

## School Desegregation Trends in Gauteng Province

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### Abstract

*This study utilized 2003 to 2006 school enrollment data from the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) to examine school desegregation trends and interracial exposure among learners from different race groups. Descriptive analyses revealed findings consistent with the literature wherein a majority of schools served mainly homogeneous populations. African and White learners experienced limited or no opportunity for interracial contact at school level, whereas Coloured learners experienced moderate levels of interracial contact. The exception was the Indian learner group whose migration from schools formerly reserved for Indian learners into schools formerly reserved for White learners as well as independent schools contributed to increased diversity albeit in a relatively small group of schools. New schools are emerging as a preferred destination for African learners.*

Key words: school desegregation, student migration, school enrollment, interracial exposure, interracial contact

## **Introduction**

The first democratic government of South Africa, elected in 1994, sent a clear message of departure from apartheid policies by adopting legislation based on constitutional principles such as equity, redress and non-racialism. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996 effectively abolished all forms of legalised segregation. The preamble to the South African Schools Act (SASA) No. 84 of 1996 (the educational extension of the Constitution) states that a unified South African school system should “combat racism and sexism and other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance...” (Department of Education 1996, 1). This legislation, as well as earlier efforts by the outgoing apartheid government formed the basis for policies that facilitated the admission of pupils of all races to racially segregated schools.

In 1990, the minister of Education announced that parents of schools reserved for White learners were allowed to vote for a change in legal status. They could vote to become private schools that would receive no government subsidy (Model A), preserve the status quo but accept reduced government funding (Model B), or receive government funding in the form of staff salaries and determine admissions policy at school level (Model C). The majority of schools took the Model C option and parents in these schools voted to enroll non-White learners (Bot 1991, Roithmayr 2003). This action precipitated the migration of African, Coloured and Indian learners to better resourced schools, formerly reserved for White learners, during the early 1990s. The trend accelerated during the mid-to late 1990s.

Learner migration, however, was not solely in the direction of formerly White Schools, as suggested by the statement above. African learners also migrated to schools formerly reserved for Coloured and Indian learners (Sujee 2004, Chisholm & Sujee 2006, Fataar 2009). Learner migration resulted in two outcomes. On the one hand, it presented opportunities for higher levels of interracial contact; on the other, it served as a catalyst for resegregation. Research suggests that student populations became more diverse in a small number of schools (Van der Berg 2001). It also suggests resegregation in some schools, due to migration of White, Indian and Coloured learners from some previously well resourced schools that experienced increased enrolment of learners of African descent.

A collaborative group of higher education institutions and other collaborators in October 2002, identified “patterns of school enrollment” as one of three areas of research into diversity (Chisholm & Nkomo 2005). This study is a timely attempt to study school desegregation at provincial and national level, based on the recommendation of the collaborative group. Its purpose is twofold. Firstly, it examines school desegregation trends in Gauteng Province; and, secondly, it determines the extent to which interracial contact or racial isolation occur among learners in Gauteng schools. The study is thus framed by the following research questions:

1. To what extent have schools in Gauteng desegregated?
2. To what extent does interracial contact occur among learners in Gauteng schools?

3. To what extent does racial isolation occur among learners in Gauteng schools?

### **Literature Review**

A review of the literature revealed a growing body of qualitative research on learner experiences in desegregated schools but few studies focusing on trends in school desegregation in South Africa. The majority of literature on patterns, or trends in, school desegregation is published by American researchers (Clotfelter, Ladd & Vigdor 2002, Frankenberg & Lee 2002, Freeman, Scafidi & Sjoquist 2002, Orfield 2001, Reardon, Yun & Eitle 2000, Yun & Reardon 2002). More recently, researchers from the United Kingdom (UK) (Johnston, Wilson & Burgess 2004, Burgess, Wilson & Lupton 2005, Allen & Vignoles 2006) started focusing on ethnic segregation in schools.

