members losing loyalty to all other social groupings (Standing, 2005: 2).

Problems of poverty, poor employment prospects, a marginalised spatial environment and social dislocation, with roots in the forced removals under the GAA, create a habitus conducive to gangsterism. Gangs create a climate of tension and fear which undermines community structures and social morality “as promoted by institutions such as the church and school” (Standing, 2005: 3). The gifts offered to new recruits and the lifestyle of gang-members indicate a recasting of respect away from (institutional) social capital towards status and power founded upon fear (reputation) and economic capital. A further factor in the development of gangs is the potential overlap of anti-apartheid activism into gang culture, as identified in Durban (Xaba cited in Beinart, 2001: 331) where the respect derived from violent activism has been transferred to new manifestations of street dominance. Longer term dynamics in the preponderance of crime and gangs are identified by Beinart (2001: 332) as including “rapid urbanization, vast informal settlements, and persistent poverty, which underpinned economic desperation” as well as unemployment, alienation and social dislocation, with many of these factors rooted in the forced removals under the GAA to new locations, often spatially and infrastructurally isolated from urban cores and resulting in the breakdown of existing social support networks. Pinnock notes that the development of the *Stones Boys* gang originated as a “lower income cultural grouping” in District Six, but that subsequent to forced relocation to Grassy Park in the Cape Flats, “members of the group were forced to rely on its cohesion and strength to wrest a living from the impoverished social environment” which increasingly involved criminal activities (Pinnock, 1987: 418). The function of state reformatories or ‘schools of industry’, in attempting to provide education and training to indigent ‘coloured’ boys so as to keep them out of crime, had the impact of “regulating delinquency in the broader Coloured communities” (Badroodien, 2003: 305) and aiding the forming of gangs (Pinnock, 1987: 424-425), much as prisons still do (see Steinberg, 2004). In the areas around Moonglow and Sun Valley, the legacies of poorly planned and constructed urban development were apparent in the built environment, whilst persistent poverty and economic desperation were obvious. The forced removals to new communities in the Cape Flats and around Sun Valley High resulted in social and spatial dislocation from

central amenities, and many students implied a sense of alienation from other social groups.

Pervasive gang presence impacts upon teachers. Commuting from Hanover Park to Moonglow High, Steven would travel through several different gang areas, including the Americans and the Mongrels. Gang activities meant that Steven would not go outside after dark and as his two sons increasingly went out in the evenings his concern over their safety rose rapidly; both for their physical safety from being attacked, but also that they might be drawn into gangsterism.

Teaching unions argue that the DoE is failing to provide a safe working environment, that “Teachers feel exposed and unprotected...classrooms have become zones of enormous conflict. Teachers feel they’ve lost control” (Sandy Smart of the National Professional Teachers Organisation of South Africa, quoted in Kassiem, 2005a: 3). Coverage of gangsterism in schools in *Chalkline* – a Western Cape teachers’ newspaper – links the events in Cape Town to similar experiences in Malaysia, where 30% of high schools are at ‘high risk’ of gang activities. Discussing the causes of problems in Malaysia echoes issues identified in Cape Town – media, peer pressure, ‘broken families’, and that a police presence in high schools was increasingly demanded (Staff Reporter, 2005: 3).

### ***5.2.3 Impacts upon Broader Educational Activities***

Social problems in the vicinity of schools undermine their ability to function in the wider educational context. Hugh, school principal at Mitchell’s Plain High, commented that “teachers are reluctant to come in and do things in the evenings because it’s not safe. This community suffers from a high rate of crime – the main problem here is with drugs” (Hugh, int. 22/02/2005). Numerous teachers commented that parents failed in their responsibilities to encourage their children’s education, although some recognised social deprivation as a major contributing factor. Attempts to increase parental involvement are integral to the holistic approach to the Safe

Schools Programme (Editor, 2005: 10). Despite soliciting greater parental involvement, teachers have experienced a lack of community support.

When schools held extra-curricula activities, security concerns were evident. At Sun Valley High's annual carnival in February 2005 the atmosphere was friendly, but the level of security was obvious. Surrounded by a tall metal fence, entrance was gained through a single gate and all adults and older youths were searched for concealed weapons. Inside, the event was patrolled both by staff and community members acting as stewards, and by police officers. As evening drew close younger families began to leave - both to get through the streets and home during daylight, but also because as the evening continued the beer tent would become rowdier. At a similar time I left under the advice of the school's deputy principal who feared that I may become a target for unwelcome attention later on (Research diary, 23/02/2005). The result of these intrusions of violent social reality into the educational establishment is to undermine the social fabric of this space, leaving teachers feeling vulnerable and lacking respect.

### **5.3 Discipline and Punishment**

I think discipline has a lot to do with declining prestige. At schools, teachers have very few rights (James, int. 25/07/2005).

A sense of declining respect is exacerbated by the rise of a learner-orientated 'rights culture' (a focus upon individual rights rather than communal and individual responsibilities). Whilst agreeing in principle, many teachers felt their rights and respect as professionals were being undermined. "Within the schools, kids feel that they have more rights than teachers; which is true, they do have. Also they abuse those rights. It's a system where the educator is not protected by the state" (Steven, int. 15/07/2005). This shift was seen as disempowering teachers through removing disciplinary mechanisms and teaching freedoms without equipping them with alternatives. As Mysha intimates, the rise in a learner-rights culture has not been

matched with an increase in learner-responsibilities, resulting in an attrition of respect for teachers:

You can't use the cane anymore, you must speak to them. And that's fine but now children have this idea that they have rights too – that is also right, they do have rights but now they are taking advantage. They forget that teachers also have rights to be respected and that's why we're getting all these discipline problems. (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005)

Mysha's school principal echoed these perceptions, stating in a newspaper that "children seem reluctant to bear any responsibility, either for themselves, their family or society" (Karin, 2005). Associated to the emphasis on learner-rights and collaborative learning, van der Ross argues there is a "change of seniority, of attitude. Children are being told that they've got rights, but they're being told the teacher 'may not'. The teacher feels completely disempowered" (Richard van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). These developments speak to three issues; firstly the removal of teachers' tools for dealing with indiscipline without adequate alternatives, which in turn affects and is a consequence of the declining status and respect afforded to teachers, and thirdly that the decline in a sense of responsibilities reflects problems outside schools.

Despite the ban on corporal punishment, mild forms were sporadically witnessed in classrooms. Faced with continual misbehaviour, teachers occasionally resorted to throwing chalk at students across the room, rapping students across the knuckles, or slapping their cheek. At the moderate end of the spectrum of teacher misdemeanours, when aligned with more serious misdemeanours reported elsewhere (in just over a year, 269 teachers were dismissed for serious offences in South Africa (Govender, 2005)), these actions undermine appraisal respect afforded teachers as they are expected to maintain professional behaviour at all times.

Expected to uphold the highest levels of professional conduct, abrogation of this impinges upon their status. Teachers have a responsibility to ensure their actions are consistently professional and respectable in order to maintain their respect standing. Increasingly this incorporates not only actions within the classroom but behaviour

outwith the school. Teachers who were seen drunk or behaving ‘badly’ at weekends were not respected. These clauses in the granting of respect reflect an increasing emphasis on appraisal respect. Within the classroom, teachers felt that their teaching abilities and subject knowledge were vital in eliciting the respect of their learners. “If these kids know you don’t know your subject, the respect goes immediately. Generally the esteem for their teacher in both in the community and also on the school premises is determined by the professional attitude; and the type of discipline and respect that person demands” (David, int. 13/05/2005). Respect for teachers is increasingly complicated by the emergence of learners’ rights and a shift towards appraisal respect.

## **5.4 The Legacy of the Schools Boycotts**

In the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto school uprisings, the Congress of South African Students’ (COSAS) was formed and helped organize student anti-apartheid activism, culminating in the 1985/6 school boycotts under the banner of ‘Liberation Now, Education Later’. These activities disrupted teaching and learning as activists attended marches and demonstrations, teachers were banned, and state security forces intruded into schools and universities to break up meetings, and arrest, harass, and intimidate activists. The origins of the 1976 boycotts stemmed from black pupils protesting against the introduction of Afrikaans as the compulsory language of instruction. The boycotts of the 1980s were part of the ongoing anti-apartheid struggle and facilitated by COSAS and the United Democratic Front (UDF) were aimed at ending segregated and inferior education.

Many of today’s teachers had experience of being involved with the struggle as students and as teachers, including Mysha, David (whose testimony forms the preface to this thesis), Tina, and James who recalled numerous times that security police would break up student meetings at UWC in the 1980s. “We had meetings in the hall, and this one time we hadn’t noticed but the police had come in from all of the different entrances and there were Kaspirs and Land Rovers, and they were

coming at us from all sides. They were brutal, shamboks and everything” (James, int. 17/08/2005). These experiences underline the entwining of education and the anti-apartheid struggle for many teachers, and also the ways teachers established a position of respect through resistance. There is another side to this – the legacy of these civil disobediences is viewed as undermining respect for teachers in 2005. For several teachers there was a sense that many parents still fostered a belief that opposition to authority (including teachers) was positive, and, secondly, the wider social problems associated with the ‘lost generation’ of adults who missed out on education but were socialised into a culture of activism which was based upon an opposition to authority and for some was closely aligned with violence and the accrual of social respect.

The intrusion of the struggle into the school arena was opposed by several ‘black’ and ‘coloured’ intellectuals and political figures. The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, opposed the boycotting of schooling and pushed instead for ‘Education for Liberation’ (Buthelezi, 1999). Richard van der Ross, as Rector of UWC, also opposed the boycotts although his opposition was inherently ambivalent, caught between agreeing with the aims but not the means:

I didn’t support them [the school boycotts of 1976, 1980 and 1985/6]. I understood and I sympathised with their aim in every way; bringing an end to white domination. But at the same time I couldn’t boycott the very thing on which I believed our salvation depended – education. I thought it was wrong – morally, ethically wrong that anybody, like myself, who had got the benefits of education, should now say to the youth “throw your lives away”. And I think we’re seeing the fruits of it now – ill-fruits of that. You sow the wind, you reap the whirl-wind. (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005)

This last statement, ‘You sow the wind, you reap the whirl-wind’, refers to the problems that have surfaced in education since this period – that the boycotting of education has produced an oppositional mind-set that continues to undermine the respect standing of teachers. Mysha explained this legacy, speaking of the lack of parental support for teachers and the encouraging of discipline; “The children in school today, their parents were the eighties parents; and the eighties parents were fighting against the government and against the school system. We’ve still got this



‘when you defy the teacher, that’s good’ because they’re still thinking that way but they’re forgetting it’s a new regime” (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005).

Richard van der Ross expressed similar concerns. “This rejection of authority went beyond the school and the university. It permeated into society and youngsters were being told that authority was bad. Now authority has changed and the people in authority are black, but that damage remains” (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). The outcome of these developments can be seen as an undermining of the social position of teachers through both an erosion of the culture of learning and a mindset of opposition to authority. Harold Herman was an active member of the Unity Movement during the 1970s and 1980s and recalled his stance against school boycotts because of concerns these would destroy the culture of learning. Reflecting upon the outcomes, he laments the realisation of fears, “now we sit with a culture where the teacher’s position has been very seriously affected: teachers are not highly respected anymore. So you have the erosion of the culture of learning... partially because in our struggles to remove apartheid we used the school as a site of struggle and in that process we contributed to its demise” (Herman, int. 15/09/2005).

Whilst the culture of resistance challenged the unproblematic granting of status recognition respect to teachers, the actions of individual teachers at that time provided them with appraisal-based respect for their struggle involvement. However, the changing political and social context has removed respect standing resulting from struggle involvement. Instead, the legacy of challenging structures of authority – including the position of teachers – is viewed as continuing without new, mitigating recourses to securing appraisal respect.

There is a widespread belief that although the role of teachers and learners in the struggle was vital to the success of the anti-apartheid movement, the price to be paid for this involvement is still being counted. Ten years after achieving ‘liberation now’, there is a reluctance to engage with the second part of the slogan, ‘education later’. The role of the politicised teacher has been sidelined, the culture of learning has declined, and the authority and position of teachers have been undermined whilst

increasing demands are placed upon them. Both teachers and learners found respect through resistance: struggle teachers through their behaviour in the classroom, and learners who fought apartheid were socialised within a “violent masculinity legitimized by the struggle” which brought them social respect as struggle fighters (Beinart, 2001: 331). The failure of many to move away from the mindset and roles of the struggle period and to enter into the second half of the COSAS slogan and to see education as a means to move forward, remains a concern of many teachers.

In reality, whilst those students of the 1970s and 1980s may have children in schools today, the change in political dispensation and socio-economic opportunities will inform their involvement with education. The inculcation of resistance to education is unlikely to be a major feature, but it is a useful scapegoat, and certainly those current parents who missed out on interactions with teachers and schools due to the struggle may have difficulties knowing how best to support their children’s educational development and engage with teachers positively to this end. The broader experience of apartheid education in the 1970s and 1980s was one that meant students were “educationally submerged during the liberation struggle and have found themselves in a social milieu that has inculcated in them the habits of non-learning” (Abdi, 2001: 235). The wider changes in opportunities and perceptions of marginalisation and changing notions of respect and success are likely to be important factors in classroom discipline – if the cultural capital of education fails to deliver on the potential/promise of economic capital rewards later, then the value placed on education by students will decrease and have implications for behaviour and diligence in the classroom. With several of the struggle teachers explaining how their commitment to struggle values continued, Abdi highlights the imperative for teachers to “situationally *conscientis[e]* learners, to see the praxis of a better tomorrow” (Abdi, 2001: 235), an approach and philosophy in keeping with struggle teachers’ earlier efforts to conscientise students to questions of race, racism, discrimination, and the hope for a better future of non-racialism.

## 5.5 Pressure Cooker

Increasing demands on the education system have amplified the pressure on teachers. In a 2005 survey, 60% of teachers reported work overloading often associated with large class sizes and administrative responsibilities (Hall, et al., 2005: 14), teacher and resource shortages, overcrowded classes, increased departmental requirements, and the roll-out of Outcomes Based Education (OBE). This is despite the average annual working time of teachers across South Africa remaining at 1,599 hours – lower than the national policy expectation of 1,720 hours (Chisholm, et al., 2005: ix-xii).

Classroom overcrowding was a problem at both Moonglow and Sun Valley. The maximum high school class size should be 35; class sizes at both Moonglow and Sun Valley were in the low- to mid-40s. With classrooms built to accommodate smaller classes, these numbers presented major obstacles to the provision of quality education. Figure fifteen shows a typical classroom at Moonglow High, containing 40 or more desks and chairs in poor condition and with walls and desks covered in graffiti. These conditions have numerous implications. Limited movement around the classroom prevents the teacher from accessing each pupil individually to provide help with work. The experience of these conditions does not inspire either learners or teachers, nor will it encourage students to see education as an attractive and respected profession for their own future.

**Figure 15: Classroom at Moonglow High School.**

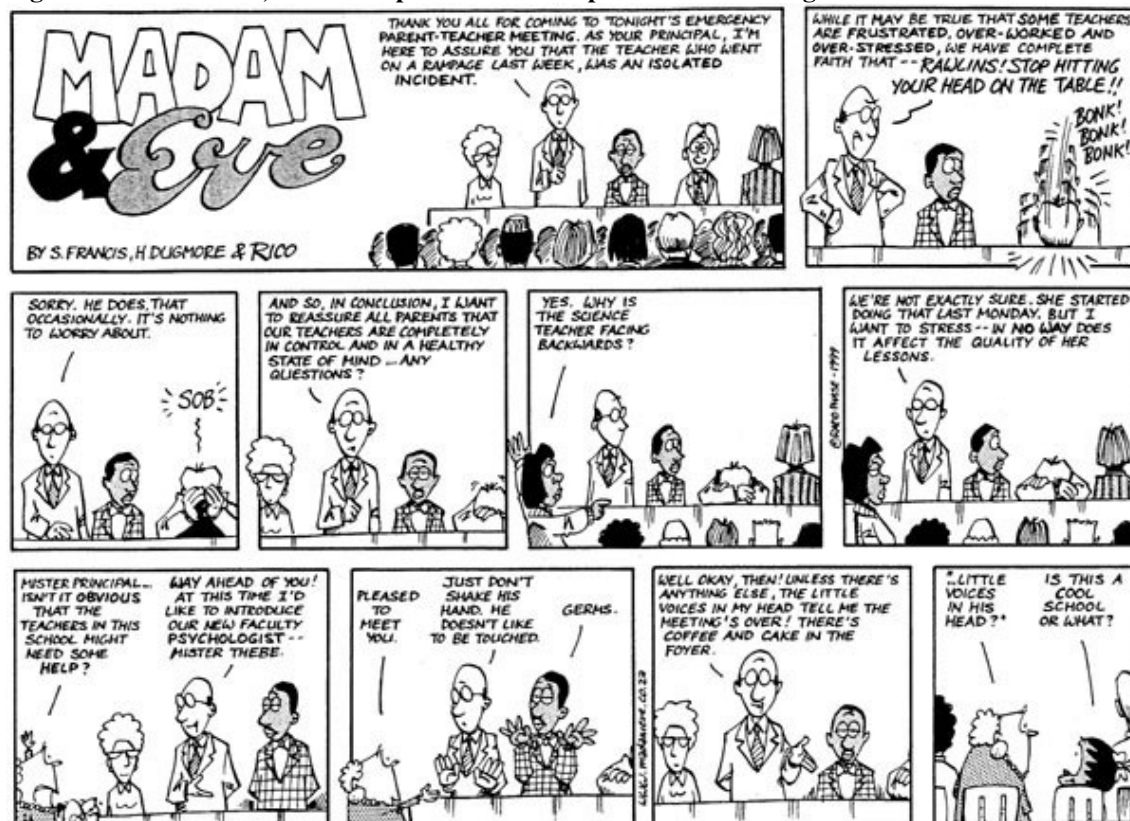


These pressures impact upon the recruitment and retention of teachers. Alex, now a university lecturer, had contemplated returning to school teaching in 2000 after spending 10 years as a teacher educator, but pressures of discipline, administration and status compelled him to move into the university sector. “After being at Hewat for ten years I went back [to school teaching] in 2000 for 2-3 months and that confirmed it. I enjoyed it but the ton of marking, the low morale, I realised I wouldn’t last very long” (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). Such pressures were also cited by students as reasons for not wanting to become teachers.

During a focus group with Moonglow students, Susan associated disciplinary problems to a decline in respect, and increasing pressures facing teachers. “Discipline is a problem. Before, learners had a lot more respect for the teachers but I think nowadays learners are losing respect; and then the discipline is affected” (Susan, int. 24/08/2005). In another focus group, Ruth explained how discipline problems and disrespectful behaviour put her off teaching, “children are so rude and it gets worse like every year. So why would you want to put yourself in that position?” (Ruth, int. 26/08/2005) These sentiments were reiterated by another group member, Hannah, who stated that “they’re [the learners] losing more and more respect for the teachers who’s trying to teach them” (Hannah, int. 26/08/2005). These comments illustrate the recognition of learners that their behaviour exacerbates pressures on teachers, in addition to large class sizes, different ability levels, poor

equipment and facilities.<sup>40</sup> These increasing pressures and their potential impacts have come in for satirical comment (figure 16), although the point made remains important.

Figure 16: Frustration, stress and pressure – the experience of teaching.



(Francis, et al., 1999)

### 5.5.1 Multiple Pressures, Multiple Roles

Multiple identities and responsibilities of teachers are highlighted in Robinson and McMillan's work on teacher educators in South Africa. They construct the teaching aspect of identity through a series of conceptual threads: vocational commitment to teaching; teaching as caring; a role which is simultaneously pastoral and pedagogical in encouraging active learning; and the pursuit of the 'ideal teacher' in terms of commitment, self-sacrifice and hardwork to meet the increasing demands placed upon them (Robinson and McMillan, 2006). These competing and increasing demands are part of the everyday experience of teaching at both Moonglow High and

<sup>40</sup> Focus groups with learners, Moonglow High and Sun Valley High, various dates.

Sun Valley High, with constant disruptions to lessons, break time duties, compulsory extra-mural activities, marking and administration. William, a teacher at Sun Valley High, summed up these demands; “Working here as teachers we are required to be teachers, to be parents, to be social workers, to be counsellors, to be a whole package” (William, int. 26/05/2005). Teachers recognise that it is impossible for them to meet the demands of these multiple responsibilities.

That teachers complain of having to fulfil many different roles is unsurprising given the socio-economic conditions of their school catchment areas. There is also a policy expectation for them to fulfil multiple roles. Chisholm et al. identify that teachers “are meant to be learning mediators, interpreters and designers of learning programmes, leaders, administrators and managers, scholars, researchers and lifelong learners, play a community, citizenship and pastoral role and be learning area specialists” (Chisholm, et al., 2005: 20). This expectation exacerbates the pressures upon teachers from overcrowded classrooms, poor discipline, stressful working environments, and concerns over physical and personal security. These complaints, and rising expectations and scrutiny of teachers are not unique to South Africa.

### ***5.5.2 International Comparisons***

Scott, Stone and Dinham’s survey of teachers in the USA, Australia, New Zealand and England illustrates similar pressures. Teachers are expected to do more with fewer resources, with the outcome that “the status and image of teaching as a profession has declined” (Scott, et al., 2001: 2). These developments can be explained through Bourdieu’s ideas of the right and left hands of the state. The right hand of the state (being the technocratic and economic institutions of the state) is opposed and antipathetic towards the actions of the left hand of the state (the social institutions and public welfare bodies of the state) (Bourdieu, 1998: 1-3). In this situation, Bourdieu (1998: 3) asks how “those who are sent into the front line to perform so-called ‘social’ work to compensate for the most flagrant inadequacies of the logic of the market, without being given the means to really do their job. How could they not have the sense of being constantly undermined or betrayed?” The

increasing demands placed upon the teachers involved in this research, without the necessary resources to meet these, has led to a sense of despair and resignation amongst many.

The decline in value placed by the right hand of the state on the functions of the left has resulted in a comparative decline in salaries for teachers and other public employees that is juxtaposed against an increase in the prestige and remuneration awarded to the right hand profession – those who work with money rather than people (Scott, et al., 2001: 2-3). In many contexts, teachers are expressing a belief that there is little respect afforded to them by policy makers, learners, parents, and the media (Scott, et al., 2001: 7-11). Despite increasing pressures upon teachers, there has been little increase in financial recompense. Salaries have remained relatively mediocre, with an impact upon the impression of the value associated with teaching along the lines that “if the salary granted is an unequivocal index of the value placed on the work and the corresponding workers. Contempt for a job is shown first of all in the more or less derisory remuneration it is given” (Bourdieu, 1998: 3). For the teachers involved here, there is an impression that the failure of government to (they believe) adequately recompense them for the increased workloads and responsibilities along with the provision of adequate resources with which to carry out their work, undermines their status and respect whilst deterring others from entering the profession.

## **5.6 Money’s too tight to mention**

Sometimes I actually feel ashamed if I must fill in forms and say that I’m a teacher because it’s peanuts. (Tina, int. 09/06/2005)

A 2005 HSRC report found that 75% of Western Cape teachers felt their salary was inadequate (Hall, et al., 2005: 13). This is a longstanding complaint, especially for ‘coloured’ teachers who were paid at less than their ‘white’ peers during the colonial and apartheid eras. Referring to teacher salaries in 2005, James – now a successful entrepreneur after leaving teaching in 1989 – observed that teachers suffered from

“no prestige because teachers are not earning great salaries” (James, int. 25/07/2005). Without framing his thinking in academic terms, James alluded to Bourdieu’s concepts discussed above, by claiming that the social standing of teachers is being undermined by their poor financial remuneration.

The relatively low salary impacts upon the lived experience and quality of life.<sup>41</sup> Starting teacher (Post Level 1) salaries begin at R54,561 (\$7,794), and rise with experience and qualifications up to a maximum of R143,529 (\$20,504), with Post Level 2 salaries ranging from R99,540 to R171,393, and Post Level 3 salaries spanning R123,624 to R213,924. Post Level 4, the salary increments of Principals, can range from R99,540 up to R300,375 (Western Cape Education Department, 2007: 5-6). Whilst not poverty level, these wages are often exceeded by those available in the private sector or overseas. Although not reaching the endemic levels found elsewhere on the continent, moonlighting by teachers working in the ‘improper economy’ is not unheard of (Campbell, 1996c).<sup>42</sup> Poor salaries have become more pertinent as employment opportunities for ‘coloureds’ have expanded. Teaching now competes with private sector occupations that frequently offer higher salaries when trying to attract new recruits.

Steven has been teaching since 1996. His monthly salary, after tax, totals just over R5,000 (\$715). His house in Hanover Park dates from the forced removals of the 1980s and had an air of someone struggling to retain their dignity and respect. The exterior of the property needed of a coat of paint, but the care with which the small garden was maintained – despite the summer drought – and the neatly clipped hedge illustrated Steven’s desire to maintain standards and assert his respectability. The surrounding houses were in similar or worse states of repair, and the centre of the housing crescent contained a rusting old car, two pony carts for scrap collection and a small flock of geese, hardly salubrious surroundings. The house itself was small, basically furnished and kept clean and tidy, but in need of investment. The backyard

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<sup>41</sup> Teachers across South Africa talk of this problem, after 20 years experience as well as a degree and a teaching diploma one Johannesburg primary teacher has a net earning of R5,300 per month. In attempts to increase this income, she talks of having tried selling cosmetics and offering private tuition (Barrett, 2005: 4).

<sup>42</sup> The phenomenon of moonlighting is not covered in this thesis, but see for instance (Kerr, 2005).



was filled by an informal shack, inhabited by Steven's brother (Research Diary, 22/01/2005 and 19/07/2005).

These living conditions are unlikely to attract many to the profession. It is hardly surprising that for learners making decisions about careers and post-school plans, teaching does not feature highly. Matriculation year (final year of high school) learners are un-surprised that they know no-one who wants to become a teacher, and express borderline incredulity that anyone would willingly choose to go into this profession (Hannah and Ruth, int. 26/08/2005).

## **5.7 Policy issues**

Major complaints concerning education policies cover increasing workloads, the undermining of their respected position and declining teacher self-esteem. Retrenchment policies in the mid-1990s were aimed at speeding the process of redress in education. In the Western Cape, there were an estimated 5,932 excess teachers in 1997 resulting in 5,613 voluntary severances with a financial cost of R372mn (Vally and Tleane, 2002: 192), including an unanticipated number of experienced teachers (Campbell, 1996a). Press coverage sensationalised experiences, stating those leaving "wept tears of joy because they were so happy to be escaping the South African education system" (Campbell, 1996e: 7), citing stress, politics, a lack of direction in policy changes, and that it had "become impossible to strive for excellence in education" (Campbell, 1996e: 7).

Teacher organisations, including the TLSA, opposed the retrenchment policy for increasing workloads and stress levels. Further complaints focussed upon the continued use of racial classifications by the WCED (Abrahams, 1995: 5). More broadly, treating teachers as a footloose human capital resource has undermined their value and prestige.

The Education Laws Amendment Act 2005 exacerbated these concerns. The Act included measures for further racial redress, allowing the heads of provincial education departments to override appointments if they are “not based on the criteria of equity, redress and representivity” (Michaels, 2005: 4). This continued use of racial criteria caused the DA to attack the ANC for prioritising race over quality and competence. It also encourages perceptions of marginalisation amongst ‘coloureds’ and the construction of defensive racial identities. Further challenges are then posed to teachers as they attempt to provide a non-racial education whilst framed within racialised legislation.

This has a bearing upon teachers’ political roles. As teaching became a highly politicised arena during late apartheid many struggle teachers gained respect through their resistance to apartheid. This history of resistance remains entrenched in many ways, particularly “to state surveillance and control of teaching [which] renders any attempt to regulate the professional subject to suspicion if not outright rejection” (Jansen, 2004: 52). Although resistance to new policies remains, much of the political basis for struggle teaching has been reduced. Whilst struggle teachers welcomed democracy, this presented new problems as the behemoth they fought against has disappeared. Although Alex left school teaching in the late 1980s, he recalls how the historical moment in which he was teaching provided a frame within which teachers were respected for their political involvement – something which is now missing in South Africa:

What would a political teacher do in a school now? I could imagine you’d be doing very similar things, but it’s not necessarily going to give you the standing that the teachers I admired or that my students admired as part of a greater progressive historical movement and educators were your leading elements. Whereas now, it’s not so clear that someone who’s part of the progressive way forward will have that. In fact, a progressive teacher now might be quite isolated and not have respectability in that older sense. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

This shift in political thinking is reflected in changes within schools, where political mobilisation and activism are less common and accepted. Without this connection to resistance, the respect which was associated with such actions is missing. Even for

teachers who continue to pursue ideals of non-racialism in a society that is being re-racialised there is a feeling that this is an unrecognised and unappreciated stance (David, int. 13/05/2005).

The 1997 announcement of Curriculum 2005 marked the emergence of a new policy thrust in South African education, that of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) which included the integration of education and training under the National Qualifications Framework (Jansen, 1999b). The introduction of this policy, without sustained debate and consultation with teachers, has led to great dissatisfaction and a belief that OBE is being introduced for political reasons without politicians being aware of the conditions in resource-poor schools and communities that will mitigate against its success (Alex, int. 29/07/2005, Steven, int. 15/07/2005, Mysha, int. 31/05/2005, David, int. 24/05/2005). These concerns with the everyday experience of OBE in the classroom are framed by broader issues of the complexity of OBE terminology, problematic assumptions about the links between curriculum and society, and increased administrative burdens upon teachers, amongst others identified by Jonathan Jansen (Jansen, 1999b). Teaching resources and spaces at both Moonglow and Sun Valley reflected Jansen's concern with OBE policy being based upon flawed assumptions of the reality of South African classrooms. Teachers at these schools questioned how flexible and independent learning was possible in classrooms where maintaining discipline took up much of their time and energy, and how students could be expected to continue their learning outside of the classroom without a school (nor often a community) library or resource centre. Increasing pressures upon teachers to change their teaching approaches, requirements to attend training events for OBE that took up large proportions of their holidays (leading them to question when marking and preparation would get done), and increased administrative and bureaucratic loads led to many teachers feeling devalued, overworked, and underrecognised.

## 5.8 A Global Challenge

Teachers have increasingly become footloose human capital and, as with other skilled professionals such as doctors and nurses (Hammett, 2007; Martineau and Dovlo, 2004), are a commodity in demand, able to move between states - usually *to* richer states. The shortage of teachers in South Africa presents challenges to poverty alleviation, addressing the skills shortage and meeting the Millennium Development Goal of Education for All. The expansion of quality education has been hindered by problems with teacher attrition and recruitment. Although the transnational movement of teachers away from South Africa is widely recognised, Appleton et al. propose that this does not produce “harmful shortages” of teachers in South Africa, but instead may hinder the provision of quality education as the most effective teachers leave (Appleton, et al., 2006).

A 2002 study commissioned by the National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa identified that one in four teachers suffered from low or very low morale (Hayward, 2002: 17). Reasons included newer teachers viewing “teaching as a job and not a profession requiring dedication with its concomitant expectations of longer working hours”, resistance to change including the introduction of Outcomes Based Education (OBE), discipline problems, poor remuneration, little opportunity for promotion and fears about job insecurity (Hayward, 2002: 18). The economic potential of migration was a major pull factor, with those moving to the UK finding their salary doubling – although with cost of living taken into account, the real-terms increase would be closer to 40% (Appleton, et al., 2006: 778). Worryingly, 48% of respondents to the study would advise against entering the profession and 41.9% wanted to leave; citing poor salary, stress, overloading of administrative tasks and paperwork, and working in an autocratic system (Hayward, 2002: 50, 53). These complaints are not unique to South Africa. Recent OECD funded research has considered concerns over teacher recruitment and retention and ways of improving rates of attraction, retention, and quality of teachers (McKenzie, 2003).

