THANK YOU FOR *NOT* COMING?

POLICY, POLITICS, AND POLITY:

HOW EDUCATION STAKEHOLDERS INTERPRET

POST-APARTHEID EDUCATION POLICY FOR IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA—

THE CASE OF CAPE TOWN

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ABSTRACT

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How Education Stakeholders Interpret

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Though many studies address the issue of immigrants in schools, relatively little research attention has been given to the education experience of immigrants who have migrated from one developing country to another (or "South-South" migration), although this accounts for about half of all migration worldwide. The studies that do exist in this realm tend to focus on the classroom experience of immigrant students without due consideration of the policy context that influences the immigrant students' school experience. Consequently, although we are learning more about immigrant student experiences in classrooms in developing countries, to date, we lack information about the policy context in which educational stakeholders in developing countries find themselves when attempting to incorporate immigrant students into an education system that, more often than not, is struggling with issues of poverty and lack of resources. This is especially true in the African context where continental migration rates continue to increase yet immigration education policies tend to be unclear, if not altogether absent.

Using the case of South Africa, an African country beset by xenophobia—most notably, the infamous xenophobic riots of 2008, this exploratory baseline sociological study sought to document how the social context of a developing country influences educational policy implementation and interpretation with regard to access for immigrant students. This qualitative study, which took place from December 2010 to November 2011, employed semi-structured interviews with 17 educational stakeholders at both the meso and the micro organizational levels of the educational bureaucracy as well as NGOs to better understand how policy was interpreted and implemented for immigrant students. Additionally, this study employed a review of existing policy documents as well as a qualitative case study using tenets of ethnographic observation. Data analysis for this study employed methods of themed coding and frequency identification.

The data analysis revealed little consensus on how education policy regarding access for immigrant students should be applied, leading to disparate understandings and lack of access for some immigrant students depending on country of origin. The data also revealed that immigrant education policy interpretation was heavily influenced not only by organizational type and role, but personal experience of the actor as well. Additionally, the findings indicated that the role of the principal was paramount in how education policy was applied in schools, and because of the policy confusion, principals in some cases were able to employ innovative methods to obtain resources that aided the immigrant learners in their school. The findings also revealed that although xenophobia does exist in the South African socio-cultural fabric, it was not the primary determinant used to grant or deny access to immigrant students. The institution of South African schooling, centered around success on a final qualifying exam, emerged as the driver of educational stakeholder policy interpretation and implementation regarding immigrant student access. Overall, the data revealed that the education situation in Cape Town was the result of a

combination of which *policies* actors used as their interpretive framework, the specialized

demographics of the Western Cape *polity*, and the interactions and *politics* between the

organizations of the educational institutions and immigrant service organizations in Cape Town.

Study findings are discussed in detail with reference to agenda for future research and actionable

recommendations for policymakers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

Chapter

LIST OF TABLES

Table

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the process of how a policy is implemented reaches far beyond the scope of simply analyzing the words of a written policy. The chasm between written policy and practice has been the subject of much study in both the academic and policymaking worlds. Education policy creation and implementation, more often than not, is often carried out in complex, multi-level organizations that have a variety of actors with different perspectives impacting how a policy (or lack thereof) is understood. Policy is not simply what is prescribed on paper, but also how stakeholder individuals and groups interpret a situation through practice (Vavrus, 2005). Education policy is further complicated when policies are nebulous, conflicting or altogether absent.

Education policy is influenced by external factors inside and outside of a nation's borders. For example, factors such as socio-cultural context, economics, and globalization can all influence education policy creation, interpretation, and implementation. One way that globalization has influenced education is in the case of immigration. As nation-state borders have become more porous, movement of peoples across these borders has become more frequent. This is particularly true in the case of people migrating from one developing country to another, known as "South-South" migration. If mass immigration and its requisite culture clashes test the social structures and resources of *developed* countries, what then would be the effect of mass immigration on educational policy in the Global South where resources are much scarcer? Moreover, what would be the effects of mass immigration on the *interpretation* of educational policy in developing countries? These are some of the questions that this study sought to answer.

This study specifically answered one overarching question and two research sub-questions that contribute critical information to answering the main question:

What are education stakeholders' interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants in South Africa?

1. *Who are the actors and the organizations in education for immigrants in South Africa?*

2. *What are some of the factors that influence actors' interpretations of education policy for immigrants? How do those factors affect how the actors implement education policy?*

Why South Africa?

South Africa presents a unique case from which to study the phenomenon of immigrant education policy interpretation and implementation for several reasons. First, immigration from one developing country to another—known as "South-South" immigration—accounts for more than 50% of international immigration patterns (Hujo & Piper, 2007, p. 19; Ratha & Shaw, 2007, p. 3). However, despite South-South migration accounting for half of all migration movement worldwide, policy analysis and research have focused overwhelmingly on North-South migration, leaving South-South public policies under-researched (Hujo & Piper, 2007, p. 19). In the context of Africa, although official migration counts vary wildly, what is consistent is that South Africa has emerged as *the* preferred destination for African continental migrants (World Bank, 2011), despite its post-apartheid challenges including income inequality, uneven educational access, persistent poverty, and xenophobia and related violence (International Organization for Migration, 2012). Therefore, analyzing educational policy interpretation and

implementation in this context might shed needed light on the South-South policy experience in the South African context.

Second, South Africa is distinctive due to its recent troubles with anti-immigrant violence (see next section for details). This seminal event in the immigration history of South Africa provides a line of demarcation in which policy can be analyzed pre- and post-riots. This allows not only for analysis of policy, but analysis of educational policy response to external societal factors that affect immigration—in this case, anti-immigrant riots.

Third, South Africa is famous for many things, but mostly for its anti-apartheid struggle and transition from oppressive race-based system to "rainbow nation" democracy. It was shocking not only to South Africa but to the world for the worst incidence of violence since the end of apartheid to be anti-immigrant violence, where Black South Africans targeted Black Africans from other countries. With all of the emphasis placed on equality and gutting structural inequalities, particularly in the case of education, this begs the question of "How could this have happened?" And, as education was *the* flagship piece of the post-apartheid South African governmental strategy, it begs the related question of "How did South African education policymakers respond to immigration and xenophobia?" This study is not a pure policy analysis, but rather a sociological study of the education environment for immigrant students in South Africa that incorporates serious consideration of policy in order to understand how South African education stakeholders have responded to increased immigration and xenophobia.

Statement of the Problem

In May 2008, a group of young Black men from Johannesburg's Alexandra Township initiated violent attacks on people whom they perceived to be "foreign" (Hassim, Kupe, &

Worby, 2008, p. 1). The incidents included looting, assault, rape, and murder. Within days, the violence spread to other townships, both neighboring and peri-urban. The riots gained national momentum and spread to other major cities across South Africa, including the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern and Western Cape (p. 2). By the time the violence had abated three weeks later in early June, more than 60 people had died, hundreds of victims suffered critical injuries, and 40,000 immigrants had been displaced from their homes (p. 2; also UNICEF Support Report, 2009, p. 2).

The South African media and public intellectuals struggled to explain this Black-on-Black violence. Some reacted with denial, e.g., then-President Thabo Mbeki who offered that "naked criminal activity" should not be "cloaked in a garb of xenophobia" (Hassim et al., 2008, p. 4). Others, including journalists and public intellectuals, offered that xenophobia and the related riots were the result of Black South African men perceiving foreigners "as having access to monies and being able to leverage resources" that they themselves were not able to, thus further disadvantaging the Black South African man (HSRC, 2011, p. 19).

The xenophobic riots that gripped South Africa in May and June of 2008 represented a watershed moment for self-examination in the newly democratized, multiracial South Africa. The fissures in the social fabric of present-day South Africa inadvertently provided fertile ground for an event of this nature. The clash of cultures between poor South Africans and newly-arrived African im/migrants/asylum-seekers/refugees jockeying for limited resources, combined with the government's failure to recognize and address the brewing conflict, contributed to what exploded into the xenophobic riots.

The riots gained worldwide attention not only for the violent acts which defined them, but because they represented the complete antithesis of the nation-state goal of post-apartheid

South Africa (a/k/a "The Rainbow Nation"), which declares in its constitution that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" (South Africa Constitution, Preamble). Although the goal of inclusion is stated clearly in the Constitution, some of the policies of South Africa were anything but inclusive for "all who live in it." Beyond the laws and edicts about who was allowed into South Africa to establish residence, few policies were expressly designed to facilitate the integration of newly-arriving immigrants into the existing South African *social* fabric. Additionally, policymakers did not adequately address the continuing crisis of rampant poverty and income inequality for poor, primarily Black South Africans taking place in a country that is considered the richest on the African continent.

The failure of the government to provide social services and a path to effective integration to protect the growing number of immigrants[1] from neighboring African nations contributed to a constellation of events that eventually led to the xenophobic riots which, to date, are the most violent episode in South African post-apartheid history. The situation became so critical that although the South African government took the lead in responding to the violence, United Nations agencies, including the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), were called in to address response gaps in several social sectors including education. With the blessing of the South African government, UNICEF was the point organization and primary policymaker for providing education for the school-aged victims of the xenophobic violence (UNICEF Support Report, 2009, p. 2).

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[1]Official estimates of the number of immigrants in South Africa vary widely from about 2,000,000 immigrants (IOM, CORMSA), which represents about 4% of the population, all the way to 5,000,000 immigrants in the country (ACCORD-SA), representing about 10% which is equivalent to the White population.

When the smoke had cleared and the violence had abated, the South African government and policymakers sought to create some policy response to prevent a repeat of the xenophobic riots. There were policy efforts in other social service sectors such as health, which saw an immediate response by both national policymakers and international organizations such as Human Rights Watch (2009) that undertook a study to determine the health conditions of the immigrants and what needed to be done. In the housing sector, the South African government's social science research outfit, the Human Sciences Research Council (2008), undertook an immediate "rapid response" study to determine if housing was a contributor to the violence and to make policy recommendations designed to alleviate xenophobic tensions.

However, one sector that was very conspicuous by its silence was that of education. No significant efforts, nationally or provincially, were made to address the issue of increased immigration as it related to education. This was particularly curious because schools, for good or bad, have often been seen as the avenue by which the collective consciousness and the collective conscience are conveyed (Durkheim, 1956, p. 13). In fact, educational policy, beyond a language exemption, did not address the issue of how to successfully integrate students into South African schools nor did it provide a blueprint of what was expected of educational administrators and school staff about what to do to improve access to schools as well as the in-school education experience for immigrant students. The only references to education with respect to immigrants appear in policy documents that speak to immigrant and refugee rights (the Immigration Act of 2002 and the Refugee Act of 1998), and the references that do exist are not the main focus of the document.

Therefore, it would seem that schools would be a good place to initiate an integration/anti-xenophobia strategy—at the very least discursively. Moreover, the absence of

education in the public debate about immigration and xenophobia was doubly curious in a country where education had, since the inception of race-blind democracy, been positioned as the primary medium for dismantling the vestiges of apartheid and serving as a conduit to a participatory, race-blind democracy (Spreen, in Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, p. 105). Thus, this raises the question of what is happening with immigration education in South Africa when there is no explicit policy for addressing the increase in the immigrant population in schools.

The South African constitution mandates that South Africa belongs to "all who live in it," and also asserts that "*everyone* has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education; and to further education, which the state through reasonable measures must make progressively available and accessible" (SA Constitution, Preamble & Section 29.1). The overarching educational policy framework, the South African Schools Act of 1996, which explicitly states that it "follows the constitution" (SASA, 1996, Amended National Norms Policy Framework) in crafting policies, makes no explicit mention of "im/migrant," "asylum-seekers" or "refugee" students in its document, except in the context of exempting them from language testing for exit exams. In contrast, the South African National Curriculum Statement (NCS), a national education policy *implementation* document, prefaces its elucidation of the "how-to's" of the curriculum by stating that "this curriculum is written by South Africans, for South Africans," which seems to exclude immigrant students who do not hold a South African citizenship from consideration (NCS Document, preface).

Sharing this sentiment is the Refugee Act of 1998 which states that while asylum applications are being processed, applicants are *not* allowed to work or access education in South Africa (Palmary, 2009, p. 3). This is of particular concern as an asylum application can take up

to year or more to process, which has implications for education including interruption of education (p. 9).

The Immigration Act of 2002, a policy document that regulates the borders of South Africa, states that "no learning institution shall knowingly provide training or instruction to an illegal foreigner" and, furthermore, in the case of basic education, implicates the school principal as a possible accomplice in its assertion that "if any illegal foreigner is found on the premises where instruction…is provided…it shall be presumed that such foreigner was allowed to receive instruction…by the person who has control over such premises…" (Immigration Act, 2002, section 39). This is a clear policy with respect to exclusion of immigrants without legal paperwork allowing them to stay in the country, but the policy does not address how to integrate students who do have legal paperwork or how to assist those without legal paperwork.

This assemblage of policy documents—including a constitution that guarantees the right to a basic education for all regardless of legal status, two policy documents (Refugee Act of 1998 and Immigration Act of 2001) that state that immigrants without legal status are denied the right to an education, and the national education policy document (South African Schools Act of 1996) which does not reference immigrant education at all—can lead to policy confusion about immigrant education. This lack of a consistent message among the policy documents is confusing for educators and policy stakeholders seeking to understand what the prevailing education policy concerning immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers actually *is*. This confusion is further complicated by the harsh poverty of South Africa where schools are often strapped for basic resources, and the addition of a swelling population of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers stretches too-thin resources even thinner. As a result, some principals who are grappling with how to manage with few resources sometimes make decisions about student

access based on whether or not immigrant parents are able to pay the school fee regardless of the learners' country of origin (ARESTA, personal communication, August 2010). Due to the ambiguity of specifics regarding immigrant students' access and inclusion, policy stakeholders are left on their own to "wing it" in an environment of conflicting policy edicts, post-riot politics, and creative juggling of limited resources and funding for schools.

In cases of conflicting or absent policies, scholars have found that teachers interpret and reconstruct policy in ways that mirror previous practices or shift slightly, leading to incremental changes (Coburn, 2001a; Guthrie, 1990; Jennings, 1996, 1997; Shifter & Fosnot, 1993; Smith, 2000; Spillane, 1999). In their study of how school leaders interpret and adapt policy, Spillane et al. (2002) found that school leaders interpret and enact policy in ways that reflect their "preexisting understandings and their overlapping social contexts inside and outside of school" (Coburn, 2005, p. 479).

Beyond the educator's own interpretations of absent or conflicting policies, one could also consider how the institutional structure of an education system such as this can influence how a policy is interpreted and implemented. For example, in their study of school tracking in the United States, Pallas, Natriello, and Riehl (1999) found that the practice of tracking was oftentimes not the result of deliberate attempts by school staff to segregate students according to perceived ability, but instead simply the function of the institutional structure of the schools which called for *scheduling* students in a certain manner. In the field of comparative and international education, scholars such as Anderson-Levitt (2003) and Baker and LeTendre (2005) offer that the institutional structure of schooling in developing countries is influenced not only by the national school system, but also by variations from district to district and from classroom to classroom (Anderson-Levitt, 2003, pp. 2-3).

This suggests that the role of the institutional structure of the South African education system on policy interpretation should be considered in seeking to understand interpretations and implementation of education policy for immigrants in the South African context, as there may be institutional constraints or policy decrees that drive interpretation and implementation more so than societal xenophobia. Therefore, the design of this study accounted for the examination of myriad causes of how education policy is interpreted and implemented for immigrants in the South African context. Findings could be useful to policymakers seeking to understand how immigration policy is interpreted and implemented by education stakeholders in South Africa.

Implications for the Field of Policy Studies

The implications of this research for the field of Comparative and International Education and Education Sociology studies are threefold. First, this study has the potential to add to emerging scholarship regarding immigration and education, particularly in a "South-South," *intra*-African context. The majority of scholarship regarding immigration has disproportionately focused on migration from the Global South to the Global North (UNDP, 2009, p. 5). This over-focus on North-South research has little resemblance to actual immigration patterns where South-South immigration accounts for at least 50% of overall immigration (OECD Report, 2012, p. 5; UNDP, 2009, p. 5).

Increasingly more research is being done on South-South immigration policy including education. One point that has emerged from this new scholarship is that in developing countries, integration issues have not been introduced into the formal policymaking arena. This study sought to speak to that lack by focusing on integration issues for immigrant students, including looking at policy from a sociological perspective.

A second implication for this research is that a study of this kind allows for an analysis of immigration using new lenses. This study, situated in South Africa, presents an ideal case for the study of immigration in a largely uni-racial, majority Black context. This allows for the identification of other factors, besides racial differences, that contribute to immigration tensions. In the South African context, the race of the immigrants and native peoples of the receiving country are more often not the same—Black Africans. Therefore, the oft-used explanation of racism as the main cause of immigration-related tensions and related policy failures simply does not apply, and this research might help to uncover some other factors that need to be considered when looking at immigration and education, particularly in the African context.

Third, this study adds to the scholarship regarding policy and practice in the case of what is happening when no explicit policy edict is available or if there are conflicting policies. Many studies have been conducted to examine the space between policy and practice in education when the policy is written. It has already been well-documented, including in the international education context, that principals, teachers, and other education stakeholders for various reasons do not apply written policy uniformly. Less is known, however, about what happens—and why it happens—in developing countries when the education policy for immigrants is altogether absent or there are conflicting policies regarding immigration in general. To that end, this study offers an opportunity to analyze the educational realities using policy as a springboard for a broader sociological analysis of the educational situation in South Africa regarding immigrant students.

Study Description

This study was influenced by my own experience of working on a non-related policy project during the xenophobic riots of 2008. During that period, I realized that there was little to

no scholarship on immigrant education in South African context, particularly from the standpoint of policy analysis. This was highly unusual given the extensive focus on education in South Africa. To that end, I chose to center the research on the following research question and two related sub-questions:

What are education stakeholders' interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants in South Africa?

1. *Who are the actors and the organizations in education for immigrants in South Africa?*

2. *What are some of the factors that influence actors' interpretations of education policy for immigrants? How do those factors affect how the actors implement education policy?*

This study took place in Cape Town, South Africa during 2010-2011 and employed a qualitative methodological approach. Data were obtained using four different methods—background research, archival document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation ethnography—in a school with a relatively large immigrant population. Research participants included policymakers and administrators at the Western Cape Education Department; NGO staff working with refugees, immigrants, and asylum-seekers particularly in the education sector; and school-based staff including teachers and principals. The intent was to obtain a multi-level, cross-section sample of those who interpret and implement education policy for immigrants in order to gain a robust understanding of education stakeholders' interpretations and implementation of education policy for immigrants.

It should be noted here that the term "immigrant" is used in this research as an all-encompassing term for anyone who has migrated to South Africa. In South African parlance, the

term "refugee" is often used to describe any foreigners, regardless of their refugee status. This distinction is made here in reference to the direct quotes from research participants that reference "refugees" when speaking about immigrants of any kind.

Research Rationale

The study of immigration and education is certainly not a new interest for comparativist or educational sociologists, and there is increased interest in the impact of immigration policy on mass schooling (Pinson & Arnot, 2010, p. 248). There are a growing number of studies on immigrant children in OECD countries (Bourgonje, 2010, p. 14; Pinson & Arnot, 2010, p. 248). However, a dearth of studies remains on immigration and education in a South-South—specifically an *African*—context. Although we can hypothesize about the possible challenges that South-South immigration might bring to schools in developing nations, we, as researchers, need to draw from empirical evidence to formulate effective education policy or analysis.

Studies are needed that focus on immigrant students in the African context as they mirror the current trend of increased immigration in the African context. As a result this study could contribute to the emerging scholarship regarding South-South migration. The studies that do exist tend to focus on the perspective of immigrant students and their issues with adapting to their school environment and their new country. There is a "noticeable lack of sociological study of the ways in which the needs of these pupils are conceptualized" by education service providers and policymakers (Pinson & Arnot, 2010, p. 248). As Pinson and Arnot argue, policymakers' "response to asylum seeking and refugee youth provides one of the greatest tests of social justice for any system" (p. 248), which further warrants a study of this kind, particularly in a country like South Africa where social justice, peace, and reconciliation in education are key

avenues for eradicating the remainders of apartheid. To that end, this study sought to provide data to South African policymakers aiming to create policies appropriate to the changing demographics of their schools and societies.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to analyze, in the absence of a specific reference to immigrant students in *education policy* documents, how education policy is interpreted and implemented by education stakeholders, including government officials at various levels, school-level staff, and NGOs. The overarching goal of this study was to identify who the stakeholders are that have influence over immigrant education in South Africa, reveal their interpretations of how education policy should be practiced, and identify factors that influence those interpretations and implementation strategies.

Definitions for the Study

Actors, as defined by Giddens (1979), are those who contribute to shaping the structure of an organization and have agency, albeit to varying degrees. Actors can be internal (educational administrators, teachers, principals) or external (NGOs) persons with responsibility for carrying out some aspect of educational policy. Actors have a direct impact on and responsibility for carrying out actions that relate directly to official government policies and are influential in how policy is implemented. Actors hold a stake in an effective interpretation and implementation of policy.

Interpretation is defined as how one understands and makes sense of a policy, either written or implicit. Interpretation, per this study, is understood to be a culturally-created process

influenced by various factors, including structure, organizational role, personal
characteristics, and experiences.

Stakeholders is synonymous with the word "actors" for the purposes of this study.

Immigrant, for the purposes of this study, is defined as a non-native person who has relocated to
South Africa for economic, political, safety or other reasons. Here, the categories of
"immigrant" include "international migrant," "immigrant," "asylum-seeker," and
"refugee." In this study, the different types of immigrants are grouped together to gain a
collective understanding about what happens with non-native students in South African
schools.

Implementation refers to policy action and what is actually done. In this study, implementation
is defined by two specific indicators, access and inclusion.

Access is defined in this study as being able to enroll in a school.

Inclusion is defined as being able to fully participate in school activities, and is measured, for
the purposes of this study, as having the same access to teachers and other school-related
resources as well as having equal attention in the classroom.

Organization is defined as a collectivity with a relatively identifiable boundary, normative order
(rules), ranks of authority (hierarchy), communications systems, and membership
coordinating systems (procedures) (Hall & Tolbert, 2005, p. 4).

Structure is defined as the major determinant of the actions of the actors within it. It includes a
"fairly stable set of taken-for-granted assumptions shared meaning and values that form a
backdrop for action" (Smirich, 1985, p. 58).

Bureaucracy is an organizational form that has identifiable dimensions such as division of labor, hierarchy of authority, extensive rules, separation of administration from ownership, and hiring and promotion based on technical competency (Hall, 1963, p. 32).

Institutions are groups of organizations consisting of distinctive values that are conscious and explicitly articulated by the organizational participant, i.e., schools are guided by educational values, governments by political values, and so on (Zucker, 1983, p. 6). Institutions produce common understanding about what is appropriate action involving task-related practices and procedures (Zucker, 1977, p. 731).

NOTE: it should also be assumed that any mention of "education" in this study references formal basic education in South Africa, and in the case of this research, grades 8-12.

Discussion of Theories Seminal to the Research Question

In this section, I discuss two sociological theories used as frameworks to fashion an actionable theoretical framework for answering the research question: Neo-Institutional theory and Resource Dependency theory. During the course of the research, it became apparent that a one-size-fits-all theory was not sufficient to analyze all of the moving parts in the South African education context that affected the interpretation and implementation of education policy for immigrants—hence the concurrent use of two sociological theories. This section outlines the tenets of both Neo-Institutionalism and Resource Dependency, with particular attention paid to the elements directly related to this research. This section concludes with a comparison, contrast, and synthesis of both theories.

Neo-Institutional Theory

Neo-Institutionalism provides a broad illustrative lens through which to explore the research question: *What are education stakeholders interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants in South Africa?* However, the focus of Neo-Institutionalism on the role of macro- and meso-level institutions (national and provincial Departments of Education) in shaping actors' behaviors does not fully allow robust identification of more task-oriented factors, strategic behaviors, power dynamics or inter-organizational factors that actors employ when interpreting education policy for immigrants students in South Africa. Rather, it provides a limited theoretical lens from which to account for and examine actor agency. Such a lens is needed in a situation examined by this research that looks at actor action when policy edicts are conflicting. If the institution is not clear on its position, then actor agency takes on additional import as there is likely to be actor innovation in an environment with no clear policy directives for immigrant student education. Therefore, Neo-Institutional theory was paired with Resource Dependency theory, which focuses on actors' *tasks* as the locus of power rather than the *institution*, and encompasses and encourages the examination of these components as part and parcel of sociological inquiry.

Since the 1970s, Institutional theory, and its offspring Neo-Institutional theory, has been increasingly employed as a theoretical framework for examining education systems and organizations in the field of Comparative and International Education (Baker & Wiseman, 2006, p. 1). Neo-Institutionalist theory, while adhering to the same Weberian tenets of bureaucracy, legitimization, rationalization, and the "Iron Cage," offers more room for individual agency—though not unfettered.

Neo-Institutionalism prioritizes the influence of the external environment in policy interpretation and implementation, including the use of policy controls and pressures that the institutional environment wields over its organizations. Examples of institutions include public policy agencies, regulatory structures, and laws that compel certain actions by enacting rules and punitive measures for failure to adhere to those rules (Scott, 2008). These influences are explicit and actors consciously follow (or not) the edicts of the institution. In concert with the conscious action of the actor, there is also the "moral boundary" of the actor which influences action and decision-making in the institutional context and is less conscious. For example, a person who believes that immigrants should have access to health care might go out of his/her way beyond what the policy calls for to provide it because that person believes it is the right thing to do.

Further expanding on the theory of Neo-Institutionalism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983), re-examined and updated Weber's original concepts in their important work, *The Iron Cage Revisited*. DiMaggio and Powell explain why organizations, despite a veritable cornucopia of different influences, were so similar in design and action. They found that the reasons for bureaucratization and rationalization have changed since Weber's time, and that since a near-complete bureaucracy of both the state and the corporation had been already achieved, meaning institutionalization of a hierarchical organization with written policies, bureaucratic gatekeepers, and legitimacy, those organizations as a result have become more homogeneous (p. 147). This homogeneity, argue DiMaggio and Powell, replicates itself—not for the purposes of efficiency, but for the sole purpose of making organizations fall in line, regardless of efficiency and survival. For example, in the case of immigrant students in South Africa, if the overall goal is efficiency of the educational institution rather than serving the students—particularly immigrant students for whom the institution did not/will not/cannot account, then it might follow that the

immigrant students are being underserved—not only as a result of xenophobia or prejudice, but also as a result of the sheer overwhelming force of the bureaucracy and its policy levers that exert influence all the way down to the school level. In their discussion of Neo-Institutional theory, DiMaggio and Powell, while acknowledging the force of bureaucracy, also outline three mechanisms for how organizations deal with change within the "Iron Cage": *coercive isomorphism, mimetic isomorphism,* and *normative isomorphism* (p. 150).

Coercive isomorphism suggests that organizations change when the cultural expectations from society force a response or when pressure is applied from other organizations in the form of laws, mandates or policies. In the case of South Africa and education policy as it is applied to immigrants, few explicit policy edicts have been issued to deal with the integration and access of immigrant students. Furthermore, no policies have emanated from an educational policy document beyond language test exemption regarding the facilitation of integration and access of immigrant learners. Therefore, if the data reveal any coercion in the interpretation and implementation of education policy, it would be tacit.

DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) description of *mimetic isomorphism* speaks to organizations' tendencies to "mime" or imitate another's structure because the organization is going through a period of uncertainty. The "miming" is a response to that uncertainty. Hypothetically, if there was an instance of the Western Cape province "borrowing" its education policy with respect to immigrants after that of another South African province or another country, then it could be said that mimetic isomorphism is the sociological reason for the organizational change.

The third type of change management mechanisms that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) speak to in organizations is that of *normative isomorphism*, which suggests that organizational

change is the result of professionalization (p. 152). Professionalization is the effort by members of an organization to "define the conditions and methods of their work" (Larson, 1997, pp. 49-52). This can be the result of credentialing and certifications; or in the case of South Africa, where because of apartheid education's legacy, the educational attainment of the educators varies widely (Wollhunter, 2006, p. 130), it can be the result of professional networks and interpersonal connections and methods of policy message delivery. Normative isomorphism also speaks to the practice of organizations adopting change because in-house professionals have extolled the superiority of a new practice. In the case of this research, an example of this could be principals in a network with extensive experience regarding immigrant students, sharing best practices with each other, thus creating unofficial (read: unwritten) policy. Because of their experience, these principals emerge as experts, while principals who are newly dealing with immigrant learners look to the profession for clues on how best to integrate these students.

DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) Neo-Institutional theoretical framework allows for some agency of actors, particularly in normative isomorphism, where networks of educators could influence change in an organization through professionalization. It should be noted here, however, that the concept of change is not synonymous with efficiency. DiMaggio and Powell look at change for the sake of maintaining the bureaucracy, with efficiency not necessarily being the reason for change.

The starkest difference between Institutional theory and Neo-Institutionalism is that in the latter, organizations are not solely passive victims of the institutional environment. Though DiMaggio and Powell (1983) wrote a seminal piece about how actors can exercise agency and how organizations can change in a bureaucratic institutional environment, the first thorough and

notable application of Neo-Institutional theory to the institution of education preceded the work of DiMaggio and Powell by a few years.

Prior to DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) work, *Iron Cage Revisited*, John Meyer (1977), a founding father of Neo-Institutional theory, examined the question of "How does education affect society?" through a Neo-Institutional lens (p. 55). Meyer found that the institution of education was so profound that it had an effect on all individuals in society—even those who did not attend school (p. 56). As a result, the institution of education "transforms the behavior of people in society quite independent of their own educational experience" (p. 56). Meyer posits that the primary function of the institution of education is not to educate its citizenry, but in fact to legitimize the social system that is already in place through bureaucratic practices that foster replication of the status quo. One such legitimization method is what Meyer refers to as the Universality of Collective Reality.

Meyer's (1977) Universality of Collective Reality offers that mass education produces a common social ethos about the common culture of society, including the meanings of citizenship, personhood, and individuality (p. 69). According to Meyer, the institution creates "the assumption of a national language, reifies a certain national history, constructs a common civic order, validates the existence of a common reality, and constructs broad definitions of 'citizen' and 'human rights' as part of the modern world view" (p. 69).

Because of Meyer's (1977) exegesis and application of the Neo-Institutional lens to the institution of education, the floodgates opened for comparative studies about the institution of education worldwide, including several seminal studies by Meyer himself and with other sociologists (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson, & Boli-Bennett, 1997; Ramirez & Boli, 1987; Wiseman & Baker, 2006, p. 3). The aggregate of these studies found no strong

correlations between political, economic, and international social realities and the rise of mass education worldwide. Despite what was happening in the world at large, the rise of mass education continued unabated. This led Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson, and Boli-Bennett (1987) to declare that the proliferation of mass education was a function of institutionalization rather than a response to the needs of countries. Studies of this kind that looked at the institution as a reason to expand education, led to even more comparative and international education studies employing a Neo-Institutional lens.

Neo-Institutionalism also allows for analysis of how the institutional environment and cultural beliefs shape the behavior of the actors in the organization (Nee, in Smelser & Swedberg, 2003, p. 23). Institutions, according to Nee (2003), are not just formal and informal restrictions on and incentives for actors in an organization, nor are they simply institutional beliefs, norms, networks, communities, social systems or social systems. Actors themselves are the most important factor in institutions—whether as individuals, networks or drivers of organizational action (Nee, in Smelser & Swedberg, 2003, p. 24). For the Neo-Institutional camp, the institution is defined as "a system of interrelated informal and formal elements—customs, shared beliefs, conventions, norms, and rules—governing social relationships within which actors pursue and fix the limits of legitimate interests" (p. 24). For the Neo-Institutionalist, institutions, rather than being static bureaucracies, provide avenues for collective action—both good and bad—by facilitating and organizing the interests of actors and enforcing principal-agent relationships. This requires a realignment of interests, norms, and power (Nee, in Smelser & Swedberg, 2003, p. 24). Therefore, the structure of the organization—driven by the institution—shapes the behaviors, including interpretations and implementations of the actors within said structure.

By employing a Neo-Institutional theoretical framework to this research, the mechanisms that direct the immigration policy interpretation and implementation in the Cape Town school system and the interpersonal ties can be uncovered. Culture, modes of interaction, and collective decision-making strategies are of paramount importance when seeking to explain an organization from a Neo-Institutional perspective. In modern applications of Neo-Institutionalism, rationality, which posits that decisions are made with efficiency as the primary motivator (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 341), is inextricably intertwined with personal ties, including ties formed because of similar race, language, culture, and so on (Nee, in Smelser & Swedberg, 2003, p. 26). Actors are motivated by interests and preferences, which become increasingly important when there is no policy or when policies are conflicting, as in the situation of immigrant education in South Africa. In that situation, the policy interpretation is up to the actors' discretion, albeit bounded in the institution's context.

Neo-Institutionalism Application in Comparative and International Education Research

By examining the role of the institution's bureaucracy beyond efficiency and improvement of student outcomes, other causes for institutional change and growth could be uncovered. This is of particular importance in the Comparative and International Education context where forces of all kinds (international, local, nation-state, "glocal," etc.) can significantly impact education in developing countries. Scholars such as Steiner-Khamsi (2004) in her book *The Global Politics of Educational Policy Borrowing* found that educational institutions are more likely to adopt policies from abroad when their own "incremental reform strategies" fail. Thus, they seek to borrow from an invented/imagined world education community solely for the purposes of *legitimization*, not improvement of educational outcomes (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, p. 4). Other scholars such Carole Anne Spreen, who have studied

educational policy borrowing in the South African context, echo Steiner-Khamsi's (2004) sentiment, observing that the Outcomes-Based Education policy was unsuccessful in the Australia/New Zealand context from which it was borrowed. However, because of its rhetorical focus on democratization and its Australian/New Zealand roots which gave the policy Western legitimacy without an imperialist pall, it was adopted in South Africa for reasons having little to do with student outcomes and everything to do with creating governmental legitimacy in the post-apartheid space (Spreen, 2004, in Steiner-Khamsi, p. 102).

In their Neo-Institutional study of international emergency education, Bromley and Andina (2010) assert that that field has grown due to the institutionalization of the idea of education as a human right and the increasing rationalization of approaches to solving social problems, rather than any desire to improve student outcomes (p. 575). They also assert that the decoupled space between the policy of formal educational standards and on-the-ground practice actually weakens the applicability of the standards. However, conversely, the chronic chasm between policy and practice actually helps to legitimize the emergency education field by providing the opportunity to remain relevant and thus expand the definition of humanitarian intervention to include education (Bromley & Andina, 2010).

Spillane et al. (2002) in their study of school leaders in the United States found that the actors' behaviors are "situated within institutional sectors that provide norms, rules and definitions of the environment that both constrain and enable action" (p. 734). In the context of education policy, especially in an environment like that of South Africa where education has taken a beating in the court of public opinion, legitimacy is important to the field (McLea, 2010). To that end, education policy interpretation could be the result of "preserving the legitimacy of

the institution…[employing] 'the logic of confidence' to maintain public support" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 356).

By applying Neo-Institutional lenses to the institution of education and its bureaucracies, several different research advantages emerge. First, researchers are able to enter into the study of education situations without the presupposition that the institution's main objective for any action is solely to improve student outcomes. Neo-Institutional theory offers that institutions have many reasons for looking the way they do, for people acting in institutions the way they do, and for how institutional change occurs. In this research, Neo-Institutional theory offers a lens through which to identify which institutional constraints affect actor policy interpretation and implementation.

In a situation like that in South Africa, much effort, money, and attention have been spent on re-visioning mass education from an apartheid system designed to create nation-states full of pliant, disempowered Black South Africans to a race-blind institution, whose role is to serve as an antidote to the remaining vestiges of apartheid. A Neo-Institutional theoretical framework can uncover a great deal about how the institution of apartheid, though no longer legal, impacts education to this day in terms of norms, rules, shared beliefs, and conventions within the institution. Neo-Institutionalism lends itself to examining multi-layered, complex institutions while accounting for both endogenous and exogenous forces that impact policy and practice.

Resource Dependency Theory

Resource Dependency emerged as a sociological theory at roughly the same time as Neo-Institutional theory (Meyer, 1977; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). However, the two theories differ in the units of analysis—Neo-Institutionalism looks at the institution, its efficiency, and the role of actors in legitimizing the institution, while Resource Dependency focuses on inter-organizational

dynamics, power, and access to resources as drivers of organizational action, behavior, and change. As Davis and Cobb (2009) state in their article "Resource Dependency Theory: Past and Future," "when scholars study power in and around organizations, they are highly likely to draw on Resource Dependency theory" (p. 3). The concept of power is of great significance in a post-apartheid society like South Africa, where issues of race and power are still intertwined in the social fiber of the country and its most revered institutions—schools. Therefore, any examination of South African educational policy would be incomplete without a theoretical framework that accounts for actor agency outside of official policy. Moreover, since the policy for immigrant students regarding access and inclusion is not very clear, a lens that focuses on actors and their actions, rather than on the institution, tests the hypothesis of whether or not the institution is the primary determinant of how policy is interpreted. That is not a given. Additionally, since refugee service NGOs were included in this study as stakeholders, a theoretical framework approach was needed that allowed for an examination of the *potential* for agency that NGOs have (Rauh, 2010, pp. 30-31). Therefore, this study employed two lenses that can be either complementary or accommodate for findings that nullifies one theory or the other. In an exploratory baseline study of this kind, it was important to have the theoretical freedom to let the data test the theory, not the other way around. This was the reason to include Resource Dependency theory alongside Neo-Institutional theory in the theoretical framework guiding this inquiry.

Furthermore, given that this study addresses actors' interpretation and implementations a) at different levels (meso and micro) and b) in several different types of organizations (schools, district-level offices, provincial offices, NGOs, etc.), a framework was needed that would allow for a thorough inquiry of how policy is interpreted and implemented. By combining key principles of Neo-Institutionalism with Resource Dependency theory, an actionable theoretical

framework for this study was achieved. These dual lenses drove the data analysis of this study by allowing focus on what study participants indicated were their policy interpretations and comparing that with the policy implementation action I witnessed during the qualitative case study observation component of the research design.[2]

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) birthed the initial framework for Resource Dependency theory with the release of their groundbreaking book, *The External Control of Organizations*, which elucidated the basic precepts of the theory. These authors theorized that because organizations are unable to garner or produce all the resources they need, they interact with other organizations that control access to needed resources, thereby generating a "Resource Dependency." Dependencies, by definition, are unequal; some organizations are always more dependent on others. Therefore, to understand why an organization survives (or not), one must look at actor interaction, organizational structures, and external factors outside the organization that emerge as relevant.

Resource Dependency theory states that organizations often confront conflicting and "often incompatible" demands from a variety of sources (Oliver, 1991, p. 147). However, unlike their Neo-Institutional brethren, Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) offer that the locus of external power is not the bureaucratic institution, but the organizations (and the actors in them) that control the resources other organizations need and want.

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) also assert that in Resource Dependency theory, organizational actions and adaptations to change—including policy interpretation—are limited by external pressures that affect the internal actions of organizational actors (Oliver, 1991, p. 146). Organizational responses to external pressures are strategic, based on the motivations,

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[2]See Methodology chapter for a complete explanation of data-gathering methods.

personal preferences, and actor characteristics as well as the attributes of the organizational structure in which the actor exercises his/her agency. Resource Dependency theory suggests that actors have varying degrees of agency and some choice in response to external environmental pressures and policies.

Another key component of the Resource Dependency theory is the idea that an understanding of an organization's sub-units is critical to unpacking how organizations deal with environmental pressures and critical contingencies (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. 261). For a study like this that focuses on examining a policy phenomenon at two organizational levels (meso and micro) including related sub-units, Resource Dependency theory allows for a more thorough examination of how those sub-units and their actors interpret and implement policy for immigrants. Moreover, in considering recommendations, Resource Dependency theory provides an avenue for considering how organizations outside of the formal institution can have more influence in positively impacting outcomes, i.e., NGOs.

According to Davis and Cobb (2009), Resource Dependency theory has three foundational ideas: "(1) social context matters; (2) organizations have strategies to enhance their autonomy and pursue interests; and (3) power (not just rationality or efficiency) is important for understanding internal and external actions of organizations" (p. 5). Further definition of these foundational ideas immediately follows.