### ***School desegregation in international context***

Traditionally, school segregation in the US was measured dichotomously, i.e., between White and Blacks groups. The past decade saw a shift from the focus on black-white segregation towards a focus on multiracial segregation patterns. This shift occurred because the US population is becoming increasingly diverse. Researchers like Reardon, Yun and Eitle (2000) identified a segregation index that could be used to measure segregation between White and minority and among non-white groups. Reardon et al. (2000) examined segregation patterns among Asian, Black, Hispanic and White (non-Hispanic) public school students in metropolitan areas, for the 1989-1995 period. A major finding of their study was that, on average, segregation between White

and non-White students increased, while segregation among Asian, Black and Hispanic students decreased.

A review of the literature on public school segregation revealed trends towards resegregation in the American South and selected districts across the country. According to Yun and Reardon (2002, 2), the South became “the most desegregated region in the nation by the 1970s, a trend that continued up through the 1980s.” However, their analysis of public school segregation trends and levels in this region showed persistent high levels of segregation in most and large increases in some southern states. They raised the question about a move towards resegregation but argued that this trend is “not uniform across the South” (Yun & Reardon 2002, 3). Frankenberg and Lee (2002) of the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University compared 1988 and 2000 exposure indices to measure racial isolation of Black and Latino students from their White counterparts. They found increased racial isolation in almost all districts examined. The authors argued that this finding may suggest a trend towards resegregation.

Using administrative data of North Carolina public schools for 1994/95 and 2000/01, Clotfelter, Ladd and Vigdor (2002) measured interracial contact or racial isolation patterns within and across schools through calculation of an exposure rate. They found an increase in segregation for the period under study and noted that even though schools may appear to be desegregated, classrooms may be segregated due to academic tracking, magnet programmes and course taking patterns.

In England, Johnston, Wilson and Burgess (2004) studied ethnic composition of secondary schools, while Burgess, Wilson and Lupton (2005) focused on ethnic segregation in secondary schools and neighborhoods. Johnson et al. (2004) found that the majority of White students attended schools with small numbers of Blacks and Asians and vice versa. Burgess et al. (2005) found that South Asians were more segregated than Blacks and that students in general were “more segregated in school than in their neighborhood” (Burgess et al. 2005, 1052). In their review of the literature on social segregation in schools, Allan and Vignoles (2006) defined school segregation as unevenness in the distribution of pupils eligible for or receiving free school meals (FSM) versus those not eligible for free school meals (NONFSM). FSM was used as a proxy for “social disadvantage;” thus, the emphasis was not on race per se.

International research places the school segregation phenomenon within a broader context. For example, factors associated with school segregation, such as residential segregation and teacher turnover have been shown to be related to school segregation (Freeman, Scafidi & Sjoquist 2002, Wells, Holme, Revilla & Atanda 2004, Burgess et al. 2005).

### ***School desegregation in the South African context***

School desegregation in South Africa is located within a broader framework of historically legalized segregation at all levels of society, such as places of residence, work, worship and recreation. Segregation was enacted through the Population

Registration Act of 1950, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Bantu Education Act of 1953. These laws have since been repealed and corrective measures, through legislation and policy ensured considerable progress in desegregating the workplace and places of recreation. Desegregating schools and residential areas, however, have shown to be almost intractable. McClinton (2008) examined the link between residential segregation and educational opportunities in three Gauteng areas and concluded that it contributes to racial disparities in educational attainment.

National and provincial demographics also impact on the racial makeup of schools. The 2001 Census and 2007 Community Survey, for example, reported the proportion of individuals in Gauteng of school-going age, i.e., five to nineteen years, as 83% African, 8% Coloured, 2% Indian and 6% White. In a non-racial school system (assuming desegregated housing), one would expect these statistics to be reflected in the school enrollment data. However, Sujee (2004) found otherwise in his “deracialisation” study of Gauteng schools.

