Investment in Equity and Peacebuilding

South Africa Case Study

FHI 360 Education Policy and Data Center

Washington, DC

May 2015

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Acronyms

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project
ANC	African National Congress
ANNSSF	Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DOE	Department of Education
EMIS	Education Management Information System
EPDC	Education Policy and Data Center
GHS	General Household Survey
LTSM	Learner and Teaching Support Materials
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe / "Spear of the Nation"
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NFS	No-Fee School (Policy)
NSNP	National School Nutrition Program
NNSSF	National Norms and Standards for School Funding
PBEA	Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy (Programme)
PED	Provincial Education Department
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SASA	South Africa Schools Act
SGB	School Governing Body
ZAR	South African Rand

1   Executive Summary

This mixed-methods case study, carried out as part of UNICEF's Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy (PBEA) Programme, examines the relationship of investments in educational equity and in social capital on social cohesion in South Africa. Much of South Africa's modern history is marked by institutionalized inequality and the mass struggle against it. In the twenty years since the end of apartheid, the government of South Africa has embarked on extensive reforms aimed at redressing historical inequities. The concepts of equity and social cohesion permeate nearly all of post-apartheid education policymaking, from funding and teacher provision norms to curricular policies and extracurricular programming. This study explores the effects of these policies and examines whether a link can be made from equity and social capital to social cohesion. We draw on the literature on peacebuilding to structure a framework that sees investments into reducing inequality and fostering social capital in conflict-affected societies as supporting the ultimate goal of improving social cohesion as an outcome.

We seek to address the following research questions:

1. What is the nature of group-based inequalities in South Africa?
2. How effective have existing educational policies been in reducing inequality and strengthening social capital?
3. Is there evidence that policy investments in equity and stronger social capital have translated into greater peace and social cohesion?

We draw on quantitative data from several sources, including the General Household Surveys (GHS), government administrative data on education, statistics on social cohesion from the South Africa Reconciliation Barometer, and conflict and violence data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) database. We also carried out extensive qualitative fieldwork in South Africa, including interviews and focus groups at the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and at primary and secondary schools in two provinces: Western Cape and Limpopo. We examine the comprehensive policy framework that includes policies on teacher recruitment and deployment, school funding norms for operational expenditures, requirements regulating school self-governance, and a range of initiatives aimed at building social cohesion. We find that South Africa has adopted a system-wide approach to equity and makes an explicit commitment to strengthening social relations, as captured in the concept of the "Rainbow Nation."

Pervasive racial inequality. In addressing the first research question, we find that the inequalities in education in South Africa continue to fall along racial lines, and there continues to be a high level of racial homogeneity in most schools, both urban and rural. Race continues to be the predominant group identity marker in the country, despite substantial ethnic (tribal and linguistic) heterogeneity.

Poverty alleviation effects clear, evidence on equity less so. While access to basic education was already high before the most recent policies were introduced, the progressive, equity-driven policies regulating school funding norms since 2006 have had a clear and substantive effect on the levels of resources available to schools serving the poorest students, the majority of whom are black. These policies, namely the no-fee school policy and school nutrition program, have also been instrumental in relieving the financial burden for parents and, by teacher accounts, encouraging more regular school attendance. At the same time, the implementation of the no-fee

school policy has left some struggling schools without much-needed resources, and contributed to elevating the role of social class in addition to race as a category of educational inequality.

Social capital: separation of racial and ethnic groups remains a problem. While our respondents acknowledged the progress made in the removal of legal barriers to racial integration in schools, they were much more measured in discussing the formation of a common national identity and interracial relationships. In most of the schools visited, teachers and parents were in agreement that racial or ethnic divisions did not drive school-level conflicts. However, there were reports of perceived race-based and class-based discrimination in better-off schools, including the use of language or class-size norms to prevent black or poorer learners from attending formerly white schools.