Such improvements depend upon teachers' satisfaction levels. Brunetti's work in California indicates higher levels of employment satisfaction amongst teachers prioritising professional satisfaction factors (working with and developing children) than those seeking non-professional factors (salary, benefits) (Brunetti, 2001: 68-69). Data from this research contradicts some of these findings, as dissatisfaction was high and concerns with both professional and practical factors were robustly expressed. Some of these differences may relate to different conditions of service, levels of pay, and security of tenure between the educational systems in South Africa and the USA, as well as the differing levels of available financial, practical, and professional resources. Work in Australia, New Zealand, England and the USA highlights complaints about pay, conditions, and policy decisions. Consequences of social disruption are identified as negatively affecting teachers through expanding responsibilities into multiple fields, an erosion of the professionalism of education symbolised through low pay and the erosion of independence and teaching freedoms (Scott, et al., 2001: 7-9). In Japan, Gordon identifies problems with the recruitment and retention of teachers at *Dowa* (liberation education) schools for the Burakumin arising from work pressures, problems with discipline, fear of violence from both students and communities, and a lack respect manifest through inappropriate forms of address by students (Gordon, 2006). These issues of status, salary, criticism and recognition resonate with the frustrations of 'coloured' South African teachers.

Welsh data shows problems with teacher retention with 4 out of 5 teachers stating that morale was low or very low and 87% saying their job caused them stress (Mansell and Bloom, 2002: 3). In England 42% of final year PGCE (Post-Graduate Certificate in Education) and B.Ed. students failed to reach the classroom. A further 18% left within three years of practice citing work time-pressures (Parkin, 2001: 1). A decline in younger teachers entering the profession in Britain and her 'traditional' recruiting grounds – Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (Ross, et al., 2001: 2) – means that the UK “is suffering from a severe shortage of teachers” (Pachler, 2001: 60). Woodward has warned that head teachers are increasingly concerned that they will be unable to fill vacancies (Woodward, 2001). Recruitment is hindered by the image of teaching as “a comparatively badly paid job frequently characterised by

challenging pupil behaviour, limited status and restricted scope for professionalism” (Pachler, 2001: 63), strained relations with parents, increasing bureaucracy and workloads, negative media coverage and evidence of “another important factor contributing to demotivation – if not disillusionment – of teachers is that many [teachers] feel insufficiently valued and perceive there to be *a lack of status*” (Pachler, 2001: 73). This process has been exacerbated in the UK by the marketisation of education such that there has been “a move away from the notion that the teaching profession should have a professional mandate to act on behalf of the state in the best interests of its citizens, to a view that teachers need to be subjected to the rigours of the market” (Whitty, 1997: 303).

South Africa’s shortage of qualified teachers is aggravated by international recruitment. In 2001 Minister for Education, Kader Asmal, criticised the UK for recruiting South African teachers, saying “[s]uch raids on the teaching profession at a critical time in our history are not helpful for the development of education in South Africa” (Kader Asmal quoted in Smithers and McGreal, 2001: 1). These problems are also experienced in Australia, where overseas recruitment, poor updating of skills and a lack of new recruits is hampering education provision (Maslen, 2001: 18). The globalization of education is reflected in the increasing numbers of learners, primarily university students, attending overseas universities because of the greater cultural capital associated with a degree from a prestigious, international university (Waters, 2006). Although there is little data on how this is being enacted in the South African situation, anecdotal evidence suggests this is a feature of ‘white’ educational pathways.

Numerous factors affect the decision to emigrate. One attraction for South African teachers to move is that they feel they are more highly valued in the UK (Magardie, 2004) despite increasingly vociferous complaints from British teachers that their role is being devalued and their position undermined. The South African Democratic Teacher’s Union (SADTU) discourages teachers from moving to the UK, emphasising that the ‘pull of the pound’ is often a false hope, and that many “end up short of money in ailing London inner-city schools” (Magardie, 2004).

Challenges to teacher recruitment and retention include financial, practical and professional resources, conditions of service, security of tenure, and wider social issues including gang activity within schools. Teachers' salaries are widely recognised as a major issue in attracting and retaining teachers in an environment where, as Abdullah observed, "the corporate world is paying much more than the teaching profession is paying. And that is why you find this outflow of our qualified people, even our doctors and nurses, they go overseas" (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005). In working-class 'coloured' communities in Cape Town, teachers feel that their status has been undermined and the respect the profession commanded is disappearing. As economic capital accrued through teaching is viewed as inadequate for their efforts, the loss of social capital (and respect) associated with the profession further devalues education as a career. The end of apartheid, and opening up of the employment market to 'coloureds', is of significance. The corporate sector would have offered higher salaries than the state sector during the apartheid era, but 'coloureds' were largely excluded. With the transition, opportunities for educated and skilled 'coloureds' have increased and private sector salaries have become a realistic option for many of those who would have previously moved into teaching.

Harold Herman viewed these processes as significant contributing factors to the emigration of teachers – and also the aspirations of learners – which engendered a feeling of hopelessness, that there was little future for them in education in South Africa, "I think what's happening here is a sense of hopelessness on the part of many. They themselves are victims of this whole demise; and in line with the capitalist system, they are going to places where they can earn more money" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). South Africa does not keep figures for the number of teachers emigrating (this is a major policy recommendation by Appleton, et al., 2006), nor do citizens or residents leaving the country have to complete departure forms detailing whether or not the individual is emigrating (Waller, 2006: 11). However, evidence from research by the *South African Migration Project* suggests that of those seriously intending to leave South Africa, there is a near equal percentage of 'blacks' and 'whites' (Crush, et al., 2000).

## 5.9 A changing society

Teachers interviewed saw social changes as contributing to the undermining of values integral to expectations of respect. A breakdown in intergenerational familial interactions and the declining role of the church were identified as key elements in the development of behaviours and attitudes often antithetical to older generations.

For Tanya, a 43 year old teacher living in a peri-urban village near Somerset West, her experience of changes in the local area undermined the culture of respect she had experienced growing up during the 1960s and 1970s:

There was the respect - we were always respectful to our elders, and the elders also looked after the young ones. So, respect, you learnt from childhood. Nowadays things have changed. With the new democracy, opportunities have started to open up for us. And some of the 'coloured' people aspired to be like the so-called 'white', and now tend to live the Westernised way of life. And for me this is a bit sad, because we also now look at options like putting you parents in an old age home, or putting children in a crèche. When I grew up that wasn't an option. But that isn't the case anymore, and through this respect and manners are lost, because there is no [intergenerational] interaction. (Tanya, int. 16/02/2005)

The increased opportunities and freedoms since the end of apartheid have increased the ability of people to move away from their group areas and the communities that developed therein. Tanya also spoke to the need for economic wealth to facilitate this process, although the price paid for this was the breakdown of community support networks. For families where both parents work, either for survival or in an attempt to achieve a better (socio-)economic standing, this results in a decrease in the time spent interacting between parents and their children.

James identified this development as a contributing factor to discipline and attendance problems at schools. He was one of many teachers to lament how increased needs/desires for higher familial income, bound up in discourses of



consumption, were integral to these developments, “Teachers are not equipped to deal with the current situation as far as discipline is concerned. Kids are different – both parents are working; they don’t spend time with the kid. It all boils down to money” (James, int. 25/07/2005). Additional problems sometimes followed, as older siblings took time off from school to help with reproductive labour in the household.

Such observations about these declines were reiterated by Abdullah who taught at a ‘coloured’ Muslim primary school for 35 years. Abdullah’s religious beliefs were manifest in his modest bungalow, where excerpts from the Quaran and a large wall hanging of Mecca adorned the front room. Each time I visited, Abdullah’s wife would lay the table with a cloth and serve homemade scones, bread, jam and cheese as well as sweet, milky tea. This welcome reflected Abdullah’s construction of respect, bound up in his religious beliefs and feelings about social changes:

Today you have the mother working and the father working, and they don’t make space for their parents. Some even go this far as to put their parents in old age homes, and that is totally un-Islamic; while the children are alive they are supposed to care for their parents... My wife left just now, she took a halaal meal to a Muslim woman in the old age home down the road. She has a lot of children, but economically they say they must work, they can’t look after her now...There are two things that you need to consider. These people are both working because of the standard of living that they want to maintain. There is a movement towards more material things and less respect for the value system that was in place. (Abdullah, int. 21/02/2005)

These social changes are seen as impacting upon student behaviour, school relations with parents, familial relationships between parents and students, and upon the appeal of education as a career. The imperative for both parents to work is seen as having reduced the time spent with their children. A breakdown of traditional familial relations is viewed as affecting the development and communication of social norms, including the concept of respect. Emile, a ‘coloured’ former primary school teacher, was one who associated social change resulting in less inter-generational interaction with a lack of informal learning of respect within the familial setting, “I understand because our society has changed, but I think that was the major

change: the kids - they spend less time with their parents but they also have less respect because of that” (Emile, int. 12/09/2005).

With the repeal of legislation which reserved certain areas of employment for ‘whites’, the employment market has opened up for ‘coloureds’. The career options available for the ‘coloured’ youth have opened up dramatically, a process which has removed some of the prestige previously associated with teaching as one of a small number of professional careers available. Consequently, school leavers are “branching into diverse fields. It’s not like it used to be: teachers, and nurses. There are many other fields, some of them go into accounting, some become doctors” (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005). The social changes at local, national, and global levels are impacting upon this diversification of career aims and the devaluing of teaching as a career path in urban areas, although the different career opportunities and social relations in rural areas were seen as offsetting some of this devaluation (James, int. 25/07/2005):

I think it’s changed because of the whole change in local, social, global fabric. Families have been fragmented by the demands of the working mother, working father; and greater presence of drugs. So I think it has changed, that has been a factor in an age where money seems to count for a lot. A poor-paying profession, like teaching, is not ever someone’s first choice. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

The reluctance of students to become teachers was reiterated by both parties. Whenever teachers asked their older students if they had considered going into teaching, the typical responses were always negative: Mysha’s experience being that, “I always ask my learners. If they hear someone is going to do teaching, then they ask them ‘are you crazy’ (chuckling)” (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005), an experience also encountered by David, “If I question the 42 kids in my class, ‘who wants to become a teacher?’, I might get 2 or 3 who are raising their hands. Doctors, lawyers, the hands would shoot up” (David, int. 13/05/2005). The idea amongst students that becoming a teacher would be ‘crazy’ reflects not only broader social changes and increased economic opportunities, but the experience of the classroom itself. As was

commented on by many teachers, and observed within the schools, a culture of learning was often missing. A lack of teaching resources on the one hand, and constant student disruptions and ill-discipline were contributory factors. But the roots of this culture of non-learning are more complex.

Certainly the history of 'liberation now, education later' remains a background issue, but many students expressed a belief (often inculcated at home and challenged by teachers in schools) in their ('coloured') continued marginalisation from the economy and the workplace. This manifest itself as an attitude of 'why should we work, there is nothing for us when we finish because we are not 'black' enough' and witnessed through disruptive behaviour. Elsewhere, teachers and ex-teachers were concerned with a 'culture of entitlement' amongst some 'black' students; an expectation of success regardless of effort through employment on the basis of BEE and AA as redress for the inequities of the past, an attitude demonstrated through a poor work ethic and disruptive behaviour (Herman, int. 15/09/2005, Alex, int. 29/07/2005, James, int. 25/07/2005). Without the belief in future opportunities from education, and in environments where alternative structures of success and respect are readily accessible, the social capital of education and of teachers is diminished – some students would disrespect and challenge the authority of teachers outright because they felt that there were no sanctions that teachers could effectively impose against this behaviour. In this situation, the social control function of social capital has also been reduced.

A belief in the failure of education to offer a secure way out of poverty and into the job market draws upon continued high levels of unemployment and ongoing socio-economic problems. Developments and policies of redress since 1994 have delivered many gains, but the overarching neo-liberal economic growth path is criticised for favouring the development of a multi-racial, upper and middle class whilst excluding a marginalised class of poor and unemployed South Africans, retaining a strong correlation between race and household income (Bond, 2000; Nattrass and Seekings, 2001). Although interracial inequalities have declined, as intra-racial inequalities have increased, the perception of 'coloured' marginalisation returns to the debate, as

students cast themselves in a position of exclusion from employment, or suitable employment due to educational qualifications, resulting in a devaluation of the capital of education and the seeking of alternative means of survival, self-esteem, and success.

Edward, a teacher at Moonglow High, went further in his analysis of why learners' do not want to become teachers, and contrasted this situation to when he was a learner during the 1970s:

Speak to grade elevens and say "teaching is a great career", [they'll respond] "are you crazy" (chuckling). They flat-out refuse, but I understand, they see the stresses that teachers go through. They look around them and they see 40 classmates and they see teacher in front tearing her hair out. "Why do I want to go through that?" But I say to them it's a good way to get a tertiary education. It's not as limited as it was before. It's a good way to travel because once you've graduated and maybe in a year or two's experience; your teaching skills are welcome. Teaching is now global and go where the needs are greatest...[But when I was younger] teaching gave you a status as well as a profession. So if you were the kind of person who sought that professional status, then that's what you would do. There were no marine biologists or chemical engineers. Those courses were just not available. (Edward, int. 19/05/2005)

Coupled with the expansion of career opportunities, which has reduced the level of respect for teachers, is South Africa's increased engagement with the global economy. Entering the world marketplace during the phase of late global capitalism has impacted upon social relations in South Africa and upon the desirability of teaching. Herman was one of those who outlined his thoughts on how an increased engagement with the global economy had undermined older values of community, solidarity, and the prestige of working to uplift one's community:

The country we're living in is so overtly capitalist now. The mindset is one which says the way to get upward mobility, the way to get the good life, is to get into jobs or activities that can generate income. And that would be business, some professions; and for black people in this country the opportunity is there now to do things we never used to have in my day. So the old notions of 'my dream is to become a policeman; or to go and serve my community by being a nurse; or to teach' – those notions are being destroyed by what I see as the vicious

tentacles of naked capitalism. It's linked to these capitalist notions of how you get to the top: to get to the top, you're not going to become a teacher because you're going to be lowly paid; you're not going to become a nurse, you're going to be lowly paid. (Herman, int. 15/09/2005)

As a consequence, there is a perception that the rise of self-interest and individualism has undermined the status recognition respect afforded to teachers. Instead they receive the 'ag, shame man' treatment, of pity that they are stuck in a career with limited opportunities for economic reward. Instead, greater respect is afforded to individuals as a result of their economic success and its inscription through material means. The declining prestige of education as a career was lamented by many teachers, in particular those who had been in the profession since the 1970s. Mysha mentioned that she had noticed a decline in her social standing during her career, but felt that this was mitigated by her continuous presence at the same school and within the same community for 20 years, "In Sun Valley, I think because I've been teaching here for twenty years they respect me as a teacher... It's changing rapidly but still there's a teeny-weeny bit of respect" (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005). In this situation, Mysha's social capital from being in the school and community over a long period was a major reason for the respect she enjoyed, and was maintained through her involvement with extra-curricula activities such as coaching the school's U13s rugby team.

These changes in social landscape and attitudes present a quandary:

What role is there for teachers in addressing this decline in values? I mean, if few people want to become teachers because it's not seen as the respectable career it once was or it's too much hard work - then you've got a two-edged thing here. You've got people not wanting to teach because it doesn't pay enough; but then you need the teachers to inculcate these [older] values. (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005)

How can teachers negotiate these changes when these processes are undermining the status of teachers and therefore reducing their ability to do so? In examining this, it is important to consider what component of respect it is that is changing – whether it is respect afforded through personal recognition, status recognition, or appraisal.

## 5.10 Declining Status Recognition Respect

The main attrition of respect for teachers is not due to personal recognition respect. Instead, status recognition respect has suffered as a result of social change. Previously, historical privileging meant that teachers enjoyed a high level of status recognition respect. However, as Edward outlines, this is changing:

At the moment, it's a sort of duality. The status of teachers in the community now is not as it was before, which may or may not be a good thing. Previously a teacher had a very high status and people looked up to and respected - he could do no wrong. The down-side now, in terms of status, is that because there are so many more career options open, teaching is not really that special any longer. But on the other hand also, teachers are still respected in a backhanded way and the community sets very high standards for their teachers. So a person does something that maybe perceived as being wrong. People will say "now how can that guy do that, after all he's a teacher, teachers don't do that kind-of thing". So there's still a status or a role attached to being a teacher. Previously it was the teacher could do not wrong because he had that status. Now it is the teacher should not do any wrong because he is a teacher. (Edward, int. 19/05/2005)

Interpreting Edward's statement through theories of respect, occupation or status is increasingly tempered with appraisal respect. The behaviour of teachers and their abilities in the classroom are under increasing scrutiny; no longer can they expect to be respected because of *what they are*, but they have to show that *who they are* is worthy of respect. For teachers to be respected, they can no longer rely upon status recognition respect but need to demonstrate that their teaching involvement is more than 'just a profession' but that there is a greater commitment to working with the local community, a philosophy which Abdullah is concerned is declining:

For many this is just a profession, this is work - I get my money and it ends there. When he takes his case and he goes home, he's finished for the day. He's not involved with the community - there are some who are, but I think mostly there's a lack of commitment to that little

bit more than just being a teacher, commitment to the community.  
(Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005)

To what extent this shift is visible across generations is debatable – the tendency for the ‘rose-tinted’ view of history is undeniable, and wider social relations have changed and there is a belief that the sense of community has declined, overtaken by rising individualism. In these situations, whilst there are possibilities for teachers to be involved with local communities, increasing numbers live beyond the school locale, and fear for personal security and safety dissuades organisation of extra-mural activities.

The generational change in the level of respect afforded to teachers was mentioned by Emile:

It was that teaching was a revered profession, you know, something that was like looked at with respect. And parents and elders were looked at with respect. But I think to a great extent the whole Western mentality of, you know, you’ve got to cover up your wrinkles; and if you’re old, you’re useless to society, I think that has filtered in, and it diminishes the power of respect. (Emile, int. 12/09/2005)

Many teachers have lamented declines in recognition respect, often because they feel that the effort and additional hours they put into their job go unnoticed. Mysha was one of those who tried to explain this, “I think teaching, it’s supposed to be exalted in any country because they form the learners; and they should be respected and honoured because of the sacrifices that they make for their learners. But...” (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005). As she tailed off I sensed an air of despair about her response; what could any one teacher do to develop the relationships with so many people for them to generate enough appraisal respect to compensate for the attrition of status recognition respect, especially when the poor actions of one teacher could be reported and damage the reputation of the profession as a whole?

In order for teachers to regain the respect standing previously held, they need to ensure that their interactions and behaviour generate positive appraisal respect for

their abilities not only as a teacher, but their additional roles. This is an approach that Edward has consistently held, and one which he realised needed to encompass the social and welfare roles demanded of teachers (Edward, int. 19/05/2005). The need to generate appraisal respect means that teachers need to find ways in which to compete with other local role models and community leaders, be these ‘positive’ models such as athletes and activists or ‘negative’ leaders such as gangsters and drug dealers. Amongst the generations whose engagement with politicised, apartheid-era teachers shaped their consciousness, the status respect of teachers remains, and this is seen in a diminished form amongst those without this experience. Instead, there is a quest to assert a different form of respect, often characterised as a rejection of respectability by older generations:

In the broader coloured community among youth there is an element of respectability for certain positions, certain ways of seeing life, for elders, perhaps not as much as when I grew up. What I’m trying to do is to draw a distinction between the ability to earn respect, be it as a gangster, or as a priest in a local community, or a teacher who is respected in the local community, no matter how much they reject respectability themselves. (Ebrahim, int. 27/01/2005)

Instead of an outright rejection of respectability, the ways in which youth seek to establish a respected identity for themselves continues to be reliant upon respect, but accrued through a different set of values. Within these negotiations of respect, teachers have to vie for status and appraisal respect alongside individuals whose status and respect is gained through alternate structures and processes to their own.

## **5.11 A continuing struggle**

Education’s continuation as a site of struggle was presaged by Nelson Mandela whilst launching the National Campaign for Learning and Teaching in 1997. “In the same way that we waged war against apartheid education, government and communities should together combat those factors which militate against effective learning and teaching...We can no longer afford to sit by while some schools are



turned into havens of drug abuse, violence or vandalism” (Mandela, 2003a: 250). The struggle within schools continued on many levels – against anti-social and pathological behaviour, to overcome the culture of un-learning that had developed (Herman, 1995, also chapter 6), to promote non-racialism, to adapt and move beyond the apartheid curriculum, and as “between competing discourses that construct, maintain, and change social identities” (Chick, 2000: 462).

Mandela acknowledged the burden on teachers, and called upon their “unqualified commitment” to the cause of education (Mandela, 2003a: 249), whilst asking for the efforts of government, learners, and families to ensure educational success. Teachers’ commitment is made more important by the socio-economic difficulties of many of their students; Sun Valley High operates a breakfast feeding programme in response to the socio-economic problems in the surrounding community, especially the informal settlements (figures 17, 18, and 19). Education remains a potent means of helping to lift people out of poverty, one which Edward (a teacher at Moonglow High) recognised as integral to his own commitment to teaching (int. 19/05/2005), and in policy circles is seen as offering hope and minimizing the possibility of another ‘lost generation’ (Beinart, 2001: 330).

**Figure 17: Sun Valley learner studying in an informal settlement.**



**Figure 18: Kitchen area in informal house; paraffin stoves are a common cause of house fires and respiratory illnesses.**



**Figure 19: Informal housing area served by Sun Valley High.**



For teachers to receive the professional respect they expect, they need to be reinserted into, and to reassert, their leadership role in the community. This leadership role requires the dedication of teachers to achieve the highest standards of behaviour and practice; the respect once afforded them is not granted uncritically. Perceptions of the dedication of teachers to their learners has been called into question by an increasing professionalisation of a career that many regard as a 'calling'. In this sense, professionalisation is viewed as the tendency for many teachers to be working in this field purely as a means to achieve a steady income, rather than from an interest in fostering knowledge and development.

Teacher misbehaviour inside and outwith school undermines their social standing. The respectability of teachers is called into question when students see teachers under the influence of alcohol at weekends, "[teachers are looked] down on because they hang out in local clubs when they are drunk on weekends" (Student response to questionnaire, Sun Valley High). It is apparent that the status recognition respect of being a teacher has diminished and is balanced against appraisal respect based upon their behaviour – both as a teacher (within school) and as an individual-who-is-a-teacher (outwith school).

These issues relate to the struggle to attract and retain teachers to work in these schools at a time when even those with a more positive perspective on teaching express a resigned fatalism. Edward, a younger teacher at Moonglow High was one of the most dynamic and positive teachers interviewed, but even his enthusiasm was based upon a feeling that things could not get worse:

I may not be typical of a lot of teachers for the simple reason that I'm still very positive about teaching. Probably most people you speak to would be negatively inclined, they say "ah, so much stress; and things are so bad; and the education system is messed up; massive class sizes", all of which is true. Maybe I'm just an optimist or maybe that's just what my personality is like and there are other people who feel the same also. But things can't continue to get worse; you know at some point, things will get better. (Edward, int. 19/05/2005)

Despite this outlook, Edward recognised that the declining respect for teachers, along with poor conditions of service and salary, was a major problem for recruitment. “It’s worrisome to me that we’re not attracting quality people to teaching. That it’s becoming a sort-of last resort profession” (Edward, int. 19/05/2005). Edward’s positive outlook on teaching was tinged with ambivalence, expressed when he admitted that should he be matriculating in 2005 he would *not* choose to become a teacher but instead take advantage of the wider range of career options available. Harold Herman, involved in teacher education for thirty years, also recognised the decline in appeal of teaching and the concurrent decrease in number and quality of applicants. “The teaching profession is not a sought-after profession today. The vast majority of young people only choose teaching if they can’t get anything else, which is tragic. The perceptions of teaching and schools are negative. So it’s a vicious problem that we have and we need good leadership to turn it around” (Herman, int. 15/09/2005).

Without the leadership to effectively confront these problems, from crime and safety, through discipline and teachers’ rights, financial rewards and conditions of service, to aiding in the reconstruction of education as a respected profession and career, teaching will face continued problems of recruitment and retention. Changes in social relations impinge upon education and the processes by which teachers gain respect. Without support from government and communities these local renegotiations will continue to undermine the status of teachers. This process has already begun, and has been exacerbated by the perception that the struggle values through which many teachers had cemented their respectability have now been discarded by the post-apartheid government. The ability to gain respect through resistance to racism and apartheid has been replaced; resistance to the re-emergence of race as an accepted social discourse frequently fails to gain plaudits in government or local communities, whilst the resistance to authority that was a feature of the struggle returns to haunt discipline in schools. Many teachers would like to leave the profession, and whilst they remain – the struggle continues, especially against a social construct they fought against during apartheid: racialised identities.

For struggle teachers, the commitment to pursue a non-racial agenda in the classroom continues. Since the late 1980s, when race had become an unacceptable concept for anti-apartheid activists, race has re-emerged as an accepted terminology. The unproblematic use of racial identities by political and social leaders (Alexander, 2006) has resulted in the continued conceptualisation of community relations in these terms across South Africa. These discussions frequently link race to new forms of privilege and marginalisation. Struggle teachers, such as David and other members of the New Unity Movement, find themselves alienated from the new government as their non-racial commitments in education run counter to the language of the ANC, which is no longer the non-racial discourse championed in the Freedom Charter. These trends place struggle teachers into an ambivalent position as non-racialists but forced to identify themselves racially, and as once respected for their political involvement but now without the support to continue such an approach to their teaching, despite its continued need. The next chapter considers how these teachers conceive of their struggle for non-racialism continuing in the post-apartheid period whilst identifying how the lived experience of a racial society results in instances of ideological incongruence, and multiple and conflicted identities. The identities of 'coloured' teachers at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be considered in relation to questions of mimicry, ambivalence and ambiguity as issues of race and respect intersect and combine in the processes of identity formation and maintenance.

## ***6. Don't call me 'coloured': The Re-emergence of Racial Identities***

There has been a failure to realise non-racialism in post-apartheid South Africa: the 'moment of manoeuvre' (Alexander, 1995) to shift away from racial identities and politics passed without realisation. Signposting of identity politics in the mid-1990s dwelt on the "fatal belief that identities are given once and for all. Once a coloured...always a coloured", when they are dynamic and mutable (Alexander, 1996: 8). Drawing upon post-colonial theorists, the static conceptualisations of racial identity can be seen as flawed and inadequate – identities overlap, they spill out beyond prescribed boundaries and they evolve. 'Coloured' teachers' relations with racial categories were frequently bound up in politics and culture, their rejection and acceptance of racial identities were vital in negotiations of respect – as has been pointed to in the previous two chapters but which will be explored in more detail here.

The transition provided for renegotiations of, and the opportunity to move beyond, racial identities. However, race has remained the crux of social relations, used by government and opposition parties as part of the daily socio-political lexicon (see Kwetane, 2005; Quintal, 2005). In 2005, DA leader Tony Leon claimed that the ANC had rejected the 'rainbow nation', that policies of non-racialism and 'black' liberation were contradictory, and that the ANC was "putting race-based politics and economics ahead of nation-building" by reviving apartheid race classifications (Leon, 2005: 21). The Western Cape Premier, Ebrahim Rasool highlighted the need to counteract rising racial tensions and divisions, blaming the stifling of debate by provincial governments for the 'twilight notion' of many 'coloureds' who were grappling with what equality meant for them (Adams, 2005a).

Within many 'coloured' communities, especially of lower socio-economic standing, "the feelings of euphoria that reigned after the 1994 election have, to a large extent, turned to disillusionment" (van der Ross, 2003: 2). For some 'coloureds' this is

expressed as their being the ‘twilight people’: “During the apartheid era we were not considered white enough and now, under a legitimate government, we are not black enough” (Mutume, 1997: 1). Such sentiments highlight the construction of social identities through the dominant discourses of those who control political, economic and symbolic power as well as the subaltern groups’ acceptance, rejection and contestation of these impositions (Alexander, 2004: 10). This re-emergence of race as an accepted social and political discourse contrasts with struggle ideals and is antithetical to many.

For ‘coloured’ students during the 1970s and 1980s, the politics of anti-apartheid movements included a non-racial ideology or an overarching ‘black’ identity of Black Consciousness (as discussed previously) through which “we rejected the label ‘coloured’...We considered ourselves black and oppressed” (van der Heever, 2003: 1). In the early 1990s, opposition to imposed race categories and mobilisation around values of non-racialism amongst the ‘coloured’ teachers interviewed here, and more broadly, had reduced the use of race as a social discourse within these communities. Hope for a future non-racial state stalled with the emergence of multi-racial policies and the continued use of racial categories in government policies of redress. Implicit within these developments has been the perceived redefining of ‘black’ from the inclusive BC ideal to a re-essentialised exclusive ‘black African’ identity, contributing to the re-emergence of racial identities. Within this context, the fluidity and ambiguity of racial identities are emphasised. Alongside claims to non-racialism on the one hand, teachers and students suffered from ideological incongruence as the continued use of race in government policy and lived experience meant they often verbalised concerns and fears through racial terminology. Such trends, examined in this chapter, point to the uncertainties of identity, of multiple claims to belonging and the ambivalences of negotiating defined categories.

Other ‘coloureds’ accepted the label and its connotations, viewing it as either a pluralist construct or with a view to assimilation (Muller, 1978), and were labelled as quislings or traitors by their radical counterparts. The maintenance of this identity category from ‘within’ was aided by processes of marginalisation and discrimination

that encouraged feelings of in-group solidarity: “a consciousness fostered...by the centripetal function of a common ‘enemy’” (Rhodie, 1973: 51). Such processes remain in post-apartheid re-articulations of ‘coloured’, where the common enemy of apartheid has been replaced by a common enemy of continued marginalisation under the ‘black’ majority government.

The re-emergence of race and ethnicity as accepted discourses relates to the quest for control of the nation and access to resources. The power to control access, and the fear of exclusion and marginalisation this generates amongst those outside the ‘black’ ruling elite, provide strong motivators for the expression and coalescence of group identity, especially in a country with entrenched, racialised historical inequalities. The expression of identity through the re-inscription of race reflects the historical moment, in which power remains wedded to race, and conflict continues around “the possession of the national Thing: [whilst] the “other” wants to steal our enjoyment (by ruining our way of life)” (Zizek, 1992: 165). During apartheid, the ‘other’ was the ‘white’ oppressor who controlled the nation, and who stole from ‘black’ and ‘coloured’; now, under the ANC government, ‘blacks’ have power over the nation and are perceived by some ‘coloureds’ as wanting to ‘steal’ from the ‘coloureds’ in the form of affirmative action and black economic empowerment.

This chapter will explore how changes in South Africa’s political, social, and economic landscapes have presented teachers with an old challenge recast, to balance education and politics in the classroom. During the struggle, many ‘coloured’ teachers utilised their classrooms as a space of resistance and confronted their personal relationship with the category ‘coloured’. In doing so, they gained respect through resistance. Today, teachers continue these struggle practices in opposition to common perceptions of marginalisation, and the continued use of racial categories in government policy and legislation. Beginning with a discussion of a variety of responses to the term ‘coloured’, this chapter identifies the re-emergence of racial identities as a key factor in post-apartheid South African social development. The response of teachers to this development, particularly those who rejected racial



identities during the apartheid era, is considered as a continuation of the struggle for non-racialism.

## **6.1 Revisiting Ambivalence**

As perceptions and fears of exclusion have increased, the potential for local communities – often still mono-racial – to coalesce around claims to marginalisation as a rallying point remains. In these situations, a group of people with a common interest are distinguished against others through the construction of symbolic boundaries, forming a community (Cohen, 1989) that, due to historical experience and contemporary habitus, takes on a racial element. During apartheid, the contextual understanding of ‘community’ was in relation to ‘black’ communities of resistance to apartheid (Boonzaier and Sharp, 1998 used in Robins, 2003: 252). Today, community is “no longer perceived to be a space of unmitigated good”, the communities of struggle – the Cape Flats, the townships – are often referred to as ‘dysfunctional’, and portrayed “as places of social pathologies such as crime, violence, illegal drug trade, gangsterism, high incidences of disease” (Robins, 2003: 252). The negative social capital of gangs and neighbourhood solidarities, which are seen as “obstacles to establishing liberal democratic modes of governance and citizenship” (Robins, 2003: 252), has replaced the positive social capital of resistance, based upon the struggle and community trust. The campaigning and boycotts which were generally lauded during the struggle are now castigated by the government as anti-democratic and a danger to the state. This criticism is exemplified by township rent boycotts, and the governments’ branding of the AIDS campaigning and advocacy group, the Treatment Action Campaign, as a national security threat whose offices are bugged and visited by members of the National Intelligence Services.