The Sujee study followed one earlier study that included the racial aspect of school enrollment in South Africa by Van der Berg (2001). Van der Berg analysed 1997 school enrollment data from seven provinces and found that by then, not much had changed in terms of the racial make-up of schools. With the exception of Indians, all population groups showed a preference for schools classified as mainly serving “their” group. For example, 77% of all White learners attended predominantly White schools, 85% of all Coloured learners attended predominantly Coloured schools, and 96% of all Black

learners attended predominantly Black schools. About 41% of all Indian learners were enrolled in predominantly Indian schools, while almost 55% of Indian learners attended racially mixed schools. Thus, Indian learners formed the majority in racially mixed schools, followed by Whites (22%). This migration pattern of Indian learners continued in research conducted by Sujee (2004), Chisholm and Sujee (2006) and Nkomo, Weber and Amsterdam (2008).

Sujee (2004) tracked “deracialisation” of Gauteng schools using 1996 to 2002 learner data from the Annual Surveys for Ordinary Schools of the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE), data on the racial composition of educators for the years 2000 and 2002 and data on school governing bodies for the year 2002. He examined learner and educator profiles, as well as “how rapidly or slowly deracialisation is taking place across all public ordinary schools in Gauteng” (Sujee 2004, 43). Citing previous research, he described schools formerly reserved for Indian learners (under the former House of Delegates [HOD] department) as having moved “most towards a provincially representative racial composition ... where Indians now comprise a minority” (Sujee 2004, 45). Sujee’s analysis of the data described above revealed that in former HOD schools “the number of African learners has increased dramatically and constitutes the majority of learners in these schools” (Sujee 2004, 49).

Further analyses of migration patterns revealed large numbers of Indian learners moving out of schools formerly reserved for Indians to former Transvaal Education Department (TED) and independent schools. In 1996, just over three quarters of Indian



learners were enrolled in former HOD schools, 14.3% in former TED schools and 7.7% in independent schools. By 2002, two in five Indian learners were enrolled in former HOD schools, just over one third in former TED schools and about one in four in independent schools. Sujee concluded that deracialisation rates in former HOD schools were highest, followed by HOR (House of Representatives) and TED schools, while enrollment in former DET (Department of Education and Training) schools remained effectively homogeneous.

More recent work of a quantitative nature was conducted by Nkomo, Amsterdam and Weber (2008) at the University of Pretoria. These researchers, supported by a research team worked on the *Geographies of School Desegregation* project, funded by the National Research Foundation (NRF). General trends in the project data were consistent with earlier findings of Sujee. Notably, the enrollment figures for Indian learners in former Indian public schools continued to decline and results suggested a marked increase in the percentage Indian learners enrolled in independent schools. On average, the number of Indian learners in Gauteng almost doubled between 1996 and 2006. Conversely, the percentage of White learners enrolled in former White public schools showed a downward trend. As expected, the number of African learners increased in all schools formerly serving the more privileged groups.

### ***Diversity Threshold***

Social science research conducted in the US recommended varying levels of racial representation in order to counteract the harmful effects of segregation, such as racial

isolation and hostile school environment. In a study of Georgia public schools Freeman, Scafidi and Sjoquist (2002) set their threshold at 25-45%. Linn and Welner (2007) discussed research cited in *amicus* briefs filed by the American Educational Research Association (AERA), American Psychological Association (APA) and the Massachusetts Superintendents, offering numerical guidelines for enrollment in order to avoid harm by racial isolation. The minimum percentage of racially diverse enrollment recommended to avoid harm from racial isolation ranged from 15 to 30%. Linn and Welner did not commit to any particular diversity threshold; they argued that passing a threshold does not guarantee positive inter-group contact and stressed the need for future research.

In South Africa, van der Berg (2001) used a 70% threshold where schools in which learners from different population groups make up 70% or more of enrollment, were labeled “mixed.” Schools serving 70% or more learners from a single race category were labeled as “mainly that population group.” The danger in applying this threshold is that a school labeled as mixed could have a learner population consisting of one or more dominant or minority groups.