Social Context. The social context of an organization influences decision-making and policy interpretation (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Given the complexity of the South African school system, poverty rates, and the myriad challenges that unexpected mass immigration has brought to South Africa—mainly the aforementioned xenophobic riots, it would be nearly impossible for social context *not* to impact the structure of schools. How immigration education

policy actors and organizations have responded to these changes in the institutional environment can be addressed through an application of Resource Dependency theory to the data collection, analysis, and discussion.

By widening the lens to include resource control, Resource Dependency allows deeper examination of the impact of resources on an actor's interpretations of policy. In the South African context where resources are low and stakes are high, this aspect of the framework can add a great deal to the final analysis of this study.

Organizations Strategize for Their Own Interests. Additionally, Resource Dependency theory also posits that organizations strategize to obtain resources within their own networks toward the advancement of their own interests. Central to this portion of the Resource Dependency theory is the definition of an organization as a part of a network of interdependencies and social interactions (Granovetter, 1985, pp. 486-487). Dependencies are sometimes indirect and often mutual (Pffefer & Salancik, 1987, p. xii). In the Resource Dependency paradigm, the need for access to resources, including financial, physical, and power, are obtained from interaction in the external environment, and makes organizations dependent on the sources of these resources in order to survive—hence the name of the theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. xii).

In the Resource Dependency paradigm, organizations and actors have opportunities to behave in ways that impact their ability to garner resources, including power. For example, organizations can engage in behaviors that increase their autonomy and ability to pursue organizational interests. According to the Resource Dependency theory, strategic choice is both "possible and efficacious" because the strategies to work around constraint and lack of clarity were sometimes effective.

For example, in the case of South Africa's 2008 xenophobic riots, when the government was slow to respond, NGOs whose mission was to address health-related social crises (i.e., HIV/AIDS) found that their funding was drying up; they went beyond their mission to provide support to the victims of the xenophobic riots. This was attractive to the crisis-oriented international funders and, as a result, these previously struggling NGOs, now offering refugee services, had access to new monies and a new bully pulpit. Thus, the organizations adapted and found a way to survive (conversation with Vicki Igglesden, August 17, 2010).

A Resource Dependency theorist would explain that occurrence was the result of the organization's focus on not just service delivery per the stated mission, but also on other actors, resource controllers, and suppliers in the environment, including international relief organizations. Put another way, it was not the bureaucracy but the NGOs' need for resources that determined their direction, coupled with availability of resources in the South African social context. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) provide a roadmap for predicting and exploring the impact of myriad factors in the environment—not just the bureaucratic institutions—on actors' actions and interpretations of policy. This speaks to a dynamic environment where there is some agency, though there may be constraints as well. Employing a Resource Dependency lens allows for identification of the strategies the organizations use to gain the resources needed to advance and survive.

Power. Third, Resource Dependency theory focuses on aspects of power for understanding both *intra*-organizational and *inter*-organizational dimensions of power (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. xii). According to Pfeffer and Salancik, "the importance of social power as an idea is almost an inevitable outgrowth of the focus on dependence and interdependence" (p. xii). For the purposes of this study, the importance of social power in a post-apartheid context is of

great significance. Deciphering who has access to power—even in the context of an environment where everyone is disadvantaged to some degree—is essential for what influences policy interpretation, particularly for vulnerable groups like refugees and asylum-seekers in South Africa. The idea that power, rather than only efficiency, is an important factor in an organization's decision-making and interpretation strategies is embraced by the Resource Dependency theoretical framework.

Resource Dependency also suggests that there are varying levels of power among organizations because of "the particularities of their interdependence and their location in social space" (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. xiii). In the case of South Africa, the national Department of Basic Education allocates resources to each of the nine provincial offices in the country, which in turns allocates the money to the schools under their purview. It is important for the schools to do well for the Department of Basic Education to be perceived as having done its job effectively. This is of particular importance in South Africa, where education was touted as a panacea and showpiece to demonstrate to the world that apartheid was over (Spreen, in Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, p. 105).

The meso-level provincial departments of education are in a position where they are beholden to the national Department of Basic Education, yet also in a position to allocate money and enforce policy constraints on schools. At the micro-level, schools are beholden to both the provincial and national Departments of Education, and are dependent on both for resources. To that end, although all three entities—macro (national), meso (provincial), and micro (school level)—depend on each other, because the schools are in a position to receive allocations of resources and not distribute them, as well as being accountable for adhering to policy decrees,

school staff are in the position to be more dependent and thus have less power in the overall organizational environment.

Expanding on this thought and using the same South Africa example, because schools are based in a community context and interact with many different stakeholders (parents, teachers, policymakers, community leaders, etc.), they are in a position where the legitimacy of their power is always being renegotiated, depending on the position and power of the actor. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) also proffer that external resource dependencies shape internal power dynamics in an organization. Furthermore, if certain groups have more access to power and resources in society, they can wield a similar influence inside an organization. In essence, the focal point of Resource Dependency is that finding, getting, keeping, and wielding resources are what matters in organizations. Resource Dependency theory's big-tent lens allows for an account of these nuances in the organizational environment and provides a framework with which to make sense of all of the moving parts—particularly with respect to power.

In sum, in the Resource Dependency theory camp, the primary determinants of the external environment are resources and who controls them. Like the Neo-Institutional theory, Resource Dependency focuses on an organization's attempts to maintain legitimacy, although action, in the Resource Dependency context may not be the function of maintaining the legitimacy of the bureaucracy, but could be the function of decision-making for the purposes of self-interested behaviors and underlying motives (Oliver, 1991, p. 149).

Criticism of Resource Dependency Theory

Although it has been around for more than 30 years, Resource Dependency theory is still often applied as a theoretical framework for organizational studies of all kinds (Casciaro & Piskorki, 2005, p. 168). However, certain scholars have lodged critiques of the theory. These

criticisms were considered in the design of this research and are addressed in this section. A primary criticism of Resource Dependency theory is that "empirical findings can be interpreted according to the paradigm of the researcher" (Pettigrew, 1992, p. 167, in Nicholson et al., 2003, p. 4). Additionally, by concentrating research efforts on the external environment, critics of Resource Dependency theory assert that the theory is unable to include alternative activities in the analysis, i.e., the role of informal principal networks re: influencing decision-making strategies at the school level.

Casciaro and Piskorski (2005) avow that there are four main challenges in the application of Resource Dependency theory. First, although there is mention of power imbalances and dependencies, the theory conflates this as general "interdependence" without giving researchers the methodological instruments needed to measure relative power within the context of relative interdependence of organizations in a network (p. 16). Some organizations have more power than others and power is relative in scale. Casciaro and Piskorski assert that Resource Dependency theory lacks the tools to calculate that relativity accurately. Second, Casciaro and Piskorski declare that in Resource Dependency theory, the "prescription is confounded with the predictions" (p. 168). There is no way to effectively disaggregate the difference between what an organization "could do" and "what they did do" and how dramatically different those two modes of organizational action are. Casciaro and Piskorski claim that organizational abilities and motivations are not synonymous and that a "critical determinant of [organizational] ability is the extent to which the dependence to be managed is mutual or imbalanced" (p. 169). Mutual dependence does not mean equality. To that end, Casciaro and Piskorski offer that one of the limitations of Resource Dependency theory is the conflation of interdependence and mutual dependence (p. 169).

Third, the scope of the application of Resource Dependency theory has been ambiguous and needs boundary conditions to better distinguish between adaptive strategies geared towards inter-organizational operations, dependencies, and power. Finally, Casciaro and Piskorski offer that most Resource Dependency studies tend to look at the power that one actor and/or organization has over another, and not enough focus has been put on the analysis of reciprocal dependency.

Casciaro and Piskorski (2005) urge an update of Resource Dependency theory to address the four criticisms outlined above and actually call for additional social science studies in diverse contexts to test the theory, add to it, and make it stronger. Although the authors are critical of the holes in Resource Dependency theory, they are satisfied with its potential to be more predictive and inclusive of modern-day organizational realities. This research sought to add to the growing number of studies employing a Resource Dependency framework, particularly in the field of Comparative and International Education.

Resource Dependency Application in Comparative and International Education Studies

Although Resource Dependency as a sociological theory is not as often employed in Comparative and International Education research as Neo-Institutionalism, there have been recent applications of it as a theoretical paradigm for other studies in the Southern African context. In his 2008 study of Southern African higher education quality, Mhlanga (2008) draws from Resource Dependency theory to assert "that the socially embedded stakeholder university still has room for overcoming constraints of organizational influence and privileging its own priorities in the process of decision-making" (p. 59). Otieno (2012) also applied Resource Dependency theory in her study of the internationalization of African universities, using the case of Kenya. Using Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) theoretical framework, Otieno found that contrary

to the belief that post-colonial political independence would extend to national universities, the data showed that political independence only fostered a different type of resource dependence on the former colonizers and their resources. Otieno concludes that this new mode of resource dependence influenced internal policies and the organizational decision-making process.

Comparison and Contrast

Although both Neo-Institutionalism and Resource Dependency address the same topic, each one sheds a different light on different aspects of organizations. Both theories acknowledge that organizational choice is limited by external pressures (Oliver, 1991, p. 146). However, Resource Dependency differs from Neo-Institutionalism in that the former theory allows for more agency of the actors and organizations. While more recent iterations of Neo-Institutionalism do allow for some agency within the confines of the bureaucratic institution, Resource Dependency theory asserts that organizations actually have *freedom* to adapt strategic behaviors in "direct response to the institutional processes that affect them" (p. 145). Agency and freedom speak to issues of power—both of the actors and the organization. One of the founding fathers of Neo-Institutionalism, DiMaggio (1988) admits that this is a deficiency in the Neo-Institutional theoretical framework, and that issues of agency and individual power can only be addressed by "smuggling in institutional arguments of self-interested behavior…rather than theorizing them explicitly" (p. 9).

One benefit of a Neo-Institutional analysis of organizations is its elimination of the assumption that actors are rational and that all actors have the goal of improving the performance of an organization. In the aforementioned example of South Africa's adoption of outcomes-based education policy, the actors were not driven by student achievement outcomes, but by a discursive and symbolic demonstration of the end of the apartheid through education and the

World Bank Education Sector's need to continue to promote outcomes-based education policy (Spreen, in Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, pp. 104-105).

Neo-Institutionalism provides a framework for understanding the nature of the institutions that lead to non-rational behavior—and policy adoption—within complex organizations. It also provides an explanation for organizational change that is not driven by actor self-interest, but emphasizes organizational culture and "cognitive influences" shaping organizations (Rauh, 2010, p. 31). These cognitive influences form habits that organizations fall in line, eventually leading to an overall institutional isomorphism. Neo-Institutionalism does account for some choice within the context of external constraint, but ultimately proffers that organizations survive through passiveness and conformity. However, scholars such as Oliver (1991) assert that Neo-Institutionalism can accommodate individual agency and interest-seeking by removing the assumption that organizations are passive and isomorphic across all institutional conditions (p. 146).

Resource Dependency provides a task-oriented framework that encourages focus on actors with access to resources and power rather than those who enforce institutional policy edicts. The theory suggests that change is the result of organizations' adaptive strategies, "visible pressures," and efforts to obtain scarce resources needed for its survival (Oliver, 1991, pp. 147-148). Resource Dependency theory concentrates on the array of active choice behaviors that actors use to manipulate external dependencies or exert influence over resource allocation (pp. 148-149). As a result, the overarching principle of Resource Dependency theory is that organizations have control and influence over the resource environment or that organizations become interdependent on one another to achieve stability (pp. 149-150).

Although both theories attempt to explain how organizations adapt and survive in their environments while concurrently being influenced by an external environment, Neo-Institutional theory focuses on isomorphism and passivity as a way for organizations to gird themselves against a changeable external environment. In contrast, Resource Dependency theory posits that organizational stability is a result of power, control, and interdependence—all very active strategies—for the purposes of gaining stability or resources. This speaks to two different but complementary sociological departure points for the study. By looking at the research question both inside-out (Resource Dependency) and outside-in (Neo-Institutionalism), the hidden dynamics in the interpretation of the non-written policies guiding the interpretation of education policy for immigrants in South Africa can be uncovered and examined from different yet complementary sociological perspectives.

Neo-Institutionalism and Resource Dependency Applied Jointly

The combination of Neo-Institutionalism and Resource Dependency theories in developing country research is not a new concept. Rauh (2010) used a joint Neo-Institutionalist/ Resource Dependency theoretical framework to examine the strategies employed by various "Southern" or developing country NGOs (SNGOs). Through her application of this joint theoretical framework, Rauh was able to find that SNGOs utilize a wide variety of responses to external pressures ranging from passive to active. Which strategies are used depend on the relationship with the donor organization's characteristics. By applying both lenses—Neo-Institutional and Resource Dependency, Rauh's Neo-Institutional lens shed light on the isomorphism caused by the diffusion of international development norms, the power imbalances between donor and recipient. Rauh's Resource Dependency lens illustrated that SNGOs, though constrained within the bureaucratic institutions of international development, were able to

"actively negotiate and resist donor agendas" (p. 29). Had she not employed both lenses, Rauh's excellent analysis of the sociological dynamics and adaptive strategies of SNGOs would have been woefully incomplete.

The space in which the SNGOs operate is affected by the bureaucratic juggernaut and diffusion of policies that may not be in the SNGOs' best interest; however, SNGOs are able to find agency within a narrow space and adapt. By employing this bi-focal lens, Rauh (2010) was able to speak to the hegemony of the institution without disempowering and disregarding the self-sufficiency of the SNGOs and the developing countries where they are housed. Her bi-focal lens served as a buffer against that interpretive bias in sociological research which Pettrigrew (1992) warned about (p. 167, in Nicholson et al., 2003, p. 4).

For this reason, I also utilized the joint Neo-Institutional/Resource Dependency theoretical framework to answer the research question: *What are education stakeholders' interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion as applied to immigrants in South Africa?* Sociologists such as Tolbert and Zucker (1996) posit that the research application of both Neo-Institutionalism and Resource Dependency offers "two ends of a decision making continuum to explain how organizational change is either adopted or resisted" (Rauh, 2010, p. 33). The research question calls for examination of the environment, several institutional levels, and organizations, policies, and stakeholders that affect them. Research and analysis of this nature, like Rauh's (2010), require analysis of both ends of the decision-making continuum to explain the complexities of educational decision-making for immigrants in a post-apartheid, developing country context.

These theoretical frameworks are simply a guide for understanding the data, but do not cover 100% of the variance, nor are they expected to. Moreover, these are not the only "correct"

theories that could be applied to this situation. Other theoretical frameworks such as a Human Rights Education framework or even a Critical Race Theory framework could have been applied to the data to observe different characteristics and look at the phenomenon from different angles. The application of different frameworks would have yielded different data altogether. A Human Rights Education framework would yield data and analysis that look at modes of transmission of principles of equality in school curricula. A Critical Race Theory framework might focus more on the juxtaposition of race and power in the education sphere and interrogate apartheid's legacy as the reason for xenophobia in South Africa.

As this is a descriptive baseline study from a sociological perspective, I wanted to ensure that the data would speak to how people made sense of an unclear policy situation, given their personal experience with educational and societal inequality in South Africa. Any theoretical frameworks used needed to be flexible enough to allow for inquiry and understanding of how immigration, decision-making, xenophobia, and lack of resources play out in educational access. Furthermore, because of my Comparative and International Education background, any theory that I employed would have to allow me to place the findings in a global context while considering local actors, levels, and particularities.

The employment of the Neo-Institutional and Resource Dependency theories is not an attempt to prove or disprove the theories in this research context of immigrant students in South Africa. Instead, it is intended to explain the main aspects of the phenomenon at both global and local levels.

Country Profile: South Africa

South Africa is a middle-income, "emerging market" country with a plethora of natural resources; it is the southernmost country on the continent of Africa and boasts a population of approximately 50 million people (*CIA World Factbook*, 2010). South Africa has a surface area of 1,223,201 square kilometers, bordered on the north by Namibia (a former South African colony), Botswana, and Zimbabwe. On the eastern border of the country, neighbors include Mozambique and Swaziland. Within its borders lies the small kingdom of Lesotho, an independent, landlocked country completed surrounded by South Africa. South Africa is also the most ethnically-diverse population in Africa, with Blacks (79%), Whites (9.6%), Coloureds (8.9%), and Indian/Asians (2.5%) all calling South Africa home.

South Africa is a representative democracy that gained its independence in 1994, making it the last country on the African continent to free itself from formal colonial rule. South Africa is well-known internationally for its now-defunct legalized apartheid regime that was eventually overthrown after a protracted domestic and international effort to dismantle White minority rule. Since gaining independence, South Africa has had three elected presidents: storied anti-apartheid symbol Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki (and interim president Kgalema Motlanthe), and the current leader, Jacob Zuma—all of the African National Congress (U.S. Department of State, 2010).

Figure 1. Map of South Africa

Source: Country Profile, U.S. Department of State

South Africa Fast Facts

Capital: Pretoria
Area: 1,219,912 km²
Population: approx 50 million
Ethnic groups: African descent, European descent, Coloured, and Indian descent
Official language(s): English, Afrikaans, seSotho, isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele, saLebowa, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, and Tshivenda.
Religion(s): Various Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Jewish, and traditional/indigenous religions
Currency: South African Rand (ZAR)

Upon the dissolution of the apartheid regime, international sanctions were dropped and

South Africa was free to participate in the international world economy. With its well-developed

financial, legal, communication, and transport sectors, the country is well-positioned to

experience moderate to significant economic growth, which it had at a rate of approximately 5%

every year until the economic meltdown slowed growth to 3.1% in 2008. As a result, South Africa's stock exchange is the 17th largest in the world (*CIA World Factbook,* 2010).

Although the economy is robust, the distribution of wealth is still very uneven and strongly correlated with race. The Gross Domestic Product of the Gauteng province of South Africa (which houses both Johannesburg and Pretoria) exceeds that of most African countries, but there is still a tremendous poverty problem among poor Blacks in urban townships, peri-urban townships, and remote rural areas. Crime is also an issue in South Africa. Per capita, South Africa has the most assaults, rapes, and firearm murders than any other country in the world (*CIA World Factbook,* 2010).

Although South Africa has wide plains (known as "velds") that envelop a large portion of the terrain, 61% of South Africans are concentrated in urban areas. The country is divided into nine provinces: Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North West, North Cape, and Western Cape. Additionally, the country has three capitals: Pretoria, the executive capital; Bloemfontein, the judicial capital; and Cape Town, the legislative capital. The largest city, Johannesburg, is the business "hub" of the country and, like Pretoria, is located in the province of Gauteng (U.S. Department of State, 2010).

Historical Context

This section provides the historical context for the study, in particular, the history of both South African education and immigration in South Africa. This establishes the historical context needed to analyze immigration education policy interpretation and implementation in South Africa.

History of South African education policy. Prior to the institution of a formal system of apartheid education in 1953, White South African settlers, unlike most colonialists, made limited

provision for education for native Black South Africans (Abdi, 2002, p. 2). This was due in part to the history of White settlement in South Africa.

The Dutch (and the Huguenot settlers arriving shortly thereafter) who arrived in South Africa starting in 1652 were employees of the Dutch East India Trading Company rather than agents of the Netherlands sent by the government to colonize South Africa (Abdi, 2002, p. 2). However, the settlers were not colonizers in the official sense as they were linked with the Dutch East India Company rather than being there at the behest of the Dutch government (p. 3). The Dutch and Huguenot settlers wasted no time enslaving the Black South Africans and declaring themselves "divinely destined" to inherit South Africa (p. 4). With no Dutch governmental or monarchal edict regarding the education of Black Africans to guide their efforts, the settlers saw little use for education for Blacks beyond the Eurocentric educational offerings being provided by the Dutch Reformed Church that mirrored the Western tradition (p. 2). As a result, Black education in South Africa was nearly non-existent (Mncwabe, 1993, pp. 4-7). It was only in 1839 that a full-time "Superintendent-General" of education was appointed, nearly 200 years after the first settlers arrived in South Africa (Abdi, 2002, p. 3).

The Anglo-Boer War had a profound effect on native South African education. With the discovery of gold and diamonds in the late 1800s, the numbers of British immigrants to South Africa increased dramatically, threatening the original Dutch and Huguenot settlers who had now started to assume the "Afrikaner" identity (Abdi, 2002, p. 18). Eventually, the tensions between the British and the Afrikaners led to the bloody Anglo-Boer[3] war of 1899-1902. This war was especially bloody and protracted, and only ended when the depleted Afrikaners finally surrendered to the British, allowing them to assume colonial power in South Africa (p. 19).

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[3]"Boer" is an Afrikaans word meaning "farmer."

However, per the post-war agreement, Afrikaners now enjoyed significant political authority in South Africa (p. 19).

Although the British and the Afrikaners were hardly warm allies, they had this in common: both groups relied on the continued oppression and violation of Black South Africans to provide their business with exploitable labor. To that end, despite their differences, the British and the Afrikaners worked together to establish a formalized system of White supremacy in South Africa. One of the key pieces of this new racialized government was to officially label Blacks, who were the majority in their own country, as "minority status individuals," meaning that they had limited power and agency in their own land (Abdi, 2002). The knife was further twisted when the Education Act of 1907 was passed, forbidding any non-White student to attend White schools (p. 23). By the time the British ceded control of the South Africa to the Afrikaners in 1948, the ground had already been well-laid for a race-based stratification of society, especially in education. The Afrikaners simply entrenched what the British had already put in place—legalized apartheid in all aspects of South African society, including education (Msila, 2007, pp. 146-148).

Apartheid era education in South Africa. When the Afrikaners assumed control of the Republic of South Africa in 1948, one of the first policies enacted was the mandate of a racially-segregated society (Abdi, 2002, p. 19). However, unlike the British who lumped all non-Whites into the same category educationally and otherwise, the Afrikaners, keenly aware of their limited numbers relative to the non-White population, enacted the Race Classification Act of 1950, which codified South African racial classifications: White, Black, Coloured, Indian, and "other" (p. 39). By doing this, the apartheid government ensured that non-Whites would never be able to interact enough to organize themselves in rebellion against the White minority.

This separation or "apartheid" extended to education as well. Children of different races attended separate schools. This separation even extended to basic education. Education, under the first apartheid government, was the domain of the Minister of Native or "Bantu"[4] Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd, who after becoming enthralled with "race science" and eugenics during his study in Germany, applied these Nazi-esque tactics of control and oppression in South Africa (Abdi, 2002, p. 41).

The first formal education policy under apartheid was the passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which called for a more centralized, top-down education structure, thus removing the educational policy influence from provincial governments and churches (Mncwabe, 1993, pp. 4-5). As a result, South Africa's first central government education department, the Department of Bantu Education, was born (p. 4). By 1959, with the passage of the Extension of Universities Act, higher education integration was also criminalized (Robus & McLeod, 2006).

The passage of these apartheid education policies, the Bantu Act of 1952 and the Extension of Universities Act of 1959, engrained the segregationist practices that had been normalized during British colonization. As a result, there was now a centralized policy of deliberately under-educating Black South African learners. Depending on their race, according to the Bantu Education Act of 1953, students were to be taught different things based on their racial ability (Abdi, 2002, p. 49). For example, Blacks were taught only the very basics of numeracy and literacy. Verwoerd stated that this quasi-education was by design: "since Blacks were destined and content to be hewers of wood and drawers of water," there was no need to educate them beyond their limited innate abilities (p. 47). Later that same year, Verwoerd revealed an even more sinister reason for the separate and unequal education systems:

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[4]"Bantu" was synonymous with "Black" under the apartheid system.

> What is the value of teaching the native child mathematics when he can't use it in practice?…. If the native inside South Africa today in any of the schools in existence is being taught to expect that he will have his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake. (Suzman, 1993, p. 36, in Abdi, 2002, p. 45)

The Bantu Education Act also gave White owners of farms, mines or factories full and near-total control of the educative processes of schools on their property (p. 42). As a result, schools could be opened or closed without question, solely at the discretion of the farm, mine or factory owner who served as school manager (Wilson & Ramphele, 1989, p. 146, in Abdi, 2002, p. 42). Since under apartheid most South Africa Blacks were employed either in farms, mines or factories, this deleterious managerial arrangement, in essence, handed over the education of Blacks to exploitative business owners who certainly had a vested business and professional interest in making sure that Blacks *did not* and *could not* receive a quality education (Abdi, 2002, p. 42).

Though Coloured and Indians had access to slightly better educational services than their Black South African counterparts, they too suffered under the apartheid system. Their schools were far less well-funded and supported than White schools (Abdi, 2002). Moreover, short of low-level bureaucratic work, far fewer skilled jobs were available for Coloureds and Indians once their education was completed (p. 44). The apartheid education policy was designed to create an under-educated, semi-skilled labor force for the expanding White-owned South African industrial sector, and it was successful in that regard (p. 49). As a result, apartheid education policy served to establish and legitimize social and structural inequality—not just in education but throughout all parts of the South African social fabric.

By the 1960s, the African National Congress—the anti-apartheid political organization that would eventually become the newly democratic South Africa—began its program of armed struggle (Abdi, 2002, p. 50). This protest sentiment began to permeate communities worldwide,

and apartheid leaders sought to embed their apartheid principles even further, particularly in education. The National Education Act No. 39 of 1967 sharpened the apartheid education knife by being very specific about each and every aspect of how this grossly unequal system was to be implemented (p. 51).

The year 1976 was a turning point in South Africa. Black students organized and protested against the apartheid education policy that introduced Afrikaans, along with English, as a primary medium of instruction in South African schools. An estimated 20,000 high school students from various Soweto schools protested vehemently, and the apartheid government police murdered over 100 of the students (Harrison, 1987). The Soweto uprising was a critical point not only for education, but for the anti-apartheid movement in general. It galvanized the movement and brought international attention to the cruelty of the South African apartheid government. In this way, it could be said that South African education was the fertile policy ground from which race-blind freedom eventually sprung.

Post-apartheid education in South Africa. Education had always been a centerpiece and a weather vane of South African policy. During apartheid, education policy was designed to legitimize and reproduce racial inequalities. By contrast, upon the dissolution of apartheid in 1994, policymakers were keen on creating a system that would develop every South African citizen. In fact, the new South African Constitution was bold in its declaration that *all* persons living in South Africa have the right to a "quality, basic education," regardless of race, socioeconomic status or otherwise (South African Constitution, 1994). Moreover, any post-apartheid education policy had to symbolize a break with the old apartheid system (Spreen, 2004, p. 103). By 1996, post-apartheid policymakers created the "South African Schools Act," which maintained a centralized approach towards ensuring uniform governance and outlined a process

for government funding of schools, but gave more implementation and interpretation powers to the provincial government's Departments of Education. The South African Schools Act of 1996 was overt in its clarion call to education as a mode of redress for past injustices and the empowerment of learners and parents. The very same education system that had served as one of the primary agents of the apartheid system was refashioned into a very visible symbol of freedom and equality.

The chosen post-apartheid education policy was the Australian/New Zealand model of Outcomes-Based Education (OBE). The policy was attractive to post-apartheid policymakers because it mirrored a commitment to the inextricable intertwining of education and training that organizations like the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and other anti-apartheid organizations held (Maodzwa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012, p. 127).

Moreover, the Australian/New Zealand version of OBE was an attractive policy because its discourse a) emphasized competencies as opposed to objectives; b) offered OBE with a qualifications framework which provided for growth as the education system matured; and c) provided an egalitarian and democratic discourse. However, *implementation* was not nearly as carefully considered (Maodzwa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012, pp. 127-128). Some education policy scholars, most notably Jonathan Jansen, were very outspoken in their bleak predictions of how OBE would fare. One of Jansen's most famous articles is aptly titled "Why Outcomes Based Education Will Fail," in which he outlined several reasons for OBE's impending failure. Jansen (1999) asserted that the policy would fail because "the policy is being driven in the first instance by political imperatives which have little to do with the realities of classroom life" (p. 147).

OBE curriculum touted multiple points of curricular entry and re-entry for students all at levels and varying abilities, allowing them to succeed and participate in a system where everybody could pass because all levels were designed interconnectedly (Chisholm, 2005). Deliberately moving away from a content and assessment focus to a concentration on skills and competencies, OBE would, policymakers hoped, create a new South African nation of flexible, skilled learners with the ability to adapt to different situations quickly and participate fully in every aspect of a democratic society. At the heart of the OBE curriculum theory was the "learning outcome," which referred to what the learner has displayed and expected standards of performance without regard to a Eurocentric standard of assessment. The new official South African curriculum based on these outcomes was entitled *Curriculum 2005*, a document created in 1997 that was a cornucopia of domestic reform and internationally-borrowed OBE principles which teachers and administrators were to implement in their schools so that all South Africans would be educated appropriately by the year 2005. It was an ambitious plan in spirit and "feel-goodism," though sadly lacking the required detail and roadmaps necessary to help educators reach these goals (Jansen, 2001). As a result, it was almost doomed from the start.

Several years later, although well-meaning, the post-apartheid education policy has largely been considered a failure, with some analysts even declaring that "OBE is dead" (Hofmeyer, September 2, 2010). Myriad "tweaks" have been made to the policy, including many changes in standards and procedures that have left many educators further confused about what is expected of them (Chisholm, 2005). Additionally, although officially abolished, an informal apartheid structure was playing out educationally at all levels of the South African education system. Formerly well-resourced White public schools were abandoned by Whites who had the money to pay for private schools out of the financial reach of Blacks and other non-Whites

leading to segregation (McGrath, 2000). Some public schools used Afrikaans, spoken by Whites and Coloureds, as a medium of instruction to ensure that Black children could not and would not attend their schools.

Among the school-based problems were undertrained teachers who were ill-equipped to deal with the social challenges in South African schools, particularly in the context of a new curriculum. How were White and Black educators, themselves educated in schools with wildly different standards of educational quality, going to create the same "learning outcomes" for their students that would address the needs of a new South Africa? Evidence continued to pile up showing that teachers at all levels were not even sure what the outcomes were supposed to be, much less how to achieve them (Chisholm, 2005). Moreover, despite all the money, time, and declarations, education is not free in South Africa. While school children in poor areas can apply and often receive a bursary from the South African government, most school fees are paid by parents. Therefore, it stands to reason that better-resourced schools would be found in areas where parents have access to more money and more jobs. More often than not, these parents are White (Jansen, 2001).

Other hangover issues from the apartheid era continue to impact education, including lack of resources, trained teachers, and persistent poverty. Yet more students are enrolling in South African schools. Because of the influx of students now eligible for school, the system is unable to absorb all of these students. As a result, in rural areas, under-resourced farm schools—though now ostensibly managed by the Department of Education—are still commonplace because there are not enough traditional schools to meet the demand. In addition, because of the over 40% unemployment rate among Blacks in South Africa, there has been mass internal

migration to the urban areas of South Africa, leaving city schools strapped and overwhelmed by the rapid increase in students, with no requisite increase in resources or funding.

It is in this context that immigrant students (primarily those with legal paperwork) find themselves when attending a South African school. With various policy challenges vis-à-vis frequent re-interpretations and changing implementation processes for South African education policy—even confusion about whether or not the policy is dead—it would stand to reason that there is at least an equal level of confusion about how an already confusing education policy should be applied to an immigrant who was not considered in the construction of the policy. Therefore, this historical context of South African education policy should be considered when seeking to apply the data to answering the research question. The immigration problems in South Africa reached its zenith in 2008, just as education policy stakeholders were struggling to find a way for OBE to work. Therefore, the existing education policy context, alongside its history, must be considered in order to do research on any population in South African schools.

History and context of immigration in South Africa. The history of South Africa begins with migration, which is still a key component of South Africa's present-day story. Over 2,500 years ago, Black African people started to migrate from the Niger Delta region across the sub-Saharan African plains. In 1488, Bartoloemeu Dias, a Portuguese explorer, arrived at the Cape of Good Hope (present-day Cape Town), making him South Africa's first European settler (Van der Merwe & Beck, 1995). The Portuguese explorers were more interested in obtaining riches rather than anything else and did not settle in the area. The Dutch East India Company (mentioned in the preceding section re: History of South African education) settled accidentally in present-day Cape Town in 1647 when their ship capsized, preventing them from returning home. It took over a year for them to be rescued, but by then the Dutch East India Company

"settled" the location as a restocking center and replenishment rest stop for their employees. Eventually, populations of employees of the Dutch East India Company settled in South Africa (Abdi, 2002, p. 2). These settlers eventually renamed themselves "Afrikaners." The descendents of these Afrikaners would eventually create the apartheid system in 1948. Almost every aspect of South African life was governed by some law or policy designed to prevent the free movement of peoples across lands that had been claimed or colonized by a European country or company.

The first official policy passed in reference to immigration in South Africa was the 1913 Immigration Act, which limited not only the free movement of Asians within South Africa, but moreover restricted Asians from entering South Africa (Crush & Mojapelo, 1999). The 1913 Immigration Act was amended in 1937 to not only continue to exclude Asians, but to target Eastern and Central Europeans as well as Africans. Both policies spoke to the control and exclusion of migrants and people from other countries.

This immigration policy stance of control and segregation continued under the apartheid regime. Only in 1991, when apartheid was in its death throes, was the policy amended to the Aliens Control Act of 1991. This Act gave immigration officials unchecked power allowing them to, at their discretion, seize property, detain without warrant, and deport at will (Crush, 1998). This legislation was indicative of a larger effort by the South African apartheid government to gain control that was slipping away. The Aliens Control Act provided for temporary migration for highly educated, "white collar" workers. Therefore, the issue of immigrant education was not addressed, as the migrants entering South Africa at that time were temporary and already well-educated (Crush, 1998).

Upon the dissolution of apartheid in 1994, several conditions of the Aliens Control Act that discriminated against Black Africans were eliminated. By 1996, the post-apartheid South

African government unveiled the Aliens Control Amendment Act of 1996 (Crush & Mojapelo, 1999, p. 15). This Act, although devoid of overtly racist references and reasons for refusing entry into South Africa, was a document that still placed its policy emphasis on "effective control" of borders (Aliens Control Act of 1996, Clause 3.1). However, post-apartheid South Africa's economy was growing relative to its neighbors. As a result, intra-African migration to South Africa increased significantly (Onuoha, 2006, p. 90).

The number of economic migrants to South Africa gradually increased and now included low-skilled laborers from neighboring African countries. The growing population of immigrants of all kinds, particularly other Africans, led to an notable increase in xenophobic sentiment (Onuoha, 2006, p. 90). By 1997, only three years into South Africa's new race-blind democracy, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) cited xenophobia as "a major concern to human rights and democracy in the country" and initiated an anti-xenophobia campaign (p. 91). Due to SAHRC's spotlight on xenophobia, the immigration policy was revamped completely and the 1998 Refugee Act was enacted.

The Refugee Act of 1998 differed from its predecessor in that it spoke directly to the basic education rights of refugees: "a refugee is entitled to the same…[basic primary education which the inhabitants of the Republic receive from time to time" (article 27). This marked the first overt policy protecting the educational rights of refugees in the country. However, it should be noted here that this policy only applied to migrants who met the UN classification of "refugee," and was not applicable to all immigrants. The UNHCR specifically defines refugees as "persons who are outside their country and cannot return owing to a well-founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, or political opinion or membership of a particular social group" (UNHCR, 2011). By late 2002, the Immigration Act of 2002 was signed

into being. This Act featured a policy framework more amenable to attracting skilled migrant workers (Crush, 2008).

The Immigration Act of 2002 was notable for a few things, one of which was a stated commitment to rooting out xenophobia, although the document is not specific about how this should be done (Crush, 2008). Conversely, within the same document, the Immigration Act of 2002 is very explicit in its prohibition of education for immigrants who are not documented. The Immigration Act states that no learning institution should "knowingly provide training or instruction to an illegal foreigner" and that the person who controls the premises (in the case of schools, the principal) is considered to be aiding and abetting an illegal activity (Immigration Act of 2001, Section 39). This sentiment is reiterated in the policy in Section 41 which states in part that "providing instruction or training" an "illegal foreigner" is considered to be "aiding and abetting" illegal activity (Immigration Act of 2002, Section 41). This is in direct conflict with the South African Constitutional assertion that basic education in South Africa is available to all who reside in the country. The South African constitution welcomes immigrants, including refugees, regardless of paperwork status. The Immigration Act of 2002 and the Refugee Act of 1998 are explicit in its exclusion of refugees including in schools. However, the education policy sphere is completely silent and says nothing one way or the other about immigrant students. As a result of these conflicting policies, policy stakeholders of all kinds, including of education, were unclear about the directive vis-à-vis immigrant students. In addition to conflicting, the edicts were often punitive, without much clarity about how these immigration-specific policies were to be applied.

Xenophobic riots of 2008 and education policy. In May-June 2008, South Africa was rocked with violent xenophobic riots in the urban and peri-urban townships and poor areas of the country (IOM, 2009, p. 7). Prior to these riots, any xenophobic acts had been previously

dismissed by the South African government as acts of hooliganism rather than evidence of anti-foreigner sentiment. The xenophobic riots of 2008 no longer allowed that excuse to prevail. When the riots ended, 62 people were dead, 670 wounded, countless numbers of women raped, and over 100,000 people internally displaced (p. 7).

The South African government's response to the riots was slow at best. Then-president Thabo Mbeki was hesitant to call the acts "xenophobia" and at the height of the violence, he left the country to conduct an international diplomacy tour rather than deal with the crisis (Hassim et al., 2008, pp. 4-6). Ironically, many of the home nations of the immigrants had, in the past, served as anti-apartheid havens for exiled South African activists (Hassim, 2008).

The riots had gotten so bad at one point that United Nations agencies were called in to assist the National Disaster Management Centre (NDMC) in providing humanitarian technical expertise and aid to the victims (UNICEF, 2012). UNICEF, as one of those agencies, worked with educators and NGOs to re-integrate learners into schools as well as ensure that their schooling was not interrupted while they were at the refugee camps. Additionally, UNICEF provided safe school transport for over 200 students in Cape Town.

When the violence ended and the humanitarian agencies departed, there was much public debate about what policymakers could and should do to prevent a repeat of the xenophobic riots. Policy discourse focused on several social sectors, but there was little to no discussion on the role of education in alleviating xenophobia or dealing with immigrant learners in South Africa schools. Nor was there any discussion about what had been happening with immigrants in South African schools. This was particularly unusual in a country were schools were positioned in the public and policy consciousness as the visible sector in efforts to eradicate apartheid and its legacy of structural inequality (Spreen, in Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, p. 105). Despite much

discussion, the subject of xenophobia receded from the forefront of policy discussions (IOM, 2009, p. 7). The same two policies, the Refugee Act of 1998 and the Immigration Act of 2002, are still the only policy documents that directly address the issue of migration to South Africa, and both of those documents feature conflicting policies on basic education.

Immigration in South Africa today. Despite the riots, the discourse, and the xenophobia, the truth remains that the number of immigrants in South Africa is relatively small (Palmary, 2009, p. 15). The estimated number of immigrants in South Africa varies widely depending on the source, and the exact number is unknown (Buckland, 2011, p. 369). Some estimates suggest that South Africa has at least five million immigrants—the same overall percentage as Whites in South Africa (BBC, 2008). The Human Sciences Research Council estimated the number at between 2.4 and 4.1 million illegal non-nationals, yet some estimates are far lower. StatsSA, the official statistical arm of the South African government, approximates the population at "just over 1.2 million" (Buckland, 2011, p. 369). Some refugee rights advocates believe that distrust and fear of retribution for not having "legal" status prevent immigrants from taking part in the census. As a result, these organizations believe that the number of immigrants in South Africa is much higher (PASSOP, 2011).

Whatever the population of immigrants in South Africa actually is, what is consistent is that the population numbers are large enough to warrant study and concern about how education policy is being interpreted and implemented for immigrant students in South Africa. This is especially true in the case of the recent influx of Zimbabwean immigrants due to the crumbling political situation in their own country (Buckland, 2011, p. 369). Zimbabweans make up the largest portion of the immigrant population, followed by immigrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and other nations including Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, and Nigeria.

These are people with different languages, cultures, networks, and thus access to formal basic education.

The lack of clarity about the actual number of immigrants mirrors the lack of policy clarity regarding immigrant education in the South African context. To this end, the promise of South Africa as a place for "all who live in it" is not being realized, particularly in education where there has been silence about xenophobia and immigration. This is the background and the policy environment in which the phenomenon under study takes place. The intersection where South African education and immigration policies collide will be examined in this study.