School violence as evidence of low social cohesion. Within some schools, particularly in urban and metropolitan areas, teachers spoke of a breakdown in morals and values (e.g., respect for teachers, fellow students, and school property), pervasive violence, and drug use as issues that are not adequately addressed. In these circumstances, the current progressive policies are insufficient for building social cohesion, and substantially higher levels of investments are needed to create productive learning environments for all South Africans. While promising initiatives have been started by the DBE to use schools as agents of social cohesion, they are limited in scope and funding levels and, so far, have had limited success in curbing what some teachers called "a culture of violence" in South African schools.

Promising start, outcomes remain to be seen. The government of South Africa deserves credit for the deliberate and thoughtful approach to identifying areas of need and addressing implementation challenges, as well as linking multiple policies in a single package for greatest impact (such as the adjustments to post provisioning norms for teachers, no-fee school financing, school nutrition, and transportation programs). It is likely that solutions to remaining implementation challenges – such as the challenges with school fee status classification – will be found in due course. What remains so far beyond the reach of government efforts, however, is the persistent pattern of poverty and violence that plagues predominantly black and coloured communities, much of which is rooted in the structural legacies of apartheid, with its de facto residential segregation and high levels of unemployment. These issues continue to pose the greatest threat to social cohesion and peacebuilding in South Africa.

2   Introduction

This case study is part of a global mixed-methods research project examining the relationship between inequality in education and violent conflict, carried out by the FHI 360 Education Policy and Data Center (EPDC). The project includes a literature review, a large-scale quantitative study and mixed-method case studies.[1] The quantitative study draws on global, longitudinal data to calculate ethnic, religious and subnational inequality and examines its effect on the likelihood of an outbreak of violent conflict. The country case studies, including the current case focusing on South Africa, help examine the transformative potential of investment in education. Specifically, the study centers on the following research questions:

1. What is the nature of group-based inequalities[2] in South Africa?
2. How effective have existing educational policies been in reducing inequality and strengthening social capital?
3. Is there evidence that policy investments in equity and stronger social capital have translated into greater peace and social cohesion?

To address these questions, we first review the existing policy framework that aims to strengthen equity and social capital in education and thereby advance social cohesion. Secondly, we examine the quantitative data on education from several surveys and census sources, including General Household Surveys (GHS) and education management information system (EMIS) data, to identify and examine trends in equity over time. Finally, we examine education stakeholders' perceptions of the impact that the policies have made on *equity* and *social capital*, and ultimately, on *social cohesion* (see Theoretical Framework below for a discussion of these terms).

The paper is structured as follows: we provide an overview of the historical context of inequality and social cohesion in South Africa, followed by a discussion of the role of education during the apartheid era and in post-apartheid South Africa. We then present our theoretical framework, which treats investment in educational equity as one element of a two-pronged approach to strengthening social cohesion, and then our methodology. Next, we discuss the key educational policies through which the government of South Africa has sought to address inequalities and promote social cohesion. We then present our main findings, drawing evidence from quantitative school census and household survey data and from qualitative interviews and focus group discussions in order to highlight perceptions of key education stakeholders in South Africa on the investments outlined above. We end with a conclusion and recommendations concerning the policy and programmatic implications resulting from our study.

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[1] These 2015 studies – *Horizontal Inequality in Education and Violent Conflict* (Literature Review), *Does Horizontal Education Inequality Lead to Violent Conflict?* (Global Analysis), and *Investment in Equity and Peacebuilding* (Uganda Case Study) – are available at http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/category/resources/technical-resources/.

[2] In this report, we focus on groups defined by ethnic, language, or racial characteristics. While gender is a salient group marker and gender relations are important to social cohesion, we do not focus on gender as a grouping characteristic or examine gender inequality in this case study. School participation does not differ substantially by gender in South Africa, though we recognize that gender-based violence affects girls and boys differently. However, due to the focus of this project on policies addressing racial and economic equity, this important element remains outside the scope of this case study.