### **Significance of Study**

Measuring interracial contact or exposure and isolation at school level is important for several reasons. First, it helps policymakers or end users identify schools that create opportunities and the environment for contact or exposure across racial boundaries and those that limit such opportunities through an environment that may serve to strengthen racial stereotypes. Second, it informs strategic planning, as noted by the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) in its 2005 *Protocol for Race Profiling in GDE*

*Institutions* (2005). A third reason is that it provides officials the opportunity to give recognition to schools that create and promote environments and opportunities for cross-racial contact and exposure and target schools that limit such opportunities for intervention.

Schools have been known to use provisions in the Constitution of 1996 and the South African Schools Act (SASA) of 1996 to justify the exclusion of learners. For example, school governing bodies (SGBs) have the power to set admission and language policy, while parents vote on school fee levels at the annual budget meeting. Fiske and Ladd (2004, 99) asserted that “the authority granted to local school governing bodies by the South Africa Schools Act has allowed many of the formerly white schools to maintain disproportionately white student bodies by pursuing admissions and related strategies that in effect limit black enrollments”. Thus, the autonomy afforded to SGBs by SASA leaves the door open for “subtle discrimination” against Black learners (Fiske & Ladd 2004, 99).

Interracial contact, perceptions and distance are already measured on a broader level in South Africa. The *SA Reconciliation Barometer*, conducted annually by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, measures six reconciliation hypotheses (of which race relations is one) by tracking indicators underpinning the primary variables of each hypothesis. Indicators for the race relations hypothesis, “If citizens of different races hold fewer negative perceptions of each other, they are more likely to form workable relationships that will advance reconciliation” (Hofmeyr 2008, 3) are cross-racial contact,

perceptions and social distance indicators. Schools are microcosms of society; therefore, testing this hypothesis and measuring its associated variables and indicators will be applicable at school level.

Frankenberg and Lee (2002, 23) cited results from Civil Rights Project studies that indicated “important educational and civic benefits for students who attend diverse schools. They noted that “Desegregation puts minority students in schools with better opportunities and higher achieving peer groups” (Frankenburg & Lee 2002, 5). Limited or lost educational opportunity translates into unequal outcomes and income inequality. Thus, continued or high levels of school segregation has implications for human resources and ultimately, socio-economic development.

## **Methodology**

The data sources for this study were two datasets (in Microsoft Excel) from the Education Management Information System (EMIS) database of Gauteng Province; one containing learner race data from 1996 to 2005 and the other learner race and gender data from 2006. Data were obtained in 2007. These datasets were reformatted and merged to construct a single dataset. The variables included district names, each school's Gauteng reference (EMIS) number, name of school, public/independent indicator, school level, ex-department, physical address and the number of learners per race group, organized by year. A decision was taken to limit analyses to 2003 – 2006 data to avoid duplication of the 2004 study by Sujee that focused on 1996 – 2002 data.

### ***Data Quality***

Drawbacks exist in using administrative data. Among the drawbacks are capacity constraints and refusal to report race-based data at school level, which may affect the quality of such data. Administrative data also usually have to be reformatted or organized to suit the purpose of research.

Initial quality checks on the data revealed missing and irregular data for several schools. To improve the quality of the data for research purposes, researchers embarked on a data cleaning exercise. The result was that schools that underreported enrollment data or schools whose data were questionable were deleted from the database. The remaining data were subjected to descriptive analyses through use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel .

### ***Procedures***

Firstly, school enrollment or participation rates by race group were examined within the broader context, i.e., the percentage five to nineteen year olds per population group in Gauteng and the proportion of each group attending school as measured by the 2001 Census (C 2001) and the 2007 Community Survey (CS 2007). Secondly, summary and descriptive data, i.e., frequencies, central tendencies and range were computed for each race variable. Histograms were created in order to examine the distribution of the enrollment variables for normality. In addition, standardised skewness coefficients were calculated for each enrollment variable.