Conceptual Framework

The study of immigration and its effect on education in the South African context is a fairly new area of investigation, drawing from the fields of comparative and international education, sociology, policy studies, and immigration. Thus, a similarly amalgamated approach to conceptualizing the phenomenon is appropriate to answer the research questions posed. The conceptual framework used in this study was heavily adapted from Brook-Napier's (2002) "Global-Local Model" cascade framework, which she uses to explain how policies are interpreted and implemented at multiple levels in the South African education institution.

South Africa's massive, post-apartheid overhaul of its education system at the national policy level was a reflection of global ideas and ideals about good educational practice, including decentralization, democratization, and outcomes-based education (Brook-Napier, 2002, p. 51). Since the dissolution of apartheid in 1994, South African policymakers have looked to education to develop a new citizenry ready for participation in a new democracy. The human capital conceptualization of education was in line with—and maybe because of—the World Bank and

European donor streams that were funding South Africa's education reform efforts (Spreen, 2004, pp. 104-105). This position held that education was the primary vessel for the development of untapped (read: mostly Black) human capital prepared to participate in a knowledge-driven, global economy that had been previously closed because of international trade sanctions against the apartheid government.

Although these were and are the explicit goals of education reform in post-apartheid South Africa, scholars have asserted that post-apartheid education has largely been a "political response" to the apartheid system rather than a specific concern about the modalities of change at the classroom level (Jansen, 1998, p. 330). To this end, the social and education issues that formed the most brilliant parts of the South African policymaking constellation have largely been that of a macro-focused, inclusive, multicultural education product whose operational parts seemed at best unclear and at worst impossible.

Anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (1987) in his article "The World in Creolization" asserts that policy is "creolized and re-creolized" as it moves through a system (p. 557). Brook-Napier (2002) offers that this phenomenon of creolization is apparent in the South African education system as well: "Education reform is creolized and re-creolized as it moves through South Africa's system from national policy to provincial mandate and from provincial mandate to local and classroom practice, as redirection or reinterpretations occur" (p. 52).

This mimics the policy assertion by many scholars in both the Comparative and International Education and Policy Sociology fields who suggest that the space between policies and practices is the result of internationalization or appropriation (Levinson et al., 2009; Spreen, 2004, p. 109). Policy interpretation reflects the reality of immediate structural, economic, and other social forces in the context of the local (Levinson et al., 2009).

Brook-Napier (2002) expands on this assertion for the Comparative and International Education field by providing a conceptual framework through which to view policy in South Africa. Brook-Napier offers that in a "highly centralized system" (p. 52) like that of South Africa, reforms have their genesis at the national level where policymakers and stakeholders "have often been influenced by global trends in educational reform" (p. 52). Reforms then travel downward through the structural levels of the education system to the subsequent hierarchical level, which in the case of South Africa would be the provincial level of education. Consequently, the reform continues to travel downward to the next level. In the case of South Africa, the immediate next level would be the "teachers and administrators in schools" (p. 53).

However, policy does not simply travel downward through levels toward the micro level. It could also travel upward, laterally or in some combination of all three directions. There is always something or someone ready to interpret a policy in some way, good, bad or indifferent. International consultants and trainers as well as natives who received their education and/or training abroad can introduce ideas into the system at any level and influence policy (Brook-Napier, 2002, pp. 54-57).

International donors such as the World Bank (WB) or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) can also have a great deal of influence on educational reform policies. In fact, in the case of South Africa, the very early stages of crafting an educational reform strategy were heavily influenced by the World Bank and its staff, who were armed with their own ideas about policy implementation and worked closely with South African policy stakeholders to shape post-apartheid education (Spreen, 2004, p. 104).

For example, former World Bank Education Sector Director Maris O'Rourke, an OBE policy specialist from New Zealand, assumed leadership of the education sector of the World

Bank—*the* major funder of South African education reform (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Eager to join the global conversation and secure much-needed World Bank (WB) funding, South African education policymakers embraced OBE full tilt and developed an ambitious learner-centered curriculum policy entitled *Curriculum 2005*—a policy which sought to successfully reform decades of crippling apartheid education in less than 10 years after the end of apartheid. Immediately after apartheid, reformers sought many ways to recognize the diversity in the South African social fabric, including its curricular approach. During O'Rourke's stint as the OBE reformer in Australia and New Zealand, diversity, multiculturalism, and other "flags of convenience" were the main selling-points of the OBE curriculum (Spreen, 2004, p. 105). Although racial and economic demographics in Australia and New Zealand were much different than in the new South African democracy, O'Rourke's position at the World Bank was a key reason for the OBE education reform (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, p. 211).

To that end, it would be incomplete not to include these external and international actors and factors or to consider multiple levels where appropriate of education policy interpretation and implementation in the South African context. Figure 2 graphically illustrates the policy interpretation and implementation trajectories that Brook-Napier (2002) refers to in her piece "Transformations in South Africa."

Brook-Napier (2002) asserts that with this model, re-interpretation inevitably happens at every level due to what she terms a "devolution" of authority (p. 52), and suggests that by looking between the levels of the education system as the springboard for examining policy interpretation rather than looking just at the actors, we are able to fashion a kind of forensic map of past, present, and future policy shapes of educational reform in the South African context. In her exegesis, Brook-Napier raises an interesting point for consideration with regard to this

research. She offers that it is not simply the actors in the policy equation, but the structures comprised of and negotiated by policymaking actors, that serve as influencers in South African educational policy interpretation. This supports my previous assertion that any examination of South African education policy interpretation and implementation must include research on the influence of external entities, educational institutions, structures, levels, and actors. Brook-Napier's conceptual framework provides a blueprint for this type of examination.

Global Educational Reform

Level 1:   **National Level**

creolization   *South African educational transformation*

Level 2:   **Provincial Level**

Re-creolization   ideas from outside

Level 3:   **School/Sub Provincial Level**

Re-creolization   Teachers and Administrators   ideas from outside
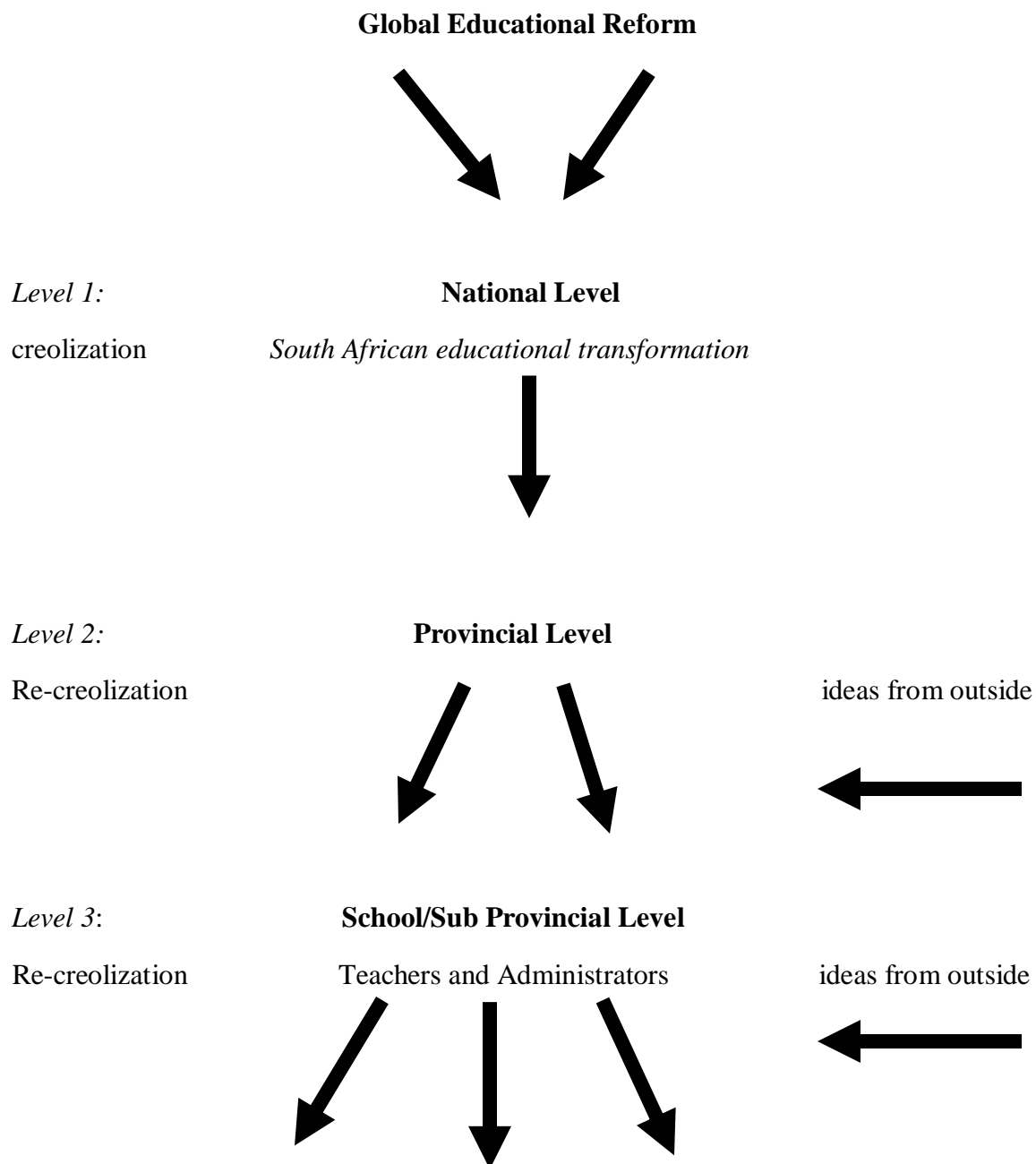
Figure 2. Brook-Napier (2002) graphic of Global-Local Model of structure and policy
creolization channels in South African context

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I present a review of the three bodies of literature that informed this study: policy sociology, South African education policy implementation, and migration and education. I identify gaps in the literature that necessitated a study of this kind. This is not intended to be an exhaustive review of each of the three bodies of literature, but a survey of the scholars whose works have informed this study. Each section concludes with a synthesis of the key points of each body of literature and their impact on the methodological and epistemological standpoints on which this research was based.

Policy Sociology

Although this research is not a policy analysis focused on evaluation, policy is the lens through which attitudes and actions about immigrant education are sociologically examined. To that end, it is helpful for the purposes of this study to explore policy sociology literature in order to understand the police lens employed here. The field of education policy sociology has a robust body of literature, particularly in the field of Comparative and International Education. Moreover, a significant amount of policy sociology scholarship is also specific to the post-apartheid South African education context.

Policy sociology scholars tend to address the tension between the intent of a policy and how the policy is actually implemented. Several policy sociology studies have illustrated how policy and implementation do not follow a straight-line continuum of "formulation-adoption-implementation-reformulation," but is "re-contextualized through multiple processes" (Chisholm

& Leyendecker, 2008, p. 196). What these various processes are, how they are recontextualized, and how that "recontextualization" affects policy implementation and schooling differ depending on scholar and context. A critical review of some of these policy sociology scholars' theories are addressed in this part of the literature review. The theoretical lenses I applied were strictly in the context of looking at two indicators: *interpretation* and *implementation*. It might be prudent at this point to discuss how these indicators have been defined in previous educational sociology studies. The term *policy interpretation* was used in the same manner as previous educational sociology studies have employed the term (Spillane et al., 2002), connoting how policy stakeholders "figure out what a policy means and how it applies to their schools and whether and how to ignore, adapt or adopt policy locally" (p. 733). Ethnographically, I would be able, as has been done in similar educational sociology policy analyses, to capture policy interpretation at the school level through convenience sample interviews and observations (Coburn & Russell, 2004, p. 210; Spillane et al., 2002, p. 736).

The term *policy implementation* has been utilized in a number of ways depending on the study. For the purposes of this ethnography and the proper application of the sociological lenses needed to answer the research questions, *policy implementation* was defined as the "technical tasks within an organization…that determine outcomes in relation to a policy" (Louis et al., 2005, p. 199). Policy implementation has been defined in this manner in several well-regarded educational sociology studies, including Spillane et al.'s (2002) creation of a socio-cognitive framework for understanding how school-level actors understand reform initiatives in U.S. schools. Although I did not employ a socio-cognitive framework to address the research questions, it is worth noting that Spillane et al.'s claim that what a policy "means for implementing agents is constituted in the frame of their existing cognitive structures (including

knowledge, beliefs and attitudes), their situation and the policy signals" (p. 388) did influence my framing for this research.

Levinson et al. (2009) offer that how a policy is implemented or "appropriated" is a practice of power (p. 767). They reject the notion that policy is an edict that is explicitly written and assert that many policy implementation studies are left wanting because of this narrow definition of policy. Levinson et al. suggest that when doing any sort of policy analysis, we, as researchers, must first ask ourselves "'what the heck is this?' And look beyond the *text* of a policy to the practice that produces, embeds, extends, contextualizes and in some cases transforms the text" (p. 770). They argue that policy is a complex social practice whose boundaries are always being negotiated and re-negotiated across diverse contexts, and failure to comply with policy has negative implications (p. 770). For Levinson et al., policy does three things: a) defines reality, b) orders behavior, and c) allocates resources accordingly (p. 770).

Levinson et al. (2009) call for a more expansive understanding of what constitutes policy beyond what is easily seen vis-à-vis written documents and enforcement mechanisms. Policy, per Levinson et al., may also spring forth from different organizational levels outside of the purview of official policymakers. In that case, the policy may be a tacit policy that is not written but sustained through institutional memory and practice (p. 770).

Furthermore, Levinson et al. (2009) also call for the examination of policy with respect to power, particularly tacit policies created outside of the usual policymaking outfits. In this case, the institution and the organization take on paramount importance because the policy must be "warranted institutionally and by the socio-political conditions obtaining in and around the institution" (p. 771). Part of that socio-political condition is power and who gets to "warrant" a policy in an institutional space is a function of wielding power. Levinson et al. call for a new

kind of policy analysis that does not use the process of implementation as the dependent variable. They proffer instead that a focus on policy *formation* and the social spaces where normative policy discourse is negotiated and re-negotiated in politically and culturally (relative to the institution) viable forms (p. 778).

A key component of policy formation, per Levinson et al. (2009), is the "negotiation of meaning" that traverses "various institutional and micro-institutional sites where policy flows and takes shape" (p. 779). To unpack what that meaning is, rather than utilizing the term *implementation*, Levinson et al. speak to the concept of *appropriation* (p. 779). For Levinson et al., appropriation "refers to the ways that creative agents *interpret* [emphasis mine] and take in elements of policy, thereby incorporating these discursive resources into their own schemes of interest, motivation and action" (p. 779). They assert that appropriation suggests some type of local actor agency and influence on official policy. I offer that Levinson et al.'s definition of "appropriation" is largely equivalent to the concept of implementation I examine in this study.

Levinson et al. (2009) state that any analysis of policy should begin with and focus on how actors interpret policy elements according to their own interests and goals. Only through understanding actor interpretation and appropriation can the process of implementation be effectively analyzed. To understand how actors appropriate, Levinson et al. speak strongly to the ethnographic methodology for collecting these data. Additionally, they offer that policy sociologists need to widen their qualitative research lenses beyond the usual institutional studies to include voices and socio-organizational sites that are in the policymaking constellation (p. 789). For Levinson et al., the story is in the interpretation and appropriation of the voices in the policy constellation; the implementation process is one simple function of that—it is not the root of the analysis.

Levinson et al. (2009) and other scholars who share their approach have successfully applied their work to several different international policy contexts. In her work on Mexican teachers, Street (2001) revealed how teachers appropriated a state policy in such a way that it fostered local democratization. Christina (2006), in her study of Palestinian NGOs, found that despite donors' edicts, local actors advanced their own interpretations of education policy. Levinson's (2005) study on Mexican citizenship education found that communities of practice influenced "interpretations and appropriations of policy" (p. 786). Additionally, Levinson et al.'s (2009) policy sociology framework has been proven to be applicable in a variety of international contexts and therefore merits serious consideration when weighing the policy sociology literature that informed my South Africa-based research. Most policy scholarship acknowledges the gulf between what policies say and what policy actors do. What is unique about the approaches of the aforementioned scholars is the focus on the interpretation of policy, not the implementation.

Other approaches, besides power, have examined how policy is interpreted and implemented, particularly in the context of education. One of the best known and most frequently cited is Spillane (2002, 2004), who applied Weick's famous socio-psychological-cognitive framework and method of inquiry to the study of education policy. Spillane et al. (2002) offer that a cognitive approach to policy study better uncovers how policy is being interpreted by implementing agents. Like Levinson et al. (2009), Spillane et al. offer that the focal point of the policy implementation process should be "whether and in what ways implementing agents come to understand their practice, potentially changing their beliefs and attitudes in the process" (p. 387). They offer that without a deep examination into the way actors make sense of a policy, misinterpretations that position the actors as willfully sabotaging the policy can occur (p. 393). Spillane et al. put forth an integrative framework that focuses on the

analysis of three components of the educational policy constellation: the individual agent (actor), the situation in which the actor is making sense of the policy, and the policy signals to which the actor is subjected (p. 392). In this way, Spillane et al. proffer that this approach allows for triangulation, allowing implementing agents to "come to understand their practice, potentially changing their beliefs and attitudes in the process" (p. 387).

Spillane et al. (2002) operationalize this approach in a series of articles and scholarship that focus on the sense-making strategies of school principals and mid-level managers in the U.S. education institution. They position the study from the standpoint that teacher sense-making is "likely to be mediated by school leaders" (p. 731). They note that despite the principals' considerable influence over teacher sense-making of education policy, "the role of school principals in implementing accountability-based policies has largely been ignored" (p. 732). In this respect, Spillane et al. are consistent with the original sense-making approach that Weick (1995) proposed. Weick (1979) suggests that the role of the mid-level manager in an organization is critical to understanding the entire sense-making process as he/she has the power to "construct, rearrange, single out, and demolish many objective features of their surroundings" (p. 164). Another component that Spillane et al. consider in the application of their sense-making framework is the influence of the institution in actor sense-making. They assert that an examination of the institutional framework provides insight into how much agency an actor has, but it is not a determinant of how an actor makes sense of a policy. In this way, Spillane et al. allow significant space for actors' different interpretations of the same policy (i.e., six different teachers making sense of a policy in six different ways). Spillane et al.'s cognitive perspective "contributes to our understanding of implementation of policy by unpacking *how* implementing agents construct ideas" (p. 419).

Like Levinson et al. (2009), Spillane et al. (2002) offer that if policy implementation research is to move forward, then we, as scholars, must "unpack how and why a policy evolves as it does" (p. 419). Additionally, Spillane et al. and Levinson et al. share a belief in a focus on the interpretive process of the policy actors and the idea that policy is constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated in the institutional space. Both scholars reject the simplistic step model of policy formulation-adoption-implementation-reformulation (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008, p. 196).

However, there are some distinct differences between the two approaches. Spillane et al. (2002) do not view the institution of education as the primary determinant of sense-making and thus do not focus on issues of power in the institution as a determinant of how policy is interpreted. Levinson et al. (2009) are overt in their criticism of Spillane et al. in this regard, in that Spillane et al.'s work places too much emphasis on the individual actor without taking into account the constellation of factors that impact how that actor sees the world (p. 773). Moreover, Levinson et al. challenge Spillane et al.'s taken-for-granted assumption that there is a clear bifurcation between policymakers and policy implementers. Finally, Levinson et al. also question whether or not Spillane's model can be applied to education systems outside of the U.S. (p. 773). Spillane et al. do corroborate many of Levinson's positions on the new direction that policy sociology should go, with focus on the *interpretations* of the *implementers'* understandings of policy—not just how the policy is being processed.

Somewhere between the institutional focus that Levinson et al. (2009) proffer and the focus on the individual agent that Spillane et al. (2002) promote is a theorist nestled in the middle that precedes them both: Milbrey McLaughlin. Like Spillane et al. and Levinson et al. (2009), McLaughlin (1987) in her article "Learning from Experience: Lessons from Policy

Implementation" declares that policy analysis focusing on implementation began in earnest in the 1970s. Prior to that, McLaughlin states that sociologists were overly concerned with "Weberian notions of hierarchical authority and bureaucratic control" (p. 171). Subsequent implementation studies revealed how local factors including organizational size, intra-organizational ties, commitment, capacity, and institutional complexity fashioned policy interpretation and implementation. Analyses of this kind stressing the importance of these local factors expanded the reach and accuracy of policy implementation research by highlighting differences in response to policy based on local context.

McLaughlin (1987) believes that policy success or failure is contingent upon two things: local capacity and will. A policy can address capacity; however, "will" (i.e., attitudes, motivations, and beliefs that affect policy implementation) cannot be mandated (p. 172). McLaughlin's research has shown that a policy is "transformed as individuals interpret and respond to it" (p. 174).

As a result, McLaughlin (1987) views policy interpretation through the lens of policy implementation as a bargaining process that includes implementer behavior, but not above and beyond a broader institutional, structural, and organizational context (p. 176). Therefore, McLaughlin takes the implementing system as the unit of analysis. What and where the implementing system is vary from context to context. To that end, McLaughlin calls for implementation analyses that take several different organizational levels into consideration when conducting them. Per McLaughlin, macro-level analyses fail to provide policy stakeholders with actionable outcomes or how to put the findings of the analyses into practice. On the other hand, micro-level analyses "ignore systemic attainments and unanticipated consequences for the institutional setting and…cannot speak to the expected organizational consequences or system-

wide effects of a policy" (p. 177). Therefore, the challenge for the researcher is to combine these two analytical frames—the institutional and the micro-organizational—in such a way that makes sense for the context being studied (p. 177). To conduct truly insightful implementation research, scholars must use iterative research methodologies that take the interpretations of key decision-makers into account, thus providing actionable findings for the very same key decision-makers.

McLaughlin (1987, 1991) gives us an example of how to conduct such an analysis. In his examination of the RAND Change Agent study, McLaughlin (1991) identified that teacher beliefs; practices, and interpretation of policy affect the outcomes of policy implementation. He also found that policy interpretation is largely the result of personal and professional experiences, which suggests a need to look beyond formal policy structures at various levels (i.e., professional networks) to understand how policy is implemented (p. 15).

Like Spillane et al. (2002), McLaughlin's (1987, 1991) policy implementation perspective also shifts the analysis from institutions to individuals, although McLaughlin does not employ a cognitive framework to unpack how actors make sense of policy. McLaughlin's (1987) call for a multi-level analysis that combines examination of both micro and macro factors echoes the standpoint of Comparativists Vavrus and Bartlett (2006), who emphasize that the field of Comparative and International Education would greatly benefit from more multi-level analyses that take into account "a thorough understanding of the particularity of the micro level" (p. 97).[1]

Stephen Ball (1994) in his article "What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes" speaks to the same macro-micro tension in policy analysis that McLaughlin (1987) and Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) addressed in their work. Ball (1994) attempts to marry the "ad hocery of the

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[1]See Methodology chapter for expanded review of Vavrus and Bartlett (2006).

macro with the ad hocery of the micro without losing sight of the systemic bases and effects of ad hoc social actions" (p. 16), illustrating the idea that policy implementation is a straight line. The "ad hocery" of policy implementation requires researchers to arm themselves with a toolbox of "diverse theories" in order to unpack local complexities (p. 10). For Ball (1994), policy is "often taken for granted and a theoretical and epistemological dry rot is built into the analytical structures…making it difficult to achieve a grounded conceptual understanding of the real meaning of the term" (p. 15). Policies "claim to speak with authority…legitimate and initiate practices…and privilege certain visions and interests" (Ball, 1990, p. 22).

One of the most salient concepts in Ball's (1994) work, particularly with respect to this research, is the distinction between "policy as text" and "policy as discourse," thus freeing the researcher from the idea that policy is written, then acted. In Ball's framework, the reverse can be true. Therefore, the researcher's primary objective is to identify the influences and their impact on discursive policy, which would then lead to an understanding of how policy is implemented. Ball calls for more "policy trajectory studies" that examine how a policy changes in word and deed as it travels from actor to actor at the local level. This is a particularly interesting epistemological standpoint when, like in the case of this dissertation research, the policy being analyzed is unclear and what does exist is extremely conflicting.

Ball (1998) in his discussion of the international perspective in education policy re-asserts the tension between the local particularities of policy-making and the macro environment, including possible convergence across localities. According to Ball, policy ideas are "received and interpreted differently within different policy contexts, national infrastructures and national ideologies" (p. 126). Part of this policy process, per Ball, is the process of "translation and re-contextualization" in the "enactment of education policy in specific national and local settings"

(p. 119). Ball acknowledges the role of globalization in education, although it does not move him from his position that policy research should focus mainly on localities. He offers that the actual analysis should consider the always-changing relationship between macro and micro (p. 127). To that end, Ball constructs an international education policy framework using the local to explain the global and vice versa.

Ball's (1990, 1994, 1998) nod to globalization and its role in shaping policy is echoed in the work of several comparative and international education scholars. Roger Dale (1999) offers a new way to look at how globalization impacts policy interpretation. Dale proffers that globalization and its effect on policy is not a wholly top-down process or a bottom-up policy process—policy discourse is a globalism that becomes localized as well as a localism that becomes globalized, meaning that global and local policy interpretations and discourses influence each other. Like Levinson et al. (2009), Spillane et al. (2002), and McLaughlin (1987), Dale believes that policy discourse is being constantly negotiated between the global and the local, and it is better to examine the discourse—rather than the actor—to understand policy.

In his subsequent work, Dale (2001) states that Comparative and International Education is an ideal field from which to initiate policy analyses because of the global and local foci of the field. However, Dale is very careful to explain that globalization is a complex term with many meanings. Scholars need to be able to identify the "subjects of globalization and the nature of the exercise of their subjectivity" (p. 495). In other words, Dale calls for more research that "isolates more clearly the mechanisms through which the subjects of globalization effectively establish themselves as such" (p. 495). Thus, ironically, although Dale (1999, 2001) speaks of better understanding globalization processes through an examination of local responses to the phenomenon, he asserts that the discourse of globalization is a really conglomeration of

"globalized localisms," to borrow Santos' (1995) terminology (p. 496). Dale offers that comparative and international education study should be approached from the standpoint of globalization as a dialectical process that is not solely bottom-up or top-down. Furthermore, Dale warns that it is crucial to recognize that the "local is not passive in the face of the global" (p. 499). Therefore, using Dale's standpoint, comparative and international education would be ideal to study a global phenomenon like immigration in an education context, through the lens of the local.

Brook-Napier (2003) in examining South African educational policy and practice speaks to the process of "creolization" and "recreolization" of post-apartheid policy reform initiatives (p. 51). Brook-Napier asserts that as policy moves from the national level to provincial mandate and from provincial mandate to local and classroom practice, "re-interpretations occur" (p. 51). In cases like that of South Africa with a highly centralized educational bureaucracy, policies emanate from the national level where policymakers have no doubt been influenced by global policy discourse (p. 52). Policy then is distilled down to the next hierarchical level; however, at every level there is the possibility of not only different interpretations, but outside international influences that can really shift policy direction.

In Brook-Napier's (2003) framework,[2] global policy influences as interpreted by South African policymakers are introduced at the national level, and additional policy influences are introduced at either the provincial level, sub-provincial level or school level (p. 53). This is where the gap between policy and practice begins to widen. As a result, the original policy, by the time it has gone through all of the levels, is very different from the intended policy. Therefore, Brook-Napier concludes, the study of policy implementation—particularly in the

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[2]For more discussion on Brook-Napier's framework and its relevance, please see the conceptual framework of this study.

South African context—should be a function of capturing the experiences at the "lower levels in the system where [policy] is creolized and re-creolized in response to provincial and local realities and contextual factors" (p. 52).

Gita Steiner-Khamsi (2004) declares in her prediction of the impact of globalization on the Comparative and International Education field that scholarship focused on why some policies are "transplanted from one context to another, whether [policy borrowing] is ever wholesale or by design selective and finally, the interest in understanding the relation between transnational policy borrowing and international convergence, have a long-standing research tradition in comparative education" (p. 4). Steiner-Khamsi is resolute in her belief that global education policy discourse does exist; however, to what degree this global discourse fosters the creation of a "world culture" or "internationalism" in education is up for debate (p. 4). She offers that additional studies should be done to determine whether or not the policy is converging, or if only the policy discourse is converging (p. 5). This calls for not only additional comparative and international education policy analyses, but specifically studies that seek to analyze not just the policy but the relationship between the macro and the micro in terms of interpretation, discourse, and implementation.

Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008) echo the sentiment that "policy sociology has shown that policy and curriculum implementation does not follow the predictable path…[but] is contextualized through multiple processes" (p. 196). In their comparison of South African and Namibian post-apartheid education policies, they state that "local histories of resistance to colonialism incorporated educational ideas that reverberated with Namibia's post-apartheid learner-centred education policy" (p. 196). The adoption of the policy at the national level had little to do with how well it might be implemented. Economic, social, and political goals trumped

the feasibility of the education policy in the Namibian context. Since 1990, the year apartheid ended in Namibia, there has been evidence of a convergence of educational policy discourse. However, this has also been accompanied by a divergence in practice (p. 196).

Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008) offer that local context, culture, and capabilities are key implementation factors that are too often overlooked in policy sociology (p. 202). Conflicting values penetrate the nexus between education, culture, curriculum, and context (p. 203). Chisholm and Leyendecker suggest a need for a more flexible policy implementation model that takes policy actors' existing knowledge and assumptions into consideration, particularly in the African context (p. 203). To that end, Chisholm and Leyendecker assert that much more research on local responses to policy and policy recontextualization is needed to contribute to the scholarship on policy interpretation and implementation in the southern African context.

In conclusion, this policy sociology literature review not only illustrates a gap in the literature, but provides through each scholar's work a policy sociology tenet that I employed in designing this study. Levinson et al. (2009) speak to an ethnographic approach for capturing how policy actors interpret and implement education policy. Additionally, they ask researchers to focus on the interpretation and "appropriation" of policy, with implementation being a part of that analysis—though not the primary focus. Spillane et al. (2002) in their socio-psychological-cognitive methodological approach places the spotlight on the principal as the key actor in policy interpretation or "sense-making." McLaughlin (1987) asserts that policy interpretation and implementation are not primarily done at either the micro or macro level, but through a combination of both. McLaughlin's position of the value of multi-level research in policy sociology is echoed in the comparative and international education scholarship of Vavrus and

Bartlett (2006), who also call for multi-level analyses that focus on local contexts. Ball (1994), although preceding Vavrus and Bartlett (2006), speaks as well to the bifurcation between the micro and macro level and calls for scholars to find a way to meld the two. Moreover, Ball makes the distinction between "policy as text" and "policy as discourse" and calls for more policy trajectory studies that trace how policies change as they traverse levels, actors, and contexts. Dale (1999, 2001) offers that the local actors and organizations are not passive receptors of global influences, but, like Levinson (2009) and McLaughlin (1987), looks at tensions between the actor and the institution—although in Dale's (2001) case, the institution is globalization.

Brook-Napier (2003) is consistent with Ball (1994) in urging other scholars to conduct more policy trajectory studies like the one she conducted which examined post-apartheid education policy. She offers that as policies are interpreted and implemented, they become "creolized" and "recreolized," causing "reinterpretations" to occur (p. 51). Steiner-Khamsi (2004) widens the lens to speak about international education in general, offering that policy has always been transplanted and reinterpreted "from one context to another." She adds that the field of Comparative and International Education has had a long history in studying the effects of policy transfer on the education systems of developing nations. Finally, Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008) reinforce the idea that the policy process is not a straight-line trajectory, but often a messy one where policy creation, interpretation, and implementation have little to do with the context and everything to do with the actors' existing knowledge frames and political realities. They conclude with a call for more scholarship in the area of African education policy sociology—particularly in the South African context. To that end, based on the existing scholarship and the gaps in the literature that speak to policy implementation, the role of the

principal, multi-level policy implementation analyses, local realities, and the call for more education policy scholarship in the South African context, I believe that my study can add to several areas of policy sociology academic inquiry that have been called for by these scholars.

South African Education Policy Implementation

The field of policy sociology, particularly in the Comparative and International Education vein, is particularly well-suited to a study of post-apartheid South African education policy. South Africa represents an education case where there is a significantly large distance between education policy and practice. Furthermore, a significant body of scholarship examines and theorizes the space between policy discourse, interpretation, and implementation, particularly with respect to comparative and international education. This section surveys some of that scholarship, particularly as it relates to this dissertation.

As previously discussed in the background section, upon the dissolution of apartheid in 1994, South African policymakers sought to install curriculum reform that would "democratize education and eliminate inequalities" that were the hallmark of apartheid education (Jansen, 1998, p. 321). Three years later in 1997, Curriculum 2005 was unveiled; it was a re-fashioning of outcomes-based education (OBE) policy. The South African version of OBE could be traced back to its predecessors in Australia, New Zealand, Scotland, Canada, and the U.S. (Jansen, 1999; Spreen, 2004, p. 103). OBE was also heavily influenced by the discourse of the trade unions, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), that pushed for a policy integrating education and training for future workers (Jansen, 1998).

In the OBE policy paradigm, educators were to develop curriculum and assessments based on agreed-upon outcomes rather than content-driven curriculum strategy. These same

outcomes were also to "signal what is worth learning in a content heavy curriculum" and, as a result, the outcomes, not the content, ostensibly drive assessment (Jansen, 1998). The OBE policy discourse gave the learner some agency in directing his/her own education experience rather than content. However, because the OBE policy edicts were soaring in their rhetoric yet thin on details, the policy could be—and was—interpreted unevenly and ineffectively led to poor educational experiences for learners in South African classrooms (Jansen, 1998). Different actors' "myriad existing beliefs and understandings about teaching and learning from across the South African social and cultural landscape" affected their interpretations of OBE (Spreen, 2004, p. 104). Although there was some shared rhetoric, different groups and actors were able to fill-in-the-blanks with their own interpretations due to the vagueness of the policy. These actors and interest groups were able to draw on "global buzzwords" to support their policy interpretations (p. 104).

Some education policy scholars warned that OBE's vague policy discourse—heavy on "global buzzwords" but thin on specifics on how to actually implement the policy—would lead to its failure. Noted scholar Jonathan Jansen (1998) offers a critical analysis of why, despite the democratic and positive policy discourse, OBE would fail. Jansen asserts that the policy would fail because it was "being driven by political imperatives which have little to do with the realities of classroom life" (p. 323). As a result, rather than inspiring progress and reform, OBE being politically-driven would "undermine the already fragile learning environment in South African schools" (p. 323).

OBE is an educational policy rooted in the very democratic philosophy that *all* students can learn. OBE theorists believe that schools and their policies both create and control the conditions of success (Spady, 1994). OBE differs from the more traditional "standards-based"

approach in that it assumes that all learners can reach an intended outcome through a differentiated instructional approach centered on the individual skills of the learner rather than attempting to bring learners to a standard that was not created with them in mind.

OBE curriculum theory has three major tenets:

1. Specific outcomes of the learning areas are organized so that schools can prepare learning programmes appropriate for each phase of education.

2. Teachers and materials-developers will prepare lessons and activities to assist learners in meeting the required outcomes.

3. The learner will be assessed to see if he or she can demonstrate the outcomes. The results of the assessment show whether the learner is competent or still needs assistance in order to achieve a particular outcomes.

   - *If a learner still needs assistance, more activities are designed around the same outcomes in the learning programme. These activities address the learner's weaknesses.*

   - *If the learner is competent, he or she can start working on more complex outcomes.* (South African Department of Education Policy Framework Document, 1997)

Although the overarching, democratic tenets of OBE are attractive, Jansen (1998) also warns that the policy language is vague, contradictory, and too complex to be useful in a real classroom. He asserts that a teacher who seeks to interpret OBE policy would have to internalize "50 different concepts and labels and keep track of the changes in meaning…over time" (p. 323). Additionally, Jansen points to the OBE policy's inextricable intertwining of education and economic growth. Moreover, Jansen (2001) rightfully declares that "there is not one shred of evidence in almost 80 years of curriculum change literature to suggest that altering the curriculum of schools leads to or is associated with changes in the national economy" (p. 324).

Jansen (1998) also found in his analysis a huge gap between what actually goes on in South African schools and OBE's flawed assumptions (p. 324). He pointed to the OBE

requirement of not only applying a particular skill in the classroom, but "understanding its theoretical underpinnings as well" (p.324). Furthermore, the policy requires that the teacher also be able to perform these tasks across different contexts. Jansen offers that if anyone actually believes that OBE policy will be "'implemented' with these original insights in mind," then that person knows very little about the realities of the South African classroom (p. 326).

To address the OBE policy failure, Jansen (1998) offers two levels of analysis: the technical and the political. He suggests that taking an honest inventory of the schools and their resources as they are, not as the policymakers wish them to be, is critical to creating any policy that is contextual and has the potential to be implemented successfully. Second, Jansen asserts that any South African education policy analysis must take in account OBE as "an act of political symbolism" (p. 330). Jansen suggests that the policy was all about legitimizing the new political structure, with the curricular details left up to the interpretive powers of teachers and other educational policy stakeholders. As a result, there was great unevenness in how the policy was applied, leading to uneven and unsatisfactory outcomes (Jansen, 1998).

Spreen (2004) adds that the OBE education policy is not only the result of legitimizing the new political structure, but was subjected to major international policy forces as well. According to Spreen, South Africa—like many countries before her—looked overseas to borrow education policies or "learn from reforms that will transform education into an equitable, world-class system" (p. 101). This led to a variety of actors in the policymaking sphere that used policy borrowing to push for OBE policy in South Africa. Spreen's analysis showed that these international influences and lessons learned served as policymaking levers and provided policy stakeholders with legitimacy. She explains that OBE represents a veritable cornucopia of

"interests and initiatives and the hybridization of rationales drawn primarily from international contexts" (p. 110).

Policies, per Spreen (2004), are "part of an inherently political process affected by interests, events, *local* [emphasis mine] priorities and understandings and a host of financial and other constraints" (p. 102). Moreover, policy discourse can take on a life of its own, independent of implementation—what is on paper is interpreted and implemented very differently at the classroom level (p. 110). As the policy sociologists mentioned in the previous section, Spreen also proffers that policies are always changing and being negotiated, and they evolve over time.

Spreen (2004) uses a policy borrowing framework to trace the reasons and the trajectory of OBE policy adoption and implementation (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). Spreen does this in three phases. The first phase (1976-1993) speaks to a period of external transactions, meaning the period of time when foreign models are surveyed for their applicability. Often, says Spreen, the policy's international status alone gives it authority (p. 104). In this phase, policy actors were outside of the political establishment (p. 106).

In the second phase (1994-1998), apartheid had officially ended. Seconding Jansen's (1998) earlier assertion, trade unions gained a lot of power and pushed through ideas that were not created in concert with local policy experts. Most of the technical assistance during this period was offered by external international consultants who brought with them not only their expertise, but their frames of references and non-South African interpretations of how policy should be implemented (Spreen, 2004). Additionally, because of the eradication of apartheid, South Africa was on the global stage and received much attention from the international aid community. Aid monies flowed freely. It was in this stage that the policy tensions emerged re:

being a discursively, short-on-details, malleable showpiece of equity for a global audience versus being an actionable, contextual education reform strategy with local legitimacy.

The third phase of OBE's policy trajectory (1998-present) is what Spreen (2004) refers to as the "ownership or internal initiative phase" (p. 109), where policy actors within the institutional framework begin to identify policy gaps and deficiencies and then re-contextualize the policy to suit their needs. At this point, the internal actors become vocal critics of the policy and seek to replace the reform.

Although Spreen's (2004) framework is specific to tracing a policy borrowing trajectory, I offer that it has some import for this study, namely seeking not only to identify differences in policy implementation strategies, but asking: what are the reasons for the difference in policy implementation? Is it international pressure? Are local actors frustrated with the non-contextuality of the policy? Spreen, while offering an international lens for policy analysis, looks to the local context to make sense of the international context to great effect, similar to Dale (2001). For that reason, international influences on local implementation strategies were considered in this study.