3 Background and Historical Context

3.1 The Development of Segregation and Inequality in South Africa

South Africa is an upper middle-income nation of roughly 50 million citizens, whose history is marked by its four decades of apartheid, which segregated citizens on the basis of race and ethnicity. Although racial segregation and repression characterizes the long history of South Africa, officially, the apartheid system, which means "separateness" in Afrikaans, only began in 1948. Under apartheid, all individuals were classified into one of four racial groups – Blacks, Whites, Coloureds, and Indian/Asians – and these racial classifications governed all aspects of life, from residence, voting, and employment to access to education.

According to the 2011 census, the country is majority black South African (79.2%), with smaller white (8.9%), coloured[3] (8.9%), and Indian/Asian South African populations (2.5%), as well as a small percentage of other groups (0.5%). Despite being classified as a single racial group, the black population is far from homogenous and includes a variety of different ethnic and linguistic groups including the Zulus, Xhosa, Tswana, and Sotho. The South African census asks about individuals' home language, which serves as a proxy for ethnic affiliation. Figure 1 shows the distribution of home languages in South Africa. As is clear, there is no single majority– the largest linguistic group is the Zulu, who constitute roughly 23% of the population, followed by the Xhosa at 16% (Statistics South Africa, 2015).

Figure 1. Home Languages Spoken in South Africa
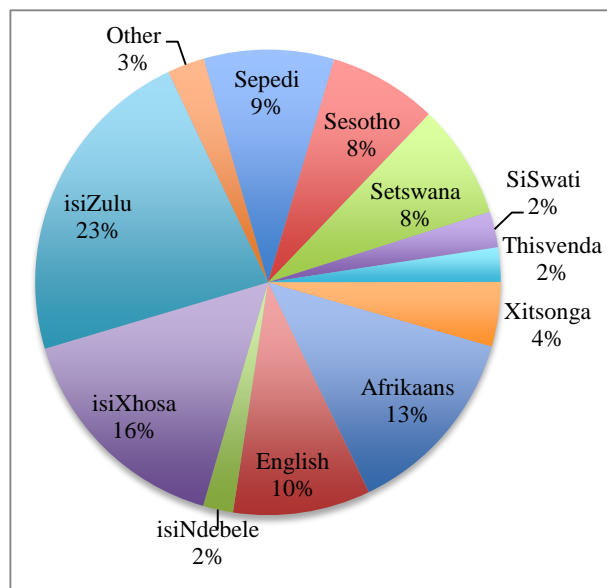
Data Source: Statistics South Africa 2015

Figure 2. Map of South Africa

Data Source: Department of Arts and Culture, Republic of South Africa 2013

Laws passed during the apartheid era forced black Africans to live on designated homelands specific to their ethno-linguistic group, known as Bantustans, and the apartheid government often forcibly removed the black population to these homelands. Between 1960 and 1985, over 3.5

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[3] "Coloured" in the South African context refers to a specific racial category that was codified in apartheid era law; it refers to a mixed ethnic and racial group including those of Khoisan, Bantu, European and South Asian backgrounds.

million black Africans were moved to ethnically specific homelands (South Africa History Online, 2015).

Educational policies during this time explicitly sought to construct a sense of inequality between races, as is clear from a 1953 statement by Henrik Verwoerd, the scholar and politician known as the "Architect of Apartheid":

> *"When I have control of Native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them. People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for the Natives."*

The 1953 Bantu Education Act created separate education systems for each racial group. The Bantu education systems intended to prepare black South Africans for menial labor and aimed to provide four years of education. Meanwhile, white South Africans attended elite schools known as *Model C* schools, equipped with state-of-the art facilities, including elaborate athletics facilities, theaters, and restaurants. Under apartheid, educational financing reinforced inequality: a white child received an education subsidy roughly 4.5 times higher than a black child (Buckland and Fielden, 1994). Taken together, apartheid policies entrenched educational inequalities along racial lines and ensured that schools were racially and ethnically homogenous, like the communities around them.

Although apartheid ended in 1994 with the election of a democratic government, it has had long-lasting effects on the education system. First, despite equity-targeted educational policies pursued by the new government, the resource legacies in educational infrastructure created under apartheid are hard to equalize. Because most schools open today were built under the apartheid system, students in ex-Model C schools, which tend to be in wealthier areas, still benefit from large, well-manicured school grounds with state-of-the-art facilities, while those in rural or poorer areas attend schools with basic facilities, with backlogs in the construction of new educational facilities.