The analysis on enrolment or participation rates included public and independent schools in order to get an overall picture of school enrollment in Gauteng. Thereafter, public school data were selected for analysis. Examination of the generated histograms and skewness and kurtosis coefficients revealed non-normal distributions of the enrollment variables, i.e., they were heavily skewed to the left. As a result, analyses were limited to descriptive statistics.

### **Results**

Figure 1 illustrates enrollment statistics for Gauteng schools for four years from 2003 to 2006. The graph shows very little change in the enrolment by race group. In 2003, 75% of learners in Gauteng schools were African, 17% were White, 5% Coloured and 2% Indian. By 2006, the percentage of African learners had increased to 77%, while that of White learners decreased to 16%. The percentage of Coloured and Indian learners remained constant, at five and two percent respectively, throughout the period under study.

Table 1 presents enrollment figures per population group by school type in Gauteng between 2003 and 2006. The majority of learners in Gauteng were enrolled in public schools (93% in 2003 and 92% from 2004 to 2006). African learners were the majority of learners enrolled, with an average of 72% in public schools and 4% in independent schools. White learners were, respectively, 14% and 3%, in public and independent schools.

In Table 2, 2003 to 2006 enrollment proportions per population group for each school type are presented. The data in this table reveal that independent schools are dominated by Whites and Indians, relative to C 2001 and CS 2007 data on individuals of school-going age. Although African learners form the majority in independent schools, they, together with Coloured learners are undersubscribed in independent schools. Enrollment data for public schools are consistent with C2001 and CS2007 data, except for White learners who attend both public and independent schools in greater numbers than suggested by C 2001 and CS 2007.

Table 3 shows enrollment proportions of each population group in public and independent schools for the 2003-2006 period. On average, 95% of all Coloured and 94% of all African learners in Gauteng were enrolled in public school, while 84% of White and 77% of Indian learners were enrolled in public school. The highest proportion of learners in independent schools (24% on average) was Indian, followed by Whites (16% on average).

Table four provides population group proportions per former education department. Apartheid legislation established separate departments to administer education for each of the four race groups. The Department of Education and Training (DET) administered schools reserved for African learners, the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly (HOA) schools reserved for White learners, the Department of Education and Culture: House of Delegates (HOD) schools reserved for Indian learners and the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives (HOR) schools

reserved for Coloured learners. In addition, each of the four homelands (Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda) and six self-governing territories (Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa) had a Department of Education that administered education. Each of the four provinces had an education department that administered White schools; hence the use of the acronym TED (Transvaal Education Department) in this study.

In 2003, 75% of all African learners in public schools were enrolled in former DET schools. This figure decreased to 71%, in 2006. Conversely, five percent of all African learners were enrolled in schools not formerly classified under an education department in 2003, a figure that increased to eight percent in 2006. These schools are labeled 'New' schools by Oosthuizen and Bhorat (2006). The proportion of African learners in former TED schools stayed at 14% for the 2003 to 2006 period and at three percent in each of the former HOD and HOR categories. This is an indication of New schools supplanting former HOD, HOR and TED schools as a destination of choice for African learners.

About two-thirds, or 66% of Coloured learners in public school in 2003 were enrolled in former HOR schools, a figure that decreased to 64% in 2006. Conversely, 29% of Coloured learners were enrolled in TED schools in 2003, increasing to 32% in 2006. Just over half of all Indian learners in public school attended former HOD schools in 2003; this figure decreased to exactly half in 2005 but increased back to just over half in 2006. Forty four percent of Indian learners in public school in 2003 were enrolled in



former TED schools, with a three percent increase by 2006. By 2006, the percentage of all Indian public school learners enrolled in New schools has decreased from three percent in 2003 to one percent. For the period under study, 99% of White learners were enrolled in former TED schools with the remaining one percent in New schools.