As it turned out, Jansen (1998) was right—OBE did fail. Stark evidence of that can be found in international league tables where South African students came in last out of 29 countries in math, and the trend was the same in science (Maodzwa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012, p. 144). OBE went from its vaunted place of panacea for all that *was* wrong with the apartheid system to pariah for all that *is* wrong with the post-apartheid system. OBE was more of an act of "political symbolism" than a policy. Jansen declares that the policy, which was not well-"translated" from the international context, led to the impossibility of OBE ever being implemented effectively when combined with bureaucratic and resource constraints (Maodzwa-

Taruvinga & Cross, 2012). Policymakers attempted to reform the reform policy to improve implementation and clarify OBE policy. By 2009, South African parliament members were pronouncing OBE to be dead (p. 145).

To date, there are still debates, even at the provincial education department, over whether OBE is really dead or only on life support. For either case, these authors have shown that the warm discourse enveloping OBE in the past is certainly no longer. In this current-day education policy environment, 18 years removed from the end of apartheid, education is no longer seen as a panacea for all apartheid ills, and policy adoption, interpretation, and implementation are a quieter affair, but still subject to all of the same influences that Spreen (2004) and Jansen (1998) talked about.

Jansen's (2003, 2005) subsequent work speaks to the international influences that continue to penetrate the South African education policy arena outside of the OBE sphere. Jansen (2005) analyzes the impact that the "Education for All" targets have on developing nations like South Africa. Again, Jansen points to the damage that an ill-fitting policy does in an already vulnerable country context, and that conceptual, methodological, and organizational "fallacies" are to blame for the policies not being implemented as planned (p. 368). Most relevant to this dissertation is Jansen's discussion of the organizational fallacy in educational target setting. Jansen chastises the education practice that features an assumption that "more than 150 countries in the world can readily change and reorder existing bureaucratic organizational and political priorities at the national level and fall in line with the new demands set for organizational behavior" (p. 374). He offers that better policy implementation would emerge if policymaking and evaluation practices take into account "what happens inside countries on a day-to-day basis" (p. 375). Jansen is calling for a contextualization of policies, not just

considering the micro-level of the school—although in previous scholarship he has asserted the importance of that. But Jansen is also calling for a multi-level analysis of the bureaucracy to create and implement policies that have a chance of working in the South African context.

Subsequently, there have been signs of increased focus on various policy actors and levels of study in South African education policy research. Besides analyzing the success and/or failure of education policy implementation, there is increased focus on how actors are *interpreting* policy. Blignaut (2008), in his study of teacher sense-making practices and their effect on education policy in South Africa, offers that the success or failure of an education policy is largely dependent on the teacher (p. 101). Using the cognitive framework of Spillane et al. (2002), Blignaut offers that what a "policy means for implementing agents is constituted in the interactions of their existing cognitive 'scripts' (including knowledge, beliefs and attitudes), their situations (the context) and the policy signals" (p. 102). Though Blignaut utilizes Spillane's cognitive framework, he echoes Levinson et al.'s (2009) criticism of the framework in that it does not take context enough into account. Blignaut asserts, like Jansen (2003), that policy context is critical to any analysis of South African education policy.

Blignaut (2008) identifies a number of contextual factors that impact policy interpretation and implementation in South Africa, including learner competence, lack of resources, time constraints, and personal history (p. 115). Overall, Blignaut finds that teachers tended to view new policy as a tweak or minor variation to what they already knew and practiced (p. 119). Teachers respond to new policy in various ways: adopting, adapting or contesting. Blignaut offers that teachers bring their own personal habits, thoughts, sentiments, and so on, while at the same time being constrained by institutional arrangements (p. 120). Blignaut concludes that

policymakers, analysts, and researchers need to be mindful of how teachers interpret curriculum policy when planning policy implementation.

Bantwini (2010) uses the policy interpretation paradigm to understand how teachers implement curriculum reform. In his study of a primary school science education policy in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, Bantwini asserts that "the meanings that a teacher attaches to the new curriculum reforms act as his or her map" on the policy and this interpretation "usually determines the success of the education reforms" (p. 83). Bantwini found that teachers "assigned a range of meanings" to the education policy and that these interpretations varied from teacher to teacher (p. 85). He also found that when policy was unclear or unfamiliar, teachers leaned on approaches they were familiar with to make sense of the policy (p. 86). Per Bantwini, teachers' interpretations of policy were framed by their previous work experiences and their lack of understanding the curriculum reform (p. 87). To that end, Bantwini warns that unless policymakers take a more explicit role in facilitating teachers' understandings of policy, the success or failure of the implementation will be unduly subject to various teacher interpretations, leading to inconsistent implementation of the policy (p. 90).

Bantwini and Diko (2011) also conducted later work that was remarkable, in part because of its focus on district-level factors and the capacity to enact education policy in South Africa. They proclaim that the literature showed scant attention paid to the role of district-level organizations and officials in policy implementation, even though they are critical to the policy process (p. 226). Bantwini and Diko offer that the district level is a key organizational level, especially their agents that oversee and guide schools (p. 226). They interviewed district-level officials, surveyed 108 science teachers, and interviewed 11 additional teachers, and found that the critical issue facing school districts was a lack of human capacity (p. 233). The South African

education department reported "deficiencies in the culture of teaching and learning," yet has not made the policy decision to hire more district-level administrators to work closely with teachers to improve teaching and learning (p. 233). Bantwini and Diko conclude with a call for more studies featuring school district-level employees and their role in education policy implementation.

Jansen (2003), in his exegesis on how research can inform education policy in developing countries, uses the case of South Africa to make several assertions regarding policy analysis in the African context. Among these assertions is adequate consideration of the political and policy *context*, not just the policy itself. Education is informed by politics and informs politics, particularly in the South African case; to that end, policy research should examine the environment at several levels—political, bureaucratic, organizational, school—to understand the policy context. Jansen also states that there is a disjunction between policy and research in South Africa. He claims that "except in limited cases, research has had little influence on decision-making in South African educational policy" and this is why the bifurcation between research and practice continues (p. 91).

The South African educational policy literature reveals the same concerns about context that the policy sociology literature spoke to—that policy formation and implementation failed to adequately take context into account. In almost all of the literature presented in this section, each scholar spoke to how non-contextualization of policy studies led to implementation failure. For example, Jansen (1998), in presaging the failure of OBE, spoke right away to how the failure to fashion a policy suitable to local realities would lead to poor implementation—and that is exactly what happened. Spreen (2004) spoke to international influences that impact education policy and, using the case of OBE, explained how the policy should have been driven more by local

priorities and understandings (p. 102). As a result, policy actors at the local levels re-contextualized the policy and eventually became critics. Because the policy, though well-meaning, was completely inappropriate to the South African context, it eventually failed.

Jansen (2005), in his examination of why the Education for All targets have not been successfully implemented in the developing country context, used the case of South Africa to illustrate how international organizations' policies might be setting themselves up for a policy fall if they do not consider the realities of the capacity of these countries' bureaucracies to do this work. In contrast, instead of a macro policy like Education for All, Blignaut (2008) analyzed teachers' *sense-making* of curriculum policy to study implementation and asserts that subsequent education policy study in South Africa should focus on policy interpretation at the actor level rather than macro analyses (e.g., international measures and policy).

Bantwini (2010) shared Blignaut's position that policy research should emanate from the level of the actor and his/her interpretation of policy. Bantwini found that teachers interpret policy based on their previous professional experiences and their lack of understanding of the policy. As a result, Bantwini also offered that policy implementation is the result of actor interpretations and that the role of interpretation should be better considered in future policy analyses.

Bantwini and Diko (2011) offered a new twist on South African education policy studies by conducting a policy study at the district level. They stated that because district-level actors oversee teachers and schools, they are in an ideal position to assist in improving teaching techniques and learning outcomes. Moreover, they claimed that the function of school districts can no longer be ignored in policy studies (p. 233). Chisholm and Leyendecker's (2008) earlier assertion that the local and contextual realities will either make or break a policy was fortified by

the literature. This literature calls for a study at the local level of the South African education bureaucracy that takes into account the interpretation of actors and includes room for an analysis of the role of district-level officials. Additionally, although their study took place at the local level, the analysis considered national and international environments. This literature was essential in not only constructing a methodology, in particular sample selection. To that end, I believe that my study can add to an already robust body of South African education policy literature that focuses on data collection in the local context, but the study is distinctive in that it examines South African education policy and practice with respect to immigrant students.

South-South Immigration and Education

This section focuses on literature pertinent to examining the phenomena of South-South (im)migration and education. The literature on South-South immigration and education is not yet well developed and is "largely marked by case studies" (Bartlett, 2012, p. 7). For that reason, this section takes a scaffolded approach to surveying the literature—meaning that I begin with a short review of the literature related to immigration and education, followed by a survey of South-North immigration, and end with a thorough examination of the available South-South immigration and education literature. This section concludes with a synthesis of the scholars' main points that influenced the design and execution of this study.

Immigration and Education

The body of literature dealing with immigration and education was, logically, greatly influenced by sociological studies of the immigration phenomenon in general and thereby featured some of the same sociological assumptions and theories.

Sociological theory-building about immigration began in earnest with Robert Park's (1928) assimilation studies of new immigrants to the United States. Park theorized that every society was an amalgam of different people and their cultures and that how well immigrants *assimilate* into their new culture is correlated with the variance between the culture they brought with them and the culture in which they now find themselves. What is of particular note in Park's analysis is his conception of the immigrant as an "invader" on whom it is incumbent to assimilate into the existing order: "in migration, the breakdown of social order is initiated by the impact of an invading population, and completed by the contact and fusion of native with alien peoples" (p. 885). Park referred to immigrants as "marginal men," meaning that they were torn between two cultures and, as a result, experienced feelings of isolation and "sociological exhaustion" from having to straddle two different cultures—one in the present and one in the past.

Park's (1928) theory of assimilation was considered the sociological standard for immigration studies for many years. However, in the 1990s, in response to waves of non-Europeans immigrating to the United States, scholars began to look at immigration in more detail, with some challenging the assumption that immigrants assimilated or even wanted to assimilate into the new culture.

Portes and Zhou (1993) in their study of immigrant children in the U.S. found that "assimilation" could take several possible paths depending on various factors, including social class, race, language, and so on. As a result, they present a theory of "segmented assimilation" that allows for assimilation into various segments of the U.S.'s unequal society—the middle class, the "underclass"—or choosing not to assimilate culturally at all. Besides moving theories of immigration forward, Portes and Zhou's work was significant in that it focused on education

practices and experiences as a barometer for how well immigrants were assimilating into their new culture. This began a new line of educational inquiry into the immigration phenomenon.

Further studies of immigrant students in educational situations shed additional, corrective light on not only the experiences of students, but on how we, as scholars, perceive and study them. In their study of New York City schools, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters (2004) found the need to expand the conceptual frames used in immigration and education research, as it is imperative to understanding how to eliminate educational inequality for immigrants in schools (p. 210). Through a comparative study of the experiences of youth from several immigrant groups including Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, West Indian Blacks, and Koreans, Kasinitz et al. illustrate that the complexities of immigration extend far beyond categories of race and class, and warn against an overdependence on race and African American civil rights struggle movement framing to explain the immigrant experience—particularly for Black and Latino immigrants to the United States.

Kasinitz et al. (2004) declare that race alone is inadequate to explain the veritable cornucopia of immigration paths and experiences of the students who took part in their study. They conclude by stressing the importance of *context* as the driver of future immigration theory-building rather than an overdependence on race as the primary reason for immigration challenges.

Marcelo Suarez-Orozco (2001) examines immigration and education against the international backdrop of globalization. He places his work in a larger international education context because "The education of immigrant youngsters, whether in Lagos, Lima or Los Angeles, is critical because schooling has become a high-stakes process that imparts the skills needed in the rapidly growing knowledge-intensive sector of the global economy" (p. 345).

Suarez-Orozco states that a study of immigration and education is important for the overall study of immigration because "schooling serves as the primary point of sustained and close contact with a crucial institution of the society their parents chose to join" (p. 346). In his call for a research agenda for globalization, immigration, and education, Suarez-Orozco offers that in response to globalization, nation states are responding with "hyper displays of power," with education being no exception. Because immigrants and especially their children are now being given more policy attention globally, the study of how they fare in schools is essential to globalization studies.

Suarez-Orozco (2001) finds that in schools, immigrants attend around the world, little teaching is going on, and the dominant lessons are primarily concerned with discipline and social control. The little teaching that is going on is not relevant to the students' backgrounds or the realities they face in their adopted country (pp. 356-357). Therefore, Suarez-Orozco, while looking at immigration and education from an international perspective, mirrors the assertion of Kasinitz et al. (2004) by suggesting that focusing solely on race as the reason for immigrant education inequality is wrong. Suarez-Orozco criticizes much of the literature of the field of immigration theory as "anachronistic," and cautions against using immigration theories geared towards theorizing European immigration to the U.S. Suarez-Orozco declares that the study of immigrants in schools requires "the calibration of new analytic tools" (p. 359).

Marcelo and Carola Suarez-Orozco (2001) in their book *Children of Immigration* reiterate the call for more study of immigrant students' education experiences. Although the book focuses on Latino students' experiences in U.S. schools, the authors assert that generally with the "exception of bilingual education, most scholarship concerning immigration has focused on adults" (p. 3). In their research, they found that immigrant students were subjected to a variety

of stereotypes that affected how they were viewed in schools by both teachers and other students. Moreover, these immigrant students were highly sensitive to these stereotypes and, as a result, underperformed in schools (p. 6). Moreover, they add that globalization vis-à-vis migration across borders and the resultant influence of the international web of power relations have played a significant role in shaping schooling for immigrants. They offer that the political and economic conditions of the receiving countries are drivers for these stereotypes, and thus should take more precedence in the construction of future studies of education.

These scholars call for a more international framing for immigration and education studies. To date, most of the scholarship in the immigration and education field is U.S.-focused, due to well-developed scholarship regarding immigrants in the United States (Bartlett, 2012, p. 4). For example, Alba and Silberman (2009), in their comparative study of the education experiences of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. and North African immigrants in France, found that immigrant students experienced similar educational outcomes regardless of country of origin and host country. Moreover, although the school systems of the U.S. and France seemed to be different, they had in common a well-oiled tracking system that placed immigrant students into low-ability streams. Moreover, these researchers found that, in France, the educational policy that determined whether or not a student without papers could be admitted was being applied unevenly, and that had a negative impact on educational outcomes. As a result, Alba and Silberman concluded that structural inequalities like tracking, possibly global in nature, disproportionately disadvantage immigrant students regardless of country context (p. 1444).

Holdaway et al. (2009), in their cross-national comparative study of immigrant education in five European countries (Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands) and two North American countries (United States and Canada), found that much of the literature on

immigration and education is over-focused on the experiences of the immigrant students themselves rather than on the "institutional arrangements they confront and the opportunity structure framed by these arrangements" (p. 1382). Holdaway et al. offer that outcomes are determined by the structure and organizations that provide education to immigrants and "depend crucially on the nature of education policy and provision" (p. 1383). These scholars offer that a focus on institutions and education policy does not mean a neglect of the study of agency of immigrant students and their parents; however, research focusing on institutions and policy is helpful in "enabling policy makers and practitioners" to respond to changing student demographics and that this is called for (pp. 1382-1383). To that end, Holdaway et al. conducted their cross-national comparison to uncover local and international educational institutional arrangements and policies that affect immigrant education. They concluded by calling for additional research that focuses on the role of institutions, policy, and agency (p. 1396).

This literature exemplifies not only the evolution of the study of immigration and education, but the need that pre-eminent scholars in the field see in calling for the application of a more global lens to the immigration phenomenon in schools, to structures and institutions of schooling in the host countries, and to the policies that guide the actors in them. This represents a shift from the early sociological focus on immigrants and their adaptive capabilities to the structures, institutions (including schools), education policies, and adaptive capabilities of the *host* country and its education stakeholders. This shift is not specific to immigrant education study, but is part of the evolution of both the Comparative and International Education and Educational Sociology fields.

South-South Immigration and Education

The aforementioned scholarship deals exclusively with "South-North" immigration, with immigrants coming from developing countries to developed countries. This is disproportionate to international immigration realities, where half of all migration is from one developing country to another (Hujo & Piper, 2007). Looking at the scholarship, one would certainly not receive that impression. This disproportionately small amount of literature examining South-South immigration suggests the need for more study that represents the international context—one where South-South immigration is equally researched. If South-South immigration is prevalent, then further study of South-South immigration and education is warranted. This is especially the case in the African context where education barriers often include poverty, lack of resources, and fragile institutional structures.

Hujo and Piper (2007) put forth a similar sentiment in their article, "South-South Migration: Challenges for Development and Social Policy." They offer that the consequences of South-South migration are woefully understudied, even though "South-South migration accounts for half of all migration in the world" (p. 1). Hujo and Piper assert that too few studies focus on the link between social policy and migration, and so far "scholars and the policy community have largely ignored how developing destination countries have managed to cope with immigration" (p. 2). They call for a South-South immigration research agenda focused on the policy of receiving countries and announce that "it is simply no longer reasonable or feasible to continue to treat the movement of people across borders separately from the ways in which societies define their social contracts and insert themselves into the global market economy" (p. 23).

Gagnon and Khourdour-Castéras (2012), in their analysis of South-South immigration challenges and social policies in West Africa, assert that "although South-South immigrants face similar discrimination and integration challenges as South-North counterparts, South-South flows need to be analyzed from a different standpoint" that considers how "governments neglect integration issues, generating costs not only for immigrants and their families, but also for host communities" (p. 6). They found that despite the frequency of South-South immigration within the region, most West African governments do not attend to immigrant integration challenges, which ends up "generating costs not only for immigrants and their families but also for host communities" (p. 6). The concept of education in the African South-South immigration context differs from the South-North model where immigrants are assumed to have adopted the host country. In the case of South-South immigration—especially in West Africa—many immigrants are temporary residents; therefore, education provisions for them are rare and integration is not a policy concern (p. 17). Additionally, diversity within the region is very high, so a multicultural approach to immigration would have "little impact" (p. 6). In the case of South Africa where this research is based, there are temporary residents (refugees) as well as asylum-seekers and economic immigrants. This would suggest that a flexible enough framework that can be adapted to the needs of these three categories of migrants would be part and parcel of any effective policy, including education.

Gagnon and Khourdour-Castéras (2012) call for the development of African South-South immigration policy research, especially in the area of education (p. 29). They proffer that "access to education for immigrant children can hasten integration and understanding, through spillovers of language and culture" in schools (p. 31). Gagnon and Khourdour-Castéras use the example of South Africa's responses to the 2008 xenophobic violence as a model of best practice that other

African policymakers can learn from when crafting South-South migration policy (p. 34). However, the example provided is not specific to education. This signals an agenda for research needed in this area, particularly in the case of South Africa, where their migration education policies are being presented by UNHCR as a potential model for South-South immigration policy response.

An example of this is the case of South Africa, where conflicting policies concerning immigration and the education of immigrants abound amid a "cocktail of confusion" (Landau & Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009, p. 41). The South African constitution guarantees a right to a basic education to all who are in the country, and the South African Schools Act of 1996 offers that "a public school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way" (South African Schools Act, 1996, Art. 84). The Refugee Act of 1998 offers the right to an education for refugees with proper legal paperwork declaring their refugee status; however, the Immigration Act of 2002 expressly prohibits offering education to any immigrant who does not have legal paperwork, and furthermore mandates punishment of any principal who has allowed provision of education to any undocumented immigrant. It is interesting to note that as the years progress, South African policy documents with respect to immigrants seem to be less inclusive over time. How this policy trend affects education for immigrants was the focus of this study and responds to the need to "develop a strand of inquiry in south-south migration and education" (Bartlett, 2012, p. 7). Most of the literature that does exist speaks to the experience of refugee populations in schools (p. 7). The present study, using the umbrella term "immigrant" to describe all students who are not native South Africans, addressed the education situation concerning these students and is intended to add to the knowledge in South-South migration and education—specifically in an African context.

Though the South-South migration literature is in its nascent stages, studies have been conducted thus far that have influenced the shape of this study. Waters and LeBlanc (2005), in their study of refugee camp schooling in Afghanistan, Thailand, Tanzania, Somalia, and Malawi, found that because refugees are discursively positioned as "acute victims" who have been denied basic needs, the education provided to them "is *for* refugees by external actors, i.e., United Nations relief agencies, NGOs, rather than '*with*' refugees" (p. 130). Waters and LeBlanc assert that three issues impede refugee education. First is the challenge of the external international organization in trying to decipher curriculum and pedagogy. Second, education is "embedded in political judgments" about values that are ill-defined in a refugee camp context. Finally, entrenched in schooling are issues and perceptions of development that for refugee populations are "often unimaginable" (pp. 131-132).

Waters and LeBlanc (2005) state that perhaps "more than any other form of relief, decisions made about children and schooling have the longest term implications" (p. 146). They conclude by asserting that "the *organization* of schools, including who has power and language of instruction all send messages to refugee students about who will retain power once they've left the refugee camp" (p. 146). It should be noted here that Waters and LeBlanc's findings are only applicable to the situation of refugees in refugee camps. A wider generalization would require additional research.

Similarly, Oh and Van Der Stouwe (2008) in their study of the education of Burmese refugees in Thailand found there were "implicit and explicit mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion operating in schools" (p. 589). Moreover, they found that education NGOs, because of their connections with the power structures in the camps, "have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo" and thus should be accountable for ensuring that "their organizational policies

and practices reflect the commitment to inclusion" (pp. 26-27). Oh and Van Der Stouwe's work highlights the need for research that looks at the *organization and structure* of schooling in the South-South context in order to add to the scholarship in this area. Additionally, their work focuses on refugee education, specifically educational experiences in refugee camps. My study proposes a fresh perspective that focuses on immigration and education in a non-refugee context.

In contrast, Buckland's (2011) research on educational policy implementation for non-nationals in the South African context does not look at South-South migration issues purely from the perspective of refugee education. She uses the case of Zimbabwean migrant students' experiences to illustrate policy implementation challenges in South Africa. Buckland found that despite education being defined as a human right by the United Nations, educational access for non-nationals was largely dependent on the host country's refugee policy (p. 368). She defines policy as both the intended outcome and the description of the institutional arrangements required achieving said outcomes (p. 369). She finds that inconsistent implementation of the admissions policy is the primary barrier to education for non-nationals in South Africa. Buckland offers that the inconsistent policy implementation is not specific to non-nationals, but is a chronic problem regarding South African education in general. She suggests that policies governing non-national student access should be made clearer and suggests a role for international donor organizations in revamping policy (p. 372).

Bartlett's (2012) study of Haitian immigrants to the Dominican Republic also does not approach South-South education from a refugee context. Her research analyzes the situation of students who have migrated from Haiti to the Dominican Republic. Bartlett (2011) found that the body of literature for South-South migration and education is thin in general, and asserts that her study is, in part, a response to filling that gap. From an application standpoint, Bartlett found that

not only are immigrant students in the Dominican Republic being denied access to education, but are also being discriminated against in schools. Furthermore, Bartlett found that "citizenship and migration law are far from clear in the Dominican Republic" (p. 9) and that this uncertainty has led to uneven access to education. It should be noted here that this is similar to the case of South Africa where the policy dictating educational access for immigrants is also unclear. Moreover, "contradictory bureaucracies" in the Dominican Republic have "relegated Haitian youth to a state of permanent illegality" and those who do actually get granted access to schools experience both physical and verbal abuse (p. 17). Bartlett concludes by offering an agenda for future research that includes answering the question of "what policies, pedagogies, and practices best support the integration of multilingual, multicultural, immigrant youth and children" (p. 18).

Summary of Immigration and Education Literature

The literature on immigration and education, while providing much food for thought and a basis for comparison, is found to be wanting in the context of South-South migration, even though South-South migration represents half of all migratory patterns worldwide (Hujo & Piper, 2007). However, much can be gleaned and applied from the immigration and education scholarship. Park (1928) laid the groundwork for the immigration and education field of inquiry and posited an assimilation theory that outlined the sociological trajectory that immigrants took towards integrating into society. However, Park's work focused solely on the immigration experiences of Europeans migrating to the United States. By the early 1990s, sociologists like Portes and Zhou (1993) realized that one size does not fit all in the immigration story, and sought to adapt Park's framework to the experiences of Latino immigrants to the U.S. Portes and Zhou's work was notable for, among other things, using education as an illustrative lens through which

to analyze immigration. Kasinitz et al. (2004) researched immigrant experiences in New York City and found an over-focus on race, at the expense of context, as a primary factor in the education experience of immigrants.

Suarez-Orozco (2001) used an international lens to examine the phenomenon of immigrant education and found that regardless of country context, one thing remains consistent—very little teaching was going on in schools that immigrants attended. Furthermore, according to Suarez-Orozco, the teaching that immigrants did receive was focused more on control than on pedagogy and curriculum. Similarly, Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001), though focused on Mexican students' experience in the U.S., also used a global lens to find that international webs of power have seeped into the education process for immigrants in schools around the world. Therefore, they stressed that education for immigrants should be examined in terms of power and control, rather than as a localized activity devoid of international influences. Alba and Silberman (2009), in their international comparative study of immigrant students in the U.S. and France, found that structural inequalities lend themselves to tracking immigrant students into a low-ability stream, thus thwarting their chances for academic success. Holdaway et al. (2009) echoed this sentiment in their comparative study of the immigration experiences of students in five European countries. They found that structure was the biggest determinant of student experiences in each context and, as a result, in their agenda for future research. Holdaway et al. called for more immigration and education studies that focused on institutional arrangements rather than students. By unpacking institutional arrangements and structural inequalities, Holdaway et al. proffered that policymakers would be better able to fashion policies that can improve student experiences writ large.

In the field of South-South immigration and education, as previously mentioned, there is a dearth of literature but scholarship is increasing in this area. The scholarship that does exist has influenced the shape of this research. Gagnon and Khoudour-Castéras (2012) found that in the case of South-South migration in West Africa, most governments do not attend to immigrants at all, which ends up being costly to host communities and immigrants in many ways. They called for more study of South-South immigration and education in Africa as they believed that access to education "can hasten integration and understanding" between host country natives and immigrants (p. 31). Hujo and Piper (2007) called for more study in general regarding the link between social policy and migration as there has been little to no research on how host countries in the South have addressed the issue of immigration from a policy standpoint. They argued that this is particularly ridiculous because South-South immigration accounts for half of all worldwide migration. Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti (2009) spoke specifically to the South African context in their work and emphasized the "cocktail of confusion" that is education policy for immigrants in South Africa. Like Hujo and Piper, they called for more research into the policies of host governments in the South.

Literature specific to South-South migration and education tends to focus on the situation of refugees, with a few exceptions. Waters and LeBlanc (2005) in their study of refugee schooling in five countries found that because refugees were positioned as victims, the international organizations that provided education to them were offering a school experience *for* refugees rather than *with* refugees, leading to a non-contextual curriculum replete with issues and perceptions that are largely irrelevant in a refugee context. Oh and Van der Stouwe (2008) in their study of Burmese refugees in Thailand found that education NGOs wield a great deal of influence in the refugee camps, and because of their connections with the power structures, they

have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo rather than education. For that reason, Oh and Van Der Stouwe suggest further research be done regarding the structures and organizations that shape schooling in the refugee education context.

Scholarship regarding South-South immigration that is not specific to refugees is even thinner still. However, exciting scholarship is emerging in this area. Buckland (2011) in her study of education for non-nationals in South Africa used the international literature regarding educational barriers to children as a backdrop to her policy implementation study. Her study followed the trajectory of refugee policy in post-apartheid South Africa supplemented by interviews with Zimbabwean immigrant students to illustrate the implementation issues. Although Buckland interviewed students, her study is remarkable in her primary focus on policy trajectory and implementation rather than on analyzing the experience of students.

Buckland (2011) ultimately found that vestiges of apartheid and inequality have affected educational access for immigrant students in South Africa. However, inconsistent policy implementation across the board—not just for non-nationals—is to blame for lack of educational access. Buckland called not only for clarifying policies but for support and input from international donor organizations to help South Africa re-position their immigrant policies in such a way that they are consistent with international standards.

Finally, Bartlett (2011) in her study of the experiences of Haitian immigrants to the Dominican Republic found that many are being denied access to education and discriminated against in schools. She focused her research on policies as a background to answer questions about immigrant student experiences. This is essentially the opposite tack taken by Buckland (2011). However, despite their different approaches, both researchers uncovered similar findings. Bartlett, like Buckland, found that the policies governing immigration in the Dominican

Republic were unclear and conflicting, leading to uneven implementation of education policy. This uneven implementation has led to barriers to educational access. Bartlett called for more study and scholarship on South-South migration in education, in particular studies regarding how factors including government policy affect and "influence the adaptation of immigrant children in and through schooling" (p. 17).

To that end, this research project sought to add to the nascent field of South-South immigration and education inquiry. Because the research took place in a majority Black country context with mainly Black immigrants, this dissertation research study did not assume that race would be a reason for any immigration-related tensions. The work of both Alba and Silberman (2009) and Holdaway et al. (2009) employed an international and comparative lens to examine the role of institutions and structures in immigrant education. As a result, this research methodology was created with that in mind and examined the role of the institution and structure in how policy is interpreted and implemented in South Africa.

This research is also consistent with scholarship regarding South-South migration in general. Gagnon and Khoudor-Castéras (2012) offered that more study needs to be done on South-South migration and education, particularly in the African context, because education provides an avenue for intercultural understanding and interaction between immigrants and natives. Hujo and Piper (2007) called for additional study on the social policy of host countries in the South-South context. They offered that it is unacceptable that scholarship is so focused on North-South immigration when the reality is that South-South immigration accounts for half of all international migration. Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti (2009) suggested that South African education policies speaking to immigrant students are a cocktail of confusion and that further study and analyses are needed to make sense of what is a critical situation.

Specific to South-South immigration and education studies, one finds little scholarship, and what scholarship there is speaks to refugee students. Both Waters and LeBlanc (2005) and Oh and Van der Stouwe (2008) found that NGOs wield significant influence in the education of refugees, therefore suggesting that any future research in the international education context should consider the role of the NGO in the educational policy interpretation in the host country. Buckland (2011) found that policy implementation is uneven in the South African educational institution in general and that immigrant education is but a part of that, thus warranting a more holistic look at the education institution rather than isolating education policy for immigrants. Finally, Bartlett (2011) suggested that not only should additional South-South immigration and migration studies be done in general, but also that studying government policy as well as the structure of schooling can shed light on how and why education experiences for immigrants take on the shape they do.

To that end, the methodology, sampling, and analysis of this study were shaped by these bodies of literature to a significant degree. As a result, this scholarship could add to the growing body of literature on the subject of South-South immigration, particularly in the African context.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

>…we desperately need methodology to keep us erect, while we
>navigate a terrain that moves and shifts even as we attempt to
>traverse it…. (Burawoy, 1998, p. 4)

This study answered the following research question: *What are education stakeholders'*

interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to

immigrants in South Africa?

This chapter outlines the methodology used in this study, including a discussion of data

sources, data collection, analysis methods, and sampling strategies. I also discuss the sociological

standpoint that guides the methodology, with special attention to famed sociologist Michael

Burawoy's (2009) "Extended Case Method," which guided the case selection, methodology, and

resultant analysis. This methodology section concludes with the logistics of the study, including

research limitations.

Research Overview

The impetus for this study was a desire to understand South-South immigration

phenomena in the fields of Comparative and International Education as well as Educational

Sociology. First, this study sought to understand how educational stakeholders (teachers, school

leaders, district-level staff, etc.) interpret and implement education policy in South-South

immigration situations. It should not be assumed that the dynamics and theories of North-South

immigration and education policy are applicable to the South-South context. In many instances,

the theories that were serviceable in Western contexts failed to explain the same phenomenon in developing country contexts, particularly in Africa. As South-South immigration continues to grow, particularly in developing nations, how this immigration impacts education is an area rich for further study. To that end, as South Africa is host to more immigrants than any other country in Africa, it made sense to situate the research in this country context.

Second, in the fields of Comparative and International Education and Educational Sociology, most education and immigration-related scholarship centers on North-South realities, and presupposes a difference in race between the people immigrating and the racial majority of the receiving country. Therefore, most studies, analyses, and conclusions lean heavily towards racial explanations of education problems. This study sought to control for that assumption in immigration and education research and actually tested it. In the case of South Africa, where the majority of the citizenry is Black South African and the overwhelming majority of immigrants are Black Africans from other continental countries, the assumption that race is the primary reason for failure to implement a policy is not a given. Moreover, the Coloured race—also severely disadvantaged under apartheid—adds another layer to the story of the underserved in South African schools. Therefore, this study has the ability to add to the scholarship of immigration and education, testing existing racial explanations and understanding how actors in resource-strapped developing countries interpret unclear policy and implement it in the face of rapidly growing immigration.

Third, this study sought to understand how education stakeholders make sense of a policy that is conflicting and/or altogether absent. Admittedly, much research has discussed the chasm between policy and practice in Education Sociology and Comparative and International Education. These types of studies have usually examined a policy that is actually written in some

official capacity. What then happens when there is no policy, particularly for a population of students who were not expected to enter the school system? This research sought to study education interpretation and implementation when there are conflicting and unclear policies.

Although this research aimed to add to several different areas of scholarship, the methodology was thus careful and narrow in scope. For instance, the "implementation of education policy re: access and inclusion" was deliberate. Given the nature of the research focused more on the policymakers and stakeholders rather than the students, successful implementation of policy does not imply student achievement or success on standardized tests. The focus was on immigrant students' access to education and the opportunity to participate fully in the classroom experience. An exegesis of student achievement, standards, and other measures was beyond the scope and intent of this study.

This research answered one main question and two related sub-questions:

What are education stakeholders' interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants in South Africa?

1. *Who are the actors and the organizations in education for immigrants in South Africa?*

2. *What are some of the factors that influence actors' interpretations of education policy for immigrants? How do those factors affect how the actors implement education policy?*

The main research question was designed to gain an overall understanding of stakeholders' interpretations and implementation strategies for the access and inclusion of immigrant students in the face of conflicting and unclear policy edicts in the South African

context. Answering this question will provide a narrative of policy actions re: education policy for immigrants at both the school level and the provincial level of the educational bureaucracy.

The first sub-question of the research identified the actors, both internal and external to the formal education bureaucracy, that are influential in immigrant education. This research did not presuppose that the traditional stakeholders in general education are the same ones wielding influence in the immigrant education sphere. As will be later discussed in the analysis section of this research, some of the actors are indeed different. This question was answered with two data sources: document analysis and semi-structured interviews. The data for this question were initially obtained through a series of semi-structured interviews with stakeholders at various levels in the educational bureaucracy. As a result of the participants' responses, several policy documents emerged as integral to the participants in their understanding of how education policy is to be applied to immigrants in the South African context. The policy documents, the nature of the interviews, and sampling are discussed in more detail later in this methodology chapter.

The first part of the second sub-question dealt with personal and professional characteristics of both the actors and the organizations that impact immigrant education in the case presented in this study and how those characteristics might affect how actors interpret policy. This question looked at characteristics of actors, including principals, teachers, Western Cape Education Department Administrators, and Refugee NGO staff. Characteristics included organizational level, race, gender, xenophobic attitudes, country of origin, age, among others, to determine if these factors were accurate predictors of how an actor's or an organization's characteristics affect policy understandings. Moreover, the second sub-question focused on outlining the interpretive role of the organizations that constitute the educational bureaucracy in Cape Town—the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), the school, and NGOs. The

data needed to answer this question were also obtained in an analysis of the semi-structured interviews.

The second part of the final sub-question explored the space between policy and practice and highlighted how the impact of the actors' interpretation influenced how they operationalize educational access policy for immigrants in South Africa. This question spoke directly to the issue of implementation vis-à-vis access and inclusion. The data needed to answer this question were obtained from ethnographic observations, including observing whether or not (and how) students were allowed to enroll, as well as participant observations which allowed me to gauge how teachers interacted with the students in the classroom.

The aggregate of the answers for sub-questions 1 and 2 provided the full-bodied data necessary to answer the main research question.

Why the Qualitative Approach?

Because this study addressed a relatively nascent field of study (South-South immigration and education) as well as interpretations of actors and organizations at different levels, the varied and flexible approach that qualitative methodology offers was selected for this study. Additionally, the research was multidisciplinary, utilizing scholarship from the fields of Educational Sociology and Comparative and International Education. Scholars such as Jacob (1987) deemed the qualitative approach most effective for multidisciplinary research.

The study employed a combination of several qualitative methodologies to obtain the data needed to answer each research question. A combination of document analysis, interviews, and participant observation ethnography served as the primary methodological techniques used in this study. To answer the first sub-question, I conducted semi-structured interviews with education stakeholders from various different levels, walks of life, and organizations. To answer

the second sub-question, I undertook participant ethnographic study from May 2011 to December 2011. A thorough explanation of the sampling, the nature of the interviews, and the ethnographic methods used in this study follows later in this chapter.

Data Collection Methods

This study employed three methods of data collection under the qualitative umbrella: semi structured interviews, document analysis, and ethnographic observation. This allowed for triangulation of data, thus strengthening the findings. This section speaks briefly to the operating tenets of each method of data collection and why it was chosen for this particular study.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interview is a qualitative technique often used in both sociological and comparative and international education studies, particularly in studies where the goal is to understand how a particular population interprets or perceives a policy phenomenon. It has also been used in myriad studies to explore the space between educational policy and practice, particularly when a policy is unclear (Coburn, 2001; Dolby, 2010; Fataar, 2006; Spillane, 2005). In the African education context, semi-structured interviews have been utilized in various studies to great effect, particularly when seeking to unpack not only how policies are interpreted but to identify how organizational levels impact policy interpretation. Some recent examples of this include Buckland's (2011) analysis of four government policies that affect the educational access of immigrants in South Africa, where she used, among other qualitative methods, semi-structured interviews of 12 school principals to conclude that policy gaps and implementation problems actually foster discrimination against immigrant students in rural border settings.

Semi-structured interviews are also well-suited to exploring interpretations of research participants, particularly in understanding complex organizational problems (Barriball & While, 1994, p. 330). Semi-structured interviews can also encompass a wide variety of personal, educational, and professional histories and characteristics in one sample group (p. 330). Semi-structured interviews that use a consistent interview instrument for all participants increase the chances that any differences in responses are due to the research participants themselves and not the questions asked. However, because of the semi-structured format, there is still room for the researcher to expand on a particular issue should something germane to addressing the research question arise. It is assumed that respondents at a particular organization and organizational level have a similar vocabulary and that each word means largely the same thing for each respondent (Denzin, 1989). In the semi-structured interview model, validity and reliability are a function of "conveying equivalence of meaning" which helps to standardize the interview process and facilitate comparability (Barriball & While, 1994, p. 330). The interview instrument used in the present study can be found in Appendix A. I developed the instrument based on a pilot study conducted from June 2010 to September 2010.

Per Barriball and While (1994), there are some important benefits to using the semi-structured interview as a data collection method:

1. It has the potential to overcome poor survey response rates.
2. It is well suited to the exploration of attitudes, values, beliefs and motives (Smith, 1975).
3. It provides the opportunity to evaluate the validity of the respondent answers by observing non-verbal indicators, which is particularly useful when discussing sensitive issues.
4. It can facilitate comparability (across the sample), by ensuring that all questions are answered by each respondent (Bailey, 1987).
5. It ensures that the respondent is unable to received assistance from others while formulating a response. (p. 330)

There are also criticisms and drawbacks of the semi-structured interview method of data collection. Some scholars assert that the efficacy of the semi-structured interview largely depends on the skill of the interviewer and how fluent the respondent is. Another critique lodged at the semi-structured interview methodology concerns the use of questions asked of the respondents that are not on the interview guide. Because these questions follow a topic trajectory outside of the interview guide, there is a question of reliability. It is also difficult to determine from semi-structured interviews alone whether or not the respondent is telling the truth, and to that end, it takes an interviewer with a solid understanding of the context and the situation to not miss key data (Barriball & While, 1994, p. 333).

Given the exploratory nature of this study focused on deciphering the interpretation of policy by stakeholders, semi-structured interviews were extremely well-suited as a primary data collection method. Because of my own understanding of the South African context, due in large part to several years of studying educational policy in South Africa, particularly through my pilot study that immediately preceded this research, I possess the solid understanding of the context that this method calls for. Moreover, because semi-structured interviews were but one of three different qualitative methods of data collection used in this study, many of the concerns about reliability were mitigated by triangulating the findings with the ethnographic data and the document analysis.