Additionally, South Africa's ethnic groups continue to be regionally concentrated in the post-apartheid era. Ethno-linguistic diversity is less pronounced at the national level than at the provincial level, and ethno-linguistic groups tend to be clustered in particular provinces, likely in part a legacy of the forced migration under apartheid.

Table 1. Largest Two Linguistic Groups in Each Province in South Africa

Province	Largest Group	Second Largest
Eastern Cape	isiXhosa (77.6%)	Afrikaans (10.4%)
Free State	Sesotho (64.2%)	Afrikaans (12.7%)
Gauteng	isiZulu (19.8%)	English (13.3%)
KwaZulu-Natal	isiZulu (77.8%)	English (13.2%)
Limpopo	Sepedi (52.9%)	Xitsonga (17.0%)
Mpumalanga	siSwati (27.7%)	isiZulu (24.1%)
Northern Cape	Afrikaans (53.8%)	Setswana (33.1%)
North West	Setswana (63.4%)	Afrikaans (9.0%)
Western Cape	Afrikaans (49.6%)	isiXhosa (24.7%)

Data source: Statistics South Africa 2015

As is clear from Table 1, which shows the dominant two ethno-linguistic groups in each province, most provinces are quite homogenous in their ethnic composition, with the exception of Gauteng

and Mpumalanga. For example, in Eastern Cape, the Xhosa make up nearly 79% of the population, while in KwaZulu-Natal, the Zulu constitute nearly 78%. This ethnic homogeneity is often reflected at the local community level, especially in rural provinces. As populations also tend to be racially homogenous at the community level, even within many urban areas, and because students attend schools locally, it is unlikely that many South Africans can be exposed to racial or ethnic diversity in schools. In short, education in post-apartheid South Africa has inherited challenges with inter-group relations at schools as well as with equity.

3.2   Race-Based Conflicts

During apartheid, South Africa experienced significant race-based violence. Activists from oppressed racial groups, particularly black and coloured South Africans, engaged in civil disobedience and violent protest to counter the unfair apartheid system. Following attempts at peaceful opposition to apartheid law, the African National Congress (ANC) – the main movement fighting for the liberation of those oppressed by the apartheid system – gradually came to see violent measures as essential. From exile in Lusaka, Zambia in the mid-late 1980s, ANC activists began a series of attacks on the apartheid state (Waldmeir, 1997). Meanwhile, internal opposition to apartheid continued, opposition from the international community also grew, and the South African government became increasingly isolated.

Under apartheid, a culture of protest and mass mobilization against the government evolved, with some events turning violent, as shown in Table 2 below. Protests were often met with government force, resulting in civilian casualties. The Soweto Uprising on June 16, 1976, in which youth protested a law that would change the language of instruction to Afrikaans for half of the subjects in secondary school, is considered a key moment in the anti-apartheid movement, engaging youth on a large scale for the first time and marking greater combativeness by the opposition. Violence continued in apartheid-era South Africa, with violence at its most extreme in the four years leading up to the 1994 transition, when an estimated 5,700-14,000 South Africans were killed in political violence, with civil conflict particularly severe in the KwaZulu-Natal region (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998).

Table 2. Major Episodes of Violence in South Africa's History

Year	Key Event
1960	Sharpeville Massacre, in which 300 policemen opened fire on 5,000 activists protesting Pass Laws. In total, 69 protestors were killed and 186 injured.
1961	The ANC creates an armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation," or MK), with Nelson Mandela as its head. Over 200 acts of sabotage were conducted, often with fatal consequences.
1966	Verwoerd, an architect of apartheid's 'separate but equal' policy, is stabbed to death in Parliament.
1967	Guerilla fighters aligned with the ANC's armed wing MK launch attacks in South Africa from Zimbabwe.
1976	Soweto Uprising, in which 15,000 youth protest the law to teach math and social sciences in Afrikaans. Two protesters are killed by police trying to disperse the crowd. Riots break out throughout the country; police stations are key targets.
1985	State of Emergency is declared in 36 of the country's 260 districts. 575 people are killed, the majority by police violence, in the first six months of the state of emergency.
1986	Civic Cooperation Bureau (CCB) created by South African government. The CCB was a secret military unit accused of carrying out political assassinations against opponents of apartheid.
1990	Mandela released from prison; as talks of democratic transition begin, violence erupts in South African homelands