The consciousness of the community occurs at many levels – national, geographical, racial, religious – reflecting multiple layers of identity. Events at numerous levels – personal, local, national, and international – encroach upon the interests of these

communities, triggering assertive reactions from both the person and the community. The multiplicity of factors involved, and the changing and contradictory expressions of identity emphasise their ambiguous and contested nature. Rather than consider these developments in a binary framework of insider and outsider, it is more productive to consider another difference that “recognizes how individuals may simultaneously embrace the racialist category by which they are objectified while refusing to be constrained by meanings attached to that category” (Yon, 1999: 627-629).

In discussing the conflicted nature of ‘coloured’ identities, it is useful to consider Yon’s work on race, schooling, and identity in Toronto, Canada. Yon’s theorisation of the ambivalence of identity has a strong bearing on my discussions of ‘coloured’ identities:

Ambivalence might be so central to the process of making identities because of the inadequacies of identity categories in relation to lived experience, but part of the ambivalence also resides in the fact that identity may not always be a matter of choice. Identities are here shaped by alienation, racism, and a pervasive feeling of exclusion from the dominant culture. When categories are claimed, this might be because they offer coherence and prevent discontinuities from running rampant. They remind us of the necessity of identity. Despite this necessity, inside social groups difference is asserted in ways that challenge the disciplinary constraints of categorization. (Yon, 2000a: 58)

In South Africa, during colonial and apartheid times the socially constructed category of ‘coloured’ was forcibly imposed. In response, some rejected this identity and claimed any of a number of alternatives (‘black’, South African, human, etc) whilst other accepted this identity with varying levels of problematisation. These engagements were framed in a racist society which sought to alienate ‘coloureds’ from the ‘black’ population whilst excluding them from the privileged ‘white’ position. Government legislation in the post-apartheid era has retained the category ‘coloured’. This has resulted in the alienation of ‘coloureds’ who claimed ‘black’ and/or non-racial identities as part of the struggle – who view the continued use of racial categories as a betrayal of the struggle.

The perception that the government is now favouring 'blacks' and marginalising 'coloureds' encourages a belief in their exclusion from the 'new South Africa'. This engenders perceptions of government racism, a view simultaneously constructed through racist behaviour within sections of 'coloured' communities. In turn, the re-claiming of 'coloured' often provides a coherent identity – grounded in a local, spatial experience – affording shelter against perceived marginalisation and exclusion. The subsequent claims to or rejection of 'coloured' and the invoking – or naming – of one's identity "is also a moment of recognizing the limits to the name" (Yon, 2000a: 59). This name, or representation, is "often double edged" (Cheater and Hopa, 1997: 220), complicated by both one's own construction of the term (which in this moment becomes itself unstable and inadequate) but also others' constructions of it. These processes result in complex expressions and processes of identification, emphasising how modernist "categories and labels are often unable to satisfy the desire to be recognized as complex subjects. Identity is therefore always partial, capable of telling us something but unable to tell us all" (Yon, 2000a: 71-72). The assertions of 'coloured' remain complicated and incomplete, dynamic expressions which evolve and remain 'elusive'. The re-assertion of racial identifiers is a reaction to changes in the political and social environments, as local communities react to changes and seek a collective identity.

## **6.2 Historical Conflict – Accepting and rejecting the term 'coloured'**

As seen in chapter one, the historical construction of 'coloured' as a discrete population category was conflicted and problematic. The acceptance or rejection of this identity marked deep divisions amongst 'coloureds', in some cases leading to the break-up of families and branding of individuals as 'traitors'. This chapter will argue for consideration of questions of identity by uncovering multiple meanings and layers utilised in their construction through on-going processes of negotiation.

### **6.2.1 An Uncertain Acceptance**

Richard van der Ross, a high profile 'coloured' educationalist, the first 'coloured' Rector of the University of the Western Cape (1975-1986) and former South African Ambassador to Spain, maintains that the 'coloureds' are a separate community whose heritage is tied to South Africa. Dismissed by some as simply viewing 'coloureds' as "dark skinned whites: that we are whites, our culture is white, we just have darker skin" (Ciraj, 05/05/2005), van der Ross's acceptance of the term 'coloured' is fraught with ambiguities.

Born in Cape Town in 1921, van der Ross grew up during the Union era as 'coloured'. To him, "the term Coloured was a good, acceptable, respectable term. I grew up as Coloured. I went to a school for Coloured children. It was not a derogatory term; it defined us" (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). This acceptance was uncertain; whilst accepting the term his justification highlights its complicated nature. "[Coloured was]...a definitive term; it said what you were. It was not something derogatory. It was not something that defined you as someone inferior although de facto, the Coloured people had a lower economic level in South African society than the Whites" (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). In this statement, van der Ross immediately identifies the ambiguity of his being 'coloured', accepting the term but simultaneously rejecting its implications.

Raised in a family of teachers, van der Ross inherited an ethos that placed education and academic success at the centre of respectability. He graduated from university in 1940 and began teaching, becoming a member of the 'coloured' TLISA. When the movement split in the 1940s, he moved into the moderate branch, the TEPA, distancing himself from the more radical TLISA. The politics of the TEPA corresponded with his acceptance of a separate 'coloured' identity but a desire to combat the resultant discrimination. "In those organisations, we concentrated on conditions. There was no talk in those years about breaking down the barriers of segregation" (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). This ambivalent location, of seeking equal conditions within a differentiated system, was further problematised in 1964 when responsibility for 'coloured' education was transferred to a separate

department, the Department of Coloured Affairs. “[That] was very, very objectionable to us. We didn’t like it; we didn’t want it. Our political orientation had been head-on against that kind of separation but it happened and I went on teaching” (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). Opposition to the separate education was based upon concerns that this would further differentiate educational provision, and that ‘coloured’ education should enjoy parity with ‘white’ education.

After twelve years as a school principal, van der Ross became a newspaper editor having recognised “no possibility of any further promotion or advancement in the [teaching] profession” (van der Ross, int. 06/05/2005). Following the murder of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966 and inauguration of B.J. Vorster as Prime Minister, van der Ross returned to the education sector as a Department of Coloured Education inspector of schools. This role again put him into conflict with struggle teachers, who viewed him as a lackey of the state. Richard stayed in this post for three years, before being invited to become the first ‘coloured’ Principal of UWC, where he stayed until retiring in 1986.

This testimony speaks clearly to the contested and ambiguous nature of van der Ross’s relationship with the term ‘coloured’. His acceptance of the term is riddled with conflicts and ambivalences: accepting the term but rejecting certain political implications (discrimination but accepting segregation) of it and contesting the cultural practices of ‘coloured’ whilst demonstrating a mimicry of ‘white’ ideals.

### ***6.2.2 An Ambivalent Rejection***

Harold Herman described a relationship with the category ‘coloured’ that can be construed as an ambivalent political rejection. Cognisant of the socially constructed nature of race, Herman rejected the political and discriminatory aspects of these identities whilst recognising their lived, social, and cultural realities. This was signified in his use of the term “so-called coloured” to bridge an opposition to the construction and consequence of the identifier, whilst accepting its historical and

social reality (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). Within this frame, he considered the ambiguity of racial categories, to reject certain of their connotations whilst accepting the experienced implications:

I rejected the notion of the 'coloured' people as a separate group, but there was an ambivalence because you were part of a community, and history and social reality meant your community was a group of people who were easily identifiable in the South African context as being 'coloured'. Whether you accepted the label or not, these were the people that you actually wanted to associate with. So you also were identifying with 'black' people - the generic word 'black', in the sense of giving ourselves an identity which is linked to disenfranchisement rather than to skin colour. (Harold, int. 15/09/2005)

This statement exposes flaws in modernist, binary notions of race and identity as fixed, immutable categories. Herman speaks to layers of identity, selectively prioritised in the expression of certain identities at different times. For instance, the political identity – the rejection of 'coloured' and identification with a political 'black' identity – and the lived social identity bound up within the shared, spatialised experience of those classified as 'coloured'. The actions of one of Harold's cousins to 'pass-for-white' in public, but then to socialise with 'coloured' family in private (see chapter one) also embodied the ambivalence of identity.

Implicated within his engagement with race and identity, was Herman's educational experience. Exposed to Unity Movement teachers, who promoted ideas of non-racialism, Herman was encouraged to "reject the label given to us by the apartheid state" (Herman, int. 15/09/2005). This generated an ambivalence, an internal dichotomy, where he recognised the deficit view of his family's history, which privileged the European ancestry over slave history, and simultaneously not wanting to "be part of the oppressive white community which had dominated the politics and economics of this country for three hundred years" (Harold, int. 15/09/2005). The rejection of slave or 'black' ancestry was a common trend amongst 'coloured' families as they privileged 'whiteness' in attempts to become more respectable, so "there was this identity crisis of 'coloured' people, they were rejecting their own

history in trying to meet the criteria which were forced on them by the dominant white group...so you could more closely approximate what is seen to be the signs of being civilised and developed” (Herman, int. 15/09/2005).

What Herman describes as the “identity crisis of ‘coloured’ people” can be understood through notions of mimicry and ambivalence. The rejection of “their own history”, the ‘non-white’ side of their familial and cultural histories, can be considered as integral to the process of mimicry and its role in the colonial project. This involved the privileging of aspects of ‘whiteness’ – from both the English and Afrikaans sections of the ‘white’ dominant minority – that were constructed as “signs of being civilised and developed”, as Bhabha (1994) suggests. This denigrated the ‘non-white’ aspects of history and culture amongst those aspiring to be like ‘white’ (but, as Bhabha argues, they would always be ‘not quite’). Herein lies a crux to the ‘identity crisis’. Claims to ‘colouredness’ were predicated upon ambivalent relations to both the ‘white’ and ‘black’ histories: one was privileged by the colonial/imperial project and encouraged the internalisation of ‘whiteness’ but at the same time was rejected as part of the colonial/imperial project; the other was denigrated by the internalisation of ‘whiteness’ but simultaneously maintained through cultural practices.

Attempts to mimic ‘whiteness’ were multiple, including ‘education for civilisation’ and cultural practices emulating ‘white’ appearances, such as using skin lightening products, ironing and flattening hair so it appeared straight. Zoe Wicomb has described these practices in her novel, *David’s Story*, “They were coloured girls; they wore the cut-off ends of stockings - or rather those modern pantyhose - on their heads to flatten their hair, swirled smoothly around the skull after a punishing night in rollers” (Wicomb, 2000: 7). Whilst Sally, one of the characters in *David’s Story* may have wished for the end of apartheid when “rows of girls would whip the stockings from their heads” (Wicomb, 2000: 15), this has not happened. The penetration of ‘white-is-right’ into the ‘coloured’ psyche is deep, and whilst some appear to have ‘removed the stocking’ many continue to follow beautification practices aimed at disguising ‘black’ appearance traits, as evidenced by the number

of skin lightening and hair straightening products advertised in the South African media. This “aspiration toward white beauty” (Conning, 1999: 6) is furthered into an aspiration towards Western cultural products amongst teachers and students at Moonglow and Sun Valley, a trend explored in more detail in chapters seven and eight.

### **6.2.3 Rejection**

The rejection of racialised identities was a central pillar to many struggle teachers’ identities. This was founded on a BC identification of ‘black’, defined “as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle” (Biko, 2002: 48). ‘Black’ was presented as a mental and political attitude contrasted to those whose “aspiration is whiteness but his pigmentation makes attainment of this impossible, then that person is a non-white” (Biko, 2002: 48), and BC was adopted by many radical ‘black’, ‘coloured’, and ‘Indian’ South Africans.

This political ‘black’ identity was expressed succinctly by Mysha’s claims to identity, “I called myself a ‘black’. I didn’t want to be a ‘coloured’, I wanted to be a ‘black’. You’re either ‘white’ or you are ‘black’” (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005). The actions of struggle teachers in their classrooms reflected this belief. Individuals such as Mysha and David attempted to foster awareness amongst their students of the false consciousness of imposed racial categories. These actions frequently brought them into conflict with the state. “We never accepted any tags at all and this is what we taught our kids. And this is what brought us into many problems with the government because we refused to accept the tags that they gave us” (David, int. 13/05/2005). The transmission of these ideals, and the disruption of the official apartheid curriculum, impacted upon the psyche of learners.

For Ebrahim, a ‘coloured’ community activist, his experience of a politicised urban school environment in the 1970s shaped his rejection of racial identities. “I remember coming home and saying ‘I am black’ and getting a klap [a smack]. But



the political identity was more of solidarity with African students” (Ebrahim, int. 27/01/2005). These beliefs were fostered through teachers aligned with the NUM and who taught a hidden curriculum to undermine official apartheid discourses. The development of a political identity and rejection of the term ‘coloured’ was the foundation for Ebrahim’s involvement in the struggle through mobilisations of high school students and guerrilla theatre performances<sup>43</sup> until 1983, including his arrest during the 1977 school protests. These beliefs became deeply ingrained in Ebrahim’s consciousness, reflected in his involvement with the struggle whilst at school, and his continued activism and non-racialism.

Today, Ebrahim retains a strong political identity and uses this to articulate the ambiguities and ambivalences of racial identities. His description of moving between, across, and within categories highlights how discrete identity categories fail to provide for consideration and analysis of the complexities of identities. His explanation of shifting between identification as ‘black’, ‘coloured’, and ‘white’ revolves around recognition of the social construction of these categories, but also the impacts they can have upon lived experience:

In a broader sense with ‘white’ people I always say I am ‘black’, in a context of African people I call myself ‘black’, in a ‘coloured’ context, but always acknowledging racism in the ‘coloured’ community, depending on the context I will say I am ‘coloured’, and even among Africans I will say I am ‘coloured’, if there is a non-racial audience, I will affirm my identity as a ‘coloured’ but problematise it and make people aware of what it is to be ‘coloured’ today. I am part of that generation that rejected a ‘coloured’ identity, I very quickly changed. Even by the mid to late 1980s I had a firm belief that I was non-racial in my understanding but there were problems within the ‘coloured’ community that one needed to take account of as a group that defines itself as different from African people and from ‘white’ people. (Ebrahim, int. 27/01/2005)

These complications in the expression of ‘coloured’ identity have led to Ebrahim differentiating cultural expressions of identity and the use of such identities as a tool for political mobilisation:

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<sup>43</sup> Guerrilla theatre is a form of street theatre where actors will suddenly act out a piece of theatre on street and then disperse.

I have no shame in a coloured identity or a Muslim cultural identity, and I think it is a very real and very material thing, especially in the Western Cape. On the other hand all forms of racial identity and national identity, and people who use those as a badge for mobilisation or a tool of political mobilisation, I find that repugnant, crude and stupid. (Ebrahim, int. 27/01/2005)

This rejection of racialised identities conformed to the politics of one section of the 'coloured' intelligentsia, the NEUM and later the NUM, which stated that people should not accept the label 'coloured', and is a stance which many 'coloured' teachers who experienced resistance education still adhere to.

Through this tradition Edward also developed his sense of identity. "I've always been brought up to see myself as a human being. The classification of 'coloured', or *any* racial classification for that matter, I rejected it. I believed even then, and I still feel it, that we belong to the human race" (Edward, int. 19/05/2005). If pushed to identify himself, Edward would step outside of the racial categorisation that has dominated South Africa's political economy, instead he would "classify myself as being African; and then secondly as being South African or Azanian. The name Azania is a name that we used for a long time to signify a free South Africa because it refers to a South Africa that existed before apartheid; that existed before Jan van Riebeeck landed in the country: it is a liberatory name" (Edward, int. 19/05/2005). The politics inherent in this stance are strong; the term Azania is imbued with political meaning and opposition to white oppression, and was used by Neville Alexander in the title of his book *One Azania, One Nation: The National Question in South Africa* (No Sizwe, 1979).

For Alex, his family's connections to the NUM and later the TLSA shaped his rejection of the term 'coloured' and the notion of race more generally from a young age:

The lesson I got from the Unity Movement was that the term 'coloured' had nothing to do with a meaningful category of people but was a category created as part of the imperial policy of divide and rule. So people who thought of themselves as 'coloured' had a false

consciousness. Similarly with the idea of race, that there's no such thing as race. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

From this ideological background Alex asserted his own identity as a South African, rejecting the false consciousness of race:

I'm a South African or I'm a human being. It still rankles me when I see an increase in 'coloured' consciousness and an increase in social movements to represent it, so I see it as part of increasing racial consciousness at present which is not just a local phenomenon but a global phenomenon. And so I take issue with fomenting 'coloured' consciousness. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

This revival and reassertion of racial identities, especially 'coloured', in recent years is of concern to Alex and many other non-racialists. Alex was reflexive in his self-analysis: whilst he has consistently rejected a racial identity, he recognised their identificatory power and potential for community mobilisation. Alex critiqued why the TLSA failed to achieve mass support and mobilisation, due to a failure to translate intellectual thinking into accessible language or to recognise the sense of racial belonging an entrenched, inequitable society can evoke:

In retrospect now, it [the ideology and thinking of the NUM and TLSA] didn't take into account that there's a very real consciousness inside people's heads about race – even though it's a false social category, it is a way people construct themselves; and see themselves; and claim for themselves. And perhaps that's also why the Unity Movement didn't – [or wasn't] able to intervene in such a popular way as others because it didn't understand what constituted more popular consciousness which is full of contradictions. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

In this sense, claims to 'coloured' identity are conflicted between an ideology of non-racialism and the need to meet material needs and desires, reliant upon accessing resources in a state where race remains an important consideration. It is this moment of conflict and contest that exposes many of the ambiguities of identities, and the ways in which they cannot be contained within discrete categories. Alex on the one hand rejects the notion of racial identities, asserting that the re-assertion of 'coloured' identities 'rankles' him; but then acknowledges the reality of the spatial and lived

experience of these categories and the ways in which these can then provide a focal point around which to rally identities.

The linking of identity to access to resources is a common feature of nationhood and claims to belonging (Dorman, et al., 2007), and one which continues to play an important role in identity politics in post-apartheid South Africa. The re-emergence of race as an accepted (or tolerated) social discourse is in part attributable to on-going conflicts over access to resources – economic, material and social – which, in a time of affirmative action and black economic empowerment, are directly and indirectly wedded to race.

### **6.3 The Re-emergence of Race**

He [Silas] looked around at the clientele. What traumas were they going through he wondered, apart from agonising continually over how they weren't white enough in the past, and how they weren't black enough now? The existential dilemma of every bastard in the world. (Dangor, 2001: 192)

Race has re-emerged as a key social and political discourse in post-apartheid South Africa. Government policy since 1994 has continued to use race categories, and neither the Rainbow Nation nor Two Nations discourses have been non-racial, instead focussing upon an equitable, multi-racial society. As early as 1995, Neville Alexander was warning that the opportunity afforded by democracy to move towards non-racialism had already been lost (Alexander, 1995). Soudien has pointed to the tendency for 'coloured' and 'black' students to emerge from their schooling career "with identities that are the end products of a form of social compromise...They emerge from their schooling experience with the ethnic badges of coloured and Xhosa culture, and invariably they are profoundly conscious of the racial hierarchies that surround them", but whose identities are ambiguous and transcend and contest these terms (Soudien, 2001a: 325).

Sarakinsky has argued that political identities remain wedded to race through historical experiences of advantage and disadvantage, and highlights how in “pursuing an adversarial strategy, the opposition parties benefit by garnering support based on a fear of the majority, which in the context of South Africa’s past has racial connotations” (Sarakinsky, 2001: 159). Despite this, Lemon contends that since the 1994 general election there has been a lack of political mobilisation along racial lines by the major parties (Lemon, 2003). However, campaigns in the 1994 election reflected the NP’s racial awareness in the Western Cape (Eldridge and Seekings, 1996) and the mobilisations of political parties and sections within parties for political ends. During 2005 and 2006, support for Jacob Zuma in the face of accusations of rape and corruption was largely predicated upon his Zulu identity. Race and ethnicity remain salient, frequently mobilised around claims marginalisation and disadvantage including the implications of the implementation of BEE and AA, under the auspices of the Employment Equity Act (1998a) and the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (BBBEEA) (2003). Despite the definition of ‘black’ in the BBBEEA as “a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians” (2003: 2), the predominant view amongst the ‘coloured’ teachers and students was that BEE was excluding ‘coloureds’ and ‘Indians’.

The ‘coloured’ vote in the 1994 elections surprised many commentators. Based upon the struggle, ‘coloureds’ were expected to vote for the ANC, but 60% voted for the NP (Eldridge and Seekings, 1996: 528), leading some to observe that the ‘coloureds’ were “a community that, significantly, has yet to free itself from the stranglehold of psychological enslavement” (Williams, 1996: 22), when voting patterns were primarily issue based (Seekings, 1996: 30). One of these issues was the perception that proposed affirmative action policies would be a form of “discrimination against coloured people” (van Vuuren, 1996: 8). Continued pro-NP voting in the 1996 local elections by ‘coloured’ communities brought renewed attacks in local newspapers; “The local election results proved that Muslim and coloured people are the offspring of the apartheid baby born 48 years ago” (Salie, 1996: 8), and “Cape Town’s coloured NP supporters are like most battered women who always go back for more” (Laaly, 1996: 8). It is interesting to note that two of the electoral wards in which this

research was undertaken were the only non-‘black’ wards to return ANC representatives in the 1996 local elections (Merten, 2000: 4), as this could be interpreted as indicative of a strong struggle and Black Consciousness connection. Subsequently, the ANC has slowly increased its share of the ‘coloured’ vote, whilst the reformed New National Party has seen its votes drop significantly, the Independent Democrats gain seats in ‘coloured’ areas, and the Democratic Alliance consolidate its position as the main opposition (Lemon, 2001, 2005b).

However, the implementation of AA has exacerbated tensions between population groups. AA is a series of policies aimed at encouraging and speeding up the processes of redistribution and redress amongst the ‘traditional’ racial categories. Given the historical dynamics of race-based inequities of provision, these policies concentrated upon the upliftment of the ‘non-white’ populations, and in particular upon the ‘black’ populations. Media reports allege that AA has been implemented too quickly and without adequate support and anti-corruption mechanisms, leading to nepotism and mismanagement (Saunderson-Meyer, 2005: 18), with many ‘whites’ antagonistic towards AA beneficiaries and in turn being labelled as racist (2005; Lewis, 2005). For Alex, the introduction of AA and other policies which draw upon race as a means to achieving redress was necessary but contributed to the revival of racial identities:

The ANC proclaimed non-racialism; and then the constitution it was not really non-racialism, but multi-racialism tying-in with the four-nations theory. And now, with affirmative action policies and the sense of ‘coloureds’ being excluded from that notion of affirmative; it increases a racialised consciousness. So I think the national policies have increased racial consciousness. But I’m shocked by the enormous amount of racism amongst ‘coloured’ people that I’m hearing more and more overtly. People are resentful of them. It’s something we were fighting in the schools [during apartheid]. But, if you implement an affirmative action for semi-skilled black workers and then you find ‘coloured’, Indian semi-skilled people are unemployed, you’re going to foment hostility. (Alex, int. 29/07/2005)

Alex was one of many struggle teachers who viewed this emergence as antithetical to their attempts to promote non-racialism through education. Wider social and political

developments also challenge the non-racialism that these teachers continue to promote.

In 2005, service delivery problems resulted in racialised community protests across South Africa. Events following the fire that destroyed sections of the Joe Slovo informal settlement in February 2005 demonstrated the extent of racialised consciousness. 'Black' residents left homeless by the fire were promised accommodation in empty hostels in Athlone (a formerly 'coloured' area). 'Coloured' shack dwellers from Bokmakiere reacted angrily, occupying these hostels in protest at failures in housing provision and perceptions of racial favouritism in government policy and expenditure (Gophe, 2005b; Morkel, 2005; Ndenze, 2005; Skwatsha, 2005). Such actions, and the associated claims to 'coloured' identity, have been linked to "a fear of African majority rule and a perception that, as in the old order, Coloureds were once again being marginalised" (Adhikari, 2004: 8). These perceptions are encouraged by a belief that "The Government does not seem to be able to rid itself of its 'colour-consciousness'; the president still talks in speeches of African, white and coloured voters – a betrayal of the 'struggle'" (Matthews, 1998: 8).

Perceptions of marginalisation in the workplace and economy are linked to views of AA and BEE as having "little to do with talent, and everything to do with what is sometimes called representivity: having people with the right complexion or gender in the right places, even at the cost often of talent itself" (James, 2005: 9). Such feelings of marginalisation in the workplace are exacerbated by "the perception that preferential service delivery is given to blacks" (Hendricks and Hofmeyr, 2005: 21). 'Coloured' student perceptions of marginalisation have been documented as a major issue in a number of schools in the Western Cape (Battersby, 2002, 2006). In classrooms at Sun Valley and Moonglow, these beliefs were vocalised by students drawing upon personal experience and/or the inculcation of parental views.

Internal migration to the Western Cape has exacerbated such views. Between 1992 and 1996, the Western Cape experienced a net in-migration of 143,108 South

Africans (table 12). Because of the numbers involved (24,392 ‘coloured’ and 139,141 ‘black’ in-migrants<sup>44</sup> between 1992 and 1996), the racial composition of the Western Cape has been affected (From Kok, et al., 2003: 87). This trend is continuing, with the majority of the annual in-migration of 224,000 South Africans by 2005 coming from the Eastern Cape – incorporating the former ‘black’ homelands of Transkei and Ciskei (175,000) (Statistics South Africa, 2004).

**Table 12: Internal migration patterns by Province, 1992-1996.**

	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	Total
<b>To WC</b>	110,416	15,094	6,599	11,423	2,552	37,492	2,092	1,308	186,976
<b>From WC</b>	11,022	6,041	3,429	4,263	1,535	14,782	2,196	600	43,868
<b>Net in-migration</b>	99,394	9,053	3,170	7,160	1,017	22,710	-104	708	143,108

(From Kok, et al., 2003: 37)

The growing proportion of ‘blacks’ in the Western Cape has increased perceptions amongst many ‘coloureds’ of a threat to their cultural dominance and fear that jobs and housing are being favourably given to ‘black’ in-migrants (Western, 2001: 628-629). With in-migrants attracted by comparative advantages of “relative GGP, relative unemployment, relative number of reported crimes” (Kok, et al., 2003: 54, 98), ‘coloured’ communities – who have historically outnumbered ‘blacks’ in the Western Cape – are expressing a hostile, exclusionary identity against perceived threats from the process dubbed as ‘Africa coming to the Cape’ (Western, 2001).

The level of migration from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town exceeds the 18,000 housing units the provincial housing budget affords (Philp and Davids, 2005: 17). Danger “lies in the perception by those who have been on [housing] waiting lists for years – mainly coloured backyard dwellers – that black newcomers are unfairly being allowed to jump the queue on the basis of their race and political affiliation” (Philp and Davids, 2005: 17). This was a growing issue during 2004 and 2005, as various protests demonstrated. When I visited Stephen at his house in Hanover Park the growing housing shortage was evident as in his backyard was a temporary structure which his brother’s family lived in, with similar structures visible in

<sup>44</sup> I use the term in-migrant to refer to internal migration within South Africa, differentiated from immigrant used with reference to external migration into the state.



surrounding backyards, a trend which Stephen claims has become increasingly common since 1994 (Steven, int. 22/01/2005).

With the change in government, the ‘coloureds’ who “were given a different reality – not much better than the so-called African reality, but a different reality nonetheless” (Norman Duncan interviewed in Fakier, 1996) have found this reality to be deconstructing and reconstructing around them. This process engendered feelings of marginalisation and exclusion (for example Esau, 2004: 27; Joseph, 2005b: 1): the persistence of different realities of communal experience perpetuates the potential for an excluded ‘coloured’ identity (Prinsloo, 1997: 1). Such a sense of victimisation was controversially expressed by the ‘coloured’ actor Anthony Wilson in 2003 when he accused the ‘darkies’ of stealing everything in the country and that “We (coloureds) are being victimised, We are being turned into the new slaves” (Williams, 2003: 3).

Perceived threats in the labour market encourage an exclusionary group identity. Since 1994 the proportional distribution of racial groups in occupational sectors has shifted dramatically, particularly in the public sector. Whilst ‘coloureds’ remain overrepresented in certain skilled occupations, there has been an increase in the number, and percentage, of ‘blacks’ entering different tiers of occupation, primarily at the ‘expense’ of ‘whites’ rather than ‘coloureds’. Although Moleke’s (2006) data show that ‘black’ and ‘coloured’ skills profiles in the public sector are almost identical, and significantly inferior to those for ‘white’ and ‘Indian’ employees, these do not indicate the proportion of public sector jobs held by racial groups. There is, however, a popular opinion within sections of the ‘coloured’ population that ‘blacks’ are being unfairly appointed and promoted. Within teaching, such perceptions were mobilised around the belief that ‘black’ candidates were given preferential treatment in order to meet AA and equity requirements (see below). The reality of these claims is difficult to identify. The changing demographics of the Western Cape mean that the number and proportion of ‘blacks’ are increasing in excess of ‘coloured’ population increase, and comprising an expanding section of the economically active population. These changes, associated with media coverage and politicking around

BEE and AA – in particular around failures and corruption in these policies – underlie the perception that ‘coloureds’ remain marginalised. However, the extent to which ‘coloureds’ are actively excluded from economic and career opportunities, and social service provision is more uncertain.

Within the education sector, most teachers welcome the desegregation and integration of their classrooms. At the University level, both UCT and UWC have witnessed a shift in the racial composition of their student populations, as ‘black’ and ‘coloured’ learner numbers increase at UCT (now a 50:50 split between ‘white’ and ‘black’ (including ‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’) (2007a)) and the proportions of ‘black’ and ‘white’ students increase at UWC. Heidi, a student at UWC, spoke of her experiences of the changing composition of the student body and the impacts this was having on student associations. As an aspiring journalist, Heidi had attempted to bring her experience of working with a church-based publication to the student newspaper but found herself repeatedly excluded, a trend she put down to her being ‘coloured’. “There are problems here. My skin isn’t dark enough if you know what I mean [rubbing two fingers up and down her arm and glancing furtively at the door]. I mean I was when I was here in my first year, but not anymore” (Heidi, int. 27/01/2005). Heidi was stating that within her three years at UWC, there had been a noticeable increase in ‘black’ students and this was reflected in the composition of student societies. As her attempts to write for the student paper had been rejected, she framed this in a racial context. The change in racial composition of the student population had shifted the balance of power to ‘black’ students who were now marginalising ‘coloureds’.

Her framing is not unique. As with many of the teachers who participated in this research, Heidi had shunned the notion of a ‘coloured’ identity and claimed an overarching, political ‘black’ identity. However, in the face of steps to achieve equity and equality, Heidi was one amongst many who exhibited what Solomon et al. (2005: 153) term as “ideological incongruence”, “the dilemma experienced by individuals when their ideological or belief sets are incompatible” (Solomon, et al., 2005: 153). This was demonstrated in Cape Town when individuals on the one hand

rejected racialised identities but then embraced them through claims to continued marginalisation, or wanted a non-racial, equitable society whilst decrying equity policies (and the continued use of racial categories to monitor these) as reverse discrimination. Many ‘coloureds’ were expressing similar perceptions of marginalisation under the new, democratic government. The informal transmission of these beliefs from parents to their children emerged as a major issue for teachers who sought to encourage a non-racial outlook through their teaching.