Archival Document Analysis

In addition to semi-structured interviews, this research employed document analysis as a method. Document analysis is defined as a method of systematically examining, reviewing, and assessing documents in both printed and electronic form (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). Documents are defined by Bowen as any document in online or written form including "organizational or

institutional files" (p. 28). Document analysis is often used in qualitative research to better comprehend what guides policy actors and policymakers as well as gain understanding of trends and patterns that emerge from the data (Edwards, 2010, p. 576).

Several studies specific to education policy analysis have employed archival document analysis as a data collection tool in the South African educational context. Edwards (2010) examined the (*non*)-alignment between the South African grade 12 Physical Sciences core curriculum and final examination papers of 2008 and 2009 through an analysis of policy documents, textbooks, and cognitive measures on exams. On the other end of the spectrum, Rangongo (2011) utilized document analysis to explore the functionality of school governing bodies with regard to finance management in South Africa. Document analysis has had a successful history of being used in South African education studies.

Bowen (2009) describes document analysis as a systematic review of documents and procedures (policies) in both printed and electronic form. In fact, he outlines several functions of documentary analysis which guided me in my analysis of policy documents dealing with immigrants, asylum-seekers, and/or refugees in the South African context:

1. Policy documents provide key data on the policy context in which the research participants are operating. Not only do the documents provide historical information regarding the phenomenon, but also speak to the conditions that foster or prevent effective implementation of a policy. An analysis of policy documents in the context of immigration and education in South Africa revealed that the national overarching policy document, the South African Constitution, guaranteed the right to a basic education for everyone living in South Africa regardless of legal status.

Meanwhile, national (macro-level) education policy documents were silent as to what to do with immigrant students. Information that is or is not provided in the policy documents provide areas for further research and/or what to look for in the observation process. The meso-level WCED documents were explicit only with respect to exemption from language exams and any reference migrants referred to people traveling from neighboring South African provinces. The documents that emanated from the national South African Department of Home Affairs, the outfit that monitors the flows of people in and out of South Africa and does not normally address education in its documents, limited education to immigrants with legal paperwork.

The prevailing policy interpretation was unclear, and this was the impetus for this study. As offered by Bowen (2009), document analysis assists in creating interview questions. This study is an example of that.

2. Policy documents are a rich cost- and time-effective source of additional data. Document analysis can be used to supplement what is learned from observation and semi-structured interviews.

3. Finally, documents are an avenue of reliability in qualitative research as they can be compared and contrasted with data from other sources. Document data are not affected by the researcher's presence and, more often than not, the researcher was not part of the document's creation. To that end, as much as possible, document analysis is largely free of its own bias—though how the researcher reads the documents is a possible bias source. To that end, when there is consistency among the data and analysis from several sources, the analysis is far stronger.

Documents in this study hailed from a variety of sources—domestic, regional, and international. The documents included the South African Constitution, The South African Schools Act of 1996, The Refugee Act of 1998, The Immigration Act of 2002, The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Education, The South African National Curriculum Statement, The Western Cape Education Department Language Policy for Refugees, as well as newspaper articles that ran in South African newspapers during the course of my research.

Each document was examined for references to the word "refugee," "asylum-seeker," and/or "immigrant." If any of those words were found, the number of times that those particular words appeared in the document was recorded as well as what was specifically stated in reference to the immigrant/asylum-seeker/refugee and duly coded. Also noted was to whose reference the term "refugee" was used: students hailing from other countries outside of Africa or African countries only or, in some cases, even from other provinces outside of the Western Cape where Cape Town is located. I employed a thematic analysis approach to analyzing the documents. Thematic analysis is the identification and use of emerging themes in reading documents that eventually become codes used for analysis of interviews and ethnographic data (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). The thematic analysis approach involves looking at "selected data, and creating codes and categories based on the data's characteristics to uncover pertinent themes" (p. 32). In the thematic analysis approach, the researcher is expected to be objective and sensitive enough to pick up on subtle clues that illuminate the phenomenon being studied (p. 32).

The documents provided me with a thorough understanding of the written policy environment in which the policy actors and stakeholders were enacting education policy for immigrants in the South African context. By doing a document analysis, I was able to understand

the policy environment and gain direction for sampling for the semi-structured interviews.

Finally, document analysis was an excellent tool that familiarized me with the language that

policy actors and stakeholders were using to describe the immigration and education

phenomenon.

Ethnography and Extended Case Method

The third qualitative method employed in this study was participant observation

ethnography. Issues of migration and immigration have long been of particular interest to

ethnographers (Fitzgerald, 2006). Simply put, ethnography is "a family of methods involving

direct and sustained social contact with agents" (Willis & Trondman, 2000, p. 1). Creswell

(1998) describes ethnography as both description and interpretation of a culture, social group or

system.

Ethnography in both Comparative and International Education and Educational

Sociology research is certainly nothing new. Many studies, both in the field of Sociology and

Education as well as Comparative and International Education, employ an ethnographic

approach to understanding how stakeholders interpret the education context. However, in the

field of Comparative and International Education where the scholars and the actual discipline

cover a wide swath of countries, contexts, people, and institutions, ethnography, through its

method of "direct and sustained social contact with agents," offers the opportunity to understand

and engage with not only research participants and sites, but with the country context as well.

This is especially important in the situation of South African migration where historical factors

such as apartheid continue to impact social policy, both tacitly and explicitly.

Comparative scholars such as Heyman (1979) have called for more study of what goes on

in the day-to-day interaction of schools in order to keep away from the social science trap of

"gathering indicators of phenomena rather than studying the phenomena themselves" (p. 241).

Other scholars in the field of Comparative and International Education have echoed Heyman's (1979) early sentiment. Comparativists Bray and Thomas (1995) have also urged scholars to eschew cross-national comparisons in favor of multi-level/multi-dimensional educational studies. This dissertation study was situated in one country and looked at actors at the meso level (WCED) and micro level (school) and at external actors (NGOs) to study the phenomenon.

This does not suggest the preference for a myopic examination of micro-level peculiarities that have no utility outside of the immediate study context. To Comparativists such as Vavrus and Bartlett (2009), effective Comparative and International Education research entails a multi-level ethnographic approach based at the micro level of a school but with a macro perspective. This provides "contextual knowledge, including attention to how social actors understand and respond to educational phenomena" which is vital to the field (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009, preface). Vavrus and Bartlett also note that qualitative approaches to comparative and international education research offer an epistemological benefit in unpacking how systems, structures, and institutional processes play out on the ground (p. 96).

Extended case method as an ethnographic model. The ethnographic approach used in this research borrows heavily from Burawoy's (1998, 2009) Extended Case Method technique, although this study relies on a variety of qualitative methods besides participant observation ethnography to garner data. The Extended Case Method tenets led to the methodological decision to utilize a participant observation strategy for the qualitative case study portion of this research.

The foundation of the Extended Case Method is that actors and situations are studied through observing, participating, and documenting incidences over time—particularly conflict— in order to formulate theories about the case. The Extended Case Method differs from more

traditional ethnographic approaches in that its foundation lies in a macro view of a micro phenomenon. This allows for the application of Neo-Institutional theory to the phenomenon to determine if and/or to what extent macro forces affect policy interpretation and implementation for immigrant students in South Africa.

Created as a retort to structural-functionalism paradigms, the Extended Case Method emerged out of the Manchester School of Anthropology in the 1960s (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, p. 246). Burawoy was instrumental in bringing the Extended Case Method to Sociology and expanding its scope beyond space and time to include an examination of social structure (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, p. 246).

The Extended Case Method "applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the 'micro' to the 'macro,' and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on pre-existing theory" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 5). Burawoy explains:

> We therefore move beyond social processes to delineate the social forces that impress themselves on the ethnographic locale. These social forces are the effects of other social processes that for the most part lie outside the realm of investigation. (p. 15)

This kind of approach is particularly useful in a multi-site, multi-level study such as this one, where the connections between the micro and macro are identified and the social fabric is complex.

Burawoy's (1998) Extended Case Method emerged from his own doctoral fieldwork in Africa. He served as a personnel consultant in the Zambian Copper industry to expand on Frantz Fanon's post colonialism theory (p. 5). Through application of the Extended Case Method in the Zambian context, Burawoy was able to explain sociological phenomena in the Zambian Copper industry beyond simplistic binaries, i.e., Black-White, colonized-colonizer, capital-labor, and so

on (p. 6). Concurrently, however, through employing Extended Case methodology, Burawoy was also able to more thoroughly explore and scale up these differences in local, national, and global milieus to explain the sociological story of the Zambian Copper mines more completely.

One of the key operating beliefs about ethnography shared by adherents to the Extended Case Method is that the *participant* observer is better able to explain the phenomenon under study than a traditional ethnographer who tries to remain uninvolved in the organization under study. The Extended Case Method begins with a theory (or theories) that are to be tested in the field, through the application of the phenomenon under study. In the case of this research, two theories were being tested: Neo-Institutional theory and Resource Dependency theory. The Extended Case Method allowed for reflexive testing of both theories vis-à-vis what were the forces shaping policy interpretation and implementation in the South African context.

The Extended Case Method follows Burawoy's (1991) four movements of reflexive science: "research moves from an interview or set of observations to an analysis of social processes, then onto social structures and then back to one's theory" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, p. 255). The third tenet of Extended Case Method, where social structures are analyzed in relation to the underlying theory, is most critical because it brings an understanding of how and which global, macro, and meso forces affect and influence the case site that is not apparent while immersed in fieldwork (p. 255).

Extended case method criticism. One of the key criticisms lodged against the Extended Case Method is the inability of the research to be replicated. Because of the role of the researcher as participant observer, any one of his or her characteristics (gender, race, country of origin, etc.) can influence the kind of data that are obtained (Burawoy, 1998, p. 11). Related to that is the issue of reliability, as the consistency of the results cannot be guaranteed under similar

conditions because an Extended Case Method study—where the researcher is part of the story—is susceptible to the changeability of life. Another criticism is the epistemological stance that Extended Case Method researchers take. Among users of the Extended Case Method is a presupposition that macro forces have some impact and, in most cases, *significant* impact, on micro structures and actions. Grounded Theory supporter (and Extended Case Method critic) Mjoset (2005) asked the question, "Is the macro-context always the determining one? Is that not the question of the research question?" (p. 12).

This criticism was duly noted and taken into consideration in the research design. The epistemological view that this research took considered both primarily macro causes (Neo-Institutional theory) and/or micro causes (Resource Dependency) for how stakeholders interpret and implement education policy for immigrants in the South African context. There is ample evidence to suggest, given the nature of the study, that a case study approach based at the school level is the most effective way to answer the second research sub-question.

In this study, I was a participant-observer at the school site where the qualitative case study was conducted. Based on Burawoy's (1998) assertion that being a participant would allow for a deeper understanding of actor interpretations and actions, it was determined that this mode of observation would be best to understand how policy was being interpreted, why it was being interpreted that way, and whether or not macro forces influenced those policy interpretations. This was amply suitable for a research question that looked at both micro and macro forces at different levels to determine how policy is interpreted.

Qualitative Methods Choices Conclusion

The application of these three qualitative research methods—document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation ethnography influenced by Extended Case

Method—provided a well-rounded series of data-gathering methods that spoke to each of the questions this research sought to answer. Document analysis provided an overview and analysis of the written policies that direct immigration and/or education in the South African context. The semi-structured interviews answered the sub-questions identifying who the actors and organizations were that impacted policy interpretation and implementation. The semi-structured interviews also identified the factors that influenced policy interpretation and implementation. The ethnographic portion of this research—the longest and most significant in terms of volume of data—delved into how education policy was interpreted and implemented daily at the micro level of the school. The combination of the data obtained and analyzed for the sub-questions provided the full body of data to answer the overarching research question: *What are education stakeholders' interpretation and implementation of educational policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants/asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa?*

Defining the Case

Preliminary Study

The methodological approach of this research was significantly informed by a preliminary study of the phenomenon that took place from June 2010 to September 2010 in Cape Town, South Africa. During said pilot study, I worked with the Alliance for Refugee, Education, Skills, Training, and Advocacy (ARESTA), a refugee services NGO, on issues of educational access and inclusion in schools. I undertook comprehensive visits to 15 schools with varying percentages of immigrant populations. Besides working on issue of educational policy implementation, I also served as an anti-xenophobia teacher/trainer in schools. In addition, I worked as a member of a team charged with the planning and delivery of a UNHCR-funded

anti-xenophobia march in Khayelitsha—the largest township in Cape Town known for its hostility to African immigrants. As a result of this engagement with ARESTA, I was able to talk at length with many people involved with anti-xenophobia efforts and immigrant students and was able to determine who the policy stakeholders were at the school and NGO levels.

Concurrent with my work at ARESTA was my affiliation with the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town, due to the extraordinary kindness of the late Dr. Neville Alexander. PRAESA, established in 1992, emerged from the fight against apartheid education, and was charged with encouraging and documenting innovative approaches to education, both formal and informal. PRAESA's recent work focused on language policy—a policy which is impacted and impacts immigrant education in cases where English, Afrikaans or Xhosa (the three most spoken languages of the Western Cape) are not the immigrant students' first language. As a result of my engagement with PRAESA, I was able to obtain the policy documents needed for the document analysis portion of my study and to meet and talk with policymaking staff at the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) and public academics focused on issues of social stratification, many of whom provided information, interviews, and additional research participants.

As a result of this pilot study, I was able to determine that this research would be feasible and narrowed down the research questions to hone in on the aspect of the immigration and education phenomenon this study would tackle. Moreover, I was able to decide on whom to contact for semi-structured interviews as well as identify several school sites suitable for the ethnographic observation portion of the study.

Sampling

For each phase of the study—document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation ethnography—different qualitative sampling techniques were used. For the document analysis phase, the sample of documents examined were the result of comprehensive sampling. Comprehensive sampling includes all documents with the specified characteristics in the sample, which in this case had to deal with some aspect of the education of immigrants in South Africa (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005, p. 314). For the purposes of this research, the documents analyzed were those most frequently referenced by policy stakeholders in the pilot study as guiding policy actions and interpretations. The documents included in the study were:

1. South African Constitution

2. South African Schools Act of 1996

3. South African Refugee Act of 1998

4. South African Immigration Act of 2002

5. South African Development Community Protocol on Education and Training

6. South African National Curriculum Statement

7. Western Cape Education Department Language Policy for Refugees.

The semi-structured interview phase of the research utilized a "snowball" sampling strategy, where key informants who were interviewed suggested the names of others who might be appropriate for the purposes of the research (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005, p. 314). In two cases, through my analysis of the policy documents, I identified two participants at the provincial education level whom I eventually approached for an interview. Research participants were

selected with consideration to diversity of characteristics (age, organizational level, role, etc.) and the quality of information they might provide.

The ethnographic phase of this research employed an extreme case sampling strategy. The school site of this study represented a highly specialized case, as it was the school with the highest immigrant population in Cape Town. This allowed for examining characteristics having to do with immigrant students in more detail. This extreme case method case was chosen with the understanding that what would be learned could possibly be relevant for other schools in the Western Cape (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005, p. 313). As the population of immigrants in South Africa grows, how schools manage as their demographics increase is of particular policy concern. The sampling strategy for this research reflected that concern by focusing on a school with a high concentration of immigrant students.

Site Selection and Description

As previously mentioned, the school site for the ethnographic portion of the study was chosen precisely because it represented an extreme case. The school was also unique in that it served as a "test case" for UNHCR school-based, anti-xenophobia educational interventions (ARESTA, 2010). Because of the school's status as a "test case," it has a high level of interaction with the WCED and refugee service NGOs that focus on education.

Boysenberry[1] High School was founded in 1936 as a little schoolhouse for White learners in Cape Town, South Africa. Boysenberry High School is situated in the Mayberry[2] area of Cape Town—an area whose ever-changing demographics mirror the national story. Mayberry was and is an area that has constantly been in flux. During apartheid, Mayberry was deemed a "White group area" and Boysenberry was a segregated White school (Foubister, 2010).

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[1]Pseudonym, not the school's real name.
[2]Pseudonym, not the area's real name.

In 1979, the school was re-designated a Coloured school to accommodate the rapidly growing numbers of Coloured people settling in the area. At that time, Boysenberry taught only 7th and 8th grades—a junior secondary school (Foubister, 2010). In 1991, Boysenberry unintentionally became a part of the apartheid struggle when it was taken over in 1991 by anti-apartheid activists to bring attention to the role of education in oppression. Since the dissolution of apartheid, due in large part to its apartheid history, Boysenberry has viewed itself as a school that is very "politically aware."[3] Boysenberry remained a junior secondary school until 1991, when the school moved into a larger building and had its first grade 11 class in 1993. Although the school buildings expanded physically, there were still too few learners to populate the classrooms, and the then-principal went to Black townships to recruit more students. Upon the dissolution of apartheid in 1994, Boysenberry attracted many students from Khayelitsha and Gugulethu—the largest Black townships in Cape Town. The school's demographic now boasts a 70% Black population. The school consists of two buildings, one for middle school and one for high school. This research took place solely in the high school of Boysenberry.

According to Boysenberry's internal historical documents, the school is now comprised "of various stakeholders who contribute to its basic functionality including the Principal, Deputy principal, School Governing Body, seven education specialists, two senior teachers, administrative clerks, general Foreman, General Assistants, Learners and the Parents" (Boysenberry documents). The school boasts 37 educators, 35 of whom are Coloured, including the principal. There are two Black teachers, one native South African and one African immigrant.

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[3]Interview with Boysenberry principal.

Boysenberry has a student population of over 1,000 learners with 20% of those being Black immigrant students from neighboring African countries. According to the Western Cape Education Department, Boysenberry has the largest immigrant student population in Cape Town (interview with Larney, 2011). The immigrant students hail from various countries including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo-Brazzaville, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Malawi, and one student from Angola. The majority of immigrant students are from Zimbabwe and Congo (Foubister, 2010). The native Black South African students hail primarily from the aforementioned Khayelitsha and Gugulethu townships, with some other students (both Black and a few Coloured South Africans) hailing from neighboring Milnerton and Woodstock—primarily Coloured neighborhoods. It is worth noting here that since the xenophobic riots of 2008, most Black African immigrant students attend schools in Coloured areas (like Boysenberry) due to safety concerns. Moreover, Black immigrant families live in areas that are either primarily Coloured or have settled in areas that are mainly inhabited by Black African immigrants.

In 2009, Boysenberry High School, despite the interventions, saw their matriculation pass rates drop to 35%, leading the WCED to label Boysenberry High School as eligible for a "National Strategy for Learner School Attainment Facility" or NSLA. An NSLA school is deemed as such because it failed to meet the accepted standard of a 60% pass rate. NSLAs are closely monitored by WCED officials throughout the school year who intervene when they consider it necessary to assist in raising the school's overall matriculation scores.

At the time of this study, Boysenberry High School's scores were above the NSLA designation, reaching close to 70%. This increase in student achievement, despite the massive change in demographics, offered an interesting case in which to test existing immigration and education theory which posits that, because of cultural differences between the school and

immigrant students, achievement scores would go down. This school and this setting flout that initial prediction, and because of its extraordinarily high immigrant population, provide an ideal case with which to test the theories posited for the interpretation of education policy for immigrants in the South African context.

Because of my interaction with the Boysenberry staff during the three-month pilot study from June 2010 to September 2010, I had considerable access to this school and already established familiarity with the principal and some of the school staff, though not all. To that end, this was an ideal site at which to conduct this study.

Procedural Ethics, Risks, and Benefits

This research was conducted with every effort to be respectful of the people who were kind enough to participate and it employed the highest ethical standards. There was no use of deception in the study. Because the research focused on the interpretation and implementation of education policy for immigrants in the South African context vis-à-vis access and inclusion, the research participants were adults who gave written consent to participate in the study. I kept all participant names confidential and used pseudonyms where appropriate in the data analysis section of this research dissertation.

Because this research depended almost exclusively on the involvement of human subjects, some risks included professional and personal harm to the participants; though no more than would be expected in the participants' regular day-to-day work interactions. This study addressed the interpretations and implementation actions of WCED staff at various levels, administrators, teachers, and NGO staff focused on immigrant education in the South African context. Because the focus of this research was on how education policy was interpreted by practitioners, students were not interviewed for this study.

While I conducted the research, several sensitive issues and opinions were raised with respect to xenophobia, apartheid, and other prejudices. I anticipated this and opted to employ one-on-one interviews rather than focus groups because I did not want the participants who were being candid to suffer any professional consequences based on their responses to my questions. To that end, I took the utmost care in protecting the identity of all research participants, and gave each participant the choice to opt out of the research at any time. To date, none of the participants interviewed or observed for the study chose to opt out.

I believe that the benefits of the study far outweigh the minimal risks that might be incurred by the participants. This study did not employ a strategy of interviewing students, although they are the ones who will stand to benefit most from any conclusions drawn from this study.

Limitations of the Study

A potential limitation of the study involves generalizability. As this research was based in Cape Town, South Africa, the Western Cape metropolis with the largest number of Coloureds, the racial proportions and dynamics are specific to the Capetonian context and therefore may not be generalizable to the entire country of South Africa. The data are specific to the Western Cape and a very specialized case. Despite the limitations in generalizability, I offer that this study and its related findings provide information about educational dynamics that are relevant to South Africa overall. The data obtained in this study are but a part of gathering knowledge about the very diverse educational contexts in South Africa, their similarities, differences, and implications for policy. Additionally, by highlighting a specialized case, what emerges as best practice in this

extreme case could serve as a foundation for other schools to build policy for immigrants suitable to their school contexts.

Another limitation of the study is the reliance on educational stakeholders' accounts of student achievement. As this study was designed to better understand *interpretations* of immigrant education and how that affects implementation with regard to access, it was indeed necessary to collect data on perceptions of students. However, logistics regarding access to student achievement data specific to that school did not allow for corroborating that information with official student data. Therefore, any findings in this regard are focused on the interpretation of teacher and principal accounts of how students were performing in schools and were not substantiated by student achievement and/or test data.

A third limitation of the study involves the lack of data at both the national and provincial levels regarding immigrant students in South African schools, including numbers of students and aggregate test data. In fact, the exact number of immigrants in South Africa overall vary wildly from organization to organization. In the context of education, beyond school principals keeping their own school-specific records, official counts are absent. The school site featured in the ethnographic portion of this research was widely regarded by the Western Cape Education Department, principals in Cape Town, Refugee NGOs, and the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR) as the school with the highest proportion of immigrants in Cape Town. It once served as a model school for the UNHCR for immigrant education strategies immediately following the xenophobic riots of 2008. Beyond this school, numbers of immigrants in Cape Town schools are nearly impossible to pin down. One reason for this study was to highlight the need for collecting such data in a systematic fashion. At this point, consequently, exactly how many people this study could potentially impact is impossible to

determine. However, one point that is not in dispute is that the number of immigrants to South Africa is growing and, as a result, there will be more immigrants in schools. Therefore, this study has relevance for South Africa's education policy moving forward.

Validity and Reliability

Internal validity relates to adequate and relevant procedures and methodologies so that the results "including case and effect conclusion" can be interpreted (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005, pp. 77, 105). External validity refers to generalizability beyond the immediate context. Creswell and Miller (2000) define validity as how effectively the methodological instruments answer/measure the research question. Reliability of qualitative case study research is defined as "the extent to which studies can be replicated. The concept applies to both procedures and results" (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005, p. 77). Because of its placement in natural settings, qualitative case study research of this kind can be particularly vulnerable to reliability issues.

However, because ethnographic case study research is generally focused on obtaining a rich description of a site, case, and/or situation, it is nearly impossible to apply a positivistic definition of reliability to this research. To that end, qualitative case study research that employs *participant* observation insists that the researcher "must develop a relationship with the participants that will provide access to data from the perspective of the participants" (Goetz & Lecompte, 1984, p. 165). Moreover, employing multiple data-collection procedures—in this case, interviews, observations, and document analysis—allowed for triangulation of data, thereby enhancing reliability.

Burawoy (2006) offers that an Extended Case Method study is not generalizable internationally, but is effective in being generalizable for the study site—in this case, Cape

Town. This kind of reliability is helpful in providing an in-depth understanding of one component of a country. Comparativists such as Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) might offer that many studies of this kind would actually contribute to the whole understanding far more effectively than cross-comparative studies of many sites which have limited breadth and understanding of the country contexts. To that end, any reliability concerns regarding this research are sufficiently ameliorated by the faithful approach of this methodology and a realistic scope of the study's reliability.

Data Analysis

For the document analysis portion of the study, seven policy documents were analyzed: the South African Constitution, The South African Schools Act of 1996, The Refugee Act of 1998, The Immigration Act of 2001, The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Education, The South African National Curriculum Statement, and The Western Cape Education Department Language Policy for Refugees. The documents were examined for references, both explicit and implicit, regarding education for immigrants in South Africa. References were coded along with the policy documents' characteristics (i.e., year of creation, which entity created the policy document, and which populations saw the policy document as germane to their interpretation of education policy for immigrants in the South African context). Data obtained from this portion of the study also influenced the semi-structured interview discussion as the documents not only provided context, but allowed for a launch point for discussion of immigrant education policies.

The semi-structured interview portion of the research involved 44 participants from varying perspectives: 5 principals, 12 teachers, 9 NGO staff working on issues of immigrant

education, 5 district-level administrators, 6 non-school public intellectuals grappling with various aspects of immigration in South Africa (not necessarily *immigrant* education), 1 Department of Home Affairs employee (charged with assigning or refusing to issue paperwork for immigrants legal status in South Africa), and 4 WCED officials. The overwhelming majority of the participants at the school, district, and provincial levels of education were Coloured, which was reflective of the school staff and neighborhoods in Cape Town where most immigrants attend school. However, in the case of the NGOs, the participants were almost exclusively African immigrants themselves. The public intellectuals were primarily Black and Coloured South Africans, and although they had considered immigrant education in their study of xenophobia, at no time did it reach the forefront of their concerns.

It became apparent through the summary and analysis of the semi-structured interview data that not only was this an extraordinary amount of data to have for a study that featured several different types of data collection, but much of the data was repetitive or not relevant to the research questions being asked. Rather than include all 44 research participants, in the interest of parsimony, I made the professional judgment to include a "sample of the sample" based on the job characteristics of the participants (teacher, principal, etc.) and the relevance of the data obtained during the interviews. I then narrowed down the interviews included in this study to a sample of 15 principals, teachers, NGO staff, WCED officials, and district-level administrators because it became clear through their answers that they were the primary stakeholders in immigrant education in Cape Town. The interviews were coded and analyzed manually and then with N-Vivo software to corroborate any findings. The interviews that were not included were still very helpful in providing context and, in many cases, led me to an interviewee whose role in immigrant education was more direct.

The participant observation portion of the research took place from June 2011 to November 2011. I attended the school three days a week and served as a participant in some of the daily activities of the school. My role included invigilating high-stakes matriculation exams, making copies, helping to organize students for activities, and assisting various teachers in their work. I spent the majority of my time in one classroom; however, most of my participation and observation at the school site was *outside* of the classroom. The class that I observed was a science class. The reason for observing this particular class was none other than it was suggested and/or I was invited to observe this class. Some teachers at the school were not keen on my observing their classes, so who got to be observed was the teacher's decision. Although most of my observations took place in this class, I had the opportunity to also observe many other classes and teachers in the school, albeit not as regularly.

The observations undertaken for the qualitative case study portion of this study provided a significant amount of data. Overall, I conducted 64 observations from June 2011 to November 2011, ranging from 3-5 hours per observations (an average of 4.52 hours) 4 times per week.

Observation field notes were used to capture my impressions of the primary and secondary classroom sites. I specifically looked for: a) how teachers and immigrant students interacted with each other; b) how immigrant students were integrated with their South African counterparts in the classroom; and c) if there was any difference in how immigrant students were treated compared with their South African counterparts. I wrote general field notes every day for a total of 64 sets of field notes, with more comprehensive notes for each week. I also kept a reflection journal so I could observe my own impressions of the site and my experience as participant-observer. My impressions of the site changed significantly over time as I was able to

learn and understand what drove actor interpretation and implementation, not only in the school but in Cape Town in general.

It is important to note that my observations were not certainly limited to the classrooms. I also spent a great deal of time floating around the school and meeting other teachers and school staff, some of whom agreed to be interviewed for this study. One area of particular concern and pertinence to the research questions was that of access for immigrant students—that is, were students who wanted to able to enroll in the school? If they were or were not, my observations focused on identifying the reasons for their access or lack of access. The observations I undertook in this area, although outside of the classroom, provided much of the foundation for the research and analysis. I was able to interact, assist, and talk extensively with school staff who processed enrollment at the school about their impressions regarding education policy, what is says, and how it should be applied.

Additionally, as part of the participant observation portion of the research, I took public transportation to work (a 1.5-hour commute each way) and thus became very familiar with neighborhood sights, sounds, and history. Outside of the school, I spoke to many South Africans in the neighborhood of Boysenberry, who would occasionally offer impressions on what they felt about increasing immigration and education in South Africa. These interactions provided me with a context for the study. The basis of the ethnographic portion of this study was indeed the confluence of my immersion in a South African neighborhood, my classroom observations, and my floating around the school site doing everything from invigilating, helping busy teachers with administrative work, and serving (more often than not) as a teacher's classroom assistant.

My Role in the Study

I entered this study with significant experience in the South African context. Since 2005, when I conducted fieldwork for my Master's thesis, I have been traveling to South Africa on and off for both professional and academic reasons. I also served as a research intern for the social science research arm of the South African government in 2005. Subsequently, I worked for an international development and education program that operated in 22 countries, 10 of which were in Africa. The vast majority of my work portfolio is South African international education development initiatives. I have also since undertaken consultancies and studies in South Africa. However, most of these experiences were either in Johannesburg or Pretoria (Gauteng Province). For that reason, because the Western Cape, specifically Cape Town, is so demographically different from the rest of the country, I felt it necessary to undertake a pilot study prior to doing this work to better understand the Capetonian context.

Throughout the duration of this study, I, through my journal entries and reflections, was "reflexive" about my role in this study, including my own preconceived notions about immigrant education from an American perspective—in particular, the Black American perspective of a child of immigrants, and the impact that my own personhood might have on the interviewees and the type of data I obtain. In particular, I was in a unique position, because though I am Black, I am a light-skinned Black person, and though I strongly and unabashedly identify as Black, in some cases I could pass for a Coloured myself. This puts me in an unusual position personally in a place where Blacks and Coloureds have had a contentious history: I could appear to be one thing but strongly self-identify as something else. Admittedly, despite my extensive experience in South Africa, this required some adjustment and tested my mettle as a researcher.

Beyond my own personal challenges with this assigned racial identity, several significant political and research implications for this as well were helpful for this study. Because of my Caribbean background, I have found in my past experiences in Cape Town specifically that I am, among Black South Africans, considered more "African" than my Black American counterparts. This provided me with an increased point of entry in cultural conversations, given that the Caribbean culture is viewed as more similar than the Black American culture, which is more focused on Blackness in a situation where one is a *minority*.

To counteract these factors, I did my best to not refer to my own racial identity unless asked in this research in order to observe how I was received differently by different groups. What I found was interesting: my American accent de-colorized me when speaking to White South Africans who, because of my American-ness, imagined my experience as more similar to theirs, compared with that of a Black South African. In a few cases, White South Africans completely forgot that I was Black and made statements I would deem racist and untoward. Fortunately, this was rare in my research.

As far as Coloureds were concerned, if I did not speak, I was able to blend into those spaces almost seamlessly. I took public transportation to and from my site, and was able to operate in Coloured spaces and neighborhoods without a second glance. I believe that this helped a great deal in the research, as many of the research participants indicated they were very happy to "see an American Coloured" getting a doctorate. Although the term has a vastly different (and offensive) meaning in the American context, the Coloured race has much pride in their own story and sees their experience as international.

To that end, my American accent was helpful in certain contexts, and afforded me increased access and agency—though not on par with that of a White researcher from a Western

institution. With the American accent, I believe that in some cases, until I disavowed the person of that notion, I was perceived as a donor or evaluator of some kind, which raises issues of perceived power, albeit through the disempowered lens of being a non-White in South Africa.

Finally, as a female, I was careful of my role in meetings and was observant re: cultural norms of women's behavioral standards in the school settings in which I conducted the research. Although beyond the scope of this study, it was interesting to cursorily observe how my femaleness was perceived and responded to in different contexts.

I have often said to friends, upon completing this fieldwork, that if one were going to physically design a person to conduct research of this kind, it would be me. As an American, a Black, a child of immigrants who appears Coloured, I had access to people and had a point of entry that I might not have had in another context.

Personally, I entered this study with the belief that both Sociology and Comparative and International Education could benefit from more studies that do not view people of color as a monolith, although it is expedient from a research perspective to do so. This is not accurate. Perhaps because of my own background as a first-generation child of immigrants, I wanted to understand reasons for policy success, failure, and so on, for immigrants controlling for race. I also wanted to see how the theories held up in the African context where too often theories and programs that work in the West are adopted nearly wholesale for Africans without due consideration to their vastly different context. I did not come into this research blind and without my own passions, but I did come into it with an open mind that was significantly changed by the end of the research. One aspect that did not change as a result of my research was my unfailing respect for teachers, principals, administrators, immigrant students, and other magicians who daily find ways to do more and more with less and less. They are the real stars of this story.

Chapter IV

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter is dedicated to the findings of the study pertinent to the overarching research question and the related sub-questions:

What are education stakeholders' interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants in South Africa?

1. *Who are the actors and the organizations in education for immigrants in South Africa?*

2. *What are some of the factors that influence actors' interpretations of education policy for immigrants? How do those factors affect how the actors implement education policy?*

This chapter also presents data found for each data collection method—document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation ethnography—with particular attention to an extensive description and analysis of the meso-level organization targeted in this study, the Western Cape Education Department (WCED). This allowed for cross-analysis of data between the meso-level and the micro-level schools in order to foster a better understanding of the forces at work that affect education policy interpretation and implementation in developing countries, per the directive of Vavrus and Bartlett (2009).

The findings for each question are presented at the conclusion of this chapter, concluding with a summary of the most seminal findings of the study regarding the overarching research question.

Archival Document Analysis

The first stage of the data collection for this study began with archival document analysis. This was an ongoing procedure that was originally informed by my own previous educational policy experience (in particular, the pilot study that immediately preceded this dissertation research) as well as responses given by participants who agreed to be interviewed for the study. This portion of the research began in earnest in November 2010 to better understand what might influence educational stakeholders' interpretations and what policy cues they might be following to implement education policy for immigrants in South Africa. The intent of this document analysis was to gain an understanding of what the policies said and whether or not the overall policy messages among the documents included in the sample were consistent.

Seven archival documents were analyzed: the South African Constitution, The South African Schools Act of 1996, The Refugee Act of 1998, The Immigration Act of 2001, The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Education, The South African National Curriculum Statement, and The Western Cape Education Department Language Policy for Refugees. Each document was retrieved online and read, and seven key words were searched: "migrant," "immigrant," "asylum," "asylum-seeker," "refugee," "education," and "schools." If and when those words were found, I read the document again to determine the context in which the word was found with respect to education. In almost all cases, the references were thin, with the word "education" and "schools" appearing no more than twice in any document.

Each document was analyzed according to six codes:

1. Authoring Organization (branch of government, external international organization)
2. Intended Audience

3. Date Created (pre- or post-2008 riots)

4. Mode of Transmission (online, paper or both)

5. Inclusive of Immigrants (yes/no)

6. Reference to Education?

Table 1 below illustrates the characteristics of each policy document per the codes.

In analyzing the seven policy documents, several points emerged. First, the policy papers penned immediately after the dissolution of apartheid, though not explicit in providing a step-by-step framework for immigrant education in South Africa, appear to offer a much more inclusive discourse with respect to immigrants seeking a basic education in South Africa. The South African Constitution is outright in its declaration that "*everyone* has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education; and to further education, which the state through reasonable measures must make progressively available and accessible" (Section 29.1). It should be noted here that the South African Constitution is clear that it means "everyone" and not just citizens. However, when seeking to actually operationalize these inclusive tenets in the field of education, The South African Schools Act of 1996, the primary policy document directing educational initiatives penned a mere two years later, makes absolutely no mention of immigrants, asylum-seekers or refugees in its documents. Sixteen years after its first iteration, there have been no changes to the original document to reflect the change in South African demographics.

Table 1

Characteristics of Policy Documents Per Codes

Document	Authoring Organization	Intended Audience	Date of Creation	Mode of Transmission	Inclusive of Immigrants Getting Education
SA Constitution	SA government	Entire SA citizenry	1994	Paper and online	Yes
South African Schools Act	SA DOE	SA educators and education policy makers/analysts	1996	Paper and online	Not mentioned
SA Refugee Act	SA Department of Home Affairs	SA immigration policy analysts, implementers, Human Rights attorneys and immigrants to SA	1998	Paper and online	Yes, with correct paperwork
SA Immigration Act	SA Immigration Advisory Board (including a DOE representative)	SA immigration policy analysts, implementers, Human Rights attorneys and immigrants to SA	2001	Paper and online	Yes, with penalties for those abetting
SADC Protocol on Education and Training	Heads of state from 12 African Countries including South Africa	South African high-level regional policy makers; Ministries of Education in the Southern African region	1997	Paper and online	Yes, in terms of "freer movement of students…across Southern African borders"
SA National Curriculum Statement	SA DOE	SA educators and education policy makers/analysts	1997, 2005, 2008	Paper and Online	No, explicit exclusion
WCED Language Policy for Refugees	WCED	Western Cape Educators, education policy makers/analysts	Still pending official roll out	n/a	Yes, very

The Refugee Act of 1998 is the first indication of South Africa's policy attention to the growing refugee situation in Africa. As South Africa's borders were essentially closed during apartheid, the concept of refugees and how to handle them was a new challenge for the post-apartheid government. This policy was an attempt for South African policymakers to get their hands around the immigration issue while dealing with post-apartheid challenges. The Refugee Act of 1998 states that without the proper paperwork issued by South Africa's Department of Home Affairs, refugees are not allowed to work or access any kind of education in South Africa (Palmary, 2009, p. 3). However, despite the lack of access to education or any social good without the correct paperwork, entry into South Africa is, at least discursively, encouraged for refugees.

Post-2001, an interesting trend emerges in the policy documents. Around this time, there were impressions encouraged by sensational newspaper articles and headlines that the numbers of non-citizens entering South Africa had increased exponentially, although no empirical data actually supported this assertion (Crush, 2001, p. 2). There was a widespread belief that a population (estimated between 2.5 and 5 million) of illegal immigrants was straining the already limited resources of South Africa (pp. 2, 20). There was also a belief that South Africa's persistent post-apartheid crime problems were the result of illegal immigrants committing the majority of the offenses. Furthermore, abysmal unemployment numbers were also blamed on illegal immigrants taking jobs away from South Africans. Compounding this (or perhaps causing this) was the crushing responsibility that South African policymakers had to bear—that is, dissolving apartheid structures, fostering a new racially-blind democracy, and addressing the basic needs of the poor which constituted the majority of South Africa's Black population. Compounded with the growing frustration of the South African populace for change in their own

dire circumstances, the ground for immigrant-bashing was ripe and the policies written post-2001 reflect this change in sentiment.

The documents written post-2001 (The Immigration Act of 2001 and The South African National Curriculum Statement) are punitive not only for the immigrants who fail to obtain the necessary paperwork to obtain legal status, but also for those South Africans who aid and abet their stay. The Immigration Act of 2001 explicitly addresses education in this regard: "no learning institution shall knowingly provide training or instruction to an illegal foreigner"; furthermore, in the case of basic education, it implicates the school principal as a possible accomplice in its assertion that "if any illegal foreigner is found on the premises where instruction…is provided…it shall be presumed that such foreigner was allowed to receive instruction…by the person who has control over such premises…" (section 39).

In a similar sentiment of exclusivity, The South African National Curriculum Statement begins with the assertion that "this curriculum is written by South Africans, for South Africans" (preface). This is a particularly interesting statement to make in 2008, when the anti-immigrant pitch was reaching fever level, particularly because of increased immigration for neighboring Zimbabwe where the political system had begun its spectacular fall.