Data source: South Africa History Online 2005

Post-apartheid violence. While the political change from the apartheid regime to democratic governance in South Africa is lauded as a model of peaceful transition, the culture of protest that had blossomed under apartheid persisted in the post-apartheid era. Mandela's term as president (1994-1999) was marked by strikes, vandalism, protests, and disobedience that even included incidents in which teachers were taken hostage by students (Meredith, 2011). Figure 3 shows the number and intensity of riots, protests and violence against civilians in the post-apartheid era. It is clear that violence has ebbed and flowed since the late 1990s; the number of riots and protests has risen since the late 1990s while the number of incidents of government violence against civilians has stayed roughly the same. At the same time, the number of annual fatalities associated with these events has declined over the years. Thus, it appears that the level of civil unrest in the country has been on the rise since the low point recorded in the immediate aftermath of the end of apartheid; however, the protests are less likely to result in fatalities. Geographically, these incidents tend to be more common in urban areas, with the greatest concentrations of incidents occurring in and around cities, particularly Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (Figure 4).

Figure 3. Incidents of Violence and Related Fatalities, by Year
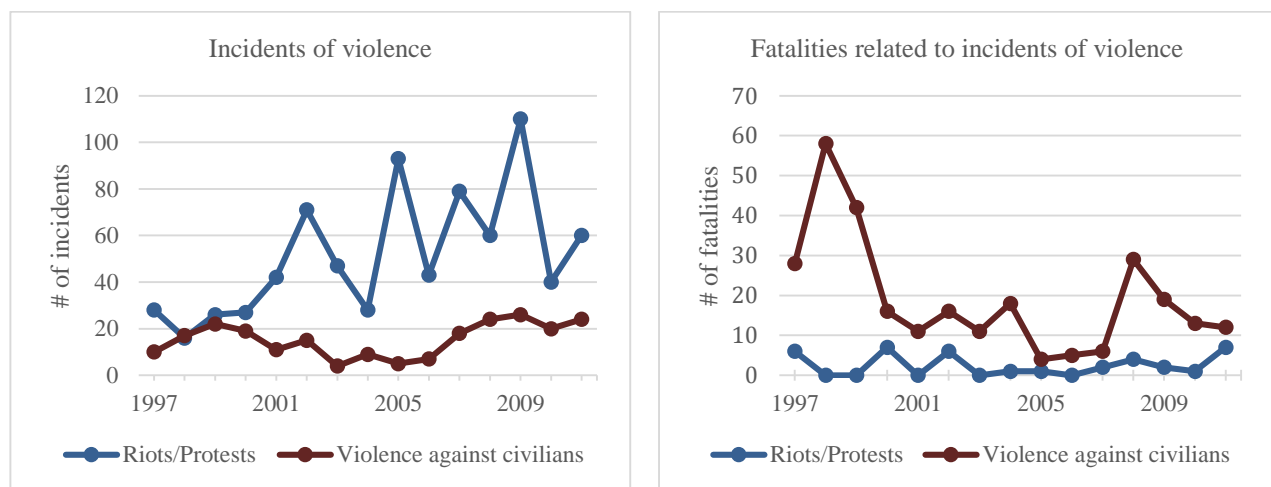
Data source: ACLED

Despite the decline in the incidence of violent civil conflict, however, South Africa suffers from high rates of crime and violent interpersonal conflict. As with outbreaks of civil unrest, violent crimes tend be concentrated in urban areas, which also see the highest levels of de facto residential segregation and inequality in access to quality public schooling. Indeed, studies investigating localized crime in South Africa find that economic inequality is associated with higher levels of crime, in general, and property crimes in particular. However, drawing on data from 2002, researchers find that inequality between racial groups is not associated with interpersonal conflict at the local level (Demombynes and Özler, 2002). The authors argue that violence in today's South Africa is likely prompted more by economic motivations than racial inequalities.