Table 5 shows the number and percentage of schools serving the four population groups in deciles. Overall, more than two thirds of schools that reported enrollment of African learners in 2003 and 2006 served between 91 and 100% of African learners. On average, about one third of schools that reported enrollment of White learners reported that they served between 91 and 100% White learners in 2003 and 2006. Three quarters of schools that reported Coloured learner enrollment served between one and 10% of Coloured learners in 2003 and 2006. Almost three quarters of schools that reported Indian learner enrollment in 2003 served between one and 10% of Indian learners; by 2006, just over two thirds of these schools reported that they served Indian learners in this category.

Of note is the fact that in both 2003 and 2006, three percent of schools that reported Coloured learner enrollment served above 70% of Coloured learners, while two percent of schools that reported enrolment of Indian learners served between 71 and 90% of Indian learners in 2003 and one percent of schools that reported enrolment of Indian learners served between 71 and 80% of Indian learners in 2006. It should be noted that in 2003 and 2006, no school served between 91 and 100% Indian learners and in 2006 no school reported Indian learner enrollment in the 81 to 90% category.

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

This study revealed expected and unexpected outcomes. It confirmed findings reported in the literature but also contributed to the existing research base. Overall, the majority of learners (just over three quarters) in Gauteng schools are African, followed by White learners. Compared with the provincial demographics as reported by Statistics South Africa (SSA) in Census 2001 (C2001) and the 2007 Community Survey (CS2007), the percentage Indian learners in Gauteng schools are consistent with the proportion of Indians of school-going age reported by SSA. However, the proportion African, Coloured and White school enrollment is inconsistent with the percentage individuals of school-going age in Gauteng as reported by SSA. African and Coloured enrollment are lower than the percentage of school-going age reported, while White enrollment is almost three times that of the reported findings by the 2001 Census and 2007 Community Survey. This could be attributed to drop-out rates among African and Coloured learners and or over-reporting. Over-reporting occurs when 18 and 19 year olds are counted as individuals of school going age when, in fact, they are attending college or university. Since these are merely hunches, the issue merits further investigation.

Comparison between and within public and independent school sectors showed a majority of learners in public schools and less than 10% in independent schools. Overall, Africans constituted the majority of learners in both public and independent schools, followed by Whites. However, when these results were compared with that of C2001 and CS2007, independent school enrollment of African and Coloured learners

fell below C2001 and CS 2007 statistics and that for Whites and Indians were higher. Independent school enrollment for Indian learners were about four times the figure reported by C2001 and CS2007, while that for Whites were more than five times the C2001 and CS2007 figure. This finding is confirmed by the results of the within group analysis. These results showed that, on average, almost a quarter of all Indian, and about 16% of all White learners were enrolled in independent schools. African and Coloured learners showed the highest level of preference for public schools and very low levels of preference for independent schools, while Indian learners showed the least amount of preference for public schools.

The enrolment trends of White learners suggest that segregation is still prevalent among Gauteng Schools, a fact that may impact negatively on the extent of interracial interaction among learners. Within the public school system, 99% of White learners were enrolled in former TED schools in the four years between 2003 and 2006. The remaining one percent enrolled in New schools meaning that White learners did not enroll in any of the schools formerly designated for the other racial groups in significant numbers, if any at all.

Enrollment of African learners in former HOD, HOR and TED schools reached a plateau while migration from former DET to New schools increased. This trend defies earlier findings and popular belief that African learners migrate mainly to former Coloured, Indian and White schools. The migration of Coloured and Indian learners from their

historically designated schools to former TED schools is consistent with findings from previous studies.

Analyses revealed that a majority of schools serving African or White learners showed low levels of desegregation while the reverse is true for schools that reported serving Coloured and Indian learners. This finding points to a greater dispersion of Coloured and Indian learners across schools which mean that they formed a majority in a few schools and were more likely to come into contact with learners from other population groups.

The majority of schools attended by African learners remain highly segregated and to a lesser extent, schools attended by White learners. Van der Berg (2001) noted that the small number of former White schools and the poor state of former Black schools limit desegregation. However, this study shows that there is room for continued desegregation and recommends that the narrow lens focused on former White schools as a destination of choice be broadened to include former Coloured and Indian schools.