Currently, in 2012, although the Gauteng province has far more immigrants than the Western Cape, it is the Western Cape Education Department that is in the process of creating a policy specific to immigrant students, reflecting recognition of the new demographics. It is estimated that 5,130 immigrant learners are in the Western Cape province, representing 1/12 of the total student population. It should also be noted that 1,836 of those students hail from the Democratic Republic of Congo where French is the lingua franca (*Cape Times*, Luhanga, 2009).

To that end, policy creation is a proactive way to deal with the changing demographics of the region.

The education system of the Western Cape, where Cape Town is located, is well-known as the most successful in terms of student achievement, which provides them with a bit more freedom than the other provinces being monitored because they are not doing as well. As a result, the province of the Western Cape has more freedom to create policies outside of the watchful eye of the macro-level policymakers at the South African Department of Education (SADOE). Moreover, the Western Cape is in the best position to create innovative policies that meet their specific needs and in anticipation of changing social trends. At the time of this writing, the formal WCED Formal Language Policy for immigrants was not yet complete, but expected to be so shortly.

Finally, The South African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Education and Training makes a cursory reference to immigration and education, choosing to focus most of its policy edicts on gender parity in education. Additionally, references to education are in the context of higher education, not basic. Although most of the immigrants to South Africa are coming from countries that are either members of SADC or that neighbor countries who do, the omission is glaring.

Additionally, the South African policy edicts focused on immigrants post-2001 were done by committee and commission rather than as functions of the entire organization. For example, The Immigration Act of 2002 was created by an "Immigration Advisory Board" that included one member from the Department of Education. The South African National Curriculum Statement, though created by the national Department of Education in 1997, has been updated by smaller committees for its latest iteration created in 2008—the same year as the

xenophobic riots. As the edicts were becoming more punitive, the amount of government manpower and the number of stakeholders assigned to create the edicts were decreasing. Immigration, especially immigrant education, was not a primary priority of South African policymakers despite the xenophobic riots. In fact, since the xenophobic riots, there have been small amendments to existing policy documents, but little in the way of new policies, despite the massive demographic change.

In stepping back and taking a macro view of the documents, one will notice that education for immigrants, even in documents specific to immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers, is viewed as an afterthought and not seen as germane to the successful integration of immigrants and their families into the receiving country's fabric, in this case South Africa. This is most likely reflective of aid and donor foci at the time of the creation of the document (1997), in particular the World Bank (1997) who, at this time, started "mainstreaming gender" across all of their international development initiatives.

There is also a great deal of inconsistency across the documents in terms of sentiment, framework, and routes of implementation. Not one of the documents analyzed provided a clear framework for how to integrate immigrant students into basic education structures. The South African School Act of 1996, which states that it mirrors and follows the South African Constitution in design, does not address the immigrant at all and speaks to what should happen with "learners" without direct respect paid to the learners' country of origin. Even the documents that do address education do not speak to the special needs of immigrant students (i.e., language), although it could be argued that the South African Constitution, which states that every student has the right to be taught in his or her own language, makes provision for this.

The document analysis made clear that there was no prevailing policy regarding immigration and education and that, depending on the audience, the policy messages transmitted through these documents were inconsistent at best, absent at worst. To that end, there was much room for interpretation of education policy for immigrants in the South African context, particularly when documents changed in lock-step with increasingly xenophobic attitudes in South African society writ large, culminating in the riots of 2008. Since then, there have been no new policies with respect to refugees, immigrants and/or asylum-seekers. This suggests that not only is there a lack of policy attention given the perceived crisis, but also a lack of the requisite resources to aid immigrants.

Moreover, because the top-down policy edicts were so vague about specific actionable edicts re: immigrant students in South Africa, they suggested a need to place particular research attention on bottom-up initiatives as sources of understanding how education policy for immigrants is interpreted and implemented in South Africa. This archival document analysis significantly informed the semi-structured interviews and ethnographic portions of the methodology employed in this study.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 participants: 6 at the meso-level Western Cape Education Department (WCED),[1] 6 at the school level, 4 principals/assistant principals, and 5 NGO education stakeholder professionals. A total of 44 semi-structured interviews were conducted from December 2010 to June 2012. Twenty-seven of these interviews

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[1]Western Cape Education Department (WCED) is one of nine provincial-level education departments under the purview of the national SADOE. For the purposes of this research, the WCED is considered the meso level, in between the macro-level SADOE and the micro level of the school.

were with non-educators. Roles included public intellectuals, journalists, anti-apartheid activists, human rights commissioners, and artists. These 27 interviews provided me with context for the study, particularly in Cape Town where the demographics of the province make its past and present very different than the rest of the country. Seventeen of the interviews were selected for inclusion in this study. All educators and/or people involved with immigrant education were included in the sample analyzed. As the research questions addressed education for immigration, I determined that these interviews provided the most robust and representative information useful for answering the research questions.

Each interview was scheduled by appointment. Notes were taken during the interviews and tape recordings were not used. Interviews averaged about one hour, with none being less than 50 minutes. The data were then coded into categories and analyzed. The data analysis and results follow immediately below for each participant category (WCED stakeholder, school-level stakeholder (teacher/principal), NGO-level stakeholder).

Western Cape Education Department (WCED)

Of the six interview participants at the WCED level, there was significant variation regarding interpretation of education policy for immigrants, particularly when it came to the role of the WCED and how policy edicts were communicated. One of the respondents was at the highest level of the organization, three were at the mid-level, and two others were based in district offices where they have direct contact with both schools and WCED head office staff.

For the first question on the interview instrument on how the research respondents understood and interpreted education policy for immigrants, there was a wide array of responses. Two mid-organizational-level respondents (R1, R6) and one high-level respondent (R3) believed there was some policy specific to immigrants in South Africa. In the case of the mid-

organizational-level respondents (R1, R6), neither were able to identify the exact name of the policy document, where it emanated from or what it said. The respondent at the highest level of the organization (R3) offered that because there was a special dispensation for immigrant students re: sitting for South African language exams, he thought that "language policy might scratch the surface somewhat" for education policy for immigrants moving forward. R3 also indicated that he would like to see a separate and distinct policy addressing the needs of immigrant students as well as migrant students from other poorer neighboring provinces because "their special needs beyond language need to be addressed." However, R3 also believed that these policies should be geared towards legal immigrants, and those who do not have paperwork could not and "probably should not" gain access to South African schools.

In contrast, another respondent (R4) whose work is at the district level of the WCED (rather than headquarters) said there was no policy whatsoever and it was "wreaking havoc on schools who don't know what to do with this new population." R4 offered that because he did not work in the WCED's main office, he was able to work with principals of schools and with immigrant students to "get them what they need outside of the eyes of the head office. The less they know, the better." The other district-level respondent (R5) indicated that she really never thought about it because

> It's not that I don't care, we just have so many South African problems that we don't have the resources to deal with this. I just treat them like any other learner. If the principals ask me for help, I provide it if I can, though, but I have to meet several targets and this is not one of them that I am going to getting credit for.

Overall, the WCED respondents believed some sort of policy was in place, but none of them were able to attribute the policy exactly, except for R3 who was at the highest level and involved in writing said policies. Both R3 and R6, however, were aware of some kind of policy but could not explain what it was, even though R6 worked almost exclusively with migrant

students from neighboring provinces. The wide swath of answers about what the respondents believed the education policy for immigrants was in South Africa speaks to the confusion over what the policy is. It also appeared that the further away the respondents were from the top level of the WCED, the less likely they were to believe there was a policy at all.

WCED respondents: WCED role, principal role, and teacher role. All (100%) of the WCED-level participants saw the role of the organization as a positive influence and a facilitator for the achievement of immigrant students, although they differed on what the organizational role was and what the prevailing thought was on how that is achieved.

Four of the respondents (R1, R4, R5, and R6) perceived an increase in the amount of work they had to do because of immigrant students; this included both district-level professionals—one mid-level professional charged with the application of language policy based at the head office and one mid-level professional who spent the most significant amount of time in schools compared with his other mid-level colleagues. One mid-level person (R2) and one high-level professional (R3) both indicated no change to their workload since the increase in the immigrant student population in South African schools. Both of them spent little to no time in schools as a result of their work. It appears that although the policies were coming from the top down, the work related to immigrant students was only increasing at the mid and district levels.

When asked about their interpretation of the role of the principal and teacher in immigrant education, the responses again varied, although there were no correlations between organizational level and response. With respect to principals, only one participant (R1) stated that he felt the role of the principal was negative in helping to foster immigrant education in Cape Town: "It depends on the principal and most of them are concerned with their own behinds rather than taking in kids who need an education. They need to learn how to be leaders and help

improve education rather than only focusing on WCED yearly targets." Two participants (R2,

R5) indicated that the principal had no role in immigrant education. In the case of R5, I found

this of particular concern because she had earlier said that she would involve herself in aiding

immigrant students. I inquired with her more deeply and she opined:

> The principal generally doesn't have a role and shouldn't have an official role, per policy, but if he [the principal] and I have a good relationship, then I can do him a favor. But technically, given our culture here at WCED where the decisions come from the top, the principal should have no role.

The remaining three participants saw the role of the principal as vital to immigrant education in

Cape Town and saw their role having the potential to be overwhelmingly positive. One

respondent at the highest WCED level (R3) saw the principal as:

> a leader that sets the stage for the school. If he is inviting, then the teachers will follow. If not, then the culture of the school is xenophobic. The principal can make South African schools a safe place for refugees.

R4 and R6, one district-level and one mid-level WCED professional, respectively, also saw the

role of the principal as key in educating immigrants in Cape Town:

> It's up to the principal. He is our lifeline to the school. As a district-level administrator, the principal is my first line of communication at the school. I can't be in contact with every teacher all the time. The principal is the one that tells me what is needed for the school to work, so I can do my job. He is the link between the school and us here at the WCED. Especially with groups that aren't paid attention to or ignored like refugee students. (R4)

Although the respondents had varying opinions on the principal's role in the educative process

with respect to immigrants, the exact opposite was true in the case of the teachers. Five of the

respondents at all levels saw the teacher as having no role in the interpretation of education

policy for immigrants, with only one respondent (R2) at the WCED headquarters level offering

that he is "just not sure what the teacher could do as far as interpreting policy in that regard."

When I inquired further, he offered, "It is not the teacher's job to interpret policy, it is ours and

to a far lesser degree, it is the principal. The teacher is to carry out the tasks for the policy to be successful. Teachers have enough to do without being policy analysts on top of everything else!"

WCED interpretation: What problems do immigrants face and what policy do you implement to help? All respondents acknowledged there were problems for immigrants settling in Cape Town, including in the realm of education. Four of the respondents (R3, R4, R5, and R6) indicated there were major problems for immigrants in Cape Town schools, particularly in the way of language and integrating into the South African culture. R3, the WCED high-level professional, and R6, the WCED mid-level professional working specifically with language policy, both saw the problems as "major," due in part to their own awareness of the language policy that affects immigrants. Additionally, both district-level professionals (R5, R6) saw the problems as "major," although R5 saw the problems as a combination of language-related, integration-related, and other aspects. R6 saw any problems as primarily having to do with language. The data do not reveal much consideration for immigrant integration issues beyond language. Both district-level professionals firmly believed that "all learners were the same as far as the policy is concerned and are treated the same. To treat them any different means that they are."

WCED communication: Top-down, bottom-up or something else. All respondents at the meso level answered that they believed communication regarding education policy for immigrants was top-down; that is, edicts emanated from the WCED and were disseminated through face-to-face contact with principals who then communicated WCED edicts to their teachers. The WCED saw itself as policy issuers and enforcers, though benevolently so. Only in the cases of the two WCED district-level professionals who dealt with schools and principals daily (R4 and R5) was there an acknowledgment that, although the WCED was primarily top-

down in its policy operations, with no exception made for immigrant education, bottom-up

policies in some cases influenced their work at the WCED.

> When the xenophobic riots happened, the UN got involved and all these people were looking at South Africa as a failed democracy given everything we'd been through. It exposed South Africa's lack of resources and will to deal with this. And the NGOs stepped in to help those immigrant students who had been displaced and they worked with us. Now that they are gone, those principals that worked well with those NGOs are doing good stuff that helps us in our work. We can say to another principal, that "bruh" over at that other school tried X program and it worked. And then that becomes his policy. And it has little to do with the WCED. That's in large part because WCED isn't or doesn't want to pay attention. So principals get to make some policy. And so far, things are going well. No rioting at least. But sometimes, parents call us when things don't go well and then the WCED gets involved, after all, they have the final say but that doesn't happen often. (R4)

Some of the factors that influence interpretation of education policy are dependent on

where the individual sits in the organization. Overall, the WCED sees itself as the policy

interpreter for the Western Cape. In the case of immigrant education, there is no explicit policy

in the education sector and much inconsistency in understanding what the prevailing policy is in

the immigrant and refugee rights sector. As evidenced by this sample, how close the

organizational stakeholder is to the school level and what type of work they do (language policy,

top-level policymaker, etc.) greatly influence how they interpret policy. District-level

stakeholders who had extensive interaction with principals and schools tended to see more of the

challenges re: immigrant education, as opposed to WCED-headquartered stakeholders who

discussed policy for immigrants in theory but not in practice. Counterintuitive to this assertion is

the case of the WCED high-level administrator (R3), who perhaps because of his proximity to

other high-level policymakers in other fields (health, home affairs, etc.) saw the problem of

immigrant students as a piece of the puzzle in solving the persistent xenophobia problems in

South Africa. In all cases, the role of the teacher was greatly minimized in policy interpretation,

not just immigrant education—with the teacher being discursively positioned as an implementer with little input into how a policy is created, communicated or interpreted.

Interpretation of education policy was seen as primarily the function of effective communication between the district-level representatives who pass on WCED edicts to the principals, who then in turn pass them along to their teachers to implement. Although interpretation of education policy was seen as the bailiwick of WCED and district field staff, implementation was viewed as the schools' responsibility. In the case of immigrant education, where there were no explicit policy and no consensus on what the unwritten policy was, interpretation of education policy for immigrants was uneven. Moreover, there was no top-down official to evaluate the implementation or capture lessons learned from schools that were addressing the issue of immigrant education effectively.

It also should be noted that racial characteristics were taken into consideration in this sample. Although the sample is far too small to make generalizations, it should be noted that except in two cases, the respondents were Coloured, which is representative of the population of Cape Town, though the percentage of Coloureds included in this study is proportionately slightly higher. The high-level stakeholder (R3) is a White male and the mid-level language policy professional based at WCED headquarters (R6) is a Black South African female, although she hails from the Gauteng province and is considered a "migrant" herself. In fact, she was hired to deal with migrant students from other provinces, many of whom bring their own tribal languages as their lingua franca. The introduction of the immigrant population in Cape Town has increased her workload and, as she put it, "taken the focus off of South Africans that need help, though I know the immigrants need it too."

To that end, based on the WCED's perception of its own role in interpreting and implementing education policy for immigrants, it could be said that the interpretations vary, with most professionals confused over what the policy is, but acknowledging that clarification of the policy is needed to foster more effective interpretation. A large part of that interpretation, according to the WCED participants, depends on effective communication with the principal, and if the principal is an effective leader, then the implementation of the policy will be successful. Teachers had little to no role in the interpretation story, although it was agreed they were largely responsible for implementing any education policy effectively.

There were no specific "actors" whose sole job function was to interpret or implement education policy for immigrants. Each of the actors interviewed had immigrant education-related matters cross their desks to varying degrees, but in no case was it the actors' primary job function. In all cases, their interaction with immigrant education had to do with access—that is, whether or not a student should be allowed to attend a particular school, rather than inclusion which all respondents not only said they would have no way of measuring, but was in fact the teachers' responsibility. Based on this sample, it could be said that the WCED stakeholders' impressions were influenced by proximity and exposure to school staff who were dealing with immigrant students, and/or proximity to policymakers in other spheres (health, housing, etc.) who were dealing with xenophobia and immigration as their primary issues.

To better understand the role of the WCED in the education bureaucracy and how the organization transmits policy messages to schools, I took the information I learned while interviewing the WCED staff members to inform the next stage. As mentioned previously, the role of the principal was repeatedly highlighted by almost all participants as key to policy message transmission. To that end, for the semi-structured interview portion of the research, I

interviewed principals and teachers in schools with varying concentration levels of immigrant

students (low, medium, and high) to gain a better understanding of education stakeholders'

interpretations of policy for immigrants and how access and inclusion are implemented at the

school level based on those policy messages.

Principals and Teachers

Four principals from various Cape Town schools as well as two teachers were

interviewed. As the ethnographic portion of this study featured a participant observation

methodology, I posited that I would have ample opportunity to interact with teachers. Therefore,

I took this opportunity to connect with principals and also gather some data from them to identify

some of the factors that influenced school-level actors' interpretations and implementation of

education policy for immigrants. The same questions were posed to the principals and teachers to

begin the interview and gain basic biographical data; they were then followed by a more iterative

conversation-type interaction. Data were coded in exactly the same way as the data garnered

from the semi-structured interviews with WCED staff.

One principal, one assistant principal, and one teacher (R7, R9, and R11) believed that

the education policy for immigrants was to be applied the same to all learners and there was no

reason for policies specific to immigrants. One teacher (R8) believed there was no policy and

that the message he got from that was "refugee kids don't matter as much as the South Africans,

do what you want." One other principal (R12) and one assistant principal (R10) both understood

that policies were applied differently, where special consideration was given to immigrant

students. Both (R10, R12) identified language policy as the only place where they were aware of

a difference. Three respondents (R7, R9, and R10) believed that the role of the WCED

headquarters was a net negative and suggested that NGOs and international development

organizations were much more helpful than the WCED in aiding them with immigrant student

needs:

> When the xenophobic riots happened, the whole country was wringing their hands and claiming they had a headache. The DOE at the national and WCED levels did nothing. Two NGOs came in to help us provide education to our refugee kids many of whom had been internally displaced. And UNHCR came to us and asked us what we needed. And now, after the riots, the NGOs that are left are the only ones coming to us about this. The WCED doesn't even ask because they don't care! But that allows us to do some cool things with the kids, because they are not breathing down our neck. (R9)

> In contrast, two other respondents (R11, R12)—a teacher at a school with few

immigrants and a principal of a school with a fair number of immigrants (15%) who has

extensive interaction with refugee education NGOs—both labeled the WCED role as overall

positive. However, they made it clear they were talking about the district-level person with

whom they interacted who "actually know[s] from visiting a lot about what is going on in the

school" (R11) rather than the staff headquartered at the WCED main offices. All respondents

seemed to have a limited understanding of the role of the WCED beyond the policy and the

punitive for failing schools. However, the overall sentiment toward the WCED headquarters was

indifference.

All principals and one of the teachers (R8) saw the role of the principal as very positive

and critical to not only interpreting education policies at the school level, but to implementation

(access and inclusion) as well.

> The principal decides who comes here and who doesn't. The access is up to him and the WCED knows that and turns a blind eye if things go bad. However, most of the time, it doesn't go bad. We are great with access at my school. Do you know why? Because those Zimbabwean kids outscore the South African Blacks every time. We are happy to take them if they can pay the fee! And I am happy to fully include them in my class. They are a joy to teach compared with the lazy South African kids, eish! (R8)

One teacher (R11) saw the role of the principal as very negative:

The principal has all of the power when the refugee parents come in and beg him to take their kids. Sure, he'll take the Zimbabwean kids because they speak English better than the South Africans and are obedient because especially if they don't have papers, they don't want to get turned in. But the Somalis, for instance, they don't speak English well and they are not coming from a good education system. So the principal doesn't take them. And then what happens to them? Crime, idleness, and they never learn to be South African. The role of the principal is very negative in this case, and a lot of principals pick and choose who they want to give access to and include in their schools. (R11)

Four out of the five respondents, with the exception of one teacher (R11), saw the principal and the school staff as key to helping immigrant kids get access. Each one mentioned working with, in most cases, local refugee NGOs or, rarely, WCED district-level staff to help as students gain access to education by assisting with paperwork, language classes for students who do not speak English, and so on. The one teacher who did not agree with this assessment (R11) continually stressed access as an issue, claiming that schools open access to "who they want and it is not available for all; therefore, they are not helping."

All respondents believed there were "major" challenges to adjusting for refugee students, although their belief about the precise nature of the challenges differed. Every interviewee agreed that integration into the school was a problem in that there was still a significant social divide between immigrant students and their South African counterparts. Four out of the five respondents (R7, R8, R9, and R10) believed that language was a major problem for immigrant students in South African schools because "it [in the case of students from Democratic Republic of Congo] prevented them from understanding the material sometimes, except in the case of math and science where it speaks for itself" (R8). The remaining respondents (R11 and R12) both stressed integration but nothing else.

In terms of how the influx of immigrant students has increased the workload for principals and teachers, one teacher (R11) and one principal (R7) indicated that the change in demographics increased their workload as they struggled to find ways to better integrate refugee

students, particularly aiding them "with social problems outside of teaching and learning" (R7).

Two interviewees, one teacher (R8) and one principal (R12), indicated no change to their

workload since the increase in immigration. The two remaining interviewees (R9 and R10), both

principals—one of whom also taught two classes—indicated a *decreased* workload since the

demographic change:

> These kids are so easy to teach. They do exactly as I say and you don't spend all of your
> time managing bad behavior. They are eager to learn. They work together to help each
> other. It has made my workload a lot easier to have these students. (R10)

As far as teachers' and principals' perceptions about how policy messages travel between

the education bureaucracy organizations (the school and the WCED), all participants believed

that any policy messages regarding how education policy should be operationalized for

immigrant students has sprung from the bottom-up, not the top-down, largely as a function of the

general perception that the WCED was not concerned with this aspect of education. All

principals and one teacher (R8) believed that the messages were the result of the principal telling

WCED representatives what they were doing and working alongside other neighboring school

staff to create their own policies for challenges outside of WCED purview. One teacher (R11)

believed that teachers had more influence in affecting immigrant education policy

implementation and interpretation than principals because they worked more closely with the

district-level people, "at least at my school" (R11).

NGO and International Development Organization Staff

During my interviews with both WCED-level staff and school-based staff (teachers and

principals), the role of the NGO staffer as advocate for immigrant students emerged repeatedly

as a talking point. Therefore, a sample of five NGO workers from four different NGOs that work

with immigrant students in some capacity were interviewed for this study to determine their

interpretations of education policy and how policy was implemented at the school and WCED, with whom they interact while doing their advocacy work.

NGOs are not a part of the formal education bureaucracy and therefore could not be asked the same questions that were asked of WCED staff, principals, and teachers. Their point of entry into the system and their work are different and the questions reflected recognition of that. Four questions (1, 2, 4, and 7) were posed that were consistent with the questions asked of the WCED staff, principals, and teachers. The answers to these questions were coded and analyzed in exactly the same way to allow for consistency of data for cross-referential purposes. Of the five participants, three were refugee/immigrants themselves, one was a Black South African working at a refugee-focused NGO, and one was a Coloured South African working at an education NGO focused on language policy that recently expanded its purview to include immigrant students based in Coloured townships. The analysis of these interviews follows.

With respect to how education policy for immigrant students was understood and interpreted, this group offered a very different set of answers than those entrenched in the educational bureaucracy. Four of the five NGO interviewees (R13, R14, R15, and R17) understood education policy within the context of The Refugee Act of 1998 and its amendments. Although they all worked in education and, with the exception of R15, exclusively on immigrant education, most had little knowledge of South Africa's education policy documents (i.e., The South African Schools Act) and used policy documents authored by the Department of Home Affairs—the government entity that deals with immigration in South Africa (e.g., Refugee Act of 1998, Immigration Act of 2002). When I inquired why this was, even though most of the work was in schools, I was told that an organizational edict at the NGO level determined which policy served as drivers for their advocacy. As there is no NGO exclusively dedicated to immigrant

education in South Africa, much less in Cape Town, the education work was seen as part of a larger whole. The only exception to this was R16, a worker at a language policy and education NGO, who recently took on some immigrant student issues. Immigrant education was not a core competency of R16's organization.

With respect to the role of the WCED in their work, the same four respondent interviewees (R13, R14, R15, and R17) who focused on the Refugee Act as a policy directive saw no role for the WCED in their work. All of them said they had actually never met anyone from the WCED, despite their work with Cape Town schools. They all dealt directly with school principals, teachers, and other school-based staff to advance their work. The only exception again was R16, at the language policy and education NGO, who relied heavily on her "connections at the WCED to get the resources needed to do her work."

When asked how immigrant students gained access to schools, the same four interviewees (R13, R14, R15, and R17) expressed a great deal of dependence on the principal:

> Depending on my relationship with the principal, I can go in there and get things moving even if students don't have paperwork that allows them to legally be in South Africa. I can say, look, my organization has bursaries so you'll get the school fee, enroll this learner and my organization will get the paperwork before the end of the school year. (R13)

> The principal I work with most and I both need each other. He needs to fill seats with learners who will raise his test scores. Since I bring him good learners, he'll sometimes let some rules slide as far as access goes. He'll let them in knowing I'll sort him out later. (R17)

The only deviation from this response was again R16, who believed that students without legal paperwork had no access to South African schools, and until then she could do nothing.

> Even South African kids don't get to attend school without paperwork saying they are South African and are accounted for, so we certainly would not do that for immigrant kids. But once they are in schools, we in this NGO are ready to help. Language Policy affects all kids in schools, not just South Africans, but access must be applied fairly. You need papers. (R16)

All NGO interviewees viewed the problems of immigrant students as "major" and saw little to

no role thus far for the WCED. Three respondents (R13, R14, and R17) saw significant issues

with student integration, language, and other concerns, including threats of xenophobic violence,

financial issues, and so on, as counterproductive to immigrant student success. When pressed on

how the WCED and its representatives could help, these three respondents were cautious about

exposing students who were vulnerable and, in some cases, in the country illegally to an *official*

government entity.

> The WCED, who are they anyway, you ever see any of them in schools? Where were
> they during the xenophobic riots? Nowhere, they don't do anything because they don't
> care. They are xenophobic too. So I work with the principals and things get done without
> them [WCED] interfering and scaring people. I see how Home Affairs [Department of
> Home Affairs] treats refugees. The less contact I have with South African government
> and the more with its people, the better for the learners. (R13)

Incidentally, all three respondents (R13, R14, and R17) were recent refugees to South Africa

themselves and were present in the country during the xenophobic riots.

In a slightly different response, one NGO head (R15) indicated that integration was not as

big of a problem for immigrant learners in South African schools as his colleagues thought. He

believed that the integration was fine; it was dealing with issues of language for the French-

speaking immigrant and other issues, mainly financial, that were having a deleterious effect on

immigrant learners.

> The students are integrated fine. There is no violence. They are there to learn and get an
> education and hopefully go back when their country is stable. Integration is not the issue.
> They need language teachers and more bursaries to help them pay school fees—that's
> what they really need. (R15)

The education NGO-based respondent (R16) felt there were some problems, but none

consistently "major" that were specific to immigrant students:

> What people who did not grow up in this system like I did fail to realize is that the
> education system is not working perfectly for anybody! Do you think you could ask a

South African parent or any education NGO worker and they would say that things are wonderful and that the WCED does everything they say? No one would say that, anywhere in the world…. They need to realize we are still growing even at the WCED and district level, but they do mean well, at least my connections there do. They are former teachers like me and they speak the same language. (R16)

Overall, refugee NGO workers expressed little to no interaction policy or otherwise with WCED workers, even those who worked exclusively on immigrant education. In this case, the principal served as the liaison between the NGO and the school. The WCED was out of this equation completely as far as the NGOs were concerned. On the contrary, the *education* NGO worker, because of her vantage point, had had extensive experience with WCED policymakers, and so approaching them using "the same language" and the same vantage point was easier. What was particularly unexpected from these data was the fact that the NGO workers—even if they worked on education—were very unfamiliar with any South African education policy, despite being extremely fluent in policies and acts (i.e., Refugee Act of 1998, Immigration Act of 2001, etc.) that had a human rights lens rather than an educational policy lens. Although their work had transitioned and morphed to include education post-2008 xenophobic riots, the NGO immigrant education stakeholders' point of policy reference remained exactly the same.

Participant Observation Qualitative Case Study

The third aspect of data collection for this study was the participant observation qualitative case study. This methodological technique was employed to triangulate the data obtained from the archival document analysis and the semi-structured interviews. To answer the research questions effectively, it was imperative to immerse myself in the school culture to observe what was actually happening re: access and inclusion of immigrant students in Cape Town schools, rather than just reporting what well-meaning interviewees and policy documents

stated. Additionally, by immersing myself in the culture, particularly as a participant, I was better able to observe phenomena outside of what could be measured by the interview instrument. Moreover, by doing this qualitative case study observation, I was able to gain deeper insight into the culture and be more reflexive about the research questions and the not-so-obvious macro and micro factors that affected educational policy interpretation and implementation. I could thus test the explanatory power of the sociological theories employed in this study.

In this study, I investigated how principals, teachers, and other stakeholders interpreted education policy with respect to immigrants, given their context, characteristics, and policy environment. Principals' and teachers' interpretations of education policy and their actions in the classroom and the school are part and parcel of the policy implementation story.

The ethnographic data collection portion of this research was guided by Burawoy's (1998) Extended Case Method. As the methodology chapter of this dissertation elucidated, the Extended Case Method dictates that when doing a micro-level ethnography, the researcher should always reflexively observe the phenomena in the context of the macro. In this way, the researcher is able to test the explanatory power of the theories being tested—in this case, Neo-Institutional theory and Resource Dependency theory. As a result, the findings are not definitively specific to spatial and temporal factors, but take into account present and past history with a goal to anticipating possible future directions (Burawoy, 1998, p. 5).

This research was guided by the use of the two sociological theory lenses being tested in this study—Neo-Institutional theory and Resource Dependency theory. Although there are differences (see theoretical framework for extensive discussion of both theories), one characteristic both theories share is a macro view of micro-processes that determine organizational action, interpretation, and implementation of education policy.

An application of Neo-Institutionalism to the research questions would pay particular attention to the external environment that influences the school, including policy controls and pressures that the WCED and other possible bureaucratic organizations (i.e., national South African Department of Education, transnational international development organizations such as United Nations agencies). Neo-Institutional theory would offer that these bureaucratic organizations force policy actions, both explicitly and implicitly, that assure the sustainability of the bureaucracy. In this way, the ethnographer would expect to see (or expect to see over time) a convergence of policy interpretation and implementation policy at the meso and micro level in order to maintain the educational bureaucracy and, moreover, reinforce the inequalities of the social system of South Africa.

To that end, an Extended Case Method ethnographer would look at the role that mass education has in (re)producing inequality in the form of xenophobia. Neo-Institutionalist John Meyer (1977) offered that the educational institution "reifies a certain national history" and instills ideas of citizenship, personhood, and individuality. How that applies to policy interpretation and implementation at the micro site remained at the forefront of my reflexive participant observation.

Using the lens of Neo-Institutionalism, I focused my observations and opportunities for participation on observing the culture of the school, with special attention paid to how the nexus of the institutional environment and the actors' cultural beliefs shaped their policy interpretation and implementation. Institutions, per the theory, are not just written policy but institutional beliefs, norms, networks, communities, social systems, and other links that influence policy action (Nee, in Smelser & Swedberg, 2003, p. 25). However, the most important factor, per Neo-

Institutional theory, in policy interpretation and implementation is the actors themselves—whether as individuals or networks that drive organizational action.

To that end, in undertaking this ethnography with a Neo-Institutional lens, I sought to understand three distinct aspects of the school culture. First, I sought to understand what the prevailing ethos was regarding the role of education in the creation of South African citizens, thereby drawing a contrast between how education policy was interpreted and implemented with the conflicting policies that did exist.

Second, another cultural aspect I focused on using the Neo-Institutional lens was to understand the norms, networks, communities, and social systems that were part and parcel of the professional activities of the school actors. In this respect, the participant observation was of particular import as it allowed for an immersion in the culture, thus giving the ethnographer the opportunity to assume these norms and become immersed in these social networks in order to do the job successfully. This aided in understanding how policy was being interpreted and gave me the opportunity to see it implemented, which directly answered the research question.

Third, I looked at the personal and professional characteristics of the actors themselves and the influences of their policy interpretations with respect to education generally, and specifically to interpretation and implementation of education policy for immigrants at the school. In this way, I was able to make inferences and reflexively test the predictive power of the Neo-Institutional theory to explain how the macro institution of South Africa—including the remaining vestiges of apartheid—impacts policy interpretation and implementation for immigrants.

The other lens applied to answer the research questions was the Resource Dependency theory. Resource Dependency focuses on inter-organizational dynamics, power, and access to

resources rather than the influence of the macro institution as the driver of policy interpretation and implementation. Using this lens requires understanding power at the micro site and larger institution of education as a whole. In the case of South Africa, less than 20 years removed from legalized apartheid, issues of institutional power likely overlap with race and culture.

Although it might seem cumbersome to employ two different sociological lenses to explain how education stakeholders interpret and implement education policy for immigrants in South Africa, I offer that any analysis of education that does not look at issues of power and access in the institution cannot fully explain any phenomena in South Africa. The two theories are not mutually exclusive and therefore allow for a cross-sectional ethnography and analysis of the forces that influence policy interpretation at the school level.

To that end, several Resource Dependency lenses were used in the ethnographic portion of this study. First, I sought to understand how the micro-level school site adapted/adapts to a demographic change in which they did not anticipate—namely the influx of immigrants into the school and surrounding neighborhood including: a) outlining the strategies used to adapt; b) who the policy actors are in driving that adaptation; and c) where the locus of power is that determines the strategy.

Second, another Resource Dependency theoretical lens used in the ethnographic portion of the study looked at the social context where the micro site is situated, with particular research attention paid to how the school influences policy interpretation and implementation. The social context includes xenophobic sentiment that exists in the country and how that has influenced stakeholder actions in Cape Town schools.

Third, true to Resource Dependency theory is a focus on the organizational strategies that stakeholders use to gain the resources necessary to help their organization survive. This

ethnography will give due attention to outlining the strategies, both formal and non-formal, that policy actors use to advance organizational self-interests.

To that end, this ethnography used several lens to identify how policies were interpreted and implemented for immigrant students. Over the course of the qualitative case study, these lenses were continually refined using a reflexive, iterative strategy that sharpened the lens tool over the course of the study. Beyond looking at what research respondents indicated as their understanding, because I was a participant, I was able to watch what they did (implementation) to gain clues on what the real interpretation was.

Given these lenses, I expected to find that the xenophobic sentiment that had penetrated the South Africa social fabric would similarly penetrate policy interpretation and implementation for immigrant students. I anticipated finding that education was serving as a reinforcer—not a dissembler—of inequality in South Africa and that xenophobia was another way that inequality played out. I also expected that issues of poverty and limited resources would have a significant impact on access—particularly for poor immigrants who are not permitted to work because of their "illegal" status and are thus unable to pay school fees. It was in this area that I expected to see a significant interplay between the school and the WCED. Initially, I also expected to find that social networks—meaning those of the principal, teachers, students, and parents—would have an impact on how education policy was interpreted and implemented.

With respect to the Resource Dependency lens, I thought I might find that the WCED wielded a significant amount of influence on how policy was interpreted and how necessary resources were allotted within the organization. I also anticipated that any organizational strategies employed with respect to immigrant education policy were largely the result of WCED policy messages being transmitted, either formally or informally, to the school level. Although I

had experience in the South African education context, I did not have strong opinions of what I might find with respect to organizational power and social context or to how professional networks impacted policy interpretation and implementation. I had some loose ideas about what I might see based on the pilot study—where I was shocked to find that most Black immigrants did not live in primarily Black townships. To that end, I was ready to absorb whatever I found, as experience had already taught me that one can go into an ethnographic site with all the hypotheses in the world, but one must be ready to adjust—quickly—when the truth presents something different.

The participant observation portion of this research took place from July 2011 to November 2011. I had had some, though not extensive, experience with Boysenberry High School prior to undertaking this study. Boysenberry High School had a large immigrant population relative to other schools in the city: approximately 20% of the student population hailed from neighboring African countries (Foubister, 2010). The school was also well-known among the local branches of major UN international development organizations for its work with refugee children during and after the xenophobic riots of 2008.

I played several roles during the ethnographic portion of my research, including participant observer, ethnographic observer, and source of information for curious students re: U.S. racial history, pop culture, and many questions about my heavy American accent. I did not have an official "titled" role during the observation, which allowed me to assume different positions, thus gaining many different perspectives throughout my research. During the research, I conducted interviews with staff as it became convenient and most of the staff, perhaps in part because of their familiarity with international organizations and researchers studying their school, were extremely open to participating in the study as they believed that Boysenberry

could serve as a model for other South African schools dealing with new populations of immigrants in their schools.

To observe without being a distraction, I first observed without participating. Many of the teachers whose classes I observed asked me how I could do an observation without notes. I wondered myself, but remained faithful to the methodology of Burawoy (1998) that prioritized being completely immersed in the site primarily as a participant, not a note-taker. Observations were made during classes and, to a lesser degree, recess periods. I wrote copious descriptive field notes for each observation and processed my impressions in a weekly reflective journal that I often referred to in order to tighten up my coding and application of sociological theory. These notes included descriptions of the actions of the principal and assistant principal re: access and implementation as well as extensive descriptions of how teachers operationalized educational policy interpretation and implementation in their schools.

Eventually, I was asked to participate in tasks that assisted teachers in their technical activities. During the observation, I was never asked to assist the principal, although he was very open to discussion and explanation whenever I needed it. Most notable among my participant tasks was what is referred to as the "invigilation" of the high-stakes matric examinations that determine not only the grade of the students taking the tests, but the grade of the school overall. This was a time of great stress for the students, the principal, and the teachers, and the culture reflected that stress. In fact, during my time there, one of the students (an immigrant) was so anxious about her performance on the exams that she was literally carried off in an ambulance. It should be noted that this student was already one of the best students in the school.

During this time, I truly began to understand the culture of the school which seemed to be, like most South African schools, extremely driven by exam-related policy levers and

punishments that could have extremely adverse consequences on schools and educators that did not make the cut. The exam period was when I truly began to understand, particularly from a Resource Dependency perspective, what the demands were on the school. It was around this time that I was also able to construct codes based on the themes I observed that answered the research questions.

Eventually, over the course of the observations, I was able to narrow the categories down to nine macro codes, each code having 3-5 nodes. The macro codes included: a) belief about the role of education; b) the role of networks in decision-making; c) actor characteristics (professional); d) actor characteristics (personal); e) types of external demands on the organization; f) change adaptation strategies (including alliances with other entities); g) technical tasks/policy implementation strategies; h) social context; and i) direct communication strategies with WCED.

Upon conclusion of the ethnographic observation, data were cleaned and analyzed per the research questions and the sociological theoretical framework employed in this study. What follows is an analysis of the ethnographic data in the context of three policy actors at the micro level of the site: principal, teachers, and NGO education stakeholders.

The Principal: The Actor Liaison between the Meso and the Micro

I first made contact with Boysenberry High School in late May/early June and approached the principal about possibly conducting my observation at that school. The principal asked me to come in so we could talk about the research before he would agree. To get to the destination, I had to walk about five blocks, so I had a chance to absorb some initial impressions of the neighborhood. I immediately noticed the bustle of the main road, not that much unlike any other mid-sized metropolis in the world. Taking in the accents and languages I heard, I realized

that I heard few Black South African accents or languages spoken. The Black people I did see and hear clearly hailed from other nations. The South Africans I did see were Coloured South Africans, sharing physical space with their Black African immigrant counterparts.

As I approached Boysenberry High School, I rang at the gates where I was eventually let in. The gates surround the building and entry is granted by the principal's front office staff. As one approaches the school, there are majestic steps wide enough for students to fashion a makeshift hang-out spot. At the time of my visit (about 12:30 p.m.), groups of students were hanging out on the front steps in uniform. I quickly observed three groups: Black South African boys, South African girls (Black and Coloured), and Black African immigrants of mixed gender. The South African groups were interacting, but the Black African immigrant groups seemed to be, at this first glance, separate and distinct. Most of the conversation I heard was in French (which I understand) and seemed to be about study groups and the jobs they held down outside of school.