It remains unclear, however, whether race-based divisions continue to influence the likelihood of violent protest and violence against civilians, and whether the high levels of interpersonal assault and crime in South Africa are rooted in racial inequality and race-based divisions. As the country enters a third decade of democracy, the effects of its equity-focused policy initiatives draw a renewed interest on the part of scholars of inequality, conflict and peacebuilding. This study focuses on inequalities in education, particularly those based on race and ethnicity, and seeks to

address some of the unanswered questions about the relationship of education equity and the development of inter-group relations at schools to social cohesion.
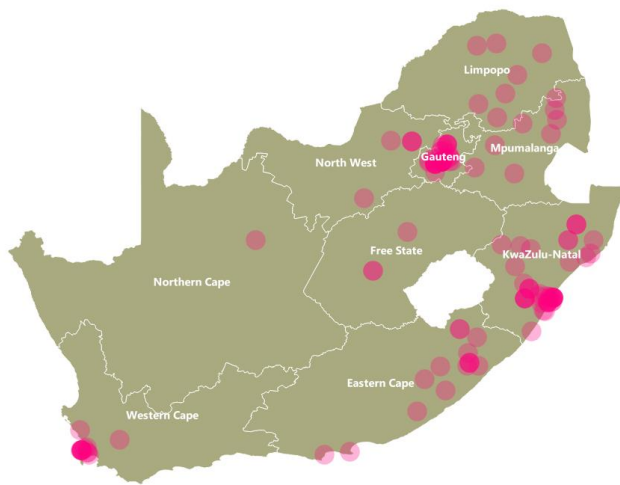
Data source: ACLED

4   Theoretical Framework

In this section, we discuss the theoretical link between inequality and violent conflict, as well as the link between investments in equity and social cohesion. We situate the case of South Africa within the literature on equity and peacebuilding, approaching the nation as an example of a country in which racial inequality was historically the driving force behind violent conflict and in which, and more recently, the government has made a concerted effort to provide redress to historically disadvantaged groups. We introduce a dual-investment framework that emphasizes the importance of advancement in two dimensions: *equity* and *social capital*, which serve as the building blocks of *sustainable peace* and *social cohesion*. In this framework, equity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for peacebuilding: addressing inequality is important for reducing the potential for group-based grievance, but the cultivation of social capital is necessary for a common identity to supersede group-based divisions and ensure that greater equity translates into greater social cohesion.

4.1   Defining Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is a multi-faceted concept. Stewart (2014) suggests that social cohesion is a product of three components*: low levels of inequality and marginalization*; stable, positive *social bonds*; and an *inclusive national identity*. Berger-Schmitt (2002) proposes a similar deconstruction of the concept but sees only two elements, an *inequality* dimension similar to Stewart's and a *social capital* dimension that consolidates the notions of social bonds and a sense of unity. Social capital in Berger-Schmitt's framework refers to the presence of durable, positive interactions and relationships between individuals and across groups in a society and may manifest as high levels of trust in others or through a shared identity (Ibid.). The UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy (PBEA) Programme defines *peacebuilding* as "a multidimensional range of measures to reduce the risk of a lapse or relapse into conflict by addressing both the causes and consequences of conflict" (2014, para. 3). This definition sees peacebuilding as an action with social cohesion as

its object, naming social cohesion as "one of the results that emerges from an effective peacebuilding intervention" (para. 6). *Social cohesion*, itself, "refers to the quality of coexistence between the multiple groups that operate within a society" and is often synonymous with peace in the PBEA lexicon (para. 5).