This study raised important issues, such as the emergence of New schools as a destination of choice for African and (to a lesser extent) White learners; the migration of Indian learners to and from New schools and the concentration of White learners in historically White schools. Future research must focus on the geography and qualitative aspects of homogeneous, New and racially mixed schools.

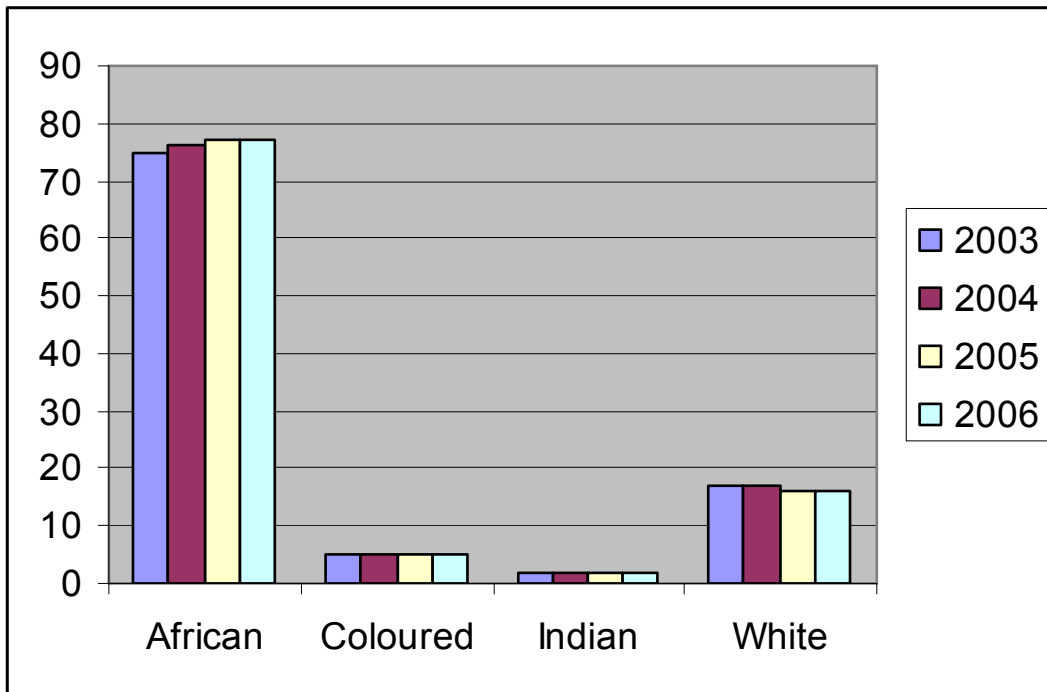


Figure 1. School enrollment in Gauteng, 2003-2006

Table 1

Enrollment in Gauteng Schools, per population group and school type, 2003-2006

Population Group	Public Schools				Independent Schools			
	Percentage per Year				Percentage per Year			
	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %	2006 %	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %	2006 %
African	71	71	72	72	4	4	5	5
Coloured	5	5	4	4	0	0	0	0
Indian	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
White	15	14	14	14	2	3	3	3
Total	93	92	92	92	7	8	8	8

Table 2

*Enrollment in Gauteng Schools, by Population Group, 2003-2006*

Population Group	Public Schools				Independent Schools			
	Percentage per Year				Percentage per Year			
	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %	2006 %	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %	2006 %
African	77	77	78	78	55	56	57	57
Coloured	5	5	5	5	3	3	3	3
Indian	2	2	2	2	8	8	7	7
White	16	16	15	15	34	33	33	33

Table 3

*Population group proportions by school type, 2003-2006*

Population Group	Public Schools				Independent Schools			
	Percentage per Year				Percentage per Year			
	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %	2006 %	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %	2006 %
African	95	94	94	94	5	6	6	6
Coloured	95	96	95	95	5	4	5	5
Indian	77	77	76	76	23	23	24	24
White	86	85	83	83	14	15	17	17