Once in the building, one first sees a window receiving area where the principal's front office representatives address the needs of visitors like myself. I introduced myself and was told that the principal would be a little late for our meeting, so I was able to observe the students in more detail for nearly 40 minutes. Although there were no overt disagreements, there was little interaction between the South African groups and the Black African immigrants. The only overlap I saw was a Coloured girl briefly talking with a student from Congo. This introductory scene turned out to be an illustrative metaphor for the interpersonal relations between the students at the school.

Eventually, the crisis the principal was dealing with seemed averted and I was warmly received into his office. I explained the intent of the research to him and clarified when he had

questions, due to our previous brief meeting during my stint with the refugee NGO. He seemed

keen on the opportunity to participate:

> I'm glad that someone is looking xenophobia in Cape Town. We have different issues than Jo'burg [Johannesburg] namely as we have a lot of Coloureds here who are just as disadvantaged as the Blacks. We are also, like the refugees, sometimes treated badly by Blacks. (laughs) (June 6, 2011)

When I asked the principal to explain further, he said that once I spent enough time in

South Africa, I would better understand the racial dynamics, since "you could be Coloured

yourself." I made note of this and observed that one of the first conversations I had about policy

included issues of race—and, moreover, racial conflict among disadvantaged groups—which

mirrored the xenophobic story in South Africa. If/how this impacted policy interpretation and

implementation was certainly something I would explore.

The Principal: Policy Interpretation and Implementation

When I asked the principal about what he believed the policy was for immigrant students,

he indicated there was no specific policy, but all learners were treated the same under the edicts

of The South African Schools Act. The only difference he indicated was the application of

language policy, which exempted recent immigrants from having to pass the Afrikaans exam that

is part of the matric examination suite. When I asked whether or not he believed there should be

a specific policy to address the unique educational needs of immigrants (integration strategies,

cultural needs, language assistance, etc.), the principal said he did not see a need for that:

> I know it may seem like they are refugees and need additional assistance. They don't. I'll tell you what, the refugee kids do better than the South Africans. They don't drop out as much, and they are better behaved overall. So the policy is working for them. (November 23, 2011)

During the observations, I began to learn more about how language policy was applied

for immigrants at the site. Moreover, I learned how education policy was applied when recent

immigrants did not speak the school's lingua franca of English, or any South African language for that matter.

> The language policy is rather simple. Instead of having to pass two South African languages in order to pass matric exams, if the refugee has been in the country less than five years before taking the exam, he opt out of passing Afrikaans. But if he has been in the country more than three years, he has to sit for the Afrikaans exam, but he is exempt from passing it. (October 21, 2011)

Through immersion at the site, I became privy to how this was operationalized. The principal had become very creative in providing additional help for refugee students who were not proficient in English because, in some cases, the refugee students were not only "non-proficient" in Afrikaans but in English as well. For them to pass their matric exams, the principal had taken the opportunity to work with a local United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR)-funded NGO that, among other services, aided in the education of refugee students in Cape Town.

After the xenophobic riots of 2008, UN agencies including UNICEF and UNHCR were brought in, at the invitation of the South African government, to help with service delivery for refugees displaced and/or affected by the violence. After the violence ended in June 2008, many of the agencies left South Africa believing that the crisis could be managed by local NGOs and policy actors. In the case of education, only two NGOs remained that had any focus on the basic education of immigrants. One of these NGOs had approached the principal of Boysenberry High School to ask how it could help. As a result, the NGO has worked with Boysenberry ever since, stepping in to help the principal find solutions for how best to interpret and implement education policy and having access to resources outside the purview of the WCED.

At the heart of the access issue is enrollment. With respect to the principal, he or she is the decision-maker for who enrolls in the school—and who does not. Additionally, access is

determined by which classes a student can, cannot, and is encouraged to take while enrolled in the school. At this ethnographic site, immigrant students who would be exempted from taking the Afrikaans matric exam were not forced to sit in Afrikaans classes. The principal had joined forces with his professional network of principals of neighboring schools with high immigrant populations to approach an international organization with branches all over the world that is focused on the promotion of French language and culture. The organization's Cape Town branch had created a proficiency exam to determine if the students were fluent enough in French and knew enough English to participate in the French-to-English ESL classes they were offering through the NGO. If the prospective student was not able to pass this test, though it was by no means consistent with the policy, the student would not be able to enroll because, as another principal of another school put it, "he have to stack the deck with good learners, everyone else is doing it, we have goals to meet" (November 3, 2011).

Another example of the role of the principal in access for students—and this was not especially rare—was observed shortly after the enrollment period. A parent from Congo came in with her daughter whom she wished to enroll in the school. She spoke mainly French so I served as translator for the exchange between her and the assistant principal. The reason for her late enrollment was that she was in arrears with her school fees, but still wanted to enroll her daughter for the year. The principal contacted the representative from the refugee NGO to help. As it turned out, the NGO staffer was able to locate some UNHCR funds specially allotted to assisting refugee students with school fees. In this way, the principal was able to interpret and implement the education policy for immigrant students—albeit dependent on an external NGO.

After this exchange, I asked the principal about what had just happened, including the role of the NGO. He had, in his estimation, interpreted and implemented the policy as the WCED

intended it. But this begged the questions: If he did not have a direct line to an NGO with funds for this purpose, what would happen to these learners? And what did the WCED do to step in to assist in cases where there was no NGO to pick up the slack? The principal explained to me:

> The WCED knows that they are here. Everyone knows. But like I said, they turn a blind eye because it is one more thing that they cannot handle. They are worried about South African failure. Do you think that they would have time to deal with non-South African problems? the WCED is totally hands-off when it comes to this. (October 23, 2011)

Over time, I observed a somewhat mutually-dependent relationship between the NGOs that were focused on education for immigrants and the school. Because of its need to serve its learners and make sure that the matric scores remained high, the school pooled resources with another external organization (the NGO) to gain the necessary resources—whether it be school fee assistance, notoriety/press within refugee human rights circles and/or negotiating for paperwork for talented students who are not in the country legally.

However, not every student received the same treatment. In the case of refugee students whose lingua franca was not a European language, the WCED/DOE rules that indicated the necessary official paperwork for students to enroll were enforced in full. I inquired of the principal how immigrant education policy is practiced in the school, particularly with respect to access and inclusion. The principal explained that he looked for five pieces of information before he let any student attend the school:

1. Legal identification of parent (and spouse if available)

2. Copy of current bank account statement or utility bill

3. Copy of pay slip and spouse's pay slip

4. "Contactable" telephone number

5. Some proof that the people enrolling the child are the parents/legal guardian of the child

Without these documents, the principal said there was "no way" of allowing any student access to the school, but he was open to working with other organizations to help a student enroll:

> Look, I have to be careful that I don't disenfranchise South African students. But I work with the refugee NGO—that you work with—to help get these students the right paperwork so that they can attend school. At least *they* want to learn. (June 6, 2011)

Enrolling refugee students was the result of several concurrent factors:

1. *The recruitment process*: Students were recruited for Boysenberry High School through advertisements in local papers that catered to refugees as well as using the transnational community networks and meetings to take the opportunity to recruit for the school. It was not unheard of that a student, parent or school staff member would attend a community meeting in a refugee neighborhood for the purposes of recruiting students. There was no such similar recruitment process for Black South Africans.

2. *NGO recruitment*: After providing adults with assistance in the immigration process, the NGO then provides parents with a list of schools that are "low-fee," "no fee," and other schools with whom they have built relationships. Both NGOs that work with refugee education have staff designated to working with schools in order to foster enrollment of refugee children. In neither case does the NGO work with the WCED.

As the school began to serve more immigrant students, they also began to seek resources to help them with the students and enact mechanisms outside of the official organization that benefitted them. In the case of language, the school—because of its work with the NGO—was able to secure a teacher of English for the French-speaking students at the school. These classes took place after school hours, so the principal kept the school open to allow for this. When I asked why, he said it was not only the right thing to do, but it helped the students on the matric exam.

According to the principal, immigrant students, particularly the ones from Zimbabwe who have been the product of a far superior education system until the fraying of their political situation, tended to do better on matric exams, particularly in math and science where the school had previously suffered. In 2008, the school was assigned a NISA—school in need of improvement. In 2009, the collective matric scores were at 57%, which was still below acceptable per WCED standard. However, by 2010, the scores jumped to a 73% pass rate, even though as the principal stated, "There has been no change in the staff." When I asked what changed, the principal said nothing else he could identify changed; the immigrant population in his school had been significant since 2007. But he lamented that as the situation improved in their students' home countries, they would eventually return to their homeland, thus leaving him recruiting students that "I have to take."

I had observed no instances of overt violence during my visits, but I did not see much evidence of interaction between Black South African students and Black African immigrant students either. Each group tended to stay to itself, although the Black African immigrant group was heterogeneous with respect to countries of origin outside of South Africa. During one visit with an assistant principal, I asked about this and she repeated the same idea that the principal had: "the refugee students are better students, they are better behaved. They are obedient" (October 29, 2011). I heard this mantra repeatedly and I sought to find some of the reasons for it by talking with the principal:

> The kids are better students. Respectful, obedient and try hard. Sometimes, sorry to say this, but our own kids can be hooligans. Apartheid was awful in a lot of ways, but one thing, we did learn something. Now no one is learning anything and the policy is such that we can't say anything to these kids, they come and go as they please. The refugees don't do that. They appreciate what we are trying to do. (September 23, 2011)

Timidly broaching the subject of race, I asked the principal what he thought the impact would be of an almost exclusively coloured staff teaching Black South African and Black African immigrant students. He explained that these teachers had been in the school for years and he did hire two Black teachers since then, one South African and one refugee from a neighboring African country.

During the observation period, I began to sense a prejudicial sentiment, but not towards immigrant students; rather, it was a school-based manifestation of the vestiges of apartheid that left Coloureds and Black South Africans deeply distrustful of each other, despite both being completely disenfranchised by the previous race-based system. Oddly enough, the Black African immigrant situation was amplifying this conflict and it was playing out in the school. A "good" student was considered "obedient" and not causing trouble. In most cases, when the school staff referred to good students, it was first and foremost in reference to Black African immigrant student behavior rather than performance.

With respect to education policy and the role of the WCED, the principal indicated that if there were any policy messages between the WCED and the school, they emanated from the bottom-up—from the principal to the WCED—not the other way around because, as the principal previously said, the meso level "prefers to stay out of it" (November 28, 2011). During my observation, although it was mentioned, I did not observe a role for the WCED in the principal's interpretation and implementation of education policy for immigrants in Cape Town. Any policy interpretations might have been influenced by the policy levers that emanated from the WCED, but regarding the actual interpretation and implementation of access, there were no instances of such during my observation. However, as shown here, the principal played a very vital role in interpreting education policy for immigrants at the school level.

Teachers

My first introduction to the teachers occurred when I began the observation of the school. While talking with and observing the principal, I spent most of my day wandering the school halls and getting a feel for the culture of the school. Usually, I would perch myself in the sitting area that separated the teachers' offices from the classrooms. Eventually, I built a rapport with some of the teachers and, as a result, gained insight into how they interpreted and implemented education policy for immigrants at their school. At other times, I would be allowed to observe classes that the principal decided were a good representation of what Boysenberry was doing in the way of immigrant education.

Over several weeks, I began to build a rapport with some of the teachers and asked them questions about how they viewed immigrant education. Most of the teachers were proud of the record of Boysenberry High School and were proud that the school was unique in what they perceived to be an embrace of refugee students.

> We do a good job here. We never turn refugees away, we embrace them. They listen, they don't talk back, they want to learn. We have the things in place to support them, the principal is very good about that. And we are doing well on the exams. There is nothing to complain about in that respect. There is no xenophobia here, why are you even doing this study? (Ethnography Teacher A, October 19, 2011)

In talking with the teachers, many of them acknowledged problems at the school— reflective of the education problems that plagued South Africa, but it became clear that most teachers viewed Boysenberry as a model school with respect to the education of immigrants. This seemed to be validated and/or caused by the attention they received from external sources, including two UN-funded NGOs working exclusively on refugee issues and the media attention and superstar status granted within the education community for their work with this population. The problem of xenophobia in South Africa is often argued and debated, and one could argue

that the issue has become a *cause du jour* for public intellectuals and politicians seeking to address issues of inequality without solely focusing on discourse about apartheid.

Xenophobia is a "hot topic" across South Africa and most of the teachers were of the notion that I was there to measure whether or not xenophobia was taking place in the school. The teachers better understood my research once I started to participate in their daily activities. I also realized that a major component of Boysenberry's culture was the idea that the school was a haven for immigrant students and successful in integrating them into South African schools. The disconnect between my observation and my opportunity to participate evaporated considerably when teachers felt they could *show* me what they were doing well and the problems they faced, rather than having to defend whether or not the school was xenophobic in an interview.

During the course of my ethnographic observations, I did not see any evidence of teachers having an impact on the access policy of the school beyond giving their opinion to the principal on how well the process went the year before. If immigrant students were struggling with their schoolwork or personal lives, the teachers were happy to go to the deputy principal and/or the principal, who would then contact the refugee NGO with whom he worked to get students the help they needed. In the case of an educational issue like language acquisition, the NGO would handle the problem and find ways to get students help. Additionally, during the exam prep periods, if immigrant students were struggling, the same process applied. Beyond that, in this ethnographic observation, teachers did not have a major role in the interpretation of education policy re: access at this site.

Despite having many opinions on the topic of xenophobia, it did not appear that the teachers had any organizational role in the interpretation of education policy for immigrants. Most of them, beyond the language policy, were not familiar with policies outside of the

education sphere that impacted immigrants, despite the large population of immigrants at the school. Their understanding of education policy seemed to be filtered through what the principal and deputy principal asserted, and save for one teacher—the only one in my study who was a recently trained teacher—none were familiar with what The South African Schools Act decreed re: access and inclusion for learners. Policy was expected by the principal and the WCED representatives at the school level. In fact, it could be argued—although it is beyond the scope of this study to make any declarative claims—that teachers in schools have limited ability to interpret policy at all beyond the purview of the principal. However, implementation is a somewhat different story.

Implementation. In early October, Boysenberry was heavily in the middle of examinations. I inquired about what those examinations were because I knew there were approximately two weeks before the national high-stakes "matric" exam was to be administered. Boysenberry had devised a pre-exam of their own, complete with a simulation of exam conditions to give the students the opportunity to take practice tests that would mirror their upcoming experience. Although these were practice tests, the Boysenberry teachers took the responsibility very seriously and some of the teachers pulled me in to help. I was happy to do so as it gave me the opportunity to see them at work. In the midst of collating papers, counting students, taking attendance, coding papers, and so on, I was able to talk with teachers about how they viewed education policy for immigrants in their schools. Most agreed that the immigrants there were "hard workers" and/or "obedient," but some expressed concern that despite appearing as if the school was open to all, some students were turned away.

> The students that are here are picked to be here. Not just everyone can get in here. We pick the best refugees. You know why? This bloody matric that is life and death for the school, teachers, students, everybody. Every "policy" is done with this test in mind. Have you noticed that all of the students that are here are from Congo and Zimbabwe? No

Somalis and Cape Town is FULL of Somalis. Why, because they don't speak the language, they have a total different culture than the typical Black Southern African culture, their parents don't speak the language, it's a lot of work and then on top of it, they may bring the scores down. So even if we wanted to the Department of Education would be on our head. There is no extra consideration given. You can't say…oh, our scores are low because we have Somalis. They don't care. And so we have to be strategic. It's terrible but it's the fault of the Department, not us teachers. (Ethnography Teacher F, October 3, 2011)

Another teacher agreed.

My bruh [brother] here is right, you know. We are judged as teachers on our matric pass rates, and the Department doesn't want to hear about who is or is not in the schools. Just the pass rates. So we have to do what the other schools do and turn some students away. It is very sad but that is how "kak" our system is. (Ethnography Teacher K, October 3, 2011)

When I asked who made decisions re: access to Boysenberry High School for immigrant students, the teachers said it was a joint decision-making process between the principal and one of the deputy principals who also served as a teacher in at the school.

By the time the matric examinations rolled around, some of the teachers knew me well enough to request that I "invigilate" their examinations. Invigilation is the word used for proctoring examinations in South Africa. During this time, I was able to observe how the teachers interacted with the students in this stressful period. The invigilation resembled more of surveillance than a proctoring. When students entered the classroom, they were instructed to put their bags in an assigned area of the room and hand in their cell phones. Each student was then asked to sign in and take an assigned seat. I was under the initial impression that my job as invigilator was to assist students with any questions they had. However, I noticed other invigilators I had never seen before were at the school. Between invigilations, I asked one of them what he taught; he explained that he was not a teacher, but that invigilators were hired by the WCED to make sure no "funny business" was going on, and if there was, he was charged

with dealing with it. He then laughed to me that he was a former prison guard and thus "perfect for this job."

At this point, I began to notice themes of power and control emerging constantly not only in my interviews, but in the participation that I was charged with doing. In taking the time to walk around and see how others were "invigiliating," or proctoring either mock examinations or official assessments created at the school, meso or national level, I noticed that interactions with students were authoritative and any behavioral issues erupting with students were more often than not with a Black South African student. Although beyond the immediate scope of the study, this begged questions of power and conflict in a school where 31 out of 33 educators were Coloured and 90% of the student population was Black.

With respect to how the policy was interpreted, and how issues of power and control, particularly in a matric-obsessed educational institution with teachers who felt they had too little control, education policy interpretation and implementation for immigrant student became a bit clearer after I had the opportunity to participate in some daily tasks at the school.

Some of the teachers harkened back to apartheid days as their point-of-reference for what constituted a successful implementation of a policy and/or a school. On more than one occasion, I heard from several school staff members with more than 20 years of experience in education what they thought constituted policy implementation in a successful school organization.

> Kids need to have respect. The Black South Africans don't like and think someone owes them something in this new South Africa. The refugees respect me as an authority. Apartheid was bad in many ways, we Coloureds were also oppressed too, but at least the children respected us. That's when any policy is successful when there is respect and order. Refugees understand this. (Ethnography Teacher D, November 4, 2011)

After the exam invigilation period, I went back to observing classrooms and eventually settled into one science class that I visited with regularity, eventually serving as a quasi-teaching

assistant when needed. In an attempt to understand inclusion in the school, I observed with the purposes of learning more about how teachers managed the interactions between Black South African and Black immigrant students. Prior to undertaking this research, I expected to find immigrant students to be isolated and unintentionally made to feel like outsiders, but now I was not sure what I would find.

Through the case study, I also observed that the teachers certainly were having a harder time with classroom management due to the "hooligan" behavior of some Black South African students. Given that 70% of the school was Black South African, the frequency and numbers of such behavior were not absurdly disproportionate to that of the refugee students. However, the Black South African students were treated differently and more harshly when they did exhibit bad behaviors. I also noticed that the Black South African students had no problem talking back to the teacher, but when the refugee students exhibiting poor behavior were reprimanded, they were quieter, thus not escalating the problem. This could factor into the perception that Black South African students were more of a problem than their Black refugee counterparts.

> The Black South African kids have too much power. These policies that you are talking about are written with them in mind, not us as teachers and now the whole place is like a zoo and there is nothing they can do. They can actually sue us on human rights grounds! The refugee kids are guests here and act like they are grateful. (Ethnography Teacher K)

Even though the students shared a classroom space, the opportunities for Black South African students and Black African immigrants students to interact were minimal. When there was group work, the teacher would, more often than not, group the students by country of origin. While logistically sensible on the surface, this grouping served to further isolate the learners from one another. Moreover, it could have had an impact on their achievement, as refugee students formed study groups among themselves to practice for exams and South African students did not. If any group overlapped, it was usually one refugee student in a South African

group—never the reverse; except in two cases during my observations, the outlier was a girl.

Moreover, I was correct in that if a student was isolated, that student was a refugee student.

Because of the school's relationship with NGOs ready to provide supplementary services to

students in need, they were able to look outside the environs of the WCED policy sphere to seek

help for those students if there were any significant problems. What became clear through my

participant observations was the interactions between the Coloured school staff and the Black

immigrant students. In talking to the Boysenberry school staff, as with the principal, obedience

was held in high regard with respect to evaluating an immigrant student's success in the school

environment. Whereas Black South African students tended to bristle at how they were being

addressed by some of the Coloured school staff, Black immigrant students tended to better

absorb the comments. When I inquired of the teachers, one teacher (R8) responded:

> They are just happy to be here so they behave. They respect us and know who is boss. It
> is good to have some control of the classroom again. (September 14, 2011)

The interactions between Coloured staff and South African students would not be what I would

term as warm. However, I had not witnessed any out-of-control behaviors in the classroom,

except for four incidents that involved back-talking during the duration of the qualitative case

study observation. The teacher (R8) mentioning having control "again" struck me as odd, given

the inconsistency of what I was seeing. Throughout the participant observations, I learned that

Coloureds in post-apartheid South Africa felt somewhat stateless. There is a saying among

Coloureds in South Africa that they are "too White to be Black and too Black to be White."

Though disenfranchised during apartheid, Coloureds were in a higher position than Blacks and

exercised a measure of power over them. I witnessed, particularly with the older teachers, that

the influx of Black African immigrants into the school allowed for the re-enactment of old

apartheid paradigms where Coloureds were able to exercise power and control over Blacks.

Black African immigrant students and their families, because of the xenophobia in South Africa, have had negative experiences when interacting with Black South Africans, and many of them live in Coloured neighborhoods. In talking with the Coloured teachers during the day and personally interacting with Black African immigrants and Black South Africans outside of this research, it was clear that while the Coloureds were exercising power over vulnerable Black African immigrant students, both groups (Coloureds and Black African immigrants) viewed the Black South African as a common enemy. That perception led to many different educational situations that otherwise were not anticipated. Case in point: Black African immigrants overwhelmingly attended Coloured schools in Coloured neighborhoods. In the context of this research question, policy interpretation and implementation appeared to be influenced by institutional factors (tests) and hangover attitudes from apartheid. The non-clarity of the policy seemed to allow for personal attitudes and characteristics about Black South Africans to affect how education policy was interpreted for Black immigrant students in South Africa.

It could be said based on these data that in this case, several factors influenced teacher implementation of education policy for immigrants. First, teachers who were older and had been educated and taught in the apartheid system tended to view successful implementation through the lens of obedience. They struggled with the new South African paradigm and policies and appreciated refugee students because they were outside the WCED purview—the teachers had more leeway with them. This is not to say that the teachers were abusive to the students—in fact, quite the contrary, relative to their South African counterparts. But their interpretations and implementation of policy were racialized and influenced by the macro culture of de facto apartheid. This was evident when comparing those teachers to the younger teachers who received their training after the dissolution of the apartheid system. They did not stress the concept of

"obedience" as much and viewed successful implementation in terms of matric results, not classroom management.

Teachers did not view the WCED as having a significant role in interpreting education policy for immigrants in this study. The WCED has a most important role in the distribution, administration, and grading of the matric exams, and so their influence was felt in a classroom where the matric examination results were prioritized first and foremost. However, there was no direct contact with WCED officials, even when they visited the schools that were specific to immigrant learners. The policies that teachers implemented in their classroom were their own phrasing of the interpretation that the principal laid out for the school. Given their limited resources and their own frames of reference about what did and did not constitute successful implementation, policy was implemented—albeit under the specter of the matric exams.

NGO Role

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, prior to undertaking this study, I worked with a Cape Town-based refugee NGO for three months as part of a pilot study to determine if this research was feasible. To that end, going into the ethnography, I had experience with the role of the NGO sector in immigrant education in Cape Town and was familiar with how policy was interpreted and implemented at the NGO level. What I did not know, and what this ethnography provided data for, was how NGOs interpreted and implemented education policy at the school level. By situating myself at the school site, I was able to understand the role of the NGO in the school organization.

Two NGOs address education of immigrants as part of their suite of services. At the time of this writing, 10 Cape Town-based NGOs exclusively focused on refugee services, with only two of those dedicating any staff to education. I was aware that as part of refugee integration

services, the NGOs with an education arm offered assistance with the selection of schools amenable to accepting immigrant children, and provided a list of no-fee/low-fee schools and contact names of school-based representatives that would help them enroll their children in school. Learning about the role of the NGOs at the organizational level of the school re: policy interpretation and implementation was a focus of the ethnographic observation.

During my fieldwork, I observed at the school level that the principal and the NGO representative seemed to have a symbiotic relationship, in which the successful work of one was dependent on the successful work of the other. That is, the NGO staffer would bring him students who had recently immigrated to South Africa who were likely to be successful at the school, and the principal enrolled them, thus raising the numbers of "successfully enrolled students" for the NGO staffers grant reports.

The other NGO did not have a representative who visited the school regularly, but was also in contact with this school site for the purposes of enrollment. They also checked in with schools to monitor dropout rates and additional supplementary services that might be needed (language, etc.), but did not have a close relationship with the principal at the school. I later discovered that the funding stream for both NGOs was involved with this arrangement vis-à-vis who had direct access to the "model school" and who did not.

The NGO (NGO A) with the closer relationship with the school and thus in a better position to impact policy interpretation was also the "funder" for the education branch of the second NGO (NGO B). The funding stream went as follows: the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights funded NGO A that worked most closely with the school site. In turn, NGO A granted monies to NGO B. This, in essence, made NGO A the primary player for

policy, not only at the organizational level of the school, but in the entire education bureaucracy of Cape Town.

In sharp contrast to their role in shaping policy interpretation in education for immigrants in Cape Town, when I spoke with NGO staff visiting the school site, neither NGO was familiar with The South African Schools Act of 1996 or any education-specific policy for that matter.

> I don't know about education. I know about refugees and human rights, and education of these refugees is a human right. The Refugee Act, article 27G says that all refugees have a right to education here. And I am not an educator, so my area is rights. I leave the education up to the school. (Ethnography NGO A worker, September 11, 2011)

Although none of the NGO representatives had a background in education, they were assigned to the project for this very reason—it was a right, and they were human rights professionals. However, because of the nature of their work, they had a tremendous amount of influence over who gained access to the school and who did not. They made the determination based on their assessment of which students would most likely be successful in which school. In all fairness, the workers did their work in earnest. However, the issue of access was left up to the NGO—outside the purview of the WCED and not admittedly guided by DOE or WCED policy. And the responsibility for this lay primarily with one NGO A worker.

This had several implications for access that were observed during the study. First, access to education was a function of who had access to the NGO. Most of the refugees and immigrants served were from central Africa, and although Somalis make up a significant portion of refugees in Cape Town, I did not observe any instances where they were processed to be admitted into the school. The NGO workers claimed this was due in part to the language issue, with religious constraints also being a factor that prevented Somali parents from enrolling their children in South African schools:

> Those students, we will help them and their families if they come to us with healthcare, housing, etc. but education, they need to speak English. If they spoke French, we could help them with classes, but they speak Somali, and we don't have classes for that. Besides, they have their own refugee organizations so we don't really see them, although if we do we are happy to help them. (Ethnography NGO A Worker, September 11, 2011)

However, the NGO staff themselves hailed primarily from Congo and Uganda, and through the interview data, it became clear that the refugee NGOs in Cape Town did not have deep penetration into the Somali community. Moreover, beyond helping with initial paperwork, they did not maintain relationships with Somali immigrants enough to discuss enrollment in schools. During the course of this study, it appeared that Somalis were largely absent from the discourse about immigrant students and certainly were not considered in policy interpretation.

It is interesting to note that the stakeholders who seemed to have the most influence on immigrant access to schools were not educators at all. By contrast, in talking with various education-focused NGOs with which I came into contact during the fieldwork period, they were all aware of the immigration challenges in South Africa, but none of them, at the time of this writing, had dedicated any staff to focus strictly on immigration issues. This left a vacuum that was filled by the NGOs focused on human rights. Thus, while not a formal component of the education bureaucracy, the organization and its actors had the most influence regarding policy interpretations and implementation for immigrants in Cape Town, as they were the ones bringing potential students to Boysenberry High School. In this way, both organizations were dependent on the resource—in this case, the students—to remain afloat and adapt in the face of new demographic realities. The actors leading this charge were within the organization of the NGO which is not bound in any way to education policy.

Implementation. The implementation story re: access and inclusion was a bit different. During the ethnographic fieldwork period, I had the opportunity to observe the role of the NGO

in the implementation of education policy for immigrants. Most of the contact that the NGO representatives had with the school was limited to the principal and a UNHCR-funded non-WCED teacher who was hired by the NGO (outside the purview of the WCED) to teach English to Francophone refugees after school. The NGO had worked with the school and the UNHCR to arrange for extracurricular classes for students struggling with language acquisition.

However, besides this extracurricular class, the NGO representatives did not interact with the teachers much. In fact, I offer that most of the teachers would not even be able to identify the NGOs that had such influence on their student body by name. Yet, despite this anonymity, these NGO representatives, one person in particular, wielded a great deal of power.

One function of this anonymity was that the NGO workers, perhaps because of their lack of an education background, never observed classrooms or talked to teachers, but were still charged with making sure that immigrant students remained in school. Successful implementation from the perspective of the NGO was measured in student retention rather than performance. Matric scores of the students were not sent to the NGO nor were they requested. These strong links had significant policy implications; each organization knew its role and did not overlap with respect to scope. The NGO workers saw to funding and access, and the school representatives dealt with the education; the two entities, though working together, remained distinct in their role in the education bureaucracy.

This is not to say that the NGO representatives had no contact with the students—to the contrary. However, that contact was almost always limited to after-school. In fact, the NGO would work with the principal to arrange for group meetings (some of which I had the fortune to attend) where they would ask students what they needed at the school level. The school staff

never attended these meetings as they were seen as being solely within the purview of NGOs who deal with immigration issues.

Students had the opportunity to express any concerns they had at the school, particularly with regard to xenophobic incidents or behaviors they believed impacted them negatively. In the case of a serious problem, the NGO representative served as a student advocate and brought it to the attention of the principal of the school. In the case of extreme trauma, he/she made arrangements for the student to obtain needed psychological care. Beyond this school-based role, the NGO and its representatives limited their role to ensuring access and student retention. To that end, based on the data obtained in these observations, it could be said that policy interpretation is the bailiwick of the NGO and the principals, whereas policy implementation is the domain of the principal and the teachers. The principal emerges as the only organizational actor who traverses all levels and interacts with actors undertaking various roles in this policy story.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study utilized three different qualitative methodologies (archival document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation ethnography) to answer the question of how various policy actors at multiple levels interpreted and implemented education policy for immigrants in their organizations. The immigration and education literature suggests that myriad factors, both global and local, might impact how education policy for immigrants is applied.

Archival document analysis revealed that relatively little attention was paid to immigrant education in South Africa, and that policies beyond language testing dispensations were conflicting and vague, leaving much room for uneven interpretation, particularly with respect to access to schools. The semi-structured interviews revealed that organizational type, level, role, and personal characteristics strongly affected which policies informed one's framework for immigrant education policy interpretation. The participant observation data answered the question of how education policy for immigrants was being implemented with respect to access and inclusion. Observation data revealed that the implementation of education policy for immigrants was driven by the school principal and NGOs funded with monies from a large transnational international development organizations outside the purview of the immediate educational bureaucracy. This study specifically addressed one overarching research question and two related sub-questions:

What are education stakeholders' interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants in South Africa?

1. *Who are the actors and the organizations in education for immigrants in South Africa?*

2. *What are some of the factors that influence actors' interpretations of education policy for immigrants? How do those factors affect how the actors implement education policy?*

This chapter addresses the findings and offers a discussion of the factors that influence policy interpretation and implementation in the South African context. Each research question is addressed and answered using the data obtained, followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework and which theory better predicted the phenomenon. I also offer data-driven recommendations for improving the situation. Finally, this chapter ends with a discussion re: limitations, agenda for future research, and a conclusion.

Research Questions

This section answers the research questions by pulling from the data obtained during the fieldwork portion of this study and supplemented with pre-existing scholarship explained in the literature review. I begin by answering the research sub-questions and then conclude this section with a discussion of the overarching research question.

1. *Who are the actors and the organizations in education for immigrants in South Africa?*

The data revealed that though many educational actors spoke to immigrant education when asked, the primary organization/actor interpreting education policy was the NGO representative—who was outside the purview of the education department. Curiously, while the NGOs working in immigrant education have assigned staff specifically to ensure the education

of immigrants in South African schools, their lens was not education policy at all, but South African immigration policy. In fact, all interviewees were unfamiliar with South African educational policy. To the end, the data obtained through the analysis of the archival documents, semi-structured interviews, and observations were consistent. The NGOs, whose work in South Africa began under the banner of human rights and refugee protection, had assumed education as one more cog in the overall immigrant rights wheel. Their interpretation was focused on the right to access an education; implementation was beyond the purview of the NGO's mission because it did not relate directly to human rights.

However, the role of the refugee services NGO and its actors in immigrant education did not develop in a vacuum. During the 2008 xenophobic riots, several UN agencies—primarily the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR) and, to a lesser degree, UNICEF—were brought in to assist with social service delivery during the riots. After the riots quelled, the UNHCR maintained a presence in Cape Town, actually opening up a small field office. As part of their work, UNHCR provides grants to local NGOs dealing with refugee-specific issues. The NGO that receives the largest grant from them and has the most access to UNHCR incidentally is that which most influences policy interpretation in the Cape Town context.

Contrary to what I would have expected, the UNHCR field office did not wield a great deal of influence over the NGO as far as its policy interpretation or tasks with respect to immigrant education. The monies given to the NGO with the most influence in Cape Town immigrant education were used not only for their own work, but to distribute their own grants to other local NGOs working in immigrant education.

At the time of the research, the UNHCR office was being re-evaluated to determine if there was a need for the office anymore. To that end, it was imperative for UNHCR to branch out in the form of grants to other organizations that had the capability to address refugee and immigrant-related issues, thus giving the organization a larger reach.

In turn, the main refugee NGO was seeking to expand its own scope for its own survival. From the time I had first started working with them until the end of this research, three new programs and five new staff members were added. Their foray into education was a response to a policy gap that education stakeholders and NGOs were not filling. During the xenophobic riots, UNICEF staff members worked directly with WCED stakeholders to erect temporary sites for educating internally-displaced immigrant students. Unlike UNHCR, at the conclusion of the riots, UNICEF's work with the WCED ended, and with it any sustained effort by the education meso level to address immigrant education (Respondent R2). As a result, the WCED did not have the same international organizational pressure, money, and/or support that the NGOs did, and the issue of immigrant education was once again subsumed into the larger education bureaucracy.

The NGO organization—because of its access to potential students which the school needs, funds that their grantee organizations need, and doing advocacy work that the UNHCR requires to survive, though outside the education bureaucracy—controls most of the resources that other organizations want and need with respect to immigrant education in Cape Town. This is not to suggest that the NGO is the only actor and/or organization with a noticeable impact on immigrant education policy interpretation in Cape Town. The principal wields a great deal of power re: immigrant education at the school site. The principal is unique in that he/she traverses all organizational levels and sub-units concerned with immigrant education. The principal is

accountable to the WCED at the headquarters level, works with district-level WCED staff to address problems at the school, leads and interprets policy and its implementation for teachers, and serves as the first and last point of contact for the refugee NGO.

The neighborhood where Boysenberry High School is located has been growing steadily with respect to the number of immigrants per capita. Therefore, during the xenophobic riots of 2008, the school and the neighborhood were profoundly affected. Due in part to the school's NISA status and traditionally poor matric exam performance, the principal was pro-active in seeking assistance when it was offered—even if that assistance was outside the education bureaucracy. Additionally, the UN agencies that were invited at the behest of the South African government and the South African government itself needed to have a very public display of a positive outcome of the end of the violence and the UN collaboration. During and after apartheid, South Africa has always turned to education as a mechanism and a showpiece to make positive statements about government policy, even if those statements were purely discursive (Spreen, in Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). To that end, Boysenberry High School became a laboratory for incubating supplementary programs to assist immigrant students as well as hosting researchers, both local and international (including myself), to capture best practices and suggest ways to export Boysenberry's practices to other schools struggling to integrate immigrant students.

Once the hoopla surrounding the riots died down, the principal of the school began working with the NGO to enroll students who recently immigrated to South Africa. At the same time that the immigrant students increased, the school boasted about their score increase. This alleviated some of the pressure put on the principal by the bureaucratic meso-level organization because the school was no longer considered "troubled." As a result, the principal had more

freedom to work with the NGO to introduce supplementary programs and services for the immigrant students, including a UNHCR-funded, non-WCED teacher whose sole responsibility was to teach English to French-speaking immigrant students. Additionally, because of the relationship the principal had with the NGO, he could enlist the help of the NGO if there were any problems without raising any eyebrows at the WCED because immigrant education and related problems were outside their sphere. With this additional assistance/advocacy in place, the principal was then able to come up with additional modes of obtaining resources to improve the situation at his school. At the time of my fieldwork, the principal was working with other school principals who led schools with significant numbers of immigrants to share French classes, thus reducing the cost for each school and helping other principals cope with demographic changes and test-related external pressures for which they lacked resources to deal with them.

Furthermore, the principal serves as the leader of the teachers in his schools for how to interpret education policy for immigrants. The principal sets the tone and is a resource for teachers should any serious integration issues arise. In that case, the principal uses his connection with the NGO to seek help for the students. However, because all of this is outside the WCED formal policy umbrella, issues of access—i.e., denying access to students who do not pass unofficial language exams that are actually not required—are not monitored. These access actions are in part driven by the force of the bureaucracy that determines success largely by matric scores.

The data did not support the notion that teachers played a significant role in the interpretation of education policy for immigrants, but they had a great deal of influence over classroom implementation strategies. Ethnographic data showed that teachers arranged students in homogeneous groups during group work and there was evidence that immigrant students were

treated differently, which was to be expected. However, unlike the prevailing scholarship on the treatment of immigrant students in mixed classrooms, immigrant students in this case were treated more kindly than their Black South African counterparts and, because of the principal's connection to the NGO, teachers were able to obtain supplementary help for immigrant students re: language that was not available to their South African counterparts. Because immigrant students were not a primary concern of the WCED, teachers were able to work with the principal to give students additional help without having to cut through significant bureaucratic red tape. P Although teachers were able to help their immigrant students, the principal was the conduit to do so. Teachers had very little interaction with the NGO and the UNHCR-NGO-paid teacher who taught English to their students. The power of the bureaucracy and its demands even impacted the structure of the school, where activities not under the "official" WCED umbrella were seen as separate and distinct from the teachers' area of responsibility, even if the activities were educative.

The teachers' function and role in the organizational structure, despite the relatively high numbers of immigrant students, mirrored the function and role of other schools with very different demographics due to the coercive bureaucratic hammer of the matric exam. This constant pressure shaped teacher activities, and the teachers who were grouping students based on country of origin were not doing so because of xenophobic attitudes, but because the educational bureaucracy pressures had so penetrated the school that teachers found and replicated, among themselves, the most efficient ways for students to learn information. If the students were able to convey knowledge to each other in their own language quickly, then the goal of high matric scores would more likely be met. The data suggested that the groupings had more to do with the exam than with any prejudice.

Finally, the WCED, while playing a significant role in education policy interpretation in general, plays a minor role in the interpretation and implementation of education policy for immigrants in Cape Town. This may be due in part to the organizational structure of the WCED, a formal education bureaucracy that, by definition, eschews penetration by outside groups. During the 2008 xenophobic riots, the WCED worked with UNICEF staff to provide temporary education sites for internally-displaced immigrants. Once the violence was quelled and UNICEF exited Cape Town, the relationship was not sustained. Unlike the relationship with UNHCR, the refugee NGOs, and the school site, the WCED's interaction ended when UNICEF left. There could be several reasons for this; I posit that: a) UNICEF—unlike UNHCR—does not maintain a field office in Cape Town, and b) the education bureaucracy in Cape Town is less penetrable because of its size and proximity to the government.

WCED staff, much like the teachers, focused on the execution of tasks that were geared towards matric passing rate goals. Although all of the interviewees had interpreted immigrant education in the context of language policy or had not considered them at all, the implementation and operationalization of immigration policy for immigrants were outside their organizational goals. The mid-level WCED employee who was hired to address issues of language for migrants in Cape Town was originally hired under the organizational definition of "migrant"—denoting a South African from a neighboring province. In fact, this mid-level employee (R6) was a South African from another province as well. The immigrant student was not originally in her portfolio and she was beginning to address this. However, despite the violence, rhetoric, and social focus on xenophobia, her work was still geared mostly towards migrants from Eastern Cape. Additionally, she more so than her fellow WCED colleagues spoke to the issue of immigrant students, but had no contact with and little knowledge of the refugee NGOs shaping policy

interpretation and implementation in Cape Town. However, she did have contact with the principal of Boysenberry, who relayed information from the NGO and the teachers to her. Beyond that, although the WCED staff was very thoughtful about education for immigrants in South Africa, it was not a primary job function at any level of their organization.