In education, ‘coloureds’ remain over-represented in teaching posts, whilst ‘blacks’ remain under-represented. Through a comparison of the composition of the teaching community in the Western Cape and the 2001 Census returns for the economically active section of the population, these differences can be seen (Tables 13 and 14). Despite the increasing numbers of ‘blacks’ living in the Western Cape, ‘coloureds’ still form the majority of the Province and remain slightly over-represented in the teaching community (59.2% of teachers are ‘coloured’, compared to 52.48% of the population), and ‘blacks’ remain noticeably under-represented (19.48% and 28.43% respectively). This suggests that further changes in the proportional composition of the teaching corps in the Western Cape to meet equality targets will result in ‘black’ applicants being given preference over ‘coloured’ and ‘white’ applicants, with the likely result of further entrenching perceptions of marginalisation and discrimination.

**Table 13: 2001 Census returns for the economically active population of the Western Cape**

<b>Population Group</b>	<b>% of WC economically active population</b>
<b>‘Black’</b>	28.43
<b>‘Coloured’</b>	52.48
<b>‘Indian’</b>	1.00
<b>‘White’</b>	18.07

(Western Cape Education Department, 2005: 4)

**Table 14: Composition of the Western Cape teaching corps, 2005.**

<b>Population Group</b>	<b>% of teaching corps</b>	<b>Number of teachers</b>
<b>‘Black’</b>	19.48	5596
<b>‘Coloured’</b>	59.2	16999
<b>‘Indian’</b>	0.43	125
<b>‘White’</b>	20.86	5991
<b>Total</b>		28711

(Western Cape Education Department, 2005: 4)

In many instances, this recapturing of 'coloured' is imbued with a sense of marginalisation and exclusion, that 'coloureds' are the 'twilight people', sentiments which have "the power to create a dangerous distance between the coloured communities and other, particularly African, communities of South Africa" (Caliguire, 1996: 14). The assertion of a 'coloured' identity framed by a discourse of marginalisation casts the 'black' population as an 'Other' whose interests are mutually exclusive, creating hostility towards this community. Popular sentiments suggest that this is already a serious problem. The oppositional identity to the 'white' apartheid state has gone, and is being replaced by an opposition to the new 'black' government. Continuing perceptions of marginalisation encourage youths to seek identities and group solidarities outwith social norms and claim respect through alternative, 'non-traditional' structures, as explored in chapters seven and eight.

## 6.4 The Struggle Continues

[I see myself as] South African. Whichever forms I'm given, I would not fill in 'coloured'. Even the new government, there are forms you need to fill in and say whether you're 'coloured', 'white', or 'black'. In a sense, I would regard myself as 'black' having gone through the same struggle as my colleagues who are so-called 'black'. 'Black' is a tag which I feel our government today should not be attaching to anybody. We should all be South Africans. Until that day arrives, my struggle still continues. (David, int. 13/05/2005)

Responses to a DoE survey in 2005 measuring school transformation, which utilised racial categories, highlighted the contentiousness of the continued use of race. The controversy over this survey had barely died down when the Provincial Minister for Education, Cameron Dugmore, further stoked the debate around AA and non-racialism in education when he warned that the Western Cape teaching body did not reflect local demographics, implying a need to increase the proportion of 'black' teachers (Smith, 2005b: 8) to match the 'black' population expansion in the Western Cape.

The DoE survey was defended as necessary to track transformation, but attacked by the DA as “harking back to the worst days of apartheid” (Gophe, 2005a: 1). Some schools refused to co-operate and returned all learners as ‘black’, whilst responses in local media were highly critical (for instance Bond, 2005: 12) if sometimes naïve, such as David de Korte, writing on behalf of the South African Principals Association, who contended that “For today’s pupils, race is not an issue” (de Korte, 2005: 14).

This contention is highly questionable, as many teachers spoke to the unfortunate, but re-emerging, focus upon race as a factor in forming identities. Arran, a sports teacher at Southern Suburbs High, in the process of claiming that race was not an issue, underlined its importance and relevance:

Race is not really an issue because we don’t have a margin within the school. There is no dividing line which defines ‘black’, ‘white’ and ‘coloured’. We are a ‘coloured’ school. If you look at the school, we are all ‘coloured’, so everyone looks through the same lens, sees things the same, comes from the same experiences, the same background, sees through the same eyes and hears through the same ears. Race is not an issue because we all know each other, know how to treat each other, how we have our benefits and how these might be taken away. (Arran, int. 22/02/2005)

Despite the statement to the contrary, this highlights how race remains an issue. In saying that ‘we don’t have a dividing line’, Arran provides three issues to consider. That his school remains a ‘coloured’ school highlights a lack of desegregation rather than a success of integration, influenced by the residual spatialised impacts of apartheid. More importantly, talk of a ‘dividing line’ suggests a conception of race as a discrete identifier, which then takes on an essentialised dimension when Arran speaks of everyone seeing ‘things the same’. Finally, he claims that ‘race is not an issue’ but then mentions ‘how we have our benefits and how these might be taken away’. Here, Arran recognises race as an important factor in determining access to resources and in forming identities and communities. This statement reiterates that race is important in people’s minds, and how the ‘we’ is constructed against the ‘Other’. Coupled with complaints concerning the outcomes of BEE and AA, the re-

racialisation of political discourse, and growing claims to ‘coloured’ marginalisation, it is evident that race remains a continued, if ambiguous and contested, identifier. Indeed, this contested process mirrors the ambivalence addressed by Mondal (2003: 30), of “an anxiety over the politics of “‘difference’” (or, rather more accurately, politics of “‘otherness’”) as constituted by the ideologies of (ethnic) nationalism and communalism against that of a (secular) humanist search for identity that transcends such differences”. In this situation, the anxiety of the ‘otherness of colouredness’ in a ‘black’ dominated state is constituted and exerted through recourse to race and overpowers the search of struggle teachers to assert and foster non-racialism.

In schools which are experiencing desegregation, race remains an important and often divisive factor. Work in Durban (Dolby, 2001a) and KwaZulu Natal (Harber, 1998) has illustrated the problems facing desegregating schools in managing conflict, cultural differences and engaging with the fact that desegregation does not mean integration. At Sun Valley High there was very little evidence of non-‘coloured’ student attendance as the local community is predominantly ‘coloured’, but also because those ‘black’ students who could afford to would attend a nearby English language medium school because English is viewed as providing better career opportunities and has been cast as a more ‘respectable’ language than Afrikaans. At Moonglow High (an English medium school), there was greater evidence of desegregation, as this former Indian school now hosts a significant proportion of ‘coloured’ learners and staff, as well as a few ‘black’ learners. Whilst there were no noticeable problems of inter-racial confrontation, a number of the ‘coloured’ teachers spoke of their belief that the Indian staff held themselves superior to their ‘coloured’ colleagues which on occasion caused resentment.

Joe, the Principal of Coastal Dunes High claimed that inter-racial conflict was increasingly pronounced. He faced problems with growing conflict between students and amongst teaching staff because of the ingrained racial psychology. Coastal Dunes serves a predominantly ‘coloured’ catchment area, with low socio-economic standing and problems with crime, alcohol and drug abuse and violence, although there are a growing number of Xhosa-speaking in-migrants as well as refugee and

immigrant learners. By the end of 2004, racial tensions had increased, and Joe addressed them in the end of year assembly:

I said to the children 'I'm sorry to hold up the celebration but the Department [of education] wants certain information so just bear with me. When I ask you questions, if it is you that I am looking for please put up your hands, and will the teachers please situate themselves to count the hands.' And my first question to them was 'Will all of you who are African please raise you hand', and predominantly the Xhosa speakers put up their hands, here and there coloured students put up their hands. One of the teachers came up to me and said he had seen some 'coloured' children putting up their hands, and should he count those hands in? And my response was he should 'count the Africans' and he assumed that he must not count the 'coloureds' because in his head 'coloured' was not African. So of course at the end of the exercise I said 'Ok, all of those who didn't put up your hands when I asked who was African, put up your hands now', and most of the children put up their hands, and I said to them 'Now where the hell are you from? If you are not African then what are you?' They then understood. (Joe, int. 07/12/2004)

The privileging of a 'coloured' identity illustrates how apartheid era labels continue to frame many people's identities. In the assembly, Joe attempted to make his students aware of issues around identities within the new South Africa, linked to his non-racialism. At the same time, this event emphasises how the connotations of the term 'coloured' have both changed and not changed across generations: the highly political nature of the label and the lived experience of apartheid oppression are giving way to a less politicised version, one which youth hold up as a badge of cultural identity but which retains a political aspect – of 'coloured' as marginalised.

Constructed and reconstructed across time and space the identifier 'coloured' is ambiguous and mutable. Its implications and connotations change; older teachers talk of a political engagement, whilst students speak to cultural elements and marginalisation; "It's a different form of identity for them" (Hugh, int. 22/02/2005). This trend has been noted by Soudien, that "against the political correctness of the liberation movement and their hostility towards apartheid racial labels, the preference for the term 'coloured' by young people so classified is important to note" (Soudien, 1995: 77). The lived experience of being 'coloured' has changed as the socio-

political situation has developed, from its politicisation under apartheid, through the hopes for non-racialism in the early 1990s, to the mid-1990s since when there has been a simultaneous de-politicisation and re-politicisation of the label 'coloured'. Hugh, the principal at Misty Mountain Primary, recognised that the negativities of the imposed category were less important to today's students, and that they were happier to use 'coloured' as a means of identifying themselves.

This acceptance of the label 'coloured' by students and communities where perceptions of continued marginalisation are rife is a major challenge to struggle teachers. This reflects a sense that the definition of 'black' has shifted from the political, black consciousness of the struggle, to a more specific, cultural definition of African-ness, of blackness as African-ness. This sentiment was expressed succinctly by Kenneth, acting principal at Rainbow Primary, "During apartheid, black identity was very inclusive...now it is much more specific. Black has become associated with indigenous black African, so coloureds are more excluded" (Kenneth, int. 31/10/2004).

This process can be associated with Bhabha's (1994: 82) discussion of how self-identification turns the statement of 'I am' into a questioning of 'I am?'. During apartheid, the claim to 'I am black' was in part the assertion of who 'I am not' – 'I am not coloured'. Just as Bhabha proposes the questioning of 'I am?', the rejection of a 'coloured' identity in this assertion of political 'blackness' now becomes a questioning of 'I am not coloured?'. The framing of 'black' as an essentialised African-ness has constrained the identificatory category, leaving many 'coloureds' who claimed this identity feeling excluded. This change, coupled with lived experience and perceptions of marginalisation and exclusion have encouraged the questioning of both 'I am black?' and 'I am not coloured?'. 'Black' has become an unsatisfactory category which fails to offer and contain the assertion of self-identity. 'Coloured' has become reconstituted as a category which provides a shelter for collective identities to be recast against perceptions of exclusion.



This change in attitude reflects a growing temporal and social distance from the lived experience of apartheid. The perception that the 'coloured' continues to be marginalised, this time by a dominant 'black' government confronts the ideal of non-racialism as equality remains constrained by perceived inequitable opportunities. Alternative identities and expressions of identity are therefore shaped in relation to long term survival prospects as defined by the privileged (Nasson, 1986: 101). With this tendency in mind, it struck me as important when David, whose opposition to apartheid and racial identities is deeply rooted, resignedly remarked, "They [my learners] are going to have to be rudely awakened to the question of affirmative action. I'm talking about children today who are classified as 'coloured' as opposed to 'black'. They're going to find themselves still in the middle in terms of affirmative action, where kids who are African black are being selected above them" (David, int. 13/05/2005). This comment revealed two frustrations held by David, and many others such as Neville Alexander (Alexander, int. 27/10/2004): that of the re-emergence of racial identities and that government policy has fostered this mindset through the failure to utilise democracy to move towards a non-racial South Africa. It also serves to highlight how constructions of identity and identifiers are dynamic and often ambivalent.

The powerful role of informal education in the home environment continues to encourage racialised identities, "[i]n order for racism to become self-perpetuating, young children must be educated at home, in houses of worship, and in schools about how to perceive the target people [the 'other']" (Dube, 1985: 89). Tensions emerge when teachers attempt to promote a non-racial ideology. During one of David's classes at Moonglow High, he used my presence to stimulate a comparative debate around politics and history in South Africa and the UK. This discussion rapidly turned to the present day and several students voiced the claim that 'coloureds' were being marginalised by the ANC. When I challenged them to explain their experiences of this, it became evident that their marginalisation 'all the time' was a repetition of what they heard in their home environment as the popular phrases of "we weren't white enough and now we're not black enough", "we're still bottom", or that "we're still in the middle" were paraded without substantive reasoning. The

power of the informal education that occurs at home demonstrated in this experience includes how the linking of race to issues such as service provision, AA and employment poses further problems to teachers attempting to foster non-racialism.

A number of teachers spoke of how these perceptions impacted on behaviour. At Coastal Dunes High, Joe said that of the three groups of students (refugee, Xhosa-speaking, and 'coloured') the coloureds were the least positive about their future which "unfortunately translates into them not being very diligent or interested in getting ahead. There is a lack of discipline. If there is a tendency to involve themselves in drug it will be the coloureds; if there is drinking to be done it will be the coloured students" (Joe, int. 07/12/2004). The reasons given for this negativity was again the perception that "they didn't benefit from the new democracy as much as other groups and they feel that they have been marginalised", including the impacts of affirmative action – a programme that Joe claims has been mismanaged in that "the people who have power...have lent their own interpretation to affirmative action – they don't accept the overarching black term, they persist in dividing up the black population into black, 'coloured', Indian" (Joe, int. 07/12/2004). The continued use of racial categories, defended as a means to monitor redress, has allowed for the re-invigorated use of racialised identities associated with claims to resources and marginalisation.

This legacy of apartheid is a concern to many who began teaching during the apartheid era. For Edward this is one of the major challenges facing education in the democratic era:

for me, the worst thing is the mental enslavement that took place. A great psychological damage has been done and it will take a long time for the healing of that, and that healing needs to happen. I think that's one of the things being attempted with the new education system that talks about our ties through the constitution of creating citizens who are responsible; citizens who have pride. (Edward, int. 19/05/2005)

In order to overcome the racialised thinking that remains as a legacy of the mental enslavement of apartheid, many teachers were in agreement that there was only so

much they could achieve through their efforts in the classroom where they are faced with learners whose socialisation at home encouraged thinking in terms of race and marginalisation. James recognised the role parents play in fostering such ideals and helping learners form their identities, and in particular in encouraging thinking that is disposed towards an equitable society through his role as a parent, “We should get to a non-racial, non-sexist situation, that’s what everybody wants. And you have to work to make it work” (James, int. 25/07/2005).

A number of teachers’ attitudes towards the governments’ continued use of racial terms were conflicted: whilst wanting a non-racial society, they recognised the need to use racial categories to achieve redress. This contested relationship speaks to questions of ambiguity, mutability and the multiplicity of identity. If we return to Harold Herman’s ambivalent rejection of the ‘coloured’ we can further unpack the issues. In the post-apartheid context, Herman states that there is a need for a short- to medium-term compromise to use racial categories in order to facilitate the realisation of equality and non-racialism:

Rather than suddenly become colour-blind and just talking about non-racialism, by doing that you may actually be discriminating against people. So what I strongly believe that affirmative action is necessary and you can only have affirmative action once you identify groups or entities. So, for the moment, I would say that those things are essential...Now you can see that as a form of expediency but I make no apologies for it because I’m against poverty. I firmly believe that it is a short and medium term measure only. It’s really a form of redress. In a generation we have to drop these categories because these are only measures to reach our final goal which is non-racial society with as much equality as we can have. (Herman, int. 15/09/2005)

Alexander has remarked upon the unintended consequence of AA in perpetuating racial identities (Alexander, 2006: 2). Whilst agreeing with the need for AA policies, but stating his deep seated opposition to the way in which they have been implemented, Alexander has highlighted his concern with “the irresponsible practice on the part of political, cultural and other role models of referring unproblematically to ‘Blacks’, ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’, and ‘Whites’ in their normal public discourse, well knowing that by doing so they are perpetuating the racial categories of apartheid

South Africa and wittingly or unwittingly entrenching racial prejudice” (Alexander, 2006: 3). The views of ‘coloured’ teachers and students on this issue illustrated the internalisation of the new acceptability of race as a divisive discourse in South Africa, bound up with the prejudice that Alexander points to, especially when expressed in conversations around AA and BEE where Alexander concurs that “the notion of ‘black people’ [‘black’, ‘coloured’, and ‘Indian’] tends to fall away” (Alexander, 2006: 3).

There is a danger that the outcome of such policies is to both re-inscribe racial categories in South Africa, but also for the emergence of what Herman described as an increasing ‘culture of entitlement’. This was a perception that some ‘black’ South Africans are asserting unfair claims on advantages or dispensations because they are ‘black’:

We’ve got to be careful of this culture of entitlement which kids today tend to subscribe to, who feel that they’ve been discriminated against in the past. I’ve spoken out against it, to not allow this culture of because I’m ‘black’, I don’t have to work. We have to move forward with affirmative action policies but nobody can get to the top without hard work. (Herman, int. 15/09/2005)

To do this, an essentialised discourse of ‘black’-as-oppressed is mobilised whilst strategically drawing upon both anti-racist and affirmative action legislation. By employing these discourses, it ensures that critics risk being labelled as ‘unreconstructed racists’ and legitimate concerns are marginalised. Herman has pointed to the success of student protest actions during the struggle as both giving a feeling of power to students, but precipitating “disarray in education” which contributed to “the breakdown of the culture of learning and teaching” (Herman, 1995: 270) and the purposes of such a culture (Morrow, 1994: 33). This breakdown, he contends, has led to entry requirements and other institutional aspects as being seen as continuations of previous exclusionary policies and challenges teachers and policy makers to ensure that educational accreditation and achievement previously unobtainable does not now become worthless (Herman, 1995: 271). Morrow advances these contentions, describing that whilst there is a degree of political

activism to the historical development of a culture of non-learning, in practice this culture is often “little more than an evasion of responsibility” (Morrow, 1994: 34). There is, for teachers, another concerning element to this culture, one which has the potential to undermine their respected position. Within a culture of entitlement, there is an expectation of success (regardless of achievement), and should failure occur a tendency to blame the system or in this instance, the teacher, for this failing (Morrow, 1994: 35).

Complaints from students and teachers about the emergence of a ‘black’ ‘entitlement culture’ were often linked to failures in AA and BEE and cast aspersions over the re-emergence of an essentialised ‘black’ identity as a central political, social, and economic discourse. More broadly, concerns with a ‘culture of entitlement’ have been expressed in debates around non-payment of service charges – where the continuation of struggle activism in the form of rent-boycotts and non-payments are considered to have become ‘social norms’ (Fjeldstad, 2004). Certain of the roots of these practices in a ‘culture of non-payment’, and their expressions and reactions to them today, are broader indications of the legacies of apartheid and the anti-apartheid struggle (with parallels to the culture of non-learning spoken to earlier). Related to the rise in these ‘cultures’ have been the failures to realise and meet the high-expectations of change following mass democracy and the direct involvement of community activists in securing the political transition but who have not felt material benefits from it (Fjeldstad, 2004: 546). These perceptions are important to the re-assertion of ‘coloured’ identities, which are often articulated against this Other who poses a threat to the employment and economic opportunities of the ‘coloured’. I would contend that Alexander’s (2006: 10-12) recommendations that AA policies be based upon class or income groups instead of race (given the historical interlinking of race and class the policies would *de facto* still benefit ‘blacks’ the most, but would remove the overt racial elements of AA), which would also allow individuals to move away from the necessity of self-identifying by race (with the apartheid era connotations this holds).

## 6.5 Reinventing 'coloured'-ness

Given Hobsbawm's contention that "[w]e should expect it [the invention of traditions] to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social pattern for which 'old' traditions had been designed" (Hobsbawm, 1985: 4), is it surprising that there has been a re-emergence of claims to racialised identities in South Africa? Since 1994, South Africa has undergone major changes as many 'traditional' social structures have been removed or reconfigured. Rather than leading to the dismantling of racial identities there has been a re-claiming of them. This process has been aided by the claiming, and invention, of certain traditions and histories. A number of claims to 'coloured' identity have focussed upon claims to previously silenced heritages of the Khoe and San, and of slavery. These have in some instance coalesced around individuals (Sarah Baartman has been used as a vehicle by some to propound claims to Khoisan and 'coloured' ethnic nationalism (Nuttall and Coetzee, 1998: 8)<sup>45</sup>) or specific campaigns (December 1<sup>st</sup> Movement which focussed upon reclaiming a slave history) in an attempt to promote a memory of slavery, dispossession, oppression, and marginalisation – in some instances framed by a claim to continued marginalisation now under the privileging of 'black' history. Such claims are particularly noticeable in poorer areas, where they have been built around claims to a continued tradition of marginalisation, utilising claims to 'facts' of cultural difference and history to form organisations "on the basis of perceived common culture" (Wilmsen, et al., 1994: 348). In (re)creating the historical and contemporary landscape for this re-inscription of 'coloured' identity there has been a historical rewriting, as indeed has been possible for those claiming and expressing struggle, and other, narratives. As Zizek states, in situations where communal identities are being cast "History is always being rewritten backward, every new narrative perspective restructures the past, changes its meaning, and it is a priori impossible to assume a neutral position from

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<sup>45</sup> Sarah Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus', was a slave in South Africa who was displayed across the UK and France as a 'freak' because of her large buttocks and unusual genitals. For many years, referred to as Saartjie - the Afrikaans diminutive of Sarah - Sarah is now used because 'tjie' is seen as patronising.

which it would be possible to coordinate and totalize the diverging narrative symbolisms” (Zizek, 1992: 157).

Despite these attempts to re-write history and to rediscover and reclaim the origins of the ‘coloured’ population, the historical forging of the ‘coloureds’ as an adjunct of the ‘white’ population has aligned many of their cultural and social values with Europe. Consequently, many elements of teacher and learner ‘coloured’ identities were Europhile. As a result, some believe this has produced a cultural deficit and a privileging of European ancestors and cultural traits, as Joe explained during one conversation:

There is ambivalence around the coloured identity because, there is clearly a cultural deficit between the Xhosa speakers and coloured people: in that coloured people are dislocated from their cultural heritage, and in fact they would argue that they were not KhoiSan, they look down on the KhoiSan, they’d much prefer to believe that their heritage can be traced back to Europe. Coloured people are very proud to speak of the Irish blood that runs in their veins, or the Scottish blood or the German blood; they are not happy to talk about their Xhosa ancestry, or their KhoiSan ancestry, because they have taken on the racist baggage from the white government. Up until today they have a greater affinity to countries overseas than to countries in Africa, or South Africa itself. (Joe, int. 07/12/2004)

In these circumstances, the experience of the reshaping of identity politics in South Africa has resulted in the use of memory and claims to common oppression to form essentialised identities. To elucidate these identities, they are demarcated by a process of ‘Othering’ both as an act of assertion (with familiar markers of identity) and an act of anxiety (with a lack of familiar markers) (Soudien, 1995: 71). This process utilises the expression and creation of the self, or the collective ‘us’, juxtaposed against a demonised and excluded ‘Other’, or ‘them’ (Dorman, et al., 2007). The end of apartheid removed the familiar markers of identity, providing a moment of ambiguity in identity maintenance. New symbols of identity have been cast in this situation; claims to continued marginalisation, being the ‘twilight people’, by some ‘coloureds’ has situated the black majority as the new ‘other’ against which ‘coloured’ identities can be situated based around claims to marginalisation and oppression. Gagiano claims this process is reflected in Zoë Wicomb’s novel *David’s*

*Story*, where Wicomb's writing rejects essentialised narratives of 'coloured' identity but also demonstrates her unhappiness with the erasure of the presence and contribution of 'coloured' South Africans to society (Gagliano, 2004: 817).

## 6.6 Concluding Thoughts

The re-emergence of claims to racial identities amongst teachers and students at Sun Valley and Moonglow are drawn upon to gain shelter and security as part of a locally based and readily identifiable collective. Market forces have become increasingly influential in people's 'identity stories', allowing people greater choice over which communities to belong to as well as producing a pluralisation of moral orders (Rose, 2000). However, there remains a "need and desire for the shelter and security of belonging in a community built on solid foundations, even if the price tag is an involuntary, lifelong belonging" (Robins, 2003: 243). The 'involuntary, lifelong belonging' of being 'coloured' continues to trouble teachers who subscribe to non-racial ideologies.

As apartheid (and anti-apartheid) structures of community were renegotiated in the years around 1994, a space was created for a new, non-racial South African community. Instead, racially-verbalised conflict over access to resources, employment, perceptions of a new political hegemony and community marginalisation have emerged. Expressions of 'coloured' identity have changed with variance in perceived threats, group relations and resource access (Pickel, 1997: 21), whilst the possibility to encourage a popular mindset of non-racialism has been hindered by the reserving of such debates for the elites. Consequently, "[o]rdinary people operate within much more circumscribed frames where the solutions to life's quandaries are already packaged for them" (Soudien, 1995: 76). These 'circumscribed frames' of local media, community and personal lived experience (which frequently remains focussed upon a struggle for survival) package life's solutions in racial categories, of Us and Them, resulting in defensive and exclusionary identities. The potential for the assertion of excluded, racialised



community identities is reinforced by the continued hyper-segregation of residential areas and a lack of forces for desegregation (Christopher, 2001b, 2001c). Coping and cultural networks develop within these spaces, rooted in the historical experience of apartheid, and encourage the maintenance of racial identities (for instance Lohnert, et al., 1998). Identities remain based in a spatialised, and therefore racialised, experience.

The spatial lived experience and claims to continued marginalisation provide building blocks for the coalescence of a coherent community verbalised through race, providing a boundary and a set of claims “capable of being represented by its spokespersons [which] relies on the inside/outside dichotomy” (Yon, 1999: 638). The return of difference as a marker of community identity, verbalised as racial difference, Yon explains, is “double-edged: It is perceived as threatening continuity and coherence but, at the same time, coherence is made possible by the threat that is seen as coming from the outside. In this sense, the threat of the Other is essential to the recognition of the Self” (Yon, 1999: 638). In the continued casting of Self and Other through race, and the consequent racialising of Self, produces ambiguities in identity claims amongst teachers at these schools. The effective and affective reality of race needs to be grasped whilst recognising the mutability and elusiveness of these terms (Yon, 2005: 1).

Teachers’ rejections of racial categories, of the political reasoning behind them, continued to be mobilised. Simultaneously, there was recognition of the continued use and impact of these identities – both from political leaders but also from within communities – that placed claims of non-racial identities into conflict with occasional recourse to race as a marginalising factor. In these cases of ideological incongruence, resultant identities may “simultaneously resist, accommodate, and be ambivalent toward [certain discourses]...all at the same time” (Yon, 2000a: 31). In the context of Moonglow High and Sun Valley High, the invocation of ideals of non-racialism, of black consciousness, and observations of the continued salience of race in their lived experience including AA and perceived marginalisation highlight these uncertainties.

These ambivalences in identity claims amongst teachers reflect uncertainties over the prestige of remaining visible as a 'struggle teacher'. As the social and respect standing of teaching has come under greater pressure (chapters 4 and 5), the respect derived from students for non-racial teaching practices and pedagogy has declined. Simultaneously, the renegotiation of the contributing factors to respect has emphasised consumption over resistance. For many of the students at these schools, their conception of prestige and success was dependent upon economic capital and the appropriation of Western popular culture. With claims to marginalisation from 'traditional' structures of respect mobilised around race, these students draw upon claims to 'coloured' marginalisation as parallels to the exclusionary claims of hip-hop and rap music. Their claims to identity utilise a less problematic acceptance of 'coloured-ness' without many of the political connotations or links to respect this identity retains for older generations. Instead, claims to respect are mobilised through alternative structures which are the product of renegotiations of global popular culture – respect is less of a political issue and more a practice and process of consumption. The following chapters, seven and eight, examine how teachers' constructions of respect are challenged by students' conceptualisations of respect derived from the popular consumption of hip-hop and rap music. As with claims to identity in general, these processes as shown to be contested and fraught with ambiguities and irony.

## ***7 Old School Respect/New Skool Respec': Negotiating new forms of respect in education and hip-hop***

The pluralisation of moral orders in South Africa and rising individualism challenge the processes through which Sennett (2003: 63) claims respect is earned (self-development, care of the self, and giving back to others), and in particular the ways in which teachers seek to arouse respect. The focus upon materialism and inscribing success through conspicuous consumption lead to the following letter to the *Cape Argus*:

...we do not respect one another. If our children were taught that the way to really make an impression on someone is not with your clothes, jewellery, car or the amount of alcohol you can consume, but by treating others with respect, maybe we would not have all the ills we see in the world today. (Jansen, 2005c: 15)

The behaviour upon which these comments were based was readily observable in both Sun Valley and Moonglow as well as outside the school premises and has implications for teachers' negotiations of respect.

This chapter explores the changing conceptions and expressions of respect and the position of teachers within these renegotiations. As has already been examined, status recognition respect came under pressure from a politicised appraisal respect, which in turn is being replaced with forms of appraisal respect linked to economic and cultural capital. Ultimately, these different processes for earning respect occur simultaneously, alongside and frequently in competition with each other. There is a pluralisation of structures of respect within which 'coloured' teachers seek a respected position, although this position remains elusive as what may be respected in one structure may not be in another. Linking formal schooling and informal education through hip-hop – a genre with great popularity amongst 'coloured' students, this chapter will consider how identities of respect, like race, are elusive and ambiguous.

The 'coloured' population have historically and stereotypically been associated with music, linked to their role as musicians for 'whites' and the Coon Carnival (Western, 1996: 18). Music is "a pervasive cultural resource for young people" in situations where it both acts in the foreground (clubs, concerts) but also in the background (school, home) (Laughley, 2006: 217) and is integral to presentations of self. In South Africa, as elsewhere, popular culture contains many "socio-political and aesthetic dilemmas" including "its often ambiguous, paradoxical and outright contradictory articulation with forms of authority and power" (Petersen, 2002: 322). Arguments abound as to the social function of hip-hop music. Many contend that the hip-hop derivative, gangsta rap, has a negative impact upon identity and community, whilst others portray 'true' hip-hop as a local expression of self and a force promoting knowledge and social cohesion. In a general sense these divisions can be portrayed as those between 'old school' and 'new skool' hip-hop, although this division is far from neat. Given the historical and stereotypical links between the 'coloured' population and music in South Africa, as well as the political role of music during the apartheid period, this chapter will focus upon 'old-school' hip-hop and the actions and music of activists such as Emile Jansen to promote 'knowledge of self', information, and education.

Local renegotiations of global influences, as explored in more detail in chapter eight, are particularly evident in the inscriptions of identity through behaviour, language and practices of consumption by students within the school settings. The graffiti, images, and style invoked by this behaviour demonstrated an intense and pervasive Western influence, and in particular that of African-American rap and hip-hop artists, and were suggestive of practices aimed at securing respect not through the civic and political resistance identities sought by teachers, but instead through individual displays of consumption in which not only the economic value of a commodity was essential, but the associated cultural value. The recognition of these trends by teachers at Moonglow and Sun Valley challenged and contested how respect was constructed and expressed.

Whilst a number of teachers recognised the value of certain local musicians for promoting self-esteem, political awareness, and community projects (as was evident in the Dream to Lift Life school concerts discussed later), local artists were marginalised in students' consumption practices. What the next two chapters illustrate are the complex ways in which global trends and cultural flows are vital in understanding the ongoing, changing processes through which teachers seek to earn and maintain respect when there is a pluralisation of respect structures in the local cultural topography.

There are two elements to this chapter; one concerns the values of hip-hop culture in promoting 'knowledge of self' and community empowerment, and the other, intertwined, develops the ideas of Emile, a 'coloured' teacher who left the profession to become a full-time hip-hop musician.<sup>46</sup> Drawing upon the discussions with teachers and students, identities cast in terms of race and respectability will be analysed. This is of particular relevance in the spaces of Moonglow and Sun Valley. Many students wore clothing which either mimicked the fashion styles associated with hip-hop culture, displayed bling, and frequently spoke about American hip-hop artists such as TuPac, Eminem and 50c.