Table 4

*Enrollment proportions by population group and former department*

Year	Former Department	Schools			
		African	Coloured	Indian	White
2003		54675	653	811	1204
	New Schools	(5%)	(1%)	(3%)	(1%)
		845446	895	513	16
	DET	(75%)	(1%)	(2%)	(0%)
		33387	1985	15467	26
	HOD	(3%)	(3%)	(51%)	(0%)
		38997	49329	182	18
	HOR	(3%)	(66%)	(1%)	(0%)
		155431	21364	13243	237604
	TED	(14%)	(29%)	(44%)	(99%)
	Total	1127936	74226	30216	238868
2004		69939	684	430	1236
	New Schools	(6%)	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)
		869493	1010	285	100
	DET	(73%)	(1%)	(1%)	(0%)
		36896	2344	16055	40
	HOD	(3%)	(3%)	(51%)	(0%)
		39925	49953	160	10
	HOR	(3%)	(65%)	(1%)	(0%)
		168454	23383	14286	238186
	TED	(14%)	(30%)	(46%)	(99%)
	Total	1184707	77374	31216	239572
2005		98364	525	334	1205
	New Schools	(8%)	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)
		887232	797	261	198
	DET	(71%)	(1%)	(1%)	(0%)
		37707	2173	15264	79
	HOD	(3%)	(3%)	(50%)	(0%)
		40604	49394	116	19
	HOR	(3%)	(64%)	(0%)	(0%)
		180184	24522	14322	232129
	TED	(14%)	(32%)	(47%)	(99%)
	Total	1244091	77411	30297	239572
2006		98364	510	330	1199
	New Schools	(8%)	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)
		88797	678	252	190
	DET	(71%)	(1%)	(1%)	(0%)
		37707	2173	15228	28
	HOD	(3%)	(3%)	(51%)	(0%)
		40604	49394	57	0
	HOR	(3%)	(64%)	(0%)	(0%)
		180173	24353	14212	232397
	TED	(14%)	(32%)	(47%)	(99%)
	Total	1244745	77108	30079	233814

Table 5

*Number and percentage of schools serving population groups by enrollment category*

Year	Enrollment Categories	Schools			
		African	Coloured	Indian	White
2003	1-10%	114 (7%)	409 (75%)	204 (72%)	63 (14%)
	11-20%	56 (3%)	41 (8%)	36 (13%)	37 (8%)
	21-30%	53 (3%)	21 (4%)	23 (8%)	22 (5%)
	31-40%	61 (4%)	11 (2%)	9 (3%)	25 (6%)
	41-50%	46 (3%)	16 (3%)	3 (1%)	29 (6%)
	51-60%	39 (2%)	14 (3%)	5 (2%)	19 (4%)
	61-70%	40 (2%)	13 (2%)	1 (0%)	49 (11%)
	71-80%	38 (2%)	11 (2%)	2 (1%)	33 (7%)
	81-90%	47 (3%)	5 (1%)	2 (1%)	23 (5%)
	91-100%	1150 (70%)	2 (0%)	0 (0%)	152 (34%)
	Total	1644	543	285	452
2006	1-10%	123 (7%)	412 (74%)	200 (69%)	79 (17%)
	11-20%	45 (3%)	51 (9%)	48 (17%)	37 (8%)
	21-30%	73 (4%)	24 (4%)	24 (8%)	21 (5%)
	31-40%	47 (3%)	11 (2%)	0 (0%)	29 (6%)
	41-50%	46 (3%)	13 (2%)	5 (2%)	22 (5%)
	51-60%	40 (2%)	13 (2%)	8 (3%)	31 (7%)
	61-70%	38 (2%)	15 (3%)	1 (0%)	40 (9%)
	71-80%	40 (2%)	11 (2%)	3 (1%)	33 (7%)
	81-90%	57 (3%)	5 (1%)	0 (0%)	28 (6%)
	91-100%	1243 (71%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	146 (31%)
	Total	1752	543	289	466



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