2. *What are some of the factors that influence actors' interpretations of education policy for immigrants? How do those factors affect how the actors implement education policy?*

Some of the organizational and structural factors that influenced interpretations of education policy for immigrants in Cape Town were already addressed in the discussion of research question 1. However, some additional factors, including personal characteristics, influenced how the actors interpreted education policy.

In the case of the refugee NGO organization (refugee organization A) which was exclusively staffed by immigrants and refugees and the high-level representative from UNHCR, the four respondents' own experiences influenced how they interpreted and implemented education policy. The responses of the semi-structured interviews revealed that none of the interviewees had been in the country longer than five years. Therefore, their only experience with South Africa was just before or right after the 2008 riots. Their perspective, not only on their own experience but on South African public policy in general, was from the standpoint of advocacy rather than policymaking. To them, xenophobia was extremely personal and each of them had had several experiences they deemed to be indicative of the "rampant xenophobia" (R16) in South Africa. All four respondents from refugee NGO A had come to South Africa specifically in search of better opportunities, with all citing higher education and employment as a primary reason for immigrating. In fact, all four respondents from Refugee Organization A and

UNHCR were currently pursuing advanced degrees at universities based in Cape Town. NGO workers viewed education policy through a "human rights" lens and, despite working in education, all were unfamiliar with The South African Schools Act of 1996, the overarching education policy document for the country. These NGO workers tended to view education policy as emanating from the UN-international level and perceived national policies to be subordinate to UN edicts.

Because the NGO workers were immigrants themselves, the personal perspective of the NGO worker significantly affected how they interpreted education policy. In the case of one refugee education representative (R13), his experience at the South African university he attended was so, as he put it, "totally xenophobic" that he and fellow immigrant students began a campus-based organization to help students to cope with xenophobia. Therefore, at school, at work, and in his own personal experience, he had always positioned himself against what he perceived to be xenophobic forces. For the rest of the respondents who were immigrants, the responses were similar though not as vehement. They too perceived their South African experience to be riddled with xenophobia and saw themselves as human rights advocates rather than educators, although advocating for immigrants in basic education was a significant part of their work portfolio. Therefore, the NGO workers' personal experience with xenophobia affected how they interpreted education policy for immigrants.

In contrast with the other interviewees, the remaining respondent (R14) worked for refugee organization B, which was funded by a grant from refugee organization A which had been funded by UNHCR. Refugee organization B, though an organization specifically geared towards providing services to refugees, was primarily staffed with Black South Africans. This respondent's frame was strictly from the perspective of work with schools to obtain information

that would help him do his work. He did perceive South Africa to be as xenophobic as the immigrant staffers at refugee organization A, and when things went wrong, he did perceive the obstacles to be the result of xenophobia. He reasoned there was a general service delivery problem in South Africa and that his work—like the work of many—sometimes fell victim to that failure. He also did not perceive himself as an advocate or a human rights specialist; his job was to implement. Although his work was almost exclusively with students and schools, he himself was not fluent in the minutiae of South African education policy. Based on the interview data, this respondent followed the organizational processes of refugee organization A and saw himself as more of an implementer than an interpreter of education policy. However, perhaps because he was a South African, he himself was not a victim of xenophobia and his interpretation was more affected by his disappointment with service delivery in the South African social sector in general, rather than with any belief about anti-immigrant prejudice inherent in the policymaking sphere.

The overall xenophobic perspective of the NGO respondents affected how these stakeholders interpreted and implemented policy. They imagined that the status quo was xenophobia and thus the South African policies would reflect that. They saw themselves in opposition to policy forces rather than working with existing policy to reach the intended goal of providing access to immigrant students in South Africa. Thus, without being fully fluent in South African education policy, they had a poor opinion of it, based on their own personal experiences and the professional challenges they had faced re: the uneven and sometimes unfair application of refugee and immigration policy. These same participants were extremely fluent in any and all South African refugee- and immigration-related policies. However, their fluency was accented with legal human rights terms more so than policy terms; when in doubt about a policy, the

organizations had human rights attorneys at the ready to help them interpret the policy. They did not have any direct line of communication to the South Africa policymakers themselves.

Without the input of South African policymakers and/or stakeholders, the interpretations of policy came from the viewpoint of those who perceived South African policy to be innately hostile to them, something to be worked around and sometimes fought rather than embraced. As a result, this interpretation greatly influenced how these stakeholders implemented education policy for immigrants because their implementation strategies were devised to avoid and oppose additional policy input from South African policymakers, whom they deemed xenophobic and inherently hostile to their advocacy. This explains their organizational strategy of working directly with the schools to provide access to education for immigrant students. Not only did it help refugee organization A in terms of garnering resources to sustain its organization (students and grant money), but it was an organizational process and alliance that circumvented official policy processes in South African education. However, the data showed that the students who were advocated for tended to hail from the same countries as the NGO workers themselves and/or have excellent academic and English skills, which made them ideal candidates to enroll in South African schools. To that end, based on the data, it can be said that *personal* characteristics and experience, along with organizational characteristics, played a significant role in how education policy was interpreted and implemented—especially in terms of organizational processes—for the NGO policy actors and organizations.

Principal

The interpretation and implementation of education policy for the principal were affected by several factors. First and foremost, the principal of the school site studied in this ethnography had the benefit of a somewhat perfect storm with respect to education policy for immigrants. The

school was no longer a NISA school and thus no longer being monitored as heavily by the WCED. This allowed the principal some freedom to introduce and enact programs that were useful for his particular school situation. Additionally, because the WCED did not have any immigrant-specific policies beyond language dispensation for the matric exam, whatever he did with respect to education for immigrants was not on their radar screen and therefore they could evaluate his efforts and not punish any failures.

That is not to say that the educational bureaucracy did not affect policy interpretation and implementation—to the contrary. The school, based in a poor area, suffered from the problem of lack of resources that is all too common in South Africa. The principal, because of his high immigrant student population, took advantage of the opportunity to secure international funding and NGO help to secure resources to help his school, and nurtured relationships and alliances long after the end of the xenophobic riots to continue gaining necessary resources.

The structure of the educational bureaucracy was a primary factor influencing how the principal was able to interpret and implement education policy for immigrants. Because the bureaucracy was structured in a way geared toward the matric exam, anything that fell outside was an area that allowed for principal innovation and creativity.

Professional characteristics played into policy interpretation and implementation as well. Prior to assuming his position, the principal had worked as a teacher in a very dysfunctional school in a Black township. He was familiar with the finer points of education policy in South Africa, particularly with respect to Cape Town. He also was distrustful of a post-apartheid education policy that he believed gave "too much power to the student and has handcuffed us as leaders and teachers." As a result, he felt that many of the problems in South African schools were due to the education policy that allowed students to "do whatever they want and you can't

tell them a thing lest you get sacked yourself." Moreover, he had an extensive professional network in Cape Town because of his long career. He drew on this professional network to pool resources, generate ideas, and ally as needed to reach his own organizational goals.

During the time of the fieldwork, the principal belonged to a network of neighboring principals with whom he was working to help create a student group that addressed the needs of immigrant students in that area of Cape Town. This would certainly help in recruiting additional students for his school as well as possibly obtaining non-WCED grants and bursaries to help those students attend school. This would also allow the principal to limit forays into the Black townships to recruit students that he felt could be particularly racially disrespectful to him and his Coloured staff.

The issue of race and racism is discussed below in the section on teachers, where more data were available for drawing conclusions. However, the issue of race did impact how policy was interpreted. The principal himself was the product of an apartheid education, where students were educated to the level of their assigned lot in life. As a Coloured man who was severely disadvantaged under the apartheid system, his education experience was geared, among other things, towards obedience and order. The new education policies, though confusing and implemented very unevenly and rather unsuccessfully, are geared towards the student—at least discursively. However, the practitioners, including this principal, had an education experience that was the exact opposite and they were trained to teach in a very different way. Therefore, his frame of reference is very different from the policy's discursive intent. As a result, he, like his NGO counterparts, was working—albeit to a far lesser degree—out of concert with existing education policy. Because of these beliefs and his need to garner resources to sustain the school, the principal has found myriad ways to circumvent education policy restraints whenever

possible. In the case of conflicting and vague policy such as education policy for immigrants, he has allowed for the interpretation and enactment of implementation strategies that make sense for his school. Being able to create contextual policy was a large part of why the school has been able to absorb the immigrant students brought to the principal by the NGO. Therefore, it can be said based on the data that organizational structure, lack of attention to immigrant education from the bureaucracy, the principal's own education experience as a Coloured teacher and administrator in a majority Black school, and the need to gain necessary resources all contributed to how education policy was interpreted and implemented by the principal.

Teachers

The data did not support the assertion that teachers had a significant role in the interpretation of education policy for immigrants. The policy was interpreted by the principal and enacted by the teachers in the classroom in terms of teaching and reporting the need for supplementary services for students with language issues. However, teachers did play a role in implementation with respect to inclusion. Teachers, as conductors of the classroom, set the tone and quite frequently engaged students in group work. In the majority of classroom observations that featured group work in this study, teachers organized students according to country of origin/language, which more often than not segregated Black South African students from their immigrant counterparts. This segregation was also visible outside the classroom in communal student spaces where students tended to organize themselves by country of origin, though not exclusively, but I saw no instances of overt xenophobia.

The interviews with the teachers revealed that xenophobia was not the primary reason for this separation. Teachers were under a tremendous amount of pressure to maintain high matric scores (even though Boysenberry was no longer a NISA school), and teaching and learning were

geared toward this end. As previously mentioned, my participation in the school reached a peak with the practice matric examinations, and teachers in an attempt to have students gain skills as soon as possible sought ways to impart this knowledge quickly. It made sense from a classroom management and teaching standpoint to group students with similar language skills and culture so that they could help each other. In no case did the teachers offer that their classroom management was the result of any xenophobic tendency; it actually had not occurred to them. They believed that every learner at the school had to pass the matric, and the school structure, organizational tasks, and resource allocation were directed toward that end.

The data did show that in addition to the matric exam permeating the structure of the school, personal characteristics influenced education policy implementation a great deal. Of the 33 educators at the school, 31 were Coloured. This was in contrast to a student body of whom literally 90% of the students were Black. Data revealed that the teachers had experienced what they believed to be discrimination in post-apartheid South Africa at the hands of Blacks. Most of them felt they had "no place in the new South Africa where we are too White to be Black and too Black to be White." This sentiment was felt most strongly with educators who were over 40 and had been educated and trained under the apartheid system. They were particularly disheartened by what they deemed to be racial disrespect by Black South Africans. All participants mentioned they felt less discriminated against by Black African immigrant students. Most of the participants expressed this sentiment in terms of obedience and effort. In my observations, I noticed that students were praised for this above and beyond any other student quality, even with the matric exam looming.

In current-day South Africa, several groups are fighting for limited resources: Black South Africans, Black African immigrants, and Coloureds are also fighting for relevance and

power. In the case of Coloureds and Black African immigrants, both groups—as far as the data in this study suggest—feel they have been discriminated against by Black South Africans more than any other groups and thus have a common enemy. After the xenophobic riots of 2008, Black African immigrants fled Black South African townships and settled in new neighborhoods, with many of them resettling in Coloured areas where they felt safer. To that end, based on the data, it can be said that the implementation of education policy for immigrants, as far as teachers are concerned, is a function of the educational structure that values matric scores, apartheid attitudes about education and training, and one's own perception of their racial experience in post-apartheid South Africa.

WCED Meso Level

The WCED's interpretation of race was affected by the limitations of the structure of the organization that focused on legitimizing the educational bureaucratic institution rather than on inclusion of new populations. The provincial education offices, of which the WCED is one, are primarily charged with localizing national education policy and carrying out tasks, particularly in relation to exam administration. The semi-structured interview data showed that all five research participants cited student achievement goals as the first and foremost consideration when making decisions about policy interpretation and implementation of any kind. Because it is not evaluated or tested largely, immigration education policy falls outside that sphere. Despite the demographic changes in their schools, the only change at the WCED policy level that addressed it can be found in language policy—which makes a special dispensation for immigrant students re: exemption from matric language exams.

Moreover, no policy effort had been made to clarify what the WCED's position was on what should be happening in immigrant education, despite having worked with a UN-affiliated

international organization during the xenophobic riots. After the riots, the WCED returned to normal activity and tasks. The data did not support the assertion that this was due to xenophobia. The structure of the organization is an offshoot of the South African education bureaucracy, which is more focused on the matric examination rather than the student. To that end, it would be in conflict with the organizational task set to focus on a particular student type.

As far as implementation was concerned, there was little evidence of a significant role played by the WCED. In certain instances, staffers, particularly those based at the district level who frequently visited schools, worked on a case-by-case basis on issues arising with immigrant students, but no overall explicit policy was implemented beyond the language policy. In the case of one of the interviewees (R6) who works exclusively with language policy, it should be noted that the immigrant student was an add-on to that policy—the policy was not created with the immigrant student in mind. In fact, the policy was created to deal with the influx of migrant students, where "migrant" is defined as students who have migrated from neighboring Eastern Cape. The data set provided no evidence that personal characteristics affected WCED actors' interpretations of education policy. The structure of the organization and the education bureaucracy created an across-the-board de-prioritization of the immigrant issue in schools.

Overarching Research Question

What are education stakeholders' interpretations and implementations of education policy re: access and inclusion, as applied to immigrants in South Africa?

In summation, education stakeholders interpret and implement education policy as the result of their personal experiences, professional characteristics, and the structure and role of the organization in education policy and immigrant rights. Education stakeholders' interpretations

and implementations of education policy differ from organization to organization and actor to actor. In the case of Cape Town where this study was based, a refugee services NGO emerged as the main organization that implemented education policy for immigrants. The interpretations of the organization and its actors were the function of refugee and immigrant policy in South Africa, not education policy. As a result, the representatives of the NGO interpreted policy in terms of human rights, and implementation, defined as allowing access to basic education, was largely left to the most important actor—the principal of the school.

Because of his connections with the WCED, NGO, teachers, students, and others, the principal emerged as the most important actor for implementing immigrant education in the South African context. As the NGO's sphere of policy influence and understanding was in the human rights context, the principal was critical to translating and interpreting the NGO policy organization and actors into education policy. The principal then conveyed that interpretation to his teachers, who in turn implemented his policy in the classroom. If there was an implementation problem, it was the principal who worked with his external network and/or tapped his NGO connections to come up with a solution to aid struggling immigrant students beyond the purview of the WCED.

The teachers' implementation of education policy centered around their management of the students in their classroom and finding ways to engage every learner in the classroom in some way to help them succeed on major examinations. Sometimes these strategies included arranging students by country of origin, particularly in group work, so they could help each other learn skills that were critical for success on the exams. This mode of implementation was not a function of xenophobia, but a response to the pressures of the education bureaucracy.

The WCED did not emerge as a major player in the interpretation of education policy because the education bureaucracy did not allow for consideration of anything outside of high-stakes exams. However, with respect to implementation, the WCED did expand a language policy to include immigrant students; beyond that, there have been no concerted efforts to compose policy for immigrant students.

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Recommendations

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The present study can inform policymakers' research and future work regarding education policy for immigration in South Africa. In this section, I present four actionable recommendations for policymakers based on the data and findings of this study:

Better Coordination of Stakeholders in Both Education Policy and Refugee/Immigrant Policy. One recommendation that emerges from the data is the need for better coordination between the education policy and refugee advocacy spheres. Education policy stakeholders including education NGOs have little to no interaction with policy stakeholders in immigrant and refugee advocacy, although more and more immigrant children are attending South African schools. Furthermore, each group is working from a different policy understanding using different policy documents and perspectives to interpret and implement education policy. In this study, the principal emerged as the most important actor in bridging that gap. This suggests several points.

First, opportunities should be created for the education policy sphere and refugee advocacy spheres to interact with respect to immigrant education. There have been some signs that this type of dialogue is beginning to take place at the academic level; however, more needs to be done, particularly involving those who will actually implement the policies—the principals.

Additionally, in a policy-heavy environment like that of South African education, the appetite for yet another policy is probably very spare. To that end, a possible future direction could be to provide principals with the opportunity to connect with refugee advocacy organizations working on immigrant education, concerned WCED officials, and teachers to create a framework that provides other principals dealing with this demographic change with a framework for proceeding as well as for advocacy resources that can help them with any challenges. Creating a framework by and for principals could be the first step in bringing immigrant education to the policy forefront in a helpful and non-punitive way. Once this framework is in place, principals with the help of a blueprint might be more willing to take in students (i.e., Somalis) who have been not too often granted access to schools for fear of what they might do to the matric scores.

Second, and perhaps more important, better coordination between education policy stakeholders and refugee policy stakeholders should begin at the beginning. That is, from the time an immigrant arrives on South African land and applies for legal status to work, part of that legal status should be enrollment in school or, at the very least, information about enrollment for school-aged children. As it stands now, the South African Department of Home Affairs does not have an education representative on staff, nor do they have any direct connection to a policy stakeholder at the Department of Education.

Refugee Service NGOs have staff that serve as observers and advocates for immigrants and who work primarily at the Department of Home Affairs site, performing such tasks as counting the number of immigrants, marking the time it takes to process new arrivals, recording incidents of abuse, among others. Refugee service NGOs also expand their clientele in this way, by handing out business cards, phone numbers, and informational pamphlets for new arrivals. The NGOs had arranged to be a presence at the Department of Home Affairs, but made no such

arrangement with the WCED. They did not see it as their place to demand human rights in the education sphere and thus worked around them. Yet, the NGO is the main avenue that immigrant parents have to enroll their children in school. Therefore, using this model—which is beyond the purview of the WCED—provides ample opportunity for access issues because access would be granted by those who have followed up with the NGO and/or that the NGO has determined would benefit from schooling. To eliminate these barriers to education and offer basic education to all students, regardless of whether or not their parents followed up with an NGO, better coordination is needed at the governmental level. To that end, a recommendation might be to have a WCED staff member on site at the various Department of Home Affairs offices to provide information about school enrollment, educational rights, and the like. Failing that, there should be some formal line of communication and contact between actors at the Department of Home Affairs and the Western Cape Education Department to coordinate efforts to ensure that every child has access to an education.

Principal Freedom. Another factor that emerged as critical to effective policy interpretation and implementation is the lack of a specific policy, which actually gave principals the freedom to be creative and innovative in seeking solutions for new challenges at their school. Because the principal had no fear of repercussions from failing to follow a policy—because the policy was not clear—he was able to come up with creative solutions for issues facing his schools. Sometimes, he even drew from his own professional networks to do so. Principals have a unique position in the educational bureaucracy in that they interact with teachers, students, parents, WCED, and in this case, the refugee NGO. They are the link between the education bureaucracy and the human rights advocates. Because of the macro perspective, principals are most likely in the best position to identify not only what works for their schools but also to

identify opportunities that fall outside of the norm. In this case, the xenophobic riots gave the

principal the opportunity to showcase what he was doing well for a group that was considered

vulnerable internationally and thus getting UN attention. The principal was able to parlay this

into funding, research attention (which in turn led to even more funding), and an increase in the

number of students at his school. However, students who were predicted to not do well in

schools or hailed from communities that were not tapped into the refugee services NGO

networks in Cape Town were not given access. The principal at the school site where the

qualitative case study took place was hamstrung by the matric passing rate goals that he had to

meet or suffer punitive consequences (e.g., job loss, possible school closure). Giving the

principal more freedom to experiment and reach beyond the education sector to solve the

problems in his school might lead to the discovery of innovative solutions for problems that are

better solved at the school level (micro) than at the WCED level (meso).

However, none of this will be effective or consistent with the principles of a new and

inclusive South Africa without addressing how principals can reach the immigrant students who

are not allowed in schools. The national Department of Education (SADOE) and the WCED

should consider loosening some of the matric-driven policy edicts that rate school effectiveness

based on the test scores of all students in the schools. Given that many immigrant students come

with significant personal and educational challenges including trauma, lost relatives, interrupted

education, and language issues, it is not unreasonable to exempt these students from having to

pass the matric exam. Without that policy constraint, principals would be freer to accept

immigrant students of all abilities into their schools—as is consistent with the spirit of post-

apartheid South Africa. Additionally, the WCED would then be able to monitor and evaluate the

effectiveness of principal responses to new immigrants in their schools and create contextual policies that make sense for their polity.

Capturing More Data, More Cases. The data suggest that this principal, school, and NGO had found a creative, mutually beneficial way to address immigrant education. However, this is but one case. Refugee advocacy organizations have penned progress reports about what is happening in schools, but these reports are not shared with any education entities. What would be more helpful and highlight lessons learned thus far is the systematic capturing of various case studies that serve as exemplars for what is happening in immigrant education in South Africa. This could be a first step towards cataloguing what is and is not working in order to inform future policy direction. Without capturing this information, every principal and school are starting from scratch, which is unnecessary. A concerted effort to capture case studies of what is happening in schools thus far would go a long way towards positively impacting education policy interpretation and implementation.

Integration—Not just about Race. The new demographic in Cape Town is an opportunity to realize the promise of South African integration for "all who live in it." Because the refugee advocacy movement is so well organized internationally, that organization and money have trickled down to the NGOs as grants, and they are able to provide services for refugees, even in schools. This has unintentionally provided supplementary services for refugee students to which South African Blacks do not have access—even in the case of language where migrants from the Eastern Cape struggle with English and Afrikaans. To that end, education NGOs should step into a larger role in immigrant education and work with refugee groups to enact supplementary programs in which Black South Africans and Black African refugee students can participate. Not only will this provide opportunities for the two groups to interact

and integrate with each other, leading to better relationships in school; it will also be cost-effective by combining education monies and refugee advocacy monies to address educational needs for struggling students of all kinds in South Africa.

Application of Theoretical Frameworks

This study employed lenses from two different sociological theories: Neo-Institutional theory and Resource Dependency theory. In brief, Neo-Institutional theory states that the institutional macro-environment is the determinant of policy interpretation and implementation. In contrast, Resource Dependency theory purports that organizational resources determine action. In other words, actors who require resources will interact with others who have control over those needed resources in order to survive.[1] The data collected in this study suggest that in the context of Cape Town, both theories have explanatory power vis-à-vis unpacking the phenomenon of immigrant education in South Africa. However, Resource Dependency theory was the more robust theory in terms of explaining all of the moving parts of the phenomenon.

Neo-Institutional theory certainly explained the bureaucratic institution's reach far beyond the walls of the Western Cape Education Department. The starkest example of that was how the entire school structure was organized around the matric examination, with even access decisions about which immigrant students would/should be allowed to enroll being influenced by this "matric exam" policy lever. Usually, when discussing the institution of education in relation to immigrant students, scholarship has shown that the institution causes the formation of an education structure that underserves immigrant students. However, in the case of South Africa where the Black students are so disproportionately underserved anyway, the effect of being an

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[1]For a more complete explanation of both Neo-Institutional theory and Resource Dependency theory, please see the theoretical framework section of this dissertation.

African immigrant student did not appear to be significantly different—Black students of all nationalities were in underserved schools.

Regardless of who the person is—whether an immigrant student or a Black native South African, that person's education experience was structured in accordance with the matric examination. The classes that person took were the function of which matric tests he or she would likely do well on. Most of the school day was spent preparing for the matric examinations, and even before the actual exam was a mock test period for over a week that prepared students by simulating examination conditions almost exactly. As a result of the institutional pressure to do well on this exam, the entire school structure arranged itself around it. Thus, students' education experiences were largely the result of their potential to do well on the tests. To that end, the refugee NGOs would assert that the reason the WCED education institution had little role in education was because of xenophobic attitudes; however, the data obtained for this study did not bear that out. Most school-based decisions were the result of an institution that was oppressive to nearly everyone in it—South African and foreigner alike.

Given this heavy institutional pressure, separation of students (foreigner vs. non-foreigner) happened frequently in the classrooms I observed. Again, the teachers interviewed seemed more concerned about the students being able to help each other with concepts they needed to be successful on the exam, and they believed that students would be better able to help each other in their own language. This is not to say that xenophobia did not exist—that would be patently false. However, the policy interpretation and implementation I observed and understood in the interviews was the policy of the matric above all.

This pressure was not only at the level of the school; the WCED meso-level and district-level employees also expressed great concern about matric scores for the province and tended to

evaluate themselves and each other according to this institutional metric. This matric exam emerged as the primary measure of success or failure in the education institution and all else placed a very distant second. To that end, all policies were interpreted and implemented through the lens of the matric exam, and this was consistent at all levels.

The only organization in the immigrant education constellation that did not view the matric exam as the primary determinant of success or failure was the refugee NGOs outside the education sphere altogether. However, the NGOs had their own institutional pressures. Unlike their education counterparts, the institutional pressure that the refugee NGOs faced was international pressure from UN organizations like UNHCR and the international refugee human rights network. The institutional language that the NGOs were using was completely different from the language of their educational counterparts. NGOs tended to use international human rights activist terminology and framing that was more legal than educational. Their point of reference was refugee rights. Educational actors, including education NGOs, used education terminology. These two groups were simply not speaking the same language.

In sum, the application of the Neo-Institutional theory revealed what policies and framework actors were using to interpret and implement policy within the institution. Furthermore, the application of the Neo-Institutional theory lens allowed for the identification of which institutions were affecting policy interpretation at different levels and unpacking some of the frames of references that actors used to interpret policy. However, it did not provide a full toolkit for examining reasons why different organizations looked to different institutions for their policy cues and worked with one another at different levels.

The application of the Resource Dependency theory lens offered an explanation for why schools and NGOs—although interpreting different policies in different institutions from

different standpoints—would work together to provide immigrant education for students in South Africa. The refugee NGO had the students that Boysenberry High School needed. These students—immigrants more often than not—came from countries with more effective education systems than that of South Africa. To that end, it was advantageous for the principal of the school to take the students who had a greater chance of success on the matric examinations. The only concern were language barriers for which the Western Cape Education Department had made a dispensation, and the refugee NGOs made arrangements to have a UN-paid teacher to assist immigrant students with language issues free of charge to the school.

Moreover, as Suarez-Orozco (2001) predicted, schools that teach immigrants are more often than not focused on control rather than pedagogy. In most of the semi-structured interviews with teachers, especially with the older teachers who had grown up under the apartheid system, the issue of "good behavior" and "control" were seen as evidence of being a good student, nearly at the expense of everything else. Through the application of the Resource Dependency lens, I was able to decipher elements of racism in how school-level actors applied education policy for immigrants. School-level actors, particularly older actors, frequently referred to Black South African students in negative terms and spoke of the hostilities that existed between South African Blacks and Coloureds. The Coloured teachers often interpreted the Black South African students' behavior as more unruly and disrespectful to their authority. The teachers were very grateful they did not have these problems with the immigrant students who generally caused fewer problems. Additionally, Coloured teachers perceived at least a discursive similarity with immigrant students in that they felt both groups had been mistreated by Black South Africans. Teachers who felt they had lost some power after apartheid were able to exercise that power again with immigrant students who, because of their status, were in a vulnerable position and

unable to rebel. In this way, the lost resource of "power" was obtained by allowing immigrant students access to the school.

Additionally, another resource that the immigrant students provided for the school was school fees. Because the students were introduced to the school by the refugee NGO, along with the students came the UN-funded bursary that would take care of their school fees. In this way, it was advantageous to the school to allow the immigrant students in because they represented school fees. Moreover, because of the UN-funded language teacher and NGO, any support the students needed did not stretch the resources of the school, but instead were the domain of the NGO. In sum, for the school, the "resources" were children, test scores, and power. Providing access to education for immigrant students was one way to provide all of that.

For the NGOs, it also made sense to form an alliance with the school in order to survive. Post-xenophobic riots, many refugee service organizations as well as NGOs of all stripes, including NGOs that had—until the riots—addressed issues of HIV/AIDS, became involved in refugee rights. This was at least partly because of the opportunity the riots provided for NGOs to obtain funding and possibly expand their suite of services. The field became very crowded, with many refugee service providers jockeying for position and donors. The refugee NGO primarily responsible for education in Cape Town was unique in being the only NGO primarily staffed with actual refugees themselves, making them doubly attractive to donors; it was also one of only two refugee service NGOs that did anything related to education at all. By expanding their service provision to include the basic education field, the NGO differentiated itself from the crowd. As a result, it became a main player and worked closely with UNHCR, thus giving the NGO international credibility. Furthermore, the nature of the grant they received to do education was such that it—a refugee services NGO—was now a grantor to any other NGO organization

that wanted to provide access to basic education. This moved the NGO higher up on the food chain, so to speak, and what had once been an NGO that was part of a crowd—and somewhat ancillary because the South African refugee NGO network was primarily White South African and/or European—was now a major player with direct access to the UNHCR.

However, to continue to grow, the NGO needed to branch out into other areas, and education was the one area in which none of the other refugee NGOs were involved, beyond anti-xenophobia presentation at schools immediately post-riots. There were no educators on staff, and at the time of this writing, there are still no educators on staff. Although the NGO is the main player for education in Cape Town, it does not wish to be an educator, but it does want to maintain the market on immigrant education provision. To that end, to survive and grow, it was in the best interest of the NGO to partner with a school that had the education provision resources that the NGO needed. Because the NGO did not control the resources it needed (education provision), it partnered with a willing organization that did—Boysenberry High School. However, because the NGO has the money and can enter into partnership with another school if it so wishes, the NGO ultimately has the power in the relationship, even though both entities need each other to survive.

By understanding this Resource Dependency meta-narrative, I was able to uncover innovative strategies and issues of power, and identify not only groups in the education institution but other overlapping institutions as well. In this way, I was able to unpack the role of the NGO in the immigration education story in full.

By employing both lenses, I was able to find relationships and frames of reference I might not have been able to identify as quickly had I employed only one of these sociological theories. By having both lenses at the ready, I was able to tailor the ethnographic portion of the

research to examine the phenomenon in full. To that end, although Resource Dependency theory does a better job of explaining the intricacies of how and why policy is interpreted and implemented the way it is, the application of Neo-Institutional theory was invaluable in describing the structure of schooling and why.

Conclusion

This study highlights the need for new frameworks, scholarship, and understandings of education policy interpretation and implementation for immigration in the African context. Although South-South immigration represents half of all worldwide migration, the scholarship is still focused on the past. This study speaks to understanding the present and the future of Comparative and International Education. It was assumed for many years that Park's (1928) assimilation framework was applicable to all immigration contexts until it was applied to a new temporal and spatial reality in the 1990s and was found wanting in its description of the Latino immigrant experience in the U.S. Similarly, South-North immigration frameworks may not be applicable in the South-South context. Moreover, what does exist in the South-South canon in Comparative and International Education speaks almost exclusively to refugee education. This is inconsistent with the context of Africa and the world. We must re-train our lenses and re-calibrate our instruments to examine new sociological realities.

One of those re-calibrations is the overdependence of race as an explanatory mechanism for why policy is misinterpreted and/or badly implemented in education. This is not to say that it is not a factor. I, as a Black woman of immigrant parents in the U.S., am keenly aware of that in every phase of my existence. However, it is not the primary reason in the context of South Africa—a hyper-racial context less than 20 years removed from the scourge of apartheid. As it

turns out, by looking at policy interpretation and implementation, the data showed a very different story that involves structure. The institution of education in South Africa, no doubt shaped by race, is one where success and failure are measured in test scores. Teaching and learning arrangements as well as policy interpretations and decisions are the function of being in this structure. What seems to be a decision driven by xenophobia at first glance reveals with further investigation that the structure and educational institution are the real driving forces behind policy interpretation and implementation.

The frames of reference that teachers, principals, and WCED officials use are related to the institution. Group class work is organized in a way that fosters students imparting test-related knowledge to one another rather than fostering organic cross-cultural classroom interaction that can build understandings. As a result, these separations play out beyond the classroom as well, leading to separate school experiences for Black South Africans and Black African immigrants in the same school under one roof.

Additionally, by looking at the institution of schooling and the organizations in its purview, we find that other actors outside the education policy sphere wield much influence on educational access. If the NGO that brings students to the school chooses not to bring students from a particular country because it anticipates they might not do well in the Boysenberry High School context, then they are not offered access. While there are a significant number of Somali refugees in Cape Town, I met none during my visits to schools during the pilot study and the dissertation fieldwork. This speaks to barriers of access to education that must be addressed if The South African Schools Act and the South African Constitutional policy edicts are to be fulfilled. By examining the structure and the institution, I was able to locate the external players

and what their roles were in the education of immigrants in Cape Town. As it turned out, these external actors had the most influence overall.

Policy interpretation and implementation studies usually spring forth from the presupposition that all actors are working at least in the same institutional frame. In this case, that is exactly *not* what is happening—the most powerful educational actor is not even using an educational frame. To that end, policy interpretation at multiple levels might sometimes have to consider multiple frames as well.

Overall, this study speaks to a dire need for additional research methodologies to examine South-South immigration and education. We, as scholars, have to look at the policies and structures as much as we look at the experience of the students. Only by doing research from both angles will we be able to see not just how policy is implemented, but who it affects and why the policy turned out like that in the first place. As demonstrated in this research, policy analysis was counterintuitive and the reasons for uneven application of policy were not what one would have thought.

To that end, this calls for more South-South immigration and education multi-level studies that examine a context from all institutional angles and actors. Only by building a body of scholarship of this kind will we able to begin thinking about blazing a trail to build a South-South immigration and education theory in the field of Comparative and International Education.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Western Cape Department of Education Experts/Principals

1. What is your role? What is the policy regarding education of immigrants as you understand it?
2. Is there any/What is the role of the WCED re: service delivery for immigrant students?
3. As you see it, what is the role of the school principal in service delivery for immigrant students? Teachers? Your role (if not a principal)
4. How are immigrant students, particularly those without papers gaining access to schools?
5. Who is involved with immigrant education at the WCED?
6. Who are some of the other organization or networks that influence immigrant education policy here?
7. What, in your opinion, are some of the problems that immigrants face in South African schools? What is your role in alleviating that?
8. What has their arrival meant for you, work-wise?
9. How/what do you communicate with schools about immigrant education
10. What do schools communicate to you about immigrant education?
11. What else do you think it is important for me to know in order to understand the immigrant education situation here in Cape Town?

NGO Education Experts Interview Guide

1. Can you describe what your organization does? Your role? Do you work with schools and/or the WCED? If so, how? Why (how does it tie in with your organization's work?)
2. When did your organization get involved in immigrant education in South Africa?
3. What is the policy regarding education of immigrants as you understand ti?
4. As you see it, what is the role of the WCED in service delivery for immigrant students? The role of the school? Tell me a bit about the interaction between the two regarding immigrant education as you see it?
5. How are immigrant students, particularly those without legal paperwork, gaining access to schools?
6. Who are some of the other organizations/networks that influence immigrant education policy here?
7. What, in your opinion, are some of the problems that immigrants face in South African schools? What is your role in alleviating that?

APPENDIX B

Coding

Question 1: Code

Code	Description	
UP	Understand policy for immigrants to be different	UP1-can explain differences UP2-can't explain differences
US	Understand policy for immigrants to be the same for all learners	UD1-can explain how policy is the same UD2-can't explain how policy is the same
UNP	No policy/Policy doesn't apply to immigrants	
UNT	Never thought about policy for immigrant students	

Question 2: Code-WCED role

Code	Description
NR	No Role
RP	Positive role, facilitating
RN	Negative Role, blocking

Question 3: Code-Principals and Teachers

Code	Description	
PNR	Principal has no role	
PR	Principal Role	PRP-principal role positive for immigrant education PNP-principal role negative for immigrant education PRN-principal role neutral for immigrant education
TNR	Teacher has no role	
TRP	Teacher role positive	
TRN	Teacher role negative	

Question 4: Code-How do immigrant students gain access?

Code	Description	
IAN	Immigrants don't have access to schools	
IAY	Immigrant have access	IAYNS-Access is not school responsibility IAYSH-Access is school responsibility, schools help

Question 4: Code-Problems immigrant students face

Code	Description	
NP	No problems with access	
SP	Some minor problems with access	SPL-some access problems: language SPI-some access problems: integration SPO-some access problems: other
MP	Major problems with access	MPL-major access problems: language MPI-major access problems: integration MPO-major access problems: other

Question 8: Code-Work increase with influx of immigrant students?

Code	Description
IW	Increased work
DW	Decreased work
NC	No change

Questions 9 and 10: Code-How schools communicate immigrant education policy?

Code	Description
TD	Top Down from WCED to school
BU	Bottom up from all school staff to WCED
BUP	Bottom up from principal to WCED
BUT	Bottom up from teacher to WCED
BUO	Bottom up from other

WCED Staff Coding Aggregate

Respondent and role level	Codes
R1-mid level WCED headquarters	(Q1:UP, UP1) (Q2: RP) (Q3: PNR, TNR) (Q4:IAY, IAYSH) (Q7: SP, SPL, SPI) (Q8: 1W) (Q9, 10: TD)
R2: mid level WCED headquarters	(Q1: US, UD2) (Q2: RP) (Q3: PNR) (Q4: IAYNS) (Q7: SPL) (Q8: NC) (Q9: TD)
R3: high level WCED headquarters	(Q1: UP, UP1) (Q2: RP)(Q3: PR, PRP, TNR) (Q4: IAYNS) (Q7: MP, MPRL, MPI, MPO) (Q8: NC) (Q9: TD)
R4: district level WCED (low mid)	(Q1: UNP) (Q2: RP) (Q3: PR, PRP, TNR) (Q4: IAYNS) (Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO) (Q8: IW) (Q9: TD, BUO)
R5: district level WCED (low mid)	(Q1: UNT) (Q2: RP, NR) (Q3: PNR, TNR) (Q4: IAYNS) (Q7: MP, MPI)(Q8: IW)(Q9: TD, BUO)
R6: Low-mid level WCED headquarters-lang specialist	(Q1: UP, UP1) (Q2: RN) (Q3: PRP, TNP) (Q4: IAYNS) (Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO) (Q8: IN) (Q9: TD)

Principal and Teacher Coding Aggregate

Respondent	Role	Codes
R7	Principal (P)	(Q1: US, UD2) (Q2: RN)(Q3: PRP)(Q4: IAYSH) (Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO) (Q8: IW)(Q9: BU, BUP)
R8	Teacher (T)	(Q1: UNP)(Q2: NR)(Q3: PRP)(Q4: IAYSH)(Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO)(Q8: NC)(Q9: BUP, BU)
R9	Assistant Principal (P/AP)	(Q1: US, UD2)(Q2: RN)(Q3: PRP)(Q4: IAYSH)(Q7: MP, MPL, MPI) (Q8:DW) (Q9: BUP, BU)
R10	Assistant Principal (P/AP)	(Q1: UP,UP1)(Q2: RN)(Q3: PRP)(Q4: IAYSH)(Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO) (Q8: DW)(Q9: BUP)
R11	Teacher (T)	(Q1:US, UD1,lang)(Q2: RP, district)(Q3: PRW)(Q4: IAYNS)(Q7:MPI)(Q8: IW)(Q9: BUT)
R12	Principal (P)	(Q1: UP, UP1) (Q2: RP)(Q3: PRP)(Q4: IAYSH)(Q7: MP, MPI)(Q8: NC)(Q9: BUP)

NGO staff Coding Aggregate

Respondent	NGO (local or international)	Codes
R13	Local Refugee Services NGO-mid level	(Q1: UP, UP2)(Q2:NR)(Q4: IAYSH)(Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO)
R14	Local Refugee Services NGO-low to mid level	(Q1: UP,UP1)(Q2: NR/DK)(Q4: IAYSH) (Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO)
R15	International Refugee NGO-high level	(Q1: UP, UP2)(Q2: NR)(Q4: IAYSH)(Q7: MP, MPL, MPO)
R16	Local Education NGO-mid level	(Q1: UP, UP1, lang) (Q2: RP) (Q4: IAN)(Q7: SP, SPL)
R17	Local Refugee Services NGO-mid level	(Q1: UP, UP2)(Q2: NR)(Q4: IAYSH)(Q7: MP, MPL, MPI, MPO)