The inclusion of hip-hop in this analysis was dependent upon a number of factors. Conversations with learners about popular culture would inevitably turn to music, with many proclaiming allegiance to US hip-hop artists and few identifying with local bands. There was also an historical element; South African hip-hop has been associated with the 'coloured' community (Badsha, 2003), although 'black' and 'white' interest in the genre has grown since 1994. A spatial connection between hip-hop and the 'coloured' group areas is evident within the lyrics and music of Cape Town hip-hop crews such as Godessa, Prophets of da City, Black Noise and Redds. Finally, as I listened to local bands I noticed the educational and political nature of

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<sup>46</sup> Another prominent musician to have shifted careers in a similar manner to Emile is Johnny Clegg, 'The White Zulu'. Clegg moved from England to South African as a child, and developed his interest in music alongside the study of anthropology which he taught at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in the early 1980s. At this time he began performing and recording as part of a politically vocal mixed-race group, Juluka, before leaving academia in September 1982 to become a full-time musician (2006a).

many local hip-hop recordings, and heard in the lyrics concerns which mirrored many of those raised by teachers, and an evolution of the politicised nature of the Cape Jazz scene and other genres during the apartheid era. This has led Battersby (2003: 115) to comment that “As individuals educated by a system that encouraged unquestioning compliance with the apartheid mentality, many of the local hip-hop artists have attempted to re-educate their communities in resistance”. This analysis is underlined by the lyrics and politics of many local ‘coloured’ hip-hop crews including *Black Noise*, *Godessa*, and *Prophets of Da City*, who in their 1993 track entitled *Understand where I’m coming from*, rap that,

A new South Africa, I don’t believe them...  
How can I preach, preach, preach, teach, teach,  
Teach, is what I wanna do, I gotto do,  
They wouldn’t teach it to me in school. (Lyrics from Prophets of Da  
City song 'Understand where I'm coming from' (1993) quoted in  
Battersby, 2003: 115)

These lyrics, indicative of the political role of music in opposing apartheid corresponds with the commitments of struggle teachers and notions of respect-through-resistance. Thirteen years into democracy, the predominance of African American rappers and hip-hop artists on commercial radio stations and listened to by students, has sidelined the continued activism of many local artists.

Through the apartheid era various forms of music, including jazz, were suppressed because they aspired to social equality and it was the “musical idiom [of jazz] through which urban blacks were proving to themselves and to the world that they were the equals of whites” (Ballantine, 1989: 309). Many other musicians used their songs to criticise apartheid and informally educate listeners about politics and resistance (Shoup, 1997), some being banned or going into exile at various times because of their political views. One such musician is Hugh Masekela, whose political tracks include *Bring Him Back Home (Nelson Mandela)*, *Stimela*, and *Chileshe*. Similarities can be observed in the political drive of these teachers-come-musicians, and further highlight the role of popular culture in education and knowledge promotion.

## 7.1 Explaining Old School and New Skool

In hip-hop terminology, old school and new skool (an altered form of the word school) refer to different forms of the musical genre. More broadly, the term 'new skool' is associated with "styles of popular musical which incorporate contemporary elements into an established genre" (2006c). These notions will also be utilised to refer to ways in which respect, as locally defined, is portrayed and earned. As with music, the new skool of respect is used as a means to indicate incorporations of (Western-centric) popular culture into local and established meanings and concepts. An ongoing and contested process, the meanings and identities that are produced "are not created by breaks with the old and then suddenly new ones appear instantly. They instead overlap and are negotiated constantly...making it difficult to make strict or clear divisions between old and new skool" (Badsha, 2003: 135).

The social values of hip-hop are generally split between the 'new skool' and 'old school' commonly associated with intergenerational changes in style and content. This musical genre has been interpreted as a form of post-colonial text, challenging dominant culture on common ground and facilitating the formation of resistance identity (Battersby, 2003). Badsha provides a concise definition of the 'old'/'new' dichotomy in hip-hop:

[old school is] used to denote nostalgia for some sort of authentic era when hip-hop was imagined to be untainted by commercialism and motivated by a strong sense of community and social awareness. This is contrasted with the new skool which is considered to have 'sold out', losing some of the essence of the culture, and having been contaminated by money, as well as a preoccupation with sex and violence. (Badsha, 2003: 133)

This preoccupation concerns Grandmaster Flash, an African American hip-hop pioneer, who sensed a belief amongst many artists that "in order to cut a hit record, we have to disrespect our brother, sisters, mothers and children. What people don't

realize here is that hip-hop has a huge influence on people” (George, 2004: 55). These concerns reflect those of Afrika Bambaata, another African American hip-hop founder, that new skool is the product of a “different generation [who] have lost the true meaning”, juxtaposed against the early days, when “we were teaching the public” and incorporating knowledge of self and education as key pillars of the genre (George, 2004: 50).

There has been a tendency to offer a blanket castigation of hip-hop and rap as providing negative cultural influences, of encouraging sexism, misogyny, violence and anti-social behaviour.<sup>47</sup> Other writers have offered more nuanced critiques of hip-hop and rap (for example Dyson, 2004). bell hooks (1994) has frequently blamed the ‘white’ owners of record labels for encouraging these negative attitudes and lyrics in order to boost sales. This chapter will attempt to identify how South African hip-hop culture reflects ongoing contestations about its messages and politics, recognising that this genre is one of “the most culturally significant in pop...full of complications, contradictions, and confusion” (Light, 2004: 138), and how these challenges mean it remains a powerful informal source of education within ‘coloured’ communities.

Taking the division of old school/new skool into South African society and in particular the ‘coloured’ community, similar issues are played out. Respect acts as a lens to highlight intergenerational differences, the perceived commercialisation of life, and a predilection for materialistic consumption linked to the replacement of communalist struggle values. The call by religious leaders for a Bill of Morals alongside the Bill of Rights (Adams, 2005b: 3), which would be given prominence in schools to encourage moral and dignified behaviour, re-emphasises the perception of changing social norms and dynamics. Wilmot James’s (2005: 9) description of elements of the higher education learner population “who cannot write properly, who do not know their country’s history, and who have replaced thinking with BMWs and other material aspirations” resonates with this emergence of conspicuous consumption. In these developments, it could be claimed that “the global appears to

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<sup>47</sup> See McWhorter (2003) and Emile’s response (Jansen, 2003).



stand in opposition to the social kinship of the local” (Chidester, et al., 2003: 331), that respect through global materialism is at odds with the social capital base previously associated with respect. The construction of respect will be shown to speak to this division of old school/new skool: of status recognition and appraisal respect based upon struggle values, to appraisal respect based upon consumption and economic wealth. Just as the division in hip-hop is blurred and contested, so negotiations of respect will be shown to be dynamic, conflicted.

## **7.2 Education, Cultural Capital and Respect**

Brown’s work on cultural capital and social exclusion explains the role of education in providing cultural capital, used in the maintenance of structures of respect. He argues that “[c]ultural capital has long been recognised as vital to the reproduction of the middle classes” (Brown, 1995: 33), and that educational achievement contributes to the level of cultural capital held by allowing access to “professional occupations as a means of reproducing social status and privileged lifestyles between the generations” (Brown, 1995: 31). Parents with the ability to exert market power (those who can afford the fees and other costs to send their child to a more successful school) will do so to gain an advantage for their children and secure educationally derived cultural capital.

In South Africa, this is observed in the ‘white’-wards movement of learners through growing numbers of ‘black’ learners in former ‘coloured’, ‘Indian’ and ‘white’ schools, but with very little movement of ‘white’ learners to ex-‘coloured’ or ‘black’ institutions. Parents’ socio-economic status and possession of capital affects the quality of education their child can access (Waters, 2006: 181-182) by mediating the time required for one to gain cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997 [1986]: 49), whilst human and social capital levels affect the learning environment and potential to access wider resources (Coleman, 1997 [1988]: 88). Education continues to entrench global “patterns of social and economic privilege based on class...Imbued with the cultural capital recognized and rewarded within schools, and drawing also on their

wealth and social contacts, the upper and middle classes are typically able to manipulate the education system so as to reproduce their advantage in the next generation” (Jeffrey and McDowell, 2004: 133).

Such tactics perpetuate social exclusion and prevent social mobility, impacting upon the self-esteem of those excluded from these forms of social prestige. In South Africa, the introduction of Model C schools and opening of schools to pupils of all races theoretically provided space for equal educational opportunities. In reality, education provision remains inequitable, realised through spatial and economic constraints (see Lemon, 2005a). These exclusions encourage the renegotiation of alternative hierarchies of success and respect. The merits which provided for the traditional hierarchy of respect were derived from displays and performances of educational success, illustrating social and cultural capital (Sennett, 2003: 73). Similarly, alternative structures of respect rely upon the demonstration of capital acquired through other means. Willis has examined how British education reproduces, in part through symbolic power relations, labour power which in turn perpetuates class and other social locations across generations (Willis, 1977). Through these mechanisms which have exclusionary effects from ‘traditional’ sources of respect, alternative non-educational means to gaining respect will be utilised. Those who do gain educationally derived cultural capital and move up the social ladder can find themselves respected for that achievement but also isolated from their original group (Sennett, 2003: 99).

The valorising of education as important cultural capital and a means to demarcating the educated from the un-educated person can be confronted by a lack of job opportunities befitting these skills. In North India, where being educated does not guarantee access to secure employment, education remains nevertheless an increasingly important aspect of identity, seen as providing “political purchase in ongoing struggles to critique entrenched social prejudices and construct alternative identities” (Jeffrey, et al., 2004; Jeffrey and McDowell, 2004: 138). For educated Chamars (a Dalit caste) and Muslims, education was viewed as providing cultural capital which separated them from the un-educated:

[They] described how educated people show respect in front of their elders, learn and perform religious ceremonies correctly, remain dignified in urban street settings, and know how to behave as guests in others' houses. Illiterates provided the counterpoint: failing to respect their parents, forgetting religious rites, displaying lustful or aggressive behaviour in the street, and acting as rude and demanding guests. (Jeffrey, et al., 2004: 969)

Similarly, Nepalese public schooling has provided access to the status of being an 'educated person' contrasted to the un-educated and providing the capital for learners to develop new identities and to challenge older forms of gender and caste privilege (Skinner and Holland, 1996).

Elsewhere, "young people may react to a shortage of white-collar jobs by revalorizing lifestyles coded locally as indigenous" (Jeffrey and McDowell, 2004: 138). Jeffrey and McDowell argue that this takes the form of cultural consumption allied to 'traditional identities' rather than 'educated identities'. In the 'coloured' communities considered here, many of the youth continued to place an important emphasis on aspirations within education (although this view may be skewed by my respondents being those still in school in their final year) and on identity as an educated individual. Simultaneously, there was a valorising of identities outside this social structure, instead focussed upon material and cultural consumption linked to global fashion and glamour and allied to a nascent political belief in an invented 'traditional' identity of 'coloured' marginalisation. This can be juxtaposed to the privileging of education as a key element of the liberation struggle, valued for providing cultural capital with which to challenge the apartheid state.

The complaints of many 'coloured' teachers – that youth generations do not demonstrate appropriate respect – need to be situated in the changing local and global environments. With the end of apartheid, access limitations to many Western cultural influences were removed, and transformations since 1994 have thrust communities and musicians "into the reality of hyper-globalisation and commodification" (Badsha, 2003: 136). This thrust is not a discrete differentiation of old and new, but is a messy, incomplete and ambivalent process which Badsha

(2003: 136) argues “is about having to renegotiate identities in the context of much more rapid change and easier flows of information and meanings”.

## 7.3 Knowledge of Self

Knowledge of self is personal wealth  
We need to question ourselves. (Godessa, 2002)

Integral to the philosophy of old school hip-hop is ‘knowledge of self’: for individuals to question their assumptions, to ascertain how their life is impacting upon others, and to seek personal development. Old school, or conscious, hip-hop can be used as a tool in marginal spaces (Haupt, 2003: 62) to foster identities, politics and knowledge.

This mobilisation is evident in the lyrics of groups such as Godessa, Black Noise and Prophets of da City, and in the social projects members of these groups work with, and the ethos of the community radio station, Bush Radio. A community radio station broadcasting to the Cape Flats, Bush “has pushed a black agenda, rather as black consciousness rather than being strictly defined as ‘black’, or ‘coloured’” (Adrian, int. 03/02/2005). Bush has followed a different path from other Cape Town radio stations, retaining its community based approach through an ethos of self-help and knowledge. Through dialogue with listeners and focussing their news bulletins on local stories ensures “many of the issues dealt with are relevant to both our coloured and our black audience – issues of housing, nutrition, breast feeding, cancer – those issues affect all of those people, all of the people on the Cape Flats” (Tanja, int. 03/02/2005).

The station’s focus on community issues and awareness raising extends into the music selection they broadcast, where as far as possible they “try to play music with a social conscience, so you’ll never hear a song like *I’m a Barbie girl* on Bush, you won’t hear that kind of thing. When we do play music we try to have a very positive approach to our selection and try to encourage music which is relevant to positive

social change” (Tanja, int. 03/02/2005). This informs much of their community based work, including the use of music (and in particular, hip-hop) as a tool for developing knowledge of self through activities involving “music to raise awareness in local communities, engaging local youth about issues such as HIV; we had a collaboration of local artists who went to schools at lunchtimes and related to the kids in that way. Working in the Cape Flats, we try to put a positive message out” (Tanja, int. 03/02/2005).

These challenges are increasing for the station, reflected in the range of campaigns they ran in 2004 and 2005, from anti-war campaigns to tackling gender-violence and domestic abuse. One of the contributing factors to the rising number of issues they find themselves attempting to deal with is the increasing penetration of Western culture and commerce, “we are so much more vulnerable from things coming in from outside: previously we had the cultural barrier of apartheid, now suddenly everything is flooding into South Africa, be it the American way of life through McDonalds, or American music, in the form of cultural products” (Tanja, int. 03/02/2005). In terms of music and fashion, these trends manifested themselves in designer clothing, conspicuous consumption and US hip-hop and gangsta rap music, cultural imports which embedded themselves into youth culture and through this intruded into the school environment, as explored in chapter eight.

The general reaction of teachers to hip-hop was negative. They recognised the genre as popular amongst students, but felt that the emphasis in videos and lyrics upon guns, drugs, violence, and sex negatively influenced students’ social development. Teachers implicitly associated hip-hop with gangsta rap artists from the United States, those such as 50 cent, Snoop Dog, and Dr Dre, whose videos are regularly played on MTV and whose songs frequented the airwaves. Radio station airplay was generally dominated by Western artists, with Good Hope FM commonly viewed as the ‘coloured’ radio station for playing predominantly hip-hop and rap music. Amongst learners there was a strong following of this genre, and a concentration upon international artists which in turn undermined the commercial viability of local musicians. Another element to the strength of Western musical imports is the more

general obsession with Western cultural exports – that West is Best. These appropriations provide another avenue through which the practices of mimicry are evident.

A few teachers spoke about the way in which informal education, such as hip-hop and activism, could complement the formal educational process. David saw the potential for local musicians to work with schools to provide both knowledge through their music and to act as role models to inspire youngsters to work hard and achieve something, “the message itself, in many cases, is good. I find the hip-hop genre, it’s a wonderful vehicle in which to alert and conscientise kids about problems like tik [the drug crystal methamphetamine], drugs and things” (David, int. 13/05/2005).

The commitment to knowledge of self and community self-help amongst hip-hop crews remains evident in the Cape Town music scene. As Shaheen Ariefdien, formerly of Prophets of da City, has outlined; South African hip-hop is not about making money but about acting as the voice of a generation and a tool for education (Personal communication, 07/07/2005 and Haupt, 2003: 6).<sup>48</sup> Two current Cape Town hip-hop crews, both ‘coloured’, are Black Noise and Godessa. Both of these groups are known not only for their music, but for their involvement in hip-hop activism and the promotion of knowledge of self. Emile (from Black Noise) organises and runs the annual hip-hop *indaba* and competition in Cape Town, and uses the proceeds to pay for the winners to travel as the South African team to the world championships. He regularly holds MCing, break dancing and capoeirista workshops in different communities, and judges at local competitions. Eloise (Godessa) has worked with AIDS projects, whilst Shameema (Godessa) works extensively using hip-hop and spoken word in prisons and rehabilitation centres.

Their lyrics also reflect this concern with community and society, and demonstrate political engagement in their music. Godessa’s *Spillage* album (Godessa, 2004)

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<sup>48</sup> *Prophets of da City* are regarded as leaders in the development of hip-hop in Cape Town during the 1990s, producing a politicised sound which led them to touring the UK with *The Levellers*. *Prophets* no longer perform together.

continues the social awareness demonstrated in their first single, *Social Ills* (Godessa, 2002), and engages with domestic violence and abuse (*hedz or tales*); AIDS (*free from time*); Westernisation, Western education and commercialisation (*these times and propaganda*); hip-hop as a form of personal and social expression (*journey of mine*); crime and failures in social delivery (*newsflash*) and the need to tackle racism and racist mind-sets (*mindz ablaze*). Black Noise's latest album, *Getcha on the Floor* (Black Noise, 2005), deals with the politics of hair (*afro wearing*); the opposition of old-school hip-hop to the penetration of Western new skool hip-hop and gangsta rap culture (*my hip hop*); and the obsession with economic capital inscribed through conspicuous consumption (*no bling, bling*). Material on their earlier album, *Hip Hop Won't Stop* (Black Noise, 1998), dealt with the term 'coloured' (*So-called coloured folks*); crime (*Summercrime*); and Westernisation and apartheid education denigrating 'blacks' (*Life ain't what it used to be*).

In their track *So-called coloured folks*, Black Noise question the ambivalent and ambiguous position of being 'coloured'. Drawing upon the historical roots and colonial and apartheid legislation that defined the 'coloureds', they attempt to highlight the problematical nature of these assertions and promote black consciousness ideals whilst encouraging 'coloureds' to question who they are and why they identify (and are identified) as 'coloured'. The track begins by questioning the privileging of 'whiteness' both in terms of cultural ideas and through beautification practices:

To be or not to be,  
That is your question,  
Should you be black or should you melanin lessen,  
Lighten your skin and straighten your hair.

It then moves on to raise the black consciousness ideal of a political black identity as the home for 'coloureds', juxtaposed against the overt and covert ways in which apartheid indoctrinated 'colouredness' as marginal and in-between, separate from 'black' and 'white' but aspiring for 'whiteness' despite this being an impossible dream:

So what we are saying is that you [the 'coloured'] are the black man,  
It was all a part of the apartheid's master plan,  
We are going to expose why you reacting these ways,  
To *meneer* [Mr], coloured means the excuse that you just raised  
Turning the other cheek and begging for things from God...

The education system of apartheid is inherently involved with these processes. As with the Prophets of Da City's critique, apartheid education is viewed as a tool of manipulation and oppression which encouraged a pathological view and lack of self-respect:

Claiming to civilise us,  
Taught us to despise us,  
There's nothing civil about the genocidal exercises.

The outcome of which was to engender a sense of ambiguity which continues in the present day. Through formal and informal education practices, 'coloured' identity was denigrated and cast as a non-identity and a negative social location, despite the calls of liberationists to rally behind a politicised 'black' identity:

But now you can't set the Coloured man free  
Because the coloured man don't know what the hell he want to be  
Taking all the insults and the jokes in the back  
What the hell are coloureds?  
Coloureds are black.  
You walk through the light side.

As these lyrics call upon 'coloureds' to ally themselves to black consciousness thinking in resisting apartheid and 'white' domination ("Coloureds are black"), those 'coloureds' who were uncertain in this behaviour are viewed as being like 'white', "You walk through the light side". The critique of racial discourse and identification in South Africa is not directed only at the apartheid era and white government, but also to the tendencies for post-1994 governments to continue using racial categories and labels. At this point, Emile's socialist views impact upon the lyrics as he attempts to highlight the continuing divisions within South African society and the dangers posed by confluences of race and class:



Now what you gonna do when handgun sales go up,  
And the rainbow hasn't helped this messed up,  
The rich will retreat to their fall out shelter...  
The rainbow nation that sounds dumb,  
Because you can find racism both sides of the spectrum  
Affirmative action, give jobs to the black man  
Creates a situation where they're the same as the white man. (Lyrics from the track 'So-called coloured folks', Black Noise, 1998)

Concerns expressed over increasing sales of firearms reflect a growing climate of fear and problems with violent crime across South Africa, and especially in former 'coloured' group areas, which remain outside of the lived experience and reality of most 'whites' and rich sections of the population. Integral to reactions to these continued social problems, and their connections with social deprivation and poverty, Emile speaks to the continuation of apartheid spatial and social segregation, "The rich will retreat to their fall out shelter", as those able to do so use exclusionary practices to displace themselves away from sources of fear *or* displace the sources of fear away from their own location (Lemanski, 2006). Beyond the spatial implications, these lyrics recognise the potential for AA and BEE to engender a belief in the continued marginalisation of 'coloureds' so frequently expressed during the period of this research, and acts as a clarion call to those implementing these policies to attempt to prevent this.

## 7.4 Embodying the challenge

...hip hop...has occupied the minds of youth from every country on the planet. (Jansen, 2005a: 6)

Grounding the idea of the hip-hopper as teacher and activist, and providing insight into respect as a local social construct, is the study of Emile Jansen. Emile's transition from a teacher to musician in the emerging hip-hop scene of the 1990s charts two changes: the changing location of teachers in the community, and the changing notion of respect.

Emile was born in 1968 in Grassy Park, Cape Town to a mother who was a primary school teacher, and a father who worked three jobs. Growing up in a poor, 'coloured' area Emile found from a young age that it was "a very violent community, you know ...There was a limited amount of activities, growing up on the Cape Flats. There wasn't the heavy gang presence but a lot of kids became involved" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). Speaking of the 1970s, Emile was pragmatic about his lived experience. Gangs and violence were a problem, but they had still to reach the endemic proportions of today. Talking about his mother's job as a teacher and the esteem with which she was held in the community, Emile believes that despite these social problems, "the kids from that community were very respectful of teachers" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005).

His decision to become a teacher was in part attributable to the regard in which he held his parents, and his mother's work as a teacher, but also from the experiences he had whilst at school. "Through my final years of secondary study, I realised that I was essentially a teacher because I was teaching kids rollerblading; and skateboarding; and Michael Jackson dancing (chuckling). So a lot of what I was doing was related to teaching anyway" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). During this time Emile began dancing (b-boying) with the Pop Glide Crew in 1982.

During his time at school Emile was involved with the struggle, "the majority of us were just foot-soldiers, you know, to a great extent. And like I say soldiers - I mean like the brick doesn't count when you are going up against a casspir<sup>49</sup>" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). His experiences at St Owens Secondary School - a Catholic school run by Marist brothers - were instrumental in forming his identity with relation to the term 'coloured':

at that stage, in what's now called grade 7, I was introduced to the political struggle in South Africa. And they [the government] made the *swaart gevaar*<sup>50</sup> appear like something that would impact negatively on us; and then how being 'coloured' is this balance in the middle: you're part black and you're part white but you know nothing

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<sup>49</sup> An armoured personnel carrier used by the police service from the 1970s.

<sup>50</sup> 'Black threat'.

about being black, so the fear of blackness is even more powerful because of your lack of knowledge. (Emile, int. 12/09/2005)

The 'white' apartheid government had sought to utilise the 'coloured' population as a 'buffer' group between themselves and the 'black' majority. In order to do so, 'coloureds' were offered certain advantages over the 'black' population and indoctrinated through education to perceive of themselves as separate from the 'black' population. These processes involved attempts to engender fear towards 'blacks' in terms of economic opportunities, political domination, and personal safety. This strategy had varying levels of success. However, the legacy of fear and separation between these populations remains and plays a major role in the re-emergence and assertion of a separate 'coloured' identity often vocalised through an identification against the 'black' majority who, as we saw in the previous chapter, are viewed as marginalising the 'coloured' population politically, economically, and socially.

At St Owens, the smaller class sizes and willingness of teachers to engage with questions and debates about politics encouraged Emile to develop a critical approach to apartheid. In 1985, with widespread school boycotts, Emile was forced to decide between his ideals (and boycotting his final exams) and pressure from his family to sit the exams due to the sacrifices they had made to get him through his schooling. In the end, Emile sat his exams, "I always had at the back of my mind these things - these sacrifices - and when I did go and write for the year, I never saw any of my friends again because a lot of them didn't write and considered me a sell-out or a coward" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005).

His decision to write the exams was motivated by respect for his parents, "that really hurt [that my friends disowned me] because I did it [wrote the exams] out of, I suppose the word is respect, for my folks because that was what they wanted" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). Emile was also aware of the irony of the schools boycott and the issues around it, "ironically, also the struggle politicians and activists were saying, "study at home, education is important, now study"" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). This awareness of the need for education - and more importantly the

need for education outwith the official apartheid curriculum - also encouraged Emile to pursue a career as a teacher. His realisation that “a lot of the ideals I had; even the revolutionary way through which I thought I was going to change education and the kids’ minds, was going to be impossible in the status quo” (Emile, int. 12/09/2005) suggests this played a significant role in both his initial decision to become a teacher and his later move out of formal education.

Emile then went to Wesley Training College in 1986 with a CAD bursary to become a teacher. A year later, having heard other MCs use hip-hop as a means to inform and mobilise communities, he began MCing with the Chill Convention – the crew later became Black Noise – as a means to spread struggle ideas (Jansen, 2005a). Neither of his career paths (education and then music) were his dreams,<sup>51</sup> although hip-hop’s focus upon knowledge and struggle encouraged his move into teaching. Following this he taught at a local primary school for three and a half years, at which time:

I just couldn’t take it anymore because it became more and more apparent that I didn’t belong in that structure –I’d be a typical ‘coloured’ who gets a job with perks; you get bonds on houses and you get all of this stuff that you can pay; and then cars; you can live an easy life according to our community. (Emile , int. 12/09/2005)

After completing the three years of service as required by his bursary, Emile left education as it was no longer a satisfying career. This decision met with his mother’s disapproval, but was based upon a moral commitment; “a lot of my leaving teaching was because I needed to show the kids that I was teaching that I wasn’t just talking. And of course, a lot of teachers do that. They don’t live the example they are talking about and kids lose respect for you if you’re not following what you say you’re going to do” (Emile , int. 12/09/2005). It wasn’t only his mother who opposed his move away from education and his attempt to break into the music industry. Steve Gordon, co-founder of Making Music Productions and a political activist during the apartheid era (Pissarra, 2003), and Shaheen Ariefdien (Prophets of da City) encouraged Emile to carry on working as a teacher.

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<sup>51</sup> Emile spoke of his desire to become an electrician.

These comments did not dissuade Emile and he left education to pursue his career in hip-hop. Emile has since become an established Cape Town hip-hop activist, combining articulate and political lyrics whilst facilitating and participating in numerous community development projects. Whilst Emile has left the formal education sector, he remains a teacher in the broader sense. This continued commitment to teaching and knowledge is reflected in his biography on the Black Noise website that reads, “Emile Jansen. Lyricist, rapper, breakdancer, capoeirista, author, editor and a qualified schoolteacher” (Black Noise).<sup>52</sup> That Emile lists that he is a qualified schoolteacher here indicates the value he continues to place upon this aspect of his life.

## 7.5 From Resistance to Consumption

Emile’s commitment to social projects and community development relates to his concept of respectability rooted in his experience of the struggle:

[In] the time period that we grew up in, your struggle wasn’t about yourself; the struggle was about the collective South African community, your struggle was about the next generation. And realising that you can’t be happy unless everyone in your community is living a better life. And I don’t think that’s passed on to the next generation, to those who haven’t been affected by the political struggle in South Africa. Like I see a lot of these kids pursuing the ‘I’ – the individual, and it’s not their fault really because of the information that is pushed in South Africa. And I think government is to blame to a great extent as well because they’ve allowed too much privatisation; and they’ve allowed the whole capitalist roller-coaster to just rail and roll over everything and everyone. Ja, also parents are to blame, I think as well because the parents make it sound like that is the only way to be happy - obtaining finance. (Emile , int. 12/09/2005)

This clear contrast in Emile’s mind can be interpreted as between the collective experience and social responsibility of the struggle, and the individualised

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<sup>52</sup> Capoeirista means someone who practices capoeira - an Afro-Brazilian martial art.

Westernised culture of conspicuous consumption. It may read as idealistic but is grounded in everyday life.

Whilst in South Africa, the television show *The Apprentice*<sup>53</sup> was being broadcast with Tokyo Sexwale as the South African version of Donald Trump or Alan Sugar. The unashamedly capitalist orientation of the programme, and its emphasis on securing material and financial wealth as a sign of success, sits uneasily with Emile, especially with Tokyo Sexwale as the ‘boss’. Mosima Gabriel (‘Tokyo’) Sexwale was born in Soweto in 1953, joining the military wing of the ANC, the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), in the 1970s and receiving training in exile before returning to South Africa in 1976 and being caught by the security services, after which he was sent to Robben Island in 1977 where he remained until 1990. After his release he continued working with the ANC and after the 1994 elections was elected as the Premier of Guateng (PWV as it was then called), a position he remained in until retiring from politics in 1998 and moving into the corporate sector. In the corporate sector Sexwale made his fortune with Mvelaphanda Holdings with interests in energy and mining sectors, particularly oil and diamond mining. (Wikipedia, 2006) Whilst Sexwale has many philanthropic interests, Emile, feels that Sexwale has reneged upon the ideals of the struggle and betrayed their comrades from that period:

That’s about capitalism and like with Black Economic Empowerment it doesn’t trickle down. I saw an interview with him [Sexwale] where he said he doesn’t feel that he has any responsibility to the people that struggled with him. And I was fuming - I was so angry, you know...It depressed me because I’m speaking to kids from the townships and I see he has become a role model to them. And a society like that it’s, I mean, that’s not what we struggled for; that’s not what people died for. (Emile, int. 12/09/2005)

The popularity of this programme and Sexwale’s focus upon financial success is in turn reflected in the inscription of achievement at the two high schools. Echoing Emile’s concerns, James also identified the propensity amongst ‘coloured’ working class youths to demonstrate success and gain respect through tangible, material

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<sup>53</sup> *The Apprentice* is a reality television show in which contestants undertake a series of business-related challenges, with the winner being offered a one-year job with a major company.

means. “It’s this whole perspective, this materialistic way of thinking about things because in lower socio-economic areas, people need tangible stuff. They need to see stuff; and once they see your wealth – a nice car; a nice house, that means that these people have arrived; and that’s what I want to go for” (James, int. 25/07/2005). It is not only the focus upon money which James was concerned about, but the way in which those with access to financial capital became powerful in the local community as role models. On a national scale, Sexwale may be both admired and despised for his success, but the local (and influential) versions of this is often identified as being drug-dealers and gangs, displacing teachers as the lynchpin of the local community:

that’s why the drug-dealer is such a powerful force in the community. Not just because he’s got the nice stuff, but he’s interacting with that community. He gives them money; he comes around; they speak to him – where teachers used to fill that role, you know, these guys are doing it. And it’s like gratification *now*, because these kids can have money *now*, so why the hell must they respect somebody that’s only teaching them from 8 to 3 and has nothing else, to do with them or their families. So that makes a difference. (James, int. 25/07/2005)

In the local communities around Moonglow, and especially Sun Valley, these trends were evident. Teachers spoke of their belief in their own declining status whilst learners spoke of how little respect their teachers were granted. Although none of the learners spoke of ongoing involvement with drugs or gangs in their neighbourhood, there was an awareness of these groups in local communities and the respect afforded to their reputation for violence and ability to access economic capital. Gangsters and drug dealers exert influence in the locality, encouraging youth to respect their reputations and their potential to offer rapid ways in which to access economic capital. Although educational achievement offers the promise of medium- and long-term financial returns and gains, in a culture that is increasingly concerned with instant consumption and gratification the opportunities afforded by alternative means of rapidly accessing capital and gaining respect are an attractive proposition.

The collective, perhaps socialist, values of the struggle have remained embedded in Emile’s identity:

I think it's just the choice of: do you pursue the capitalist thing – I'm rich; look at my car; look at my bling? Or do you pursue what is connected to your community and your ancestry and creating a better community for everyone? Being rich for me is being here at home here with my family, and seeing this kid that won third at the world [b-boying championships], and being able to contribute to it to make them happen. (Emile, int. 12/09/2005)

The ideology that Emile developed during the 1980s, at a time when the anti-apartheid struggle was increasingly politicised is also evident in his relationship to the term 'coloured'. The first time this was raised resulted in a response of "Oh shit (chuckling)", before he explained the process by which he searched for an identity he felt comfortable with:

It's difficult because - like my search for being African, my search for identity; people tell you 'you're coloured'. And then you search and think like 'fuck this is bullshit' (chuckling). Then you say 'okay, I'm African so I'm black'. And then you're like 'this is bullshit' (chuckling). I said 'oh fuck it, I'm African'; and I search for my African identity - and it's like 'this is bullshit to a certain extent as well' (chuckling) because we all come from Africa – all humanity. So it's ongoing search to find your place in the world. (Emile, int. 12/09/2005)

In this passage, Emile begins to unpick his search for identity during and after apartheid, and exemplifies the process of identification to which Yon draws attention, "Identification refers to the dynamic and complex processes that bring identity into being as individuals name themselves but at the same time hold the name up to question and make them problematic" (Yon, 2000b: 155). Whilst Emile adheres to a BC political identity – seen in his lyrics – when he considers another layer of identification certain problematics are evident. His rejection of being 'coloured' is attributable to his political beliefs and struggle commitment. This then feeds into his rejection of 'black' as an identificatory category because this still involves the use of racial labels that are socially constructed, asserted and imposed. Going beyond racial categories led Emile to consider both a geographical identity as well as a deep-historical genealogical aspect – that of being African. As his quote suggests, this too is a problematic categorisation because of the evolution of *homo*



*sapiens* originated in the African continent. The ongoing search for identity that Emile talks to is emblematic of the ambiguous experiences of identities – in particular those seeking allegiance to racial or national claims.

Emile also demonstrated an awareness of the psychological impacts of apartheid which generated a privileging of ‘whiteness’ and a disdain for ‘blackness’, “[m]y family history is vast and undeterminable thanks to the lack of records and the fear to search by ancestors who feel self hatred of the black side of the family tree” (Jansen, 2005a: 12). This distaste for, and attempts to ignore, non-European family ancestors is a frequent trait amongst many ‘coloureds’ in South Africa, indicative of the extent to which the philosophies of the ‘white’ elite were internalised.

Through his music, Emile has interacted with the mental enslavement of colonialism, black consciousness, as well as promoting knowledge of self and community development. These were also reflected in the formation of Black Noise:

[I wanted] a group of B-Boys [break-dancers] who had the DJ, MC, graffiti artist, so that all the elements are there, and to study knowledge as well. And then we pushed that and so not only speaking about ‘do for self, we put on a ‘do for self’ concert, ‘do for self compilations’ and make documentaries and our music videos ourselves. (Emile, int. 12/09/2005)

The projects which Emile and Black Noise have been involved with cover a range of issues. The current, major community project is *Heal the Hood*, which aims “[t]o create a sustainable network of youth artists nationally and internationally through which jobs and new skills are created, arts products and arts related information can be distributed”, to “empower youth and their communities”, and to “combat racism and xenophobia” (Black Noise). Through projects including the annual Hip-Hop Indaba and Battle of the Year, local artists compete for prizes and the chance to go as part of the South African team to the annual world hip-hop championships, the costs of which are met through the proceeds of the Indaba. Other events provide for all the elements of hip-hop to be seen and experienced in performances and in lessons and practical sessions. This practice reflects Emile’s continuing passion to teach people,

even if it is outside of the formal education sector, “it was my passion...the passion of teaching, one must teach other people, I think came through in all of these elements” (Emile, int. 12/09/2005).

## 7.6 Tensions Between Doing and Saying, Old School and Nu Skool

In September 2005, Black Noise were involved in the ‘Dream to Lift Life Tour’, a series of performance at different schools in Cape Town by local hip-hop artists and motivational speakers. This tour, backed by Good Hope FM and Mother City Records, attempted to engage learners within the formal educational setting through an informal learning experience. The other artist involved with the tour was Redds, a relatively new solo ‘coloured’ hip-hop performer having previously been successful in the South African music charts with Redd Angel.

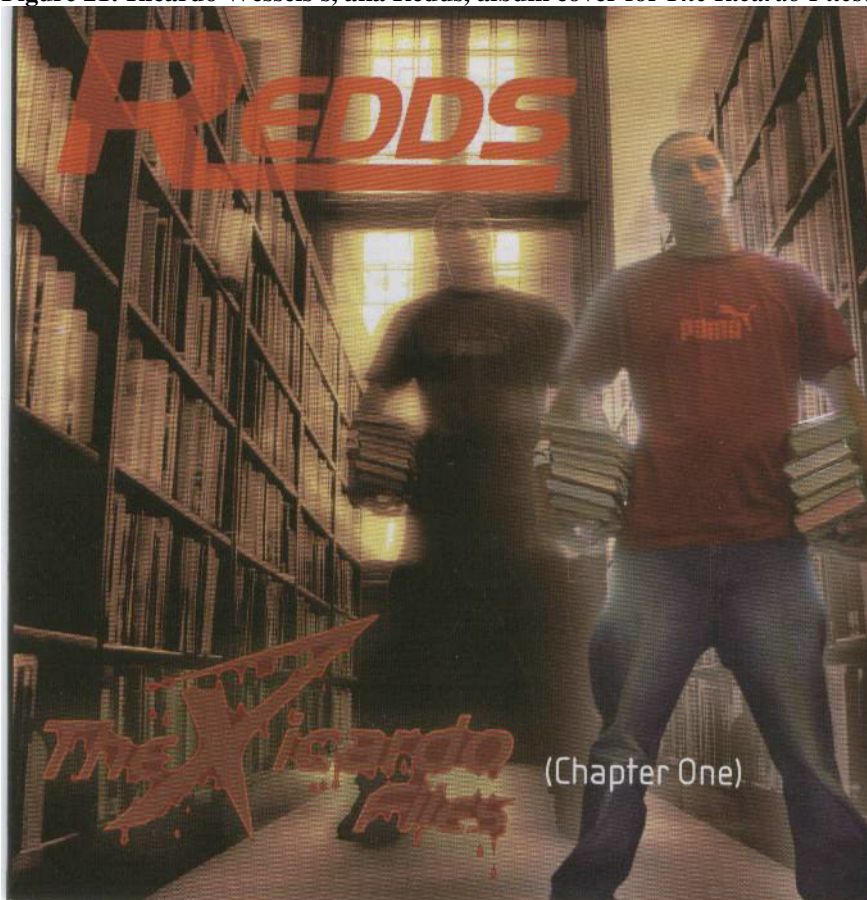
Redds’ involvement with the tour gave him both media exposure and a means to get his sound to a potential fan base (figure 20). Whilst he framed his participation in terms of the old school hip-hop commitment to community activism and knowledge, and his concerts did emphasise these elements, my interactions with Redds led me to doubt this.

**Figure 20: Redds concert as part of the Dream to Lift Life school tour. Redds is seen front and left in a white t-shirt.**



The cover photos of his album, *The Ricardo Files Part One* (figure 21), taken in Cape Town City Library and showing Redds carrying piles of books imply a link to the (old school) quest for knowledge. The cover notes are primarily concerned with ‘bigging-up’ everyone who has helped him and acknowledging their support, recognising the need for cooperation and support. The content of many of his songs, however, remains far from political - the nearest tracks being *The Industry* in which he rails against the music industry’s focus upon making money and doing little to support new artists and development. In *Stereotypes* he mentions religious intolerance and people’s assumption “that all Muslims come armed with a terrorist degree”, and argues against the violence associated with gangsta rappers, “you just a clone...fuelled with the spirit of a TuPac thug, we don’t need no drug” (Redds, 2005). Despite these socially aware tracks, the majority of the album demonstrated other interests.

**Figure 21: Ricardo Wessels's, aka Redds, album cover for *The Ricardo Files*.**



(Redds, 2005)

A number of his tracks demonstrated a predilection for the same things he criticises the music industry for – being fickle and concerned only with profits – when he simultaneously talks of success as allowing you to have “just bought a condo up in Camps Bay” (Redds, 2005).<sup>54</sup> In *Fabulous Night*, he goes further in rapping about Versace, paparazzi, gangsters and killers whilst “spending some cash, all my ladies looking fabulous...wearing a bullet proof vest hanging round my neck, diamonds on my wrists, I got a million chicks” and glamorises womanising behaviour and a variety of forms of conspicuous consumption to ensure a ‘fabulous night’. These lyrics reflect a preoccupation with consumer culture that has been criticised from within the hip-hop community by many, including Afrika Bambaata who lamented that “all our people that make money worry about Benz’s and big houses and fly girls instead of being Black entrepreneurs” (George, 2004: 55). This has led bell hooks to state that, “more than anything, gangsta rap celebrates the world of the material, the dog-eat-dog world where you do what you gotta do to make it even if it means fucking over folks and taking them out” (bell hooks, 1994: 117). Gangsta rap and its predilection for consumption, bell hooks argues, can be seen “as an *embodiment* of the norm” rather than a subversion of it, founded upon “the politics of hedonistic consumerism...considering the seduction of young black males who find they can make more money producing lyrics that promote violence, sexism and misogyny than with any other content” (bell hooks, 1994: 117). Although her argument that the violence and misogyny of gangsta rap can to a large extent be attributed to the desire for profit amongst the white, male, middle class elite who control the record industry is polemical at times, the focus upon economic capital and its expression through means to generate social and cultural capital of gangsta rap can be considered as a distillation of today’s capitalist society, where profits and consumption at seen as key.

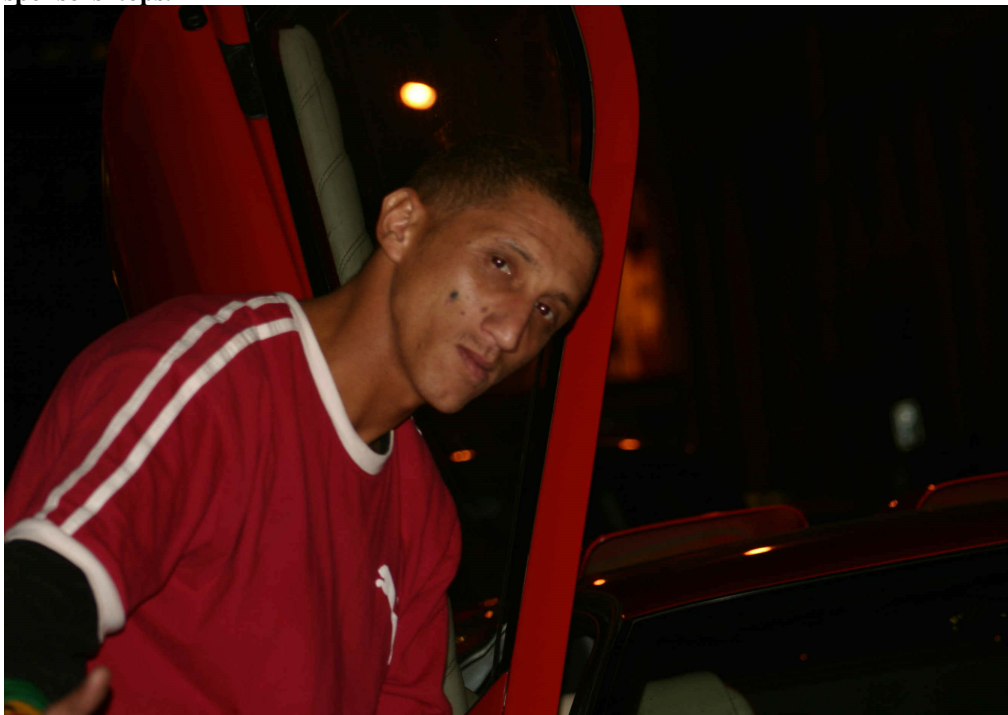
Redds’ public persona also demonstrates a tendency towards new skool hip-hop. During the school tour Redds was working on his second album and we talked about

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<sup>54</sup> Camps Bay is an exclusive, formerly ‘white’ group area on the coast in Cape Town.

the album's cover design. He was looking through the new '50 cent' album cover and started pointing to the flash cars, scantily clad women, and guns that were being wielded in the photos, saying "look at these photos, they're cool. That's a nice gun, j'oh, nice" (Research diary, 21/07/2005). This conversation followed his album launch the previous week at the club, Chilli on Long. Before playing his set, he had been shooting some promotional photographs and a short video, which involved him arriving in a red Italian sports car with a tall, slim, blonde girl who then kissed him before they got out of the car and went into the venue for the show (figure 22). The juxtaposition between the message of the 'Dream' tour about avoiding violence, crime, health, and waiting for sex, and those of Redds focussing upon the trappings of success underline his uncertain, liminal position between the political hip-hop artist promoting social values and a commercialised artist following a stereotypically Western new skool approach.

**Figure 22: Redds at his album launch concert, using a materialistic trapping of success - a red sports car - to portray himself as rich in economic capital whilst also wearing one of his sponsors' tops.**



In terms of the evolution of the notion of respect, Emile talked to the changing embodiment of this through the behaviour and attitude of different generations of

hip-hop artists he has dealt with. One of the first times he met a number of the pioneering artists was at Zulu Nation anniversary, an African bands event, “I was there and I realised that people like Chuck D; Public Enemy; and Cool DJ Herk, and all these guys are very down to earth. Whereas the guys who are up-and-coming are like strutting, you know, because they don’t actually know what it’s about” (Emile, int. 12/09/2005).

Not knowing what *it* is about, is a criticism Emile also levels at the new skool hip-hop and gangsta rap artists who he feels do not adhere to the values of hip-hop. He casts the two forms of hip-hop in opposition to each other, in the track *My hip hop*, stating that “Two hip hops exist on this planet/My hip-hop with all of the elements of the hip hop culture which is revolutionary/And their hip hop owned by the rap industry”, with the rap industry and musicians castigated as being a “corporate tool” that “just wants to make the bucks, stop” and “is just a corporate chop shop”. Instead, Emile appeals for the merits of ‘old school’ hip-hop to be recognised and promoted, that a hip-hop artist or collective can be “a freedom fighter or revolutionary” and about “community combined with integrity”, underlined when he holds up his own actions of “working in communities for free” whilst “money be changing what we did originally” (Black Noise, 2005).

His analysis goes beyond this immediate level and considers the underlying structures which facilitate and perpetuate these through, as Emile labels them, “the funded musical army of the rich (chuckling)” (Emile, int. 12/09/2005). In *My Hip-Hop*, Emile highlights how this happens, how certain (usually American new skool) artists are the ones whose “Songs on the radio appearing on TV shows” whom he charges with being “just another multinationally owned freakshow/Corporate ho, justifying hip-hop’s murder/Another revolution sold to the lowest bidder” (Black Noise, 2005). The way in which this army is ‘mobilised’ through mass media means that the common perception of the hip-hop genre is of Western gangsta rap and new skool hip-hop, creating a juxtaposition between the old and new which Emile describes as problematic:

My Hip Hop is not what the world sees on MTV and in the general media. In the last 10 years hip hop has been associated with everything negative that the financially elite world, that controls the media, could associate with it. I have found this ironic, while in the hip hop underground globally it has helped many youths away from drugs, gangs and violence. It has occupied the minds of youth from every country on the planet and has been a powerful tool to bring youth together. Hip hop has become the voice of the youth, globally. (Jansen, 2005a: 6)

For Emile, the prominence of Western musicians relates to a broader set of power relations. To an extent, these overlap with some of bell hooks's (1994) comments about those controlling the music industry who, as long as musicians are making money for the record companies, are content for their artists to rap about violence, sex, and drugs. Emile recognised this as a problem with the international music industry, "With music, man – it's the status quo which is the people who have the money. But as long as you are pushing their agenda, they will push you, you know. If you don't push their agenda, they want to push you the fuck out of the whole picture" (Emile, int. 12/09/2005).

However, Emile's opposition to the global marketing of products through commercialised music and sponsorship encounters a serious challenge. Black Noise are sponsored by Puma. Godessa are similarly sponsored by Adidas, as was made obvious during a charity concert in Cape Town when all three ladies were emblazoned in Adidas products. Redds was also sponsored by Puma as was evident in his attire at his concerts. Whilst these experiences seem to support Barnett's (2005: 4) contention that corporate culture through sponsorship deals and financial incentives are now the driving force behind hip-hop, Emile expressed his reservations about becoming overly reliant upon such corporate backing and his desire to move away from it.

When I challenged Emile on this issue he recognised the problems that this posed, explaining that "I don't go out wearing it like an advert anymore because I realise the power that it has". This was reflected in his actions; when I met him at his family house he would wear a Puma t-shirt, jeans and a pair of Puma pumps, whereas when we met elsewhere, he would not be wearing clothes with an obvious logo on them.

Again, this situation plays upon the ambiguities and conflicts of identity. Emile seeks to assert a 'do-for-self' image and an identity outside of racial categorisations, but at the same time he finds that for his crew to make money they have to accept sponsorship from a global corporation.

## 7.7 Bridging The Gap

Competing constructions of respect are made visible in the formal and informal education spheres. Many local teachers, activists and musicians work to promote self-improvement, community solidarity and equality as key values and mechanisms through which respect can be earned and attributed. However, these attempts are challenged by influences, both local and global, that are interpreted as promoting individualism and consumerism, as well as continuing ambivalences relating to racial identities and policies of redress.

Having outlined the links between formal and informal education, in particular the life story of Emile Jansen, this chapter has identified how hip-hop music is used both as a tool to promote knowledge-of-self and social and political awareness, but also in an uncritical manner which negates these practices to instead focus on individual success. Numerous tracks from local artists such as *Godessa* and *Black Noise* engage with social issues, race and racial identity, and with the implications of changing social relations for notions of respect. Developing Emile's story, it is evident that even for committed community activists clear-cut statements about non-racialism and rejections of increasing individualism and commercialism are complex and contested. His search for identity and belonging remains an ongoing, dynamic and problematic process – as are those of teachers and students at both Moonglow and Sun Valley High Schools.

The increasing pressure from non-state influences over identities and social norms have resulted in a decline in the state's control over the conceptualisation of a 'moral citizen' (Rose, 2000) and the associated behaviours and ideals. The result of these



processes, of the experience of “an array of other practices for shaping identities” (Rose, 2000 1399), has been a pluralisation of moral orders. For the purposes of this thesis, it is possible to point towards a continued pluralisation of conceptualisations of respect which, once placed in the local context can be considered as the pluralisation of local cultural topographies of respect. Negotiations of respect by teachers and students highlight both the evolving nature of respect and the competition between different constructions of this idea. The influence of commercialism and global cultural flows has encouraged respect to be conceptualised and linked with consumption rather than civic values. The increasing dominance of such a conceptualisation is reducing the respect standing of teachers that was associated with non-racialism, struggle and community. In the following chapter the focus shifts from local hip-hop artists to students’ negotiations and consumption of global cultural flows and their use in the formation and maintenance of identities and claims to respect.

## ***8 Negotiating Global Influences to Construct Local Identities***

The processes through which teachers' seek respect standing involve the negotiation of local, national and global cultural flows. Post-modern thinking has heightened interest in trans-national cultural flows, in particular upon "the implications this has for conceptions of national culture and national identity" (Bennett, 1999: 79). Taking this interest forward, and drawing upon the post-colonial literature discussed earlier (chapter 2), this chapter will consider the implications of global cultural flows for negotiations of respect amongst students and teachers in Sun Valley and Moonglow High Schools. Concentrating upon local conceptions of respect and its intersections with race and identity will provide for a nuanced consideration of some of the ironies in this process and their involvement in the elusivity of respect.

In the mid-1990s, television and visual imagery were the "primary means through which the mass communication industry work[ed]" (McRobbie, 1996: 30), and in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century we can add the internet to these mechanisms. American television shows enjoy prime slots on South African television schedules and are a source of cultural information for many. The internet also acts as a key resource for cultural information accessible at both schools. Though championed for facilitating development, the internet is frequently used for social and cultural purposes, as Molony notes in Tanzania; "Go to any internet café and Curtis '50 Cent' Jackson's latest single or the goal tally of Chelsea's most recent signing is likely to be the information that people are seeking" (Molony, 2006: 3). At both Moonglow and Sun Valley, the more popular web-pages amongst students were those where they could listen to (American) music, look at fan-pages and official sites for 50c and other African-American gangsta rappers, follow the latest developments of their chosen football team (never a South African one), and access celebrity gossip and images.

The predominance of Western cultural flows in this behaviour is indicative of the importance of knowledge about popular Western culture and its fashionable

inscription for asserting one's position in a local cultural topography of wealth. It must be remembered that such processes are not an unproblematic one-way passage. Consumption occurs through negotiations of local and global culture (Salo, 2005), so that cultural products "are not now so much 'sent' and 'received' as *made* in reception" (Willis, et al., 1993: 135), through which stable identity markers of 'us' and 'them' are broken down. These local renegotiations, recognising the agency of communities and actors to resist, appropriate and accept external (global) influences, resulting in "...creative practices [that] produce their own *grounded* aesthetics" (Willis, et al., 1993: 128). Communities and identities are increasingly "complicated by the conditions of globalization...[and the individual is] implicated in these conditions and in the collapse of the bounded communities of 'here' and 'there'" (Yon, 1999: 633).

The experience of place within which practices of consumption are embodied is vital to the dialectic of processes they both embody and create. The places within which this research was conducted are, to follow Massey (2005: 154), formed through "negotiation and contestation", but more than this, are "practices, moreover, through which the constituent 'identities' are also themselves continually moulded". Therefore, the negotiations of local and global commodities and capital occurs within a place – an event of processes – in which, "through the *practising* of place, the negotiation of intersecting trajectories" (Massey, 2005: 154), identities are changed and moulded as the ambivalence and ambiguousness of processes of identity and the mimicry of consumption are experienced.

The lived experience of the students at Moonglow and Sun Valley continues to be framed by the legacies of apartheid-era social disruption and spatial dislocation. The continued claims to 'coloured-as-marginalised' reverberate in student identities and claims to respect, emphasising a commonality with the roots and rhetoric of African-American gangsta rap and hip-hop in claims to marginalisation, exclusion, and oppression in American inner-cities. Mimicking the practices through which rap artists inscribe their success via ostentatious displays of economic wealth, students at these schools seek to exert claims to prestige and respect through similar means.

Building upon the discussion of music, politics, and identity in chapter seven, this chapter will consider the ways in which global cultural flows are negotiated and consumed amongst ‘coloured’ students at Moonglow and Sun Valley. The consumptive practices are seen by many teachers as problematic, undermining the civic identities of the anti-apartheid struggle and challenging teachers’ constructions of respect. Alongside the concerns of teachers within the formal sector, local hip-hop artists are shown to play an important role in attempting to raise political and social awareness through their music as a form of informal education. Bringing together the narrative of changing structures of respect, this chapter concludes by considering how the behaviours and inscriptions of student identity that are seen as challenging ‘traditional’ constructs of respect. The utilisations by these actions of global cultural flows, imbued with mimicry, are intended to mobilise respect amidst claims to marginalisation from ‘traditional’ structures to gaining respect. In the midst of these processes, teachers find their respect standing challenged as multiple conceptualisations of respect compete for dominance – their claims to respected identities, themselves ambivalent, are rendered more-so as the values of the structures and identities (relating to race) through which these claims were made become increasingly ambiguous. The multiplicity of claims to identity and respect highlight the elusive nature of both race and respect that teachers and students seek to use in their claims to identities.

## **8.1 Global Cultural Intrusions**

There are historical precedents to the utilisation of commodities to claim privilege, identity, and respect (for instance McClintock, 1995). Working on Zimbabwean consumerism, Burke (1996: 2) asserts that practices of consumption during the colonial period were more complex than perpetuating colonial domination and engaged with ideas of imitation and satire. This belief is indicative of practices of mimicry and conducive to ideas of ambivalence and ambiguity in the process of consumption and through this in the practices in identity formation. Within these processes, cultural commodities and their consumption are given symbolic meaning

and value. Such a conceptualisation draws upon the notion of ‘commodity fetish’, that the importance and value of a certain object or style “lies not in its use value but in its exchange value and its potency as a sign” (McClintock, 1995: 220). The capital associated with the commodity, style, or behaviour depends upon the context, and is inherently related to the status and respect being sought. They are selectively and strategically privileged depending upon which identity(ies) the individual is seeking to assert, a practice resulting in ambiguous relations and claims.

Cultural importation into South Africa has a long history. The development of the Coon Carnival, Cape jazz, and other musical genres reflect the appropriation and renegotiation of Western cultural capital. Martin’s work on the creole culture of the Coon Carnival<sup>55</sup> in Cape Town draws upon Glissant’s idea that communities fashion themselves in reference to ‘world echoes’. For the ‘coloured’ community in Cape Town, he argues this is a creolisation of the places they came from, the place they developed and “the place [America] in which they saw the symbol of what was denied to them in South Africa: freedom, respect and modernity” (Martin, 2004: 2). In the sporting arena, local ‘coloured’ football teams are often named after popular English teams and players - Everton and Charlton – named after the Merseyside team Everton FC, and the player Bobby Charlton respectively (Steven, int. 22/01/2005). This reflects a process of mimicry as appropriations of Western cultures are negotiated locally and become imbued with status.

These processes were broadly reflected in the tendency for ‘coloureds’ to denigrate their African ancestry and privilege their historical links to Europe. Imbued with mimicry, such practices were also highly ambivalent and contested. For Ebrahim, his family’s aspirations to be like their ‘white’ role models were in conflict with a rejection of ‘white’ colonial domination. “In my family; we disliked white people but at the same time we attempted to be European in everyway...My mum’s role models were Jackie Kennedy, Liz Taylor, Susan Haywood, and Princess Grace” (Ebrahim, int. 27/01/2005). These actions were imbued with politics and contradictions. Whilst

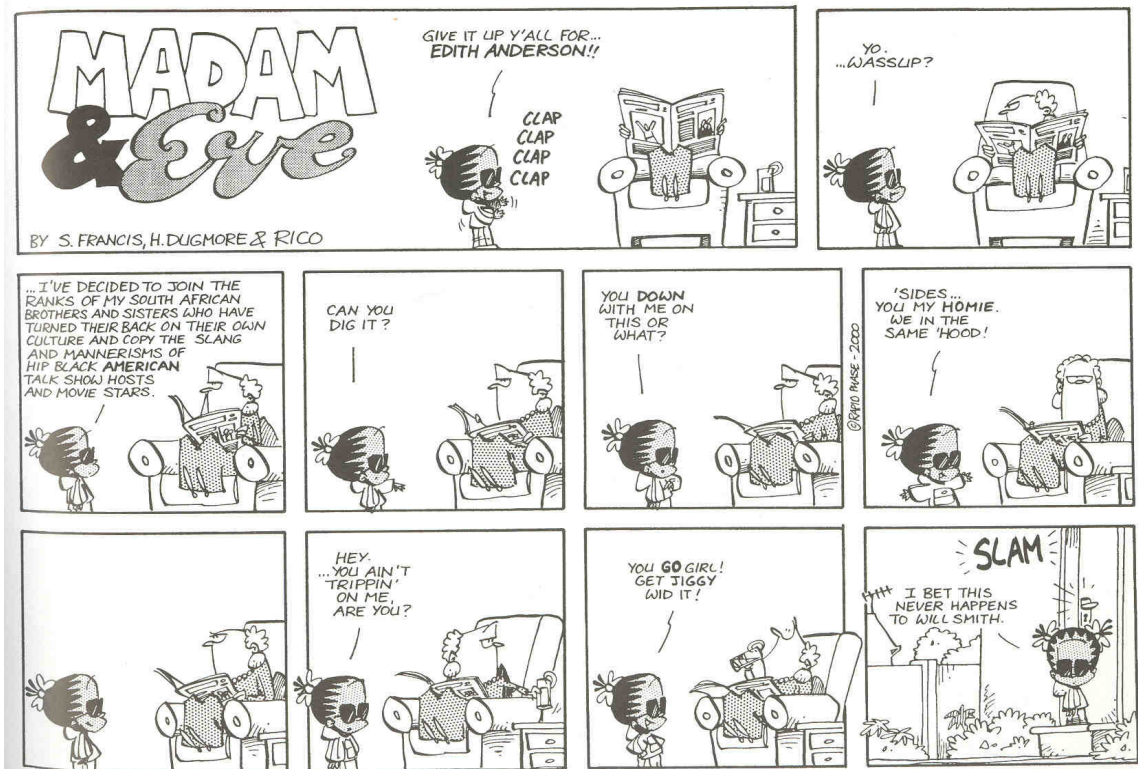
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<sup>55</sup> The Coon Carnival is an annual event, involving processions and singing competitions, this event continues although it has become contentious, with some believing it is a positive cultural celebration and others seeing it as denigrating.

‘whiteness’ was aspired towards, this was not seen as a monolithic culture. Instead, certain aspects were privileged over others, such as the ability to converse in English rather than Afrikaans.

The appropriation of Western culture has continued across generations, although the style and content has changed. Today, much of the youth’s cultural appropriation has an inner-city African-American bias in music and fashion. The symbolic consumption and inscription of these imports and their embedded economic capital is used to generate cultural capital (figure 23). These developments have occurred alongside broad restructurings in the global economy that have produced “an increasing globalisation of cultural production (and especially consumption) through...products that reflect ‘style’” (Katz, 1998: 131). According to Katz (1998: 131), “the reach of these products has led to a transnational burgeoning of desire”, a process aided by expanding and increasingly rapid means of communication.

Figure 23: Caricaturing South African cultural life, Thandi in Madam and Eve.



(Francis, et al., 2000: 129)

The utilisation of these cultural imports is not reflective of hegemonic dissemination processes of cultural products from the global core unproblematically assimilated within the periphery. Their consumption is contested and negotiated; commodities are given new meanings within the local context as the “power exerted by and upon commodities is a much more complicated phenomenon, touching not just on the major structural oppositions in a given society but also on the invocation of multiple identities and forms of social difference in the smallest detail of daily life” (Burke, 1996: 9). This can include imitation, mimicry, and satire in the reproduction of meanings associated with commodities and their consumption. In 1930s Zimbabwe, Burke identifies how the emergent middle-class’s struggle “for respect and an appropriate measure of economic and social power” was conveyed by modernity embodied in “commodified symbols of power and respectability” (Burke, 1996: 182-3). This was then challenged by the nationalist resurgence against Western culture and attempts to reassert traditional morals and values.

We therefore need to be aware of the local cultural topography of wealth, the contextual construction which recognises that value results not only from the amount of commodities possessed, but the prestige associated with them (Burke, 1996: 181). Respect is sought not only through economic capital, but cultural capital: not only how much one owns but the style of commodity displayed. The social context allows for the “meanings that allow status claims to be understood through the interpretation of practices, rituals, goods and artefacts” (Goldring, 1999: 173). In her work on transnational identities, Goldring (1999: 180) points to initial practices of status claiming through investments in certain consumer goods (televisions, electronics) and educational expenditure. These investments, following Bourdieu (1997 [1986]), provide easily demonstrable forms of objectified cultural capital that demonstrate access to economic capital through their materiality, and cultural capital through their symbolic value. Within the schools studied here, the cultural topography of the ‘coloured’ students placed great prestige on typically Western designer fashions and the style of African-American musicians. The decoration of workbooks and folders reflected images of success, style, and beauty drawn from the West including the brand images of the African-American rapper Usher, and consumer brands including

Guess, Calvin Klein, Chanel, Gucci, and Diesel (figure 24), all of whom have used ‘white’ models in their advertisements. As discussed later in the chapter, the use of designer clothing and mobile phones were other ways in which objectified cultural capital was used to demonstrate both economic and symbolic value.

**Figure 24: Student workbooks at Moonglow High, reflecting the focus upon imported cultural icons and glamour**



## 8.2: Music, identity and respect

Glamour, fashion, and music all draw upon and contribute to discourses of materiality, culture, and symbolic value. Rosenberg’s work on American influences on youth culture in South Africa and Lesotho focuses upon ‘black’ youth. He emphasises the role of local appropriations and contestations of meaning, drawing upon the context of African American inner-city experiences of marginalisation as parallels to ‘black’ South African experiences. Rosenberg claims the materialist connotations of hip-hop provide new meanings and constructs of equality (Rosenberg, 2002: 155-157). In South Africa, hip-hop is a more established form of cultural consumption within the ‘coloured’ community than ‘black’, suggesting the potential to extrapolate to ‘coloured’ youth.



The production of cultural capital through hip-hop is an ironic and contested process – as we saw in the previous chapter with the juxtaposition of global and local hip-hop music and politics. Hip-hop culture has been “converted into a highly mobile commodity”, exploited by record companies for the production of surplus value (Skeggs, 2005: 47) through the commercialisation of a resistant street sub-culture and its reincorporation as “pop culture” (Bourgois, 1995: 8). This in itself produces an ambivalent relationship. Hip-hop provides tremendous surplus value to mainstream corporations (clothing, music, fashion) but its content is simultaneously frequently either opposed to the structures of mainstream society and/or advocates behaviour contradicting mainstream social norms.

The videos and lyrics of many gangsta rappers promote images of power and success associated with guns, violence, sex, drugs, and economic capital expressed through very public conspicuous consumption practices. Rosenberg contends that such images offer alternative measures of success to disenfranchised and marginalised ‘black’ youth. Whilst it is questionable how ‘alternative’ these measures of success are, they have become embodied in the styles and language of ‘coloured’ youth at Moonglow and Sun Valley. Steven, a teacher at Moonglow High, discussed his experiences of the everyday manifestation of these images of success and glamour, and dwelt upon the ways in which these behaviours were undermining what he considered to be respectable attitudes:

On TV, at night they show music videos that are about gangs and people complain about gangs here. You watch the videos – they’re all showing gang fashion; the baggy clothes, big jewellery, rings, necklaces, and then I go into school in the morning and there in front of me is a kid wearing these big rings. And they wonder where the influence comes from? And the women in these videos – they’re all shown as bitches there just to be screwed. (Steven, int. 22/01/2005)

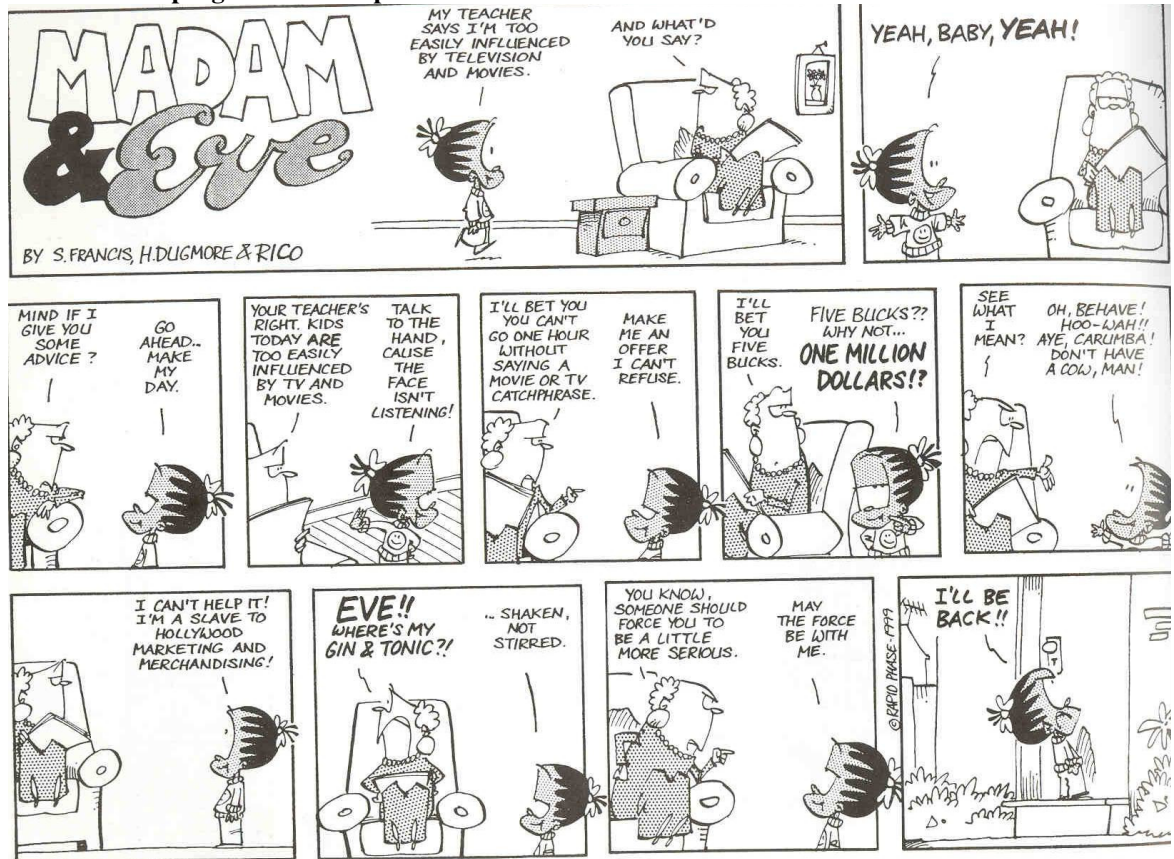
His concern with the negative projection of women ‘as bitches’, that this was worsening problems of gender violence, suggests a perception that such images take away the dignity and respect for women as equals, instead portraying them as possessions to be flaunted and consumed. In the school setting, the treatment of girls as ‘bitches’ was not a noticeable trend, but what was strongly evident were constant

preening and beautification practices during break times and lessons. The battle to stop female students from wearing nail varnish, using mirrors, and re-doing make-up within classrooms had been surrendered by many teachers in the face of hostility and indifference from students, and a lack of adequate disciplinary mechanisms. Male students replaced the beautification practices with the fashions that Steven mentioned, working around the constraints of school rules and uniforms to wear ostentatious jewellery, baggy designer jackets and sporting the swagger seen in music videos.

Television, seen as “the most powerful instrument for value formation” (Sullivan, 1987: 57-58) and of cultural communication, is satirised in the comic strip ‘Madam and Eve’ (figure 25). bell hooks (1994: 168) has suggested that portrayals of the poor in American popular culture encourage the belief that “worth is gained only by means of material success”. The ingraining of such perceptions can be seen in the attitude of “image is everything” amongst the lower middle class in South Africa (Philp, 2005: 5), embodied through expenditure on clothing, electronic consumables and other commodities which can be publicly and conspicuously consumed. Amongst the students at Moonglow and Sun Valley, claims to material success were readily evident in the branded bags and coats, wearing of conspicuous jewellery, and the ubiquitous possession of mobile phones – statements of identity returned to later.

Media power repeatedly emerged as a concern amongst teachers, not only with regard to the imagery of rap videos, or the domination of sports coverage by European competitions, but more widely through print, radio, television and film. Contained within these cultural products are certain images and messages about how one needs to be in order to be successful. The power of mimicry – the local appropriation of global cultural commodities – in processes of identity formation within these schools can be seen. In seeking to assert claims to respect, often through material connections to global culture, the privileging of Western imports is evident.

Figure 25: The social impact of the media is illustrated through Thandi's constant use of film and television programme catchphrases.



(Francis, et al., 2000: 40)

According to Kubrin (2005: 361), rap musicians' experiences of structural conditions "helps to organize and construct violent social identity". The forces of globalisation, deindustrialisation, residential segregation, a punitive criminal justice policy, and a legacy of slavery and discrimination have been identified as shaping the conditions from which American gangsta rap has emerged (Kubrin, 2005: 362); factors with many parallels to marginalised South African communities. The interplay of these forces mean that "gangsta rap does not appear in a cultural vacuum...it is not a product created in isolation within a segregated black world but is rather expressive of the cultural crossing, mixings, and engagement of black youth culture with the values, attitudes, and concerns of the white majority" (bell hooks, 1994: 116). The development of hip-hop music and the cultures which surround it are consequences of ongoing dynamic processes and negotiations, evolving and holding uncertain relations with 'white' and 'black' cultural constructions. In many ways the

inscriptions of success in this genre are found through the mimicry of the very forms of success rap musicians claim to be marginalised from and demonstrated through cars, money, jewellery, and assertions of sexual prowess and power. These inscriptions demonstrate irony, an attempt to be successful but never quite successful in the same ways with a simultaneous rejection and re-appropriation of the symbols of success linked to the very cultures they are opposing and marginalised from.

The spatial environment of these communities reflects these processes and contradictions. Opportunities for success through the dominant ('white') structures are limited but often aspired to. The inability to realise these encourages the formation of alternative structures of identity and status, a street orientated culture in which non-conventional status is achieved through manifestations of physical power or material wealth (Kubrin, 2005: 362). The ability to ostentatiously flaunt one's material wealth is one part of generating respect, but Kubrin identifies a second element - that such displays not only reflect style and wealth, "but also demonstrate a willingness to possess things that may require defending" (Kubrin, 2005: 364). This idea of a 'willingness to defend' which feeds back into the generation and maintenance of respect through the capacity for violence; by conspicuously showing that I have something of value – cultural and/or economic – that you may want, I am also demonstrating my willingness to act (potentially violently) to protect that asset.

The power of music and of other cultural artefacts is recognised by corporations and businesses. The material culture of new skool hip-hop is not simply the expression of an alternative success or equality, it is a sign of hip-hop as "Madison Avenue's bitch" (Barnett, 2005: 4). The claims that hip-hop is about 'the now', that it is a mirror to society, could explain the obsession with the consumption of here and now – of bling, ice [diamonds] and rims [wheels]. But simultaneously, this highlights the ambivalent relationship between hip-hop, its claims to alternative structures of success, and mainstream popular culture. The local, 'coloured' hip-hop group Godessa, in their track *Social Ills*, interrogate the power of global consumer culture over claims to identity:

Is it your Nike sneakers or Filas that breaches,  
The code of conduct that features in stores...  
You wear what you think that they think is tight,  
And I don't think its right,  
To find replicas of Jennifer's all over the world...  
Coz popular cultures a bitch is what I heard...  
This mainstream slave ship is sailing,  
And before long you will mourn,  
When your individuality is gone,  
So caught up in material bullshit...  
Coz imitation is the epitome of fear for change. (Godessa, 2002)

The title of the track, *Social Ills*, indicates their concern with cultural preoccupations with consumerism modelled upon Western images of glamour and success. The 'imitation' speaks directly to processes of mimicry, whilst the invocation of the 'mainstream slave ship' alludes to the colonial history and exploitation of Africa and the mental enslavement and privileging of 'whiteness' attacked by writers such as Fanon and Biko. These invocations of discourses of BC and anti-colonialism speak to community development and the advancement of knowledge of self, as opposed to materialistic consumption.

The tendency towards public consumption as a claim to status, and therefore in the construction of respect, is bound up in 'material bullshit'. The focus of advertising by major retailers both reflects the preoccupation with Western designer labels and perpetuates it through inculcating this aspect of consumer culture. *Edgars*, a major South African department store, ran a series of cinematic adverts in 2005 which played upon individuals' desires to feel that they were acting independently, inscribed through their appearance, whilst promoting mainstream, Western, designer labels as a means to achieve this. The appropriation of these icons of wealth, glamour, and fashion in the consumption of labels such as Nike, Billabong, Quicksilver, and Puma was evident amongst students at both high schools, and was seen by many teachers as symbolic of a disconnection with a local, political history, and a shift away from civic identities to individualised consumptive identities. The Westernised domination of cultural media was integral to these trends, and the desire of Emile to produce local 'do-for-self' label clothing was given short-shrift in the everyday practices of students.

Exceptions to these general trends stood out. Diane, a matriculation year student at Sun Valley High, was one such student. An assertive and active student, she participated on the school council, managed one of the school rugby teams, and commanded respect from other students and staff for her diligence and determination. Her behaviour within school and attitudes towards teachers reflected the respect she had for teachers and older generations. Her respect for teachers reflected a belief that she could never be a teacher herself because she lacked the patience to deal with disruptive pupils and the stress her teachers endured. Diane was one of a small number of students who, when talking about music, would mention local bands such as *Freshlyground* or *Black Noise* and she would talk to the politics of their music, the influences of local and African rhythms, and in the case of *Freshlyground*, what she saw as the implicit non-racialism of the band line-up and their music. Her clothing and attire in the school setting also marked her distance from the Western popular style and glamour so sought after by other students, maintaining instead a smart dress code, including the school blazer (in itself, a different form of 'Western' notions of respectability).

Diane's appearance was sharply juxtaposed against that of many of her peers, whom she described as "all bling-bling and the whole of Jo'burg's in their mouth, and the baggies – ooh [with an amused intonation], the boys with the baggy pants, ok so what you are wearing now is a medium but you want an extra-large top." (Diane, int. 13/09/2005). Johannesburg is historically based upon the gold mining industry, so the implication of this comment was that students (and gangsters) wanted gold fillings (i.e. Jo'burg) in their mouth. The style of Western rappers that Diane describes was one that Robert, another matriculation year student at Sun Valley, had adopted so that he could gain respect through his access to financial and cultural capital, "If I walk on the street and stuff, I want to see that the people see how I'm a D12 fan, I want to have a D12 top on" (Robert, int. 13/09/2005). For Robert, the music and style of African-American hip-hop and rap was a dominant influence which he located within what he saw as the general, local 'coloured' consumption of

Western designer labels, “Our coloured people like to wear like Levis and Billabong – we like good stuff” (Robert, int. 13/09/2005).

The consumption of fashion labels exemplifies branding in assertions of identity. Skeggs explains branding as concerning “how value becomes re-attributed and flows from subject to object, object to subject, or does not flow at all...about how experience, feelings and affect become central to the evaluation process. It is about how value is produced from cultural experience, affect and feelings” (Skeggs, 2005: 48). Elliot relates the power of brands and popular culture to the “consumption of symbolic meanings” which supplies “values for the performance of social practices”, meaning that brands and popular cultural products such as television programs, films and music “are often used as symbolic resources for the construction and maintenance of identity” (Elliot, 2004: 135-136). Possession is thus not only about ownership, but connotes the “hope to escape the stigma of their class by appearing to have the trappings of more privileged classes” (bell hooks, 1994: 169). Therefore, the owner is able to appropriate forms of capital from the possession and use of objects such as clothing, to further their social position and elicit respect.

For some (‘coloured’) Muslims, there is concern that the rise of consumer society is undermining the respect integral to their religion. The challenges to the respect demanded within Islam include the observance of Ramadan and *umma*, and for the correct attire to be worn to prayers, as outlined by Abdullah:

Now, because of Westernisation, because of the affluence of society, you drive around in a posh car and some of these youngsters they even dice [race] on the roads in Ramadan. Ramadan is meant to be our holiest month of the year; your child shouldn’t be at the Waterfront, at night he should be in the Mosque at the night prayer, the *Saluut ulAid*. People, they forget their own value systems and replace it with something that is not always good. (Abdullah, int. 03/05/2005)

I mean, if you play rugby, you dress for rugby - if you are going to Mosque you should dress for Mosque. You shouldn’t wear these fashion clothes with all the writing on the back; it’s a distraction to the person standing behind you. (Abdullah, int. 21/02/2005)

Abdullah's concerns over the style of dress appropriated by young Muslims are symptomatic of broader trends in identity inscription amongst working class 'coloured' youth. Lamenting declining values, Abdullah talks of advancing towards Westernism, a statement which can be interpreted as a perception of Western ideals as progress, that clothing and accessories are symbols of progress. In this sense, television and mass media are promoting a codified version of the dominant cultural story (Sullivan, 1987: 60) – capitalism and a culture of consumption. The propensity of students to wear brand-name clothing and to accessorise these clothes with expensive accoutrements such as mobile phones and jewellery, almost in a "tournament of value", reflects Barber's (2001: 58) idea of a "postmodern commercial identity". Tournaments of value recognise the economic value and social function of objects, "what is at issue in such tournaments is not just status, rank, fame or reputation of actors, but the disposition of the central tokens of value in the society in question" (Appadurai, 1986: 21). In the situation under discussion, the display of accoutrements and other articles by students within and beyond the school setting to represent economic wealth and glamour are used to achieve status, respect and reputation. Locating this shift within the theories of respect, such behaviours suggest an increasing preoccupation with appraisal respect founded upon access to cultural and economic capital.

### **8.3 Westernisation and the Inscription of Self**

Identities displayed through conspicuous consumption of global brands free from common cultural heritage exemplify the pursuit of individualistic goals at the expense of civic-orientated identities. Steven hinted at these processes occurring amongst the local youth; "They don't want to know about the past. They're into Americanism; American language; American food; everything is for now" (Steven, int. 17/05/2005). Without the lived experience of apartheid, the meanings derived from this are less important to younger generations. This history, and the communal, civic identities that were formed to oppose it, are declining for young people who are now focussed on pressing concerns of money, clothing, respect, and status. Such



fears were expressed in one letter to a Cape Town newspaper, where An Aunt was concerned that children “will strive only to be noticed for how pretty they are and how they are wearing the latest brands rather than their achievements at school, in sport” (An Aunt, 2005: 19). Again, the older generation associate respect with education and social capital, whilst younger generations are seen as linking respect with the cultural inscription of economic capital.

The inscription of self through the consumption of brand name labels has been interpreted as a component of ‘cultural innovation’ which allows young people to modify and seek alternative aspirations (Jeffrey, et al., 2004: 962; McRobbie, 1994). The development and expression of self-identity “often involve[s] the consumption of products, services and media” and consumption forms a “symbolic vocabulary and resource for identity construction and maintenance” (Elliot, 2004: 129). Clothing and fashion are used to create new identities and to demarcate boundaries between the Self and Other – a process identified amongst elements of Congolese youth in Paris for whom “The most prestigious brand names are totemic symbols, protective mascots that guarantee...success” (Gondola, 1999: 34). These practices have been identified by MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000: 127) as “tournaments of value” through which they emphasize their resistance to social marginalisation through a counter-hegemonic culture by “assert[ing] their identity and compet[ing] for status according to their own system of values”. For these youth, many of whom have limited income, there is a rejection of the ‘old-fashioned’ working class conformity and ‘Sunday best’ instead seeking something higher, a process likened to the English Teddy Boys of the 1950s and later the mods of the 1960s, when “Effectively excluded and temperamentally detached from the respectable working class, condemned in all probability to a lifetime of unskilled work, the teddy boy...bracketed off the drab routines of school, the job and home by affecting an exaggerated style which juxtaposed two blatantly plundered forms (black rhythm and blues and aristocratic Edwardian style)” (Hebdige and Hawkes, 1979: 50). In Moonglow and Sun Valley, assertions of identity and competition for status amongst peers often lay outwith academic achievement, instead mobilised around mobile

phones, fashion accessories, and designer labels akin to those promoted by, and seen in, the videos and films of Western celebrities.

Where Gondola talks of the spending patterns Congolese migrant youth who engage in this practice (who are dubbed *sapeurs*) as, “Aside from the large clothing items – shoes, pants, suits, and shirts – *sapeurs* spend lavishly on the acquisition of luxurious accessories: Morabito or Yves Saint-Laurent perfume, Cartier watches, Vuarnet, Armani or Cartier sunglasses, Valentino or Emporio belts, Burlington socks, Emporio leather bags, and gold rings and chains” (Gondola, 1999: 32), the luxury accessories at the two schools would be the latest colour-screen Sony-Erickson or Nokia mobile phone, diamante earrings, counterfeit designer sunglasses, and surf-wear (Billabong, Quicksilver) jackets and bags. Through these mechanisms the body has become a site for the expression of identity not only in terms of possessions but also the style with which they are deployed and the (subcultural) capital that can be gained through these actions (Elliot, 2004: 131).

Here, “fashion can signify even in the absence of all social achievements, its own success” (Gondola, 1999: 33), providing an alternative structure of attainment and respect derived not directly through the clothes themselves but through the monetary and cultural value that they represent – as MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga have argued elsewhere (2000: 140) – and the transference of moral and economic value to the possessing individual. These individuals and groups, as with different social class and cultural groups and sub-groups, are able to “*attain value* through different systems of symbolic exchange, which enable and limit how they move through social space” (Skeggs, 2005: 46).

My research advances these ideas in a context where teachers complain that “most of the youth today want to be like the Americans - the American singers and actors. Now they walk; they dress; they act that way. They don’t want to follow themselves” (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005). But it goes further, to consider how it is not only the style as inscription of material success but the appropriation of cultural iconographies of success in order to become popular. These behaviours would reflect attempts to

mimic “the glamour of film; of Hollywood; of advertising; of music culture; and of popular magazines – the lives of the rich and famous” (Alex, int. 29/07/2005). In asserting this glamorousness, individuals not only displayed their access to financial capital but also to cultural and social capital – the knowledge of international glamour and fashion and the ability to replicate this. In this quest, students and teachers engaged in practices of consumption that reflected their identities, not merely as labels of position but as “‘claims for recognition’ which are both contested and fraught” (Devine and Savage, 2005: 12). These actions, from a Bourdieuan approach, can be seen as a way of “differentiating oneself from others in a field, through comprehending and playing the game with its various stakes and players” (Devine and Savage, 2005: 14). Entangled and essential to these processes were the ambiguities of identity – identities are constantly remoulded and challenged. They incorporate influences from a range of sources, local and international, often linked to claims both to belonging and also in opposition to multiple ‘Others’.

## **8.4 Mobile Battles and Tournaments of Value**

These claims for recognition are inscribed in daily life through multiple means, including the ubiquitous mobile phone. Mobile phones were a key accessory for students in demonstrating their sophistication and access to wealth. My own mobile phone - the cheapest Alcatel phone on the market - drew derision from many of the students who proudly displayed their all-singing, all-dancing, colour screen, polyphonic ringtone, camera-phones on neck straps. They are a symbol of ‘cool’, conferring status upon the owner (Molony, 2006: 7). The value of mobile phones in contemporary society, not just for verbal communication but also for the cultural and economic capital that was communicated by ownership, could be increased through accessories for the phone.

The free newspaper distributed to schools in Cape Town, ‘Free 4 All’, was popular amongst students. But what was interesting was not only the content of the paper – talking about issues of health, beauty, fashion – but the free ‘Exactmobile’ brochure

insert. This advertising of cell-phone ring tones, wallpapers [screen images] reflecting popular television and movie releases, competitions, and games, varying in price from R3 for a competition entry, upwards of R5 for a ringtone or wallpaper and up to R50 for a game, reflects the existence of a market where possession of an expensive phone was no longer enough. The tournament of value had spread to the possession of a polyphonic ringtone of Usher or 50cent's latest hit single, along with a wallpaper of their chosen celebrity star.

During my time at Sun Valley High, I spent several days in the computer room and made friends with the IT assistant, Duncan. He appeared for work wearing a jacket with 'Quicksilver' emblazoned across the back, expensive trainers, chunky metallic watch, and with the latest colour screen Sony Ericsson mobile phone which he proudly displayed and commented, "There are only two of these in [this area], only two - and I have one of them" (Research diary, 25/05/2005). As with *les sapeurs* in Paris, "The drinks and clothes [and mobile phones] bought and ostentatiously consumed or displayed...signify their progress in an intense competition for reputation and prestige in the status system they have created" (MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2000: 154). The pride with which Duncan spoke of owning this phone, and that it could store and play music, was based upon the status it afforded him resulting from the inscription of economic wealth through consumer commodities.

The infiltration of Western media and values are critiqued further in the lyrics of Black Noise's track *Life Ain't What It Used To Be*, which attacks the negative consequences of the Americanisation of South African society:

Let's question why  
We kill ourselves with hate  
Apartheid educated us  
To self eliminate...  
The negative media...  
With Americanism they blind our eyes  
Thanks for playing up Snoop  
Another brother dies  
And thanks to their movies

We now have drive-bys  
But won't show role models

...I still get confused  
With no help from my teachers...  
Schools don't prepare us  
For what happens outside...

...American media tentacles  
Affects the world mentality...  
They're playing up gangsta rap  
Promoting genocide and juice  
Fuelling gang violence  
And tightening the noose  
Around the neck of the black man  
Globally  
Using negative rap music  
To kill the black family. (Black Noise, 1998)

According to Emile's explanation, the song seeks to expose people to the real reasons for community problems as often lying outside of the community and the need to re-awaken a culture of questioning and to go beyond the façade of Western culture (Black Noise). But the lyrics go further. They interrogate the role of apartheid education in devaluing non-'white' communities and cultures and denying these communities affirmative histories. Implicit is the recognition that this contributes to a pathological self-loathing and social dysfunction within these group areas. In turn, this is exacerbated by the cultural capital drawn upon from American gangsta rap, which Emile repeatedly attacks as invoking and encouraging negative images and behaviours that are antagonistic to the founding tenets of hip-hop. Considering the intersections of these influences, it is pertinent to consider how the renegotiations of global cultural commodities often result in ambivalent relationships to many identities. Individuals "nearly always refuse to be seen as the passive objects of imagined racial and cultural identities" (Yon, 2000a: 102). Claims are made to competing identifications, and in the realisation of this the identity fails to contain and project the full image that the individual seeks. Expressions of identity therefore become fluid, with certain elements and layers expressed strategically at different times.

This appropriation of glamorous Western iconic fashions is readily observable in South Africa. The Madam and Eve cartoon strip (figure 26) satirises South Africa's obsession with the West in one cartoon where Thandi and her friends arrive at the Madam's house sporting bling jewellery, shades, baggy shirts, and baseball caps, whilst speaking in American rap slang and upon being thrown out state, "I bet this never happens to 50 cent" (Francis and Rico, 2005: 16). Black Noise, in their track *no bling bling*, switch in and out of satire and irony in attacking such developments as they seek to highlight the power relations and processes which encourage the fetishisation of consumption and of bling. Whilst asserting the need for non-material fulfilment to provide happiness, the lyrics speak to the mental enslavement to popular culture controlled by the rich, as "Cunning capitalists control the mentality/Prompting us to buy what they sell/We free only to buy the new commodity/Commanding we be the owners...We believe that the products complete we" (Black Noise, 2005). Within this track, Black Noise use two ironic, fake commercials, capturing the ways in which the fascination with and fetishisation of material success are all encompassing, offering listeners that "For a limited time only/Come and get your instant millionaire starter kit" with the tag line that you will "Help us make millions from your stupidity", or suggesting you take advantage of "our new and improved zinc zinc to bling bling/Endorsed by professional looking people you've never heard of before/So trust us because you know the media never ever lies/This message brought to you by Conning you out of your cash incorporated". These contemporary concerns are then linked back to the psychological and physical enslavement of Africa by European expansionism, with the claim that the current context is one where "Our freedom we now try to buy it/Trying to buy it, are you feeling complete yet?/It's material like a drug addicts new hit... Money can't satisfy the spiritual/Bling bling's only physical" (Black Noise, 2005).

Figure 26: Madam and Eve's Thandi and her 'crew' exemplify the pre-occupation with Western music.



(Francis and Rico, 2005: 16)

## 8.5 Local Renegotiations of Global Influences

The appropriation of cultural capital and symbolism from global networks is not an unproblematic process. Although television and other media “transcend national boundaries...local...audiences comment on and interpret whatever is on” (Sørensen, 1999: 255), and through processes of negotiation and selection develop a local, context specific version of this.

Salo (2005) has discussed the reconfigurations of local identities and the moral economy in Manenberg (a ‘coloured’ group area in the Cape Flats) through the selective taking and reshaping of global culture. Such practices occur worldwide as global cultural accoutrements such as clothing and media “are mixed in with locally distinct cultures which have their own histories. The very meanings of the ‘global’ elements themselves will change...embedded in a host of particularities” (Massey, 1998: 122). It is not only the object *per se*, but the use and meaning given to it in a local context – often different (sometimes ironic) from that given to it in the centre of production – which is vital in the creation and assertion of identity.

It is useful to return again to ambivalence and mimicry. Writing about the colonial project and colonial education, Bhabha comments that, “In the ambivalent world of the “not quite/not white”, on the margins of metropolitan desire, the *founding objects* of the Western world become the erratic, eccentric, accidental *objects trouvés* of the colonial discourse – the part-objects of presence” (Bhabha, 1997: 158). In a continuation of such thinking, we can see the appropriation and renegotiation of

Western cultural products in Cape Town rearticulated through this process. In part, this includes the ‘not quite/not white’ ambivalence addressed previously, but can also be reworked to a questioning of ‘not quite/not black’, where ‘black’ cultural identity (as in the American inner-city of gangsta rap and hip-hop) speaks to similar processes. The chosen cultural artefacts of the metropole (although, within the metropole these cultural products originate within another periphery of the deprived inner-city) are the founding objects of an aspired-to identity, but these then become reworked and partial, given new meanings.

The ‘global periphery’ is not a silent partner in the process of globalisation and transfers of culture and knowledge, but instead the local and the global are mutually constituted through dynamic and complex processes. Therefore, global influences “are mediated in local spaces in multiple, contextual and heterogeneous ways and are interpreted variously reflecting the diversity of subjectivities on the ground” (Kothari and Laurie, 2005: 223). These processes create ‘the sociology of place’ (Urry, 1995) where there is an “experience of social relations, both the relatively immediate, and the more distant ones, and how they intersect” (Sørensen, 1999: 255-256). Local spaces and the experiences of them are shaped by these social relations and the power implicit therein. The influences of culture, fashion, media, and technology determine the shape of cultural contact and negotiation (Massey, 1998: 125). In the schools considered here, these influences reflected the historical experiences of apartheid and the privileging of ‘white’ over ‘black’, and the continued dominance of cultural relations by Western media outlets including music and the fascination with nu skool hip-hop and gangsta rap and its depiction of inner city living and associated forms of capital.

In the school communities at both Moonglow and Sun Valley High, expressions of teacher and student identities were framed by local renegotiations of selected aspects of global culture. Students sought to exert themselves as part of a global consumer culture of hip-hop and rap, inscribed through fashion clothing, ostentatious jewellery, and the use of language. Teachers attempted to maintain the respect of their position by locating themselves as part of a wider community of educationalists, drawing



upon institutional and social capital to assert their identity and claims to status recognition respect often in opposition to the economically driven appearance of their students.

Bennett's work on hip-hop music in Germany demonstrates similar processes to those Salo identifies in Mannheim. Bennett considers the ways in which immigrant communities have "appropriated aspects of African-American hip hop culture and...are now beginning to rework it to act as a mode of expression for a range of local issues...as a medium for the expression of issues relating to racism and the problem of national identity...to become a localized form of cultural expression" (Bennett, 1999: 77). Changes of situational and capital prestige are inextricably interwoven in and reflected by individual inscriptions of identity, and within this their conception of respectability constructed through the negotiation of self and the way in which others conceive of the individual. Central to this process is the deduction of meaning; the symbolic identification by a(nother) social actor of the purpose of an individual's action (Castells, 1998: 7), or appearance.

These processes form part of the ongoing interplay of stability and change within society which create, maintain and alter cultural values, in essence creating and reflecting the habitus (Sullivan, 1987: 58), expressed through symbolic acts of respect, fashion and glamour. These expressions and identity creations are ongoing processes and renegotiations, dependent upon symbiotic relations between the individual and various external objects and groupings. Individuals claim and express certain identities in order to differentiate themselves from Others; "In the process of claiming who one is, one is also announcing who one is not" (Yon, 2000a: 102).

These cultural developments are encountered on a daily basis by teachers in the classroom. Mysha was one of many to draw links between American music and fashion and the appearance and behaviour of their students. In the same way that youth groups elsewhere have appropriated certain fashions and inscribed their identity through them, so many of the students at Moonglow and Sun Valley High were attempting to do through both their clothes and their 'style', "they walk; they

dress that way; they act that way. Just look at the students, they want to be like the Americans” (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005). For many teachers, this Western interest implies that students have little interest in their own cultural history and in the political history of South Africa, “They want to follow the Americans. They don’t want to follow themselves. And we have such a rich history you know. You know, when a person asks the student today anything about the politics and Apartheid, they don’t know anything, I promise you” (Mysha, int. 31/05/2005). Whilst Mysha’s comment that students ‘don’t know anything’ about apartheid is not entirely accurate as the students I spoke with did have some knowledge of this period in South African history, it relates to a sense amongst many teachers that the activism and interest in South African issues that was so integral to their generation is missing from today’s youth. Teachers who recognise this obstacle proceed to lament that, “it’s very difficult in the school environment to change the outside environment because you don’t have the resources and the time because of the workload” (Steven, int. 17/05/2005).

## **8.6 Establishing Alternative Hierarchies of Respect**

It is not just in South Africa that these social impacts, due to the spread of globalisation and Western popular culture, are felt. Matthei and Smith (1998) illustrate how transnational workers with links between the USA and Belize have profoundly affected Belizean cultural identity. Transmission of culture occurs through the media, clothing embodies a link with the US for the wearer, and generational differences in both places reflect a concern on the part of parents about the perceived “corrosive influence of U.S. inner-city lifestyles” (Matthei and Smith, 1998: 272). The tentacles of American ‘popular’ culture in Belize have also extended to the export of gangs and gang allegiances to Belize, along with graffiti, guns, and violence; alongside the tendency for migrant parents to send increasing amounts of money and new, designer clothing to their children still in Belize - a process which further embeds Western consumer culture in a society, but also encourages tournaments of value and increased emphasis on the (self-)respect that can be gained

and demonstrated through this attire, and which has been blamed for encouraging youths to engage with prostitution and drug dealing to make money to afford these accoutrements. In areas of the Cape Flats, the adoption by gangs of names derived from America and often associated with the East Coast/West Coast rap conflicts of the 1990s, and the deployment of economic capital to access cultural capital in the form of designer goods is common.

Conversely, Bourgois discusses the struggle of poor immigrant Latinos and Latinas to survive in the US, and how attempts to negotiate the poverty and cultural differences endured have led to the production of an “inner-city street culture: a complex and conflictual web of beliefs, symbols, modes of interaction, values and ideologies that have emerged in opposition to exclusion from mainstream society. Street culture offers an alternative forum for autonomous personal dignity” (Bourgois, 1995: 8). The prevalence of gangs around the schools provides one form of street culture through which many people were seeking alternative forms of dignity and respect. Through these gangs many of the ephemeral links between American music and local interpretations and manifestations of this in culture can be seen – both in the fashions and tattoos adorning gang members, the graffiti art which is used to demarcate gang allegiances and boundaries, and the gang names, including The Americans. With so many ‘coloureds’ historically excluded from secure employment, and a burgeoning perception of continued marginalisation and limited (legal) opportunities, Standing’s questioning if gangs are “a new form of youth identity that is gaining in popularity among young people who are choosing to imitate glossy media stars from Los Angeles and New York?” (Standing, 2005: 13), could be related to the search for respect outside of traditional structures.

These searches for personal dignity are vital for individuals as well as groups who find themselves unable to access and progress through the traditional hierarchy of respect. For many there is a danger that they will opt to pursue respect through street culture and become involved with local gangs and drug dealers, whose prominence makes it easy for them to become role models for youngsters in the community – seemingly offering a means to get rich quick and to acquire respect through the

power (through access to and willingness to use violence) and economic capital this lifestyle offers. Such tendencies are readily identifiable in inner-cities in the USA, where Hemmings (2002: 299) identifies the discourse of money as existing in the place of social class, where “people who have money have the power to purchase goods, influence, status, freedom, and even more power”. Consequently, “discourses of money saturated the youth cultural productions of students...They craved money and the outward trappings of power and privilege that could be purchased with it” (Hemmings, 2002: 299). In order to access both the economic capital and then the social and cultural capital this would unlock, many students were attracted by “the glamour of fast money” which could be acquired by selling drugs or through other illicit means”, and once access to this money had been achieved they “incorporated street hustler styles into their youth cultural expressions” (Hemmings, 2002: 299). Amongst many teachers there was a fear that the cultural expressions of students were indicative of a shift towards not only the ‘hustler styles’ but increasingly into the discourses of (fast) money and the glamour associated with this. There were concerns that these moves were both undermining the respected position of teachers as the cultural and social capital of education declined (as the potential opportunities this afforded were perceived to be closing), replaced with the glamour of economic capital, but also that this engagement with global consumer culture was denigrating the local history and lived experience of apartheid, and the importance of ideologies of self-help, non-racialism, and the communal values of the struggle.

## **8.7 Towards the Conclusions**

Local renegotiations of cultural flows and the situational consumption of popular culture are integral to the formation and inscription of identities and respect. The privileging of Western popular culture imports, in particular embodied in the ostentatious and hedonistic consumption seen in many rap videos, has resulted in the evolution of alternative structures of respect focussed upon economic capital rendered visible through styles associated with cultural capital associated with hip-hop and rap music. The mobilisation of these claims to respect, deriving prestige from consumption, signifies a pluralisation of respect – akin to Rose’s (2000)

proposition of the pluralisation of moral orders – wherein teachers’ continued linking of respect to civic identities, struggle values and community upliftment co-exists.

In these appropriations and renegotiations, individuals present multiple claims to identity and belonging. They accept, reject and redefine elements of identity from numerous sources, breaking down the cultural and social boundaries of here and there, of us and them. Simultaneous to the bifurcation of certain of these insider/outsider boundaries in the construction of respect and identity, are the resurrection and reformation of other exclusionary tendencies. The style and cultural capital of predominantly ‘black’ American rap and hip-hop are used to create a sense of identity, drawing upon narratives of marginalisation and oppression. But ‘black’ South Africans are excluded from this process, instead cast as an Other against which ‘coloured’ may be formed, and notions of respect constructed within this.

The use of African-American hip-hop and gangsta rap as a focal point for fashion and claims to respect is based not only upon the aesthetics of success it inscribes, but also upon the underlying claims to marginalisation, exclusion and oppression of African-American urban life. In South Africa, ‘coloured’ youths at these schools mobilised their own identities around perceptions of continued marginalisation (‘coloureds’ as ‘the twilight people’) from economic and occupational opportunities because of BEE and AA. In this instance, the renegotiations of global cultural products in the local context has embodied another mimicry – of attempts by ‘coloured’ youths to be like the rappers and musicians they idolise as glamorous and successful, but of never quite being like. The claims to marginalisation remain tenuous, whilst the inscription of success by African-American gangsta rappers through designer labels, gold and diamond jewellery, and other modes of conspicuous consumption (themselves arguably an ironic mimicry of the ‘traditional’ motifs of success and respect) are themselves ironic, through the use of fake and counterfeit designer goods to give the impression of access to financial and cultural capital.

Constructions of respect, as with claims to ‘coloured’ identity, are contested processes across generations, within and between communities, and amongst cohorts.

Claims of respect and the renegotiations of local and global cultural products to achieve this remain ambiguous. The capital of education may be diminished in local displays of respect, especially through claims to reputation, but it remains a viable and important feature of respect, providing the tools – both direct and indirect – to access and assimilate the elements which are used to construct respect. The pluralisation of structures of respect in this instance remains tied to race. The shifting conception of ‘coloured’ and the growing acceptance of this term amongst younger generations, and the recognition of the challenges to political rejections of the term and its continued lived experience amongst struggle teachers, is imbricate in new structures of respect. Not only is the respectability of accepting/rejecting the label of ‘coloured’ less of an issue amongst younger generations, but the continued racialisation of government legislation has contributed to claims to the ongoing marginalisation of ‘coloureds’ in South Africa. Mobilising around this claim, and the resultant assertion of exclusion from the benefits of AA and reduced opportunities for success and advancement in ‘traditional’ structures of respect linked to occupation and educational success, students’ are asserting and seeking respect through structures associated with consumption and individualism.

## ***9 Today's Lesson: Conclusion – (Re)Defining the Moment***

It is clear that the changing position of 'coloured' teachers within South African society, their contested claims to identity and respect, and alternative claims to respect by students, reflect shifts in the local social and political context. This finding advances Scott, Stone and Dinham's (2001: 14) assertion that "Teaching is not and cannot be quarantined from the social context in which it is embedded". This thesis has highlighted how the changing habitus has affected teacher identities, and elucidated the contested, dynamic, and ambiguous constructions of identities. These conclusions will return to the overarching research question of whether or not 'coloured' teachers in post-apartheid South Africa are respected. To this end the conclusions will address how the social location of teachers changed and how they gained respect during apartheid, and how they attempt to gain respect in the post-apartheid period. Finally, I will point towards the importance of post-colonial theory in this thinking and emphasise how identity, race and respect remain fluid, contested, and ultimately elusive. This will be followed by some ideas for further research that were not pursued here due to constraints of time and space.

### **9.1 Gaining Respect in the Apartheid-era**

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, education was a respected career choice within a constrained society. The potential benefits of schooling meant that families placed a great emphasis on providing an education for their children, further reinforcing the respect in which teachers were held. The artificial shortage of professional occupations for 'coloured' South Africans gave teaching an enhanced status as one of a few occupations that could be aspired to. However, even this standing was contested, the relationship between education and liberation was "complex and ambiguous...education has been the prize of democratic victory and the badge of privilege; the educated have been the leaders of African liberation movements and

the sometimes grateful, sometimes resentful recipients of an education seen, for good or ill, as embodying a Western culture that could offer knowledge and power but which also gnawed at roots of African identity” (Morrow, et al., 2004: 5). As the anti-apartheid struggle developed, education became a site of resistance: classrooms became contested spaces.

Teaching associations and individual teachers developed contrasting stances along a continuum between support for the apartheid system and opposition to it. Many teachers worked with the apartheid system to deliver a curriculum based upon fundamental pedagogy, whilst others rejected the dominant system and incorporated struggle and resistance politics into their teaching (chapters 4 and 6). These actions drew different reactions – those who worked with the system were condemned as traitors and quislings by those sympathetic to the anti-apartheid movement but rewarded by the government; those who became ‘struggle teachers’ were marginalised and harassed by the state but given support and respected for their commitment by pro-liberationists. At this time, being a teacher *per se* still derived a degree of status recognition respect, although this was increasingly overtaken by appraisal respect due to teachers’ political commitments.

Inherent in these actions were teachers’ relationships to the category ‘coloured’ and, as shown in chapter six, relations to this term were frequently ambiguous and contested. The development of different conceptions of respected behaviour amongst teachers tied to the anti-apartheid movement indicated a decline in the power of the apartheid state to dominate constructions of moral citizens and ideas of respect. For ‘coloured’ teachers in the late apartheid period, respect for their status depended upon appraisals of their political commitment and therefore also their acceptance, or more importantly, their rejection of the identifier ‘coloured’.



## 9.2 Respect for ‘Coloured’ Teachers in the Post-Apartheid Period

In the post-apartheid period, the respect afforded to teachers has declined. Social change has had a major impact upon the standing of teachers at Moonglow and Sun Valley. On an everyday basis they are confronted by challenges as their students renegotiate the habitus, selectively appropriating and adapting local and global cultural capital. The values of social and cultural capital evolve as the local cultural topographies of wealth and respect develop.

There has continued to be a decline in the status recognition afforded to teachers at these schools whilst there has been a simultaneous increase in expectation that they will fulfil multiple social service delivery roles. As status recognition respect has declined, this has been supplanted by appraisal respect assessed not on the basis of a political struggle involvement as in the late apartheid period, but upon their abilities as teachers, their behaviour within and beyond the classroom. Many teachers therefore sought to project themselves as role models and to incorporate their political beliefs of non-racialism into their teaching, despite a growing ambivalence to this ideology in government rhetoric and community dialogue.

The re-emergence of race as an accepted social and political discourse has left non- and anti-racial teachers in a conflicted position framed by anti-racist education policies whilst race continues to be used in government speeches and policies. This has left many teachers continuing the struggle for non-racialism in a context where this is no longer a primary aim. David described his feelings about working as a teacher who finds himself still categorised by government as ‘coloured, “ideologically, in terms of the way education has developed, at the risk of sounding ‘anti-ten-years-of-democracy’, what has it brought us? There are many of us who feel that the struggle has only just begun” (David, int. 24/05/2005). The ‘struggle just beginning’ relates to the need for teachers and intellectuals to fight what Neville Alexander (int. 27/10/2004) describes as a “rearguard action to salvage the notion of non-racialism” rather than continuing in the vanguard of non-racialism.

However, this struggle is imbued with contradictions and uncertainties. The political ideology of non-racialism remained a cornerstone of many struggle teachers' identities. Contesting this commitment was the recognition of the lived reality of racial identities, the experience of these constructions which continues to shape the spatial and lived experience of teachers, students, and communities. These contests manifest themselves on many levels, as teachers formed ambivalent relationships with a series of policy developments, at times suggestive of ideological incongruence. Some of those who claimed a political 'black' identity and who opposed the re-emergence of claims to 'colouredness' would talk to continuing attempts to teach non-racialist values to students who increasingly perceived of themselves as marginalised 'coloureds'. Moments later, these same teachers would lament that they would need to explain to their students how the current habitus meant that they would be identified by race as 'coloured', and that this would limit their opportunities. For instance, the introduction of BEE and AA is recognised as essential to realise the aims of redress, but the continued use of racial identities to achieve this was both ideologically opposed *and* accepted as necessary. Even this relationship was further complicated by the perception that within this process, the 'coloured' population was again being marginalised, as a consequence of the ANC government failing to realise non-racialism.

The negotiations of questions of race and respect by these teachers illustrates how identities may "simultaneously resist, accommodate, and be ambivalent toward [certain discourses]...all at the same time" (Yon, 2000a: 31). In the context of Moonglow High and Sun Valley High, 'coloured' teachers would express these responses to the question of racial identity – invoking ideals of non-racialism, of black consciousness, but then adding observations of the continued salience of race in their lived experience, such as questions of affirmative action and perceived marginalisation. In terms of their relationship with the notion of respect, claims would be made to cultural capital, struggle values and commitment, and professional standards. Within these claims there would be simultaneous rejections and acceptances, for instance the questioning of processes of mimicry, the privileging of

Western ancestry and cultural products but then drawing upon the some of the same values and commodities to assert their own respect(ability).

The decline in appraisal respect afforded to teachers for their political commitment and the challenges of on-going renegotiations of their own racial identities complicate the ways through which teachers come to be respected. Further complexities are add to this situation by the shift in conceptualisation of respect amongst 'coloured' youths as the cultural capital of education is replaced in importance by the access and display of economic and Western cultural capital. A contested process in itself, students' would construct local globalities through the renegotiations of global and local capital is producing a contested space within which respect is constructed in multiple, often contradictory, ways. The different negotiations by teachers and students, framed in the changing habitus, result in a multiplicity of local cultural topographies of respect – some of which are strongly linked to economic wealth, and others to political commitment.

Teachers' attempts to locate themselves in one concept of respect do not necessarily transpose across to other constructions of this idea. Attempts to locate themselves within these constructions are complicated, involving claims to respect for their social standing and cultural capital (but this status recognition respect is declining) and for their work and behaviour (but the forms of appraisal respect are shifting). As with Bourdieu's concern that the economic devaluation of the left hand of the economy (social services) and the privileging of success marked through the right hand of the economy (neo-liberal, finance driven), peripheral, urban South African society has shifted away from a previous emphasis on respect for teachers (a part of the left hand). As the construction of respect increasingly privileges the role economic capital, the respect standing of teachers suffers. The deterioration in respect accrued from social and cultural capital is not counteracted by an increasing recognition from the right-hand of the economy. This embodies the value associated to the profession by the right-hand of the economy, and suggests a low value placed upon teachers – a value which is recognised and negotiated within the creation of respect structures, resulting in a diminished level of respect for teachers.

These trends are contested. The privileging of educational achievement and the social and cultural capital that can accrue from this is being challenged. The removal of apartheid legislation which constrained the job opportunities for 'coloureds' and afforded an inflated level of respect to teaching, has diminished the status and respect given to teachers in 2005. This is then coupled to the apparent global tendency of devaluing teachers, although the comparative advantages of working abroad are incentives for South African teachers to move abroad. Whilst the employment constraints of the apartheid era have been removed, there is an increasing perception that AA and BEE legislation is acting to reduce the opportunities available to 'coloureds'. This has not served to re-inscribe the teaching profession as a privileged occupation and instead has complicated the positioning of struggle teachers. Claims to identity and respect are therefore elusive – the fluidity and multiplicity of structures and ideas through which these are claimed, ascribed, rejected, and negotiation means that any single attempt to claim an identity or a position of respect is incomplete, challenged by other topographies and structures, and subject to interpretation and re-inscription by others.

### **9.3 The Ambiguity of Identities, Race and Respect**

These teachers' claims to identities were inherently internally contested, mutable, dynamic, and ambiguous. Social and political conditions change, dispositions shift, the habitus evolves. Teachers find themselves needing to adapt to situational changes; what is the role of the struggle/politicised teacher? How do they engage with the re-racialisation of society and ideas of non-racialism, when they themselves are conflicted between ideological and lived identities? How is their position as a teacher changing? How do they construct themselves as respected, and how does this interact with other constructions of respect?

Teachers' identities work between, across, and within accepted categories, spilling out over the limits of set identifiers, refusing to be contained by a single label. In this

sense, the fixed and bounded categories of ‘black’, ‘coloured’, ‘white’ and ‘Indian’ that continue to be used in South Africa – even though they are now defended as being ascriptive not prescriptive – fail to provide adequate mechanisms to consider identities in the post-apartheid era. One may claim a political ‘black’ identity, but retain a lived experience which fosters a ‘coloured’ cultural or social identity.

Such contests and complications are evident in the renegotiations of respect. Whilst there appears to be a trend away from status recognition respect through appraisal respect related to political engagement to appraisal respect based upon displays of consumption, this is itself an uncertain and contested development. Constructions of respect are far from uniform. Claims to respect are exerted both in claims *to* belonging and accessing certain forms of capital, but also *in opposition to* other forms of capital that are used as the antonym of a certain construction of respect.

The ambiguity surrounding the identities expressed in this thesis relates to Bauman’s (1996: 246) statement that the post-modern is the period of community, “of the lust for community, search for community, invention of community” as an attempt to overcome the experience of discomfort and anxiety that results from a realisation of the failure of norms of identity to totally contain one’s individual identities. In particular, for the ‘coloured’ community these tensions can be verbalised around what Bauman (1996: 246) refers to as “The nightmare of our contemporary”; that is to be “denied identity by those who, being others, always seem at a distance to be organized and sure of the identity of their own”.

In proposing this approach to the identities of these ‘coloured’ teachers in South Africa, it can be seen as a continuation of Yon’s (2000a: 123) use of ‘elusive culture’ as “an attempt to gesture toward a view of culture as an ongoing process attuned to the ambivalent and contradictory processes of everyday life. This is a view of culture as emergent and continually in the making rather than as foreclosed”. It also challenges elements of Said’s construction of the ‘other’. Elsewhere, feminist and post-colonial works have drawn upon ambivalences and ambiguities in identity to complicate Said’s construction of Orientalism through Othering. The critique offered

in these texts questions the simplicity of Othering, “where the heterogeneity of colonial power is neglected in a totalising dichotomy between the colonising Self and the colonized Other” (Garcia-Ramon, et al., 1998: 238). This allows for the subject to hold shifting and multiple positions – due to race, gender, class, education, and so on. As a result, we need to consider identities as fluid and dynamic, as multi-layered and inherently contradictory – as ambivalent and ambiguous.

What can be read into the claims to identities by ‘coloured’ teachers and the contested and ambiguous nature of these identities is a desire for a sense of belonging. The post-modern era has been characterised as being the period focussed upon a quest for community and belonging. Yuval-Davis’s discussion of belonging provides a useful theoretical statement from which inferences can be drawn in discussions of ‘coloured’ identity. “Belonging tends to be naturalized, and becomes articulated and politicized only when it is threatened in some way. The politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging in particular ways to particular collectivities that are, at the same time, themselves being constructed by these projects in very particular ways” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 197). In contemporary South Africa, these ‘coloured’ communities in Cape Town are experiencing a contested re-emergence of ‘coloured-ness’. Policy developments since the end of apartheid have provided a discourse through which perceptions of marginalization against ‘the coloureds’ can be politically cast as ‘us’ and ‘them’. The ‘us’ of a ‘coloured’ community being oppressed and marginalized by the ‘black’ ruling ‘other’. This is an ambiguous process – many of these teachers fought against the use of the racialised ‘other’. Simultaneously, they maintain a non-racial ideology whilst recognizing the perceived and lived reality of race and discrimination in post-apartheid Cape Town.

These ‘coloured’ teachers have shown that identities are complex, contested, multiple and dynamic. They are simultaneously respected and disrespected, they try to mediate claims to respect through social, cultural and economic capital. The question of race remains conflicted: on many levels there is a rejection of the practice and connotations of racialising identity, but there is also a recognition of the lived

reality of these categories. Multiple identities, claims to belonging, rejections of labels, renegotiations of forms of capital, mean that the vibrancy and complexity of these teachers' identities would be lost by any attempt to impose categories upon them. Instead, the internal contractions of their identities, the ambivalent relationships to labels and experiences, the ambiguous location within and between different discourses, claims to identity and processes of mimicry, produce identities that resist definitive categorisation. Not only is the process identified by Bhabha, (1994: 82) by which the assertive 'I am' becomes the questioning 'I am?' at play, but the inverse of this – the identification of 'I am *not*' becomes a questioning of 'I am *not*?': the struggle statement that "I am not 'coloured', I am 'black'" is increasingly rephrased as "I am not 'coloured'? I am 'black'?", reflecting changes in prevailing political, social, and cultural discourses. To put another spin on Yon's (2000b: 155) assertion that in the process of identifying themselves individuals make these identities problematic, in the very process of identifying these teachers from the outside this identity becomes incomplete and contested. In the act of naming I destroy the identity given to them – it is incomplete, contested, and relations to it are ambiguous.

## 9.4 Further Research

This thesis has been located across and between many disciplines allowing for a detailed and wide ranging exploration of a sensitive and complex topic. Through the research process and the writing of the thesis itself, a number of issues which merit further investigation have emerged – investigation that was not possible here due to the constraints of the thesis. It is useful, nonetheless, to point towards these as possible areas for future work. The importance of these research spin-offs to this thesis in part stem from the location of teachers and the findings contained herein regarding questions of race, identity and respect, are located at a vital juncture in South African society. It is likely that the concerns and experiences of teachers, a front line of social service provision, and a previously highly respected profession, will have implications for, and similarities to, developments within other sections of

the community, in particular for occupations such as health care workers, police officers, and others. The trends identified here will have broader implications that would be opportune to pursue further. Importantly, this is also a period in time in which the transition from the lived experience of apartheid to post-apartheid is recent and vivid, providing an historical moment in which the unseen and unspoken processes of the transition, the *zeitgeist*, can be captured and explored.

The first is an obvious one – that of expanding the questions posed here to ‘coloured’ teachers in Cape Town, to teachers from all racial categories both within Cape Town and more widely across South Africa. This would provide for a more comprehensive explication of the changing status of teachers in contemporary South Africa, and could form the basis of a comparative study between ‘coloured’, ‘white’, ‘black’, and ‘Indian’ teachers. Further to work within an urban setting would be the extension of these conversations to rural areas, in particular to rural ‘coloured’ communities in the Western Cape and Northern Cape. The processes and experiences of the rural context are likely to provide a very different set of concepts and findings to those presented here.

Following another avenue relating to questions of respect and teaching, there is need for concerted policy consideration as to how to stem the decline in status recognition respect for teachers. As the status and respect of teaching declines, it is likely that there will be increasing problems with teacher recruitment and retention. Should this arise, this would prove a major hurdle to skills development, economic growth, and the sustaining of the Millennium Development Goal of Education for All.

Another area of potential research concerns the construction of respect within ‘coloured’ communities in Cape Town. This thesis considered several areas of relevance, but one that merits further research is the link between language and notions of respectability. The ability to converse in English was widely viewed as a symbol of upward mobility and respectability, and was commented on by many respondents. This was also demonstrated by a number of Afrikaans first-language teachers sending their children to English language schools. At the same time, there



is evidence that Afrikaans remains vital to other constructions of 'colouredness'. This ambiguous interplay of language and identity has potential for future research.

In terms of theoretical debates, consideration of identities in Cape Town – including but not limited to those classified as 'coloured' – framed within questions of mimicry and ambivalence has a great deal of potential. The multiple layers of identities, the intersections of class, politics, ideology, and lived experience would appear to offer multiple areas for further work on theories of identity.

With part of this research having been conducted in a formerly 'Indian' school, the potential for consideration of the construction of Indian identities in Cape Town is another obvious avenue of interest. Such research would also benefit from engagement with internal migration of Indian teachers within South Africa, from Port Edward and Durban to Cape Town.

Placing some of Solomon et al.'s ideas on the construction of race, racism and 'white privilege' in Canada into conversation with the South African situation would allow for the development of some comparative work. They raise the point that teachers, amongst others, "construct discourses that are often academically and emotionally debilitating to the 'racial other'" (Solomon, et al., 2005: 147). Given the continued racialised nature of South African society and education, there are obvious avenues for research across the spectrum of schools in South Africa to consider how official and hidden curricula are used in this, or other, way. Another element that could be taken further would build upon how discourses of race are being framed in the post-apartheid era, to consider how race is dealt with in the classroom. Solomon et al. (2005: 150) point to how exhortations of not-seeing-race can serve to "reinforce the theorized invisibility of race and racism...[and limit the teachers'] ability to interrogate notions of privilege and its corollary, the deprivileging of minoritized social groups". Given the complicated race relations within and surrounding South African education, these concerns and questions surrounding them, would be of interest in exploring how attempts to move towards a non-racial society are being

negotiated, and how notions of privilege are constructed and expressed within schools.

All of these potential areas for further exploration would draw upon the findings and discussions within this thesis, but be able to go beyond the confines of this work to explore questions of identity, race, and respect in other sections of South African society. Herein lies their importance: these constructions and expressions remain vital and influential in the development of post-apartheid South African social relations. Through a better understanding of many of the sensitive, and sometimes hidden, local, national, and international processes that are imbricated therein, we will be better able to understand and inform such changes.

## ***Appendix 1: List of Interviewees***

This appendix contains a detailed list of those people who participated in this research through detailed, semi-structured ethnographic and life history interviews. Also included are those who took part through oral questionnaires and focus groups, and a number of individuals with whom discussions were held regarding the research. As stated earlier, due to the restrictions of my contract with the WCED teachers and learners have been given pseudonyms. A number of ex-teachers have also been given pseudonyms as they felt uncomfortable talking about certain issues and events using their real names.

### **First Phase Fieldwork: September 2004-March 2005**

Neville Alexander, University of Cape Town, 27/10/2004

Ken, architect, Lions Head Cape Town, 31/10/2004

Rayda, writer, Rayda's house in Cape Town, 08/10/2005

Oliver, retired university staff, my house in Harfield Village, 06/12/2004

Joe, teacher, Joe's house in Muizenburg, 07/12/2004

Steven, teacher, Steven's house in Hanover Park, 22/01/2005 and 15/07/2005.

Ebrahim, community activist, Ebrahim's house in Muizenburg on ?? and Olympia Café in Kalk Bay, 27/01/2005

Shameliah, community activist, Shameliah and Rachel's house in Woodstock, 27/01/2005

Rachel, community activist, Shameliah and Rachel's house in Woodstock, 27/01/2005

Heidi, learner, informal discussion at UWC, 27/01/2005

Geoffrey, radio station programme director, radio studios in Cape Town CBD, 01/02/2005

Zoë, radio station music manager, radio studios in Cape Town CBD, 01/02/2005

Rafiq, teacher, Rafiq's office at Mitchell's Plain Primary, 02/02/2005

Zubeida, radio station manager, radio studios in Woodstock, 03/02/2005

Hiten, radio station managing director, radio studios in Woodstock, 03/02/2005  
Robin, unemployed, Robin's house in Raithby, 14/02/2005  
Clark, retired business manager, Clark's house in Raithby, 14/02/2005  
Sam, retired civil servant, Sam's house in Raithby, 14/02/2005  
Gregory, retired teacher, Gregory's house in Raithby, 15/02/2005  
Tanya, teacher, Tanya's house in Sir Lowry's Pass, 15/02/2005  
Arthur, teacher, Arthur's office at Senate Primary School, 16/02/2005  
Kelly, retired teacher, Kelly's house in Raithby, 21/02/2005  
Bryan, teacher, Bryan's house in Raithby on 21/02/2005 and Bryan's office at Sun Valley High, 08/06/2005  
Abdullah, retired teacher, Abdullah's house in Firgrove, 21/02/2005 and 03/05/2005.  
Hugh, teacher, Hugh's office at Mitchell's Plain High, 22/02/2005  
Quinton, teacher, discussion at inter-school athletics competition, 22/02/2005  
Safiq, teacher, discussion at inter-school athletics competition, 22/02/2005  
Arran, teacher, discussion at inter-school athletics competition, 22/02/2005  
Kenneth, teacher, discussion at Kenneth's house and driving through Kuils River, 23/02/2005

### **Second Phase Fieldwork: March 2005-September 2005**

Many of those interviewed in this second phase of fieldwork were also involved in on-going informal conversations and discussions. For simplicity, I have only included the date(s) of the main formal interview.

Jerome, physiotherapist, Fat Cactus, Mowbray, 10/04/2005  
Henry Bredekamp, head of IZIKO, 02/02/2005  
Richard van der Ross, retired academic, Richard's house in Constanica, 06/05/2005  
David, teacher, David's classroom at Moonglow High, 13/05/2005 and 24/05/2005  
Sachin, teacher, Sachin's classroom at Moonglow High, 16/05/2005  
Aysha, teacher, Aysha's classroom at Moonglow High, 16/05/2005  
Edward, teacher, Edward's classroom at Moonglow High, 17/05/2005 and 19/05/2005

Paul, teacher, Moonglow High, informal discussions in classroom and staffroom, inc.  
17/05/2005

Gemma, teacher, informal discussion in Moonglow High staffroom, 17/05/2005

Amelia, teacher, informal discussion in Moonglow High staffroom, 17/05/2005

Imran, teacher, Imran's office at Moonglow High, 20/05/2005

Graham, teacher, Graham's classroom at Moonglow High, 23/05/2005

Mysha, teacher, Sun Valley High staffroom, 31/05/2005

Mervin, teacher, Mervin's classroom at Sun Valley High, 01/06/2005

Kate, teacher, Kate's classroom at Sun Valley High, 03/06/2005

Navita, teacher, Navita's classroom at Sun Valley High, 06/06/2005

Ralph, teacher, Ralph's office at Starlight Primary, 06/06/2005

Tina, teacher, staffroom at Starlight Primary on 06/06/2005 and Starlight Primary library and 01/08/2005.

Benjamin, teacher, Benjamin's office at Sun Valley High, 07/06/2005

Lynda, teacher, Lynda's classroom at Starlight Primary, 07/06/2005

Sally, teacher, Lynda's classroom at Starlight Primary, 07/06/2005

James, ex-teacher, my house in Harfield Village, 25/07/2005

George, ex-teacher, George's office in Bellville, 28/07/2005

Alex, ex-teacher, Alex's house in Athlone, 29/07/2005

Yusuf, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 24/08/2005

Andrew, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 24/08/2005

Kevin, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 24/08/2005

Susan, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 24/08/2005

Beth, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 24/08/2005

Hannah, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 26/08/2005

Clare, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 26/08/2005

Joseph, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 26/08/2005

Ruth, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 26/08/2005

Mostapha, learner, Moonglow High staffroom, 26/08/2005

Rheka, teacher, Rheka's classroom at Sun Valley High, 10/06/2005

William, teacher, William's classroom at Sun Valley High, 08/06/2005

Emile, ex-teacher now hip-hop artist, Emile's house in Grassy Park, 12/09/2005

Marc, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 13/09/2005  
Robert, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 13/09/2005  
Diane, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 13/09/2005  
Charmaine, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 13/09/2005  
Karyn, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 13/09/2005  
Estelle, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 15/09/2005  
Mozzam, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 15/09/2005  
Claudia, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 15/09/2005  
Darren, learner, Sun Valley High staffroom, 15/09/2005  
Harold Herman, semi-retired academic, Harold's house in Somerset West,  
15/09/2005

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