The concept of social cohesion is particularly salient in South Africa, where it permeates policy discourse and is central to the notion of post-apartheid nation-building. The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), the country's central authority on issues related to social cohesion, defines it as "the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression itself among individuals and communities" (DAC, 2012). In the conceptual framework formulated by the Department of Basic Education (2011) as part of its action research on social cohesion, the term includes multiple dimensions, encompassing social trust, social and cultural capital, social inclusion, local history and heritage, as well as democratic governance and citizenship. The discussion of social cohesion in the South African context largely builds on Émile Durkheim's ideas of social solidarity and invokes the notions of equality within the culture of democratic participation (DBE, 2011).

Table 3. Key Terms Used in the Paper

Term	Definition
Peace	We take our definition from Galtung (1969), conceptualizing peace as both a lack of direct violence and the presence of fairness and equality throughout society. Following UNICEF PBEA definitions (2014), we use peace as a synonym for social cohesion.
Horizontal inequality	Inequality between identity-based groups (Stewart 2000), such as those defined by ethnicity, religion, language, race, or cultural characteristic.
Peacebuilding	"A multidimensional range of measures to reduce the risk of a lapse or relapse into conflict by addressing both the causes and consequences of conflict" (UNICEF, 2014)
Social cohesion	"The degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression itself among individuals and communities… A community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions which engender divisions distrust and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner."(DAC, 2012)
Equity	We define equity as the correction of a historical imbalance or inequality in access to a public or private good, such as education.
Social capital	We define social capital as the presence of strong positive interactions within and across groups in a society that serve to reduce the salience of group identities in favor of a common national identity.

Notwithstanding the many dimensions of social cohesion and the vast literature on the subject in post-apartheid South Africa, we adopt Berger-Schmitt's two-dimensional view of social cohesion and, following UNICEF, use the term social cohesion interchangeably with the term *peace*, seeing it as the end-goal of peacebuilding processes. Within this framework, peacebuilding is the *process* of strengthening social cohesion (which is the ultimate *outcome*), and policy can support peacebuilding through the strengthening of equity and the development of social capital. Addressing disparities facilitates good *vertical relations* between individuals or groups and the state. Improving social capital leads to strong *horizontal relations* across individuals and groups in society. Together, these dimensions promote healthy, stable societies with low violence risk (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). If performance along either of these two dimensions is weak, i.e., if disparities are high or social capital low, social cohesion suffers and society risks falling into violence.

The concept of horizontal relations leads us to the discussion of *horizontal inequality,* or *inequality between identity-based groups,* which is of particular importance to this study. In South Africa, horizontal inequality is inextricably linked to the notion of social cohesion: the National Strategy on Social Cohesion (DAC, 2012) states that societies are cohesive when group-based "inequalities, exclusions, and disparities" are "reduced or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner", thereby inextricably linking the concepts of horizontal inequality and social cohesion in the South African context (see Table 3).

In the broader literature, theories drawing on this concept posit that high levels of horizontal inequality increase the likelihood of civil conflict: inequality generates grievance, which provides a motive for conflict, while group dynamics facilitate mobilization. Empirical support for this argument is so far limited but growing, including a recent large-N time series analysis as part of this research project.[4] The severity of inequalities between groups under apartheid, the catalyzing role of inequality in South African history, and the broad efforts to provide redress on the part of the new democratic government make this analysis of the case of South Africa an important addition to the literature on horizontal inequality, conflict, and peacebuilding.

4.2   Education and Social Cohesion

In this study, we examine the policy investments made by the Government of South Africa in equity and social capital through education, and attempt to gauge the levels of social cohesion at South African schools as an initial outcome of these investments.

As Table 3 notes, we use the term *equity* to denote efforts aimed at correcting historical inequalities – in this case, in educational opportunity. Correcting inequality in education is a crucial foundation for leveling the playing field among groups in the labor market, political participation, health outcomes, and other spheres of life. To the extent that inequalities in the playing field have provided a cause of group-based grievance, addressing them creates an essential stepping stone on the path to eliminating violence and, eventually, to greater social cohesion (as a stronger, sustainable form of peace). This role is important to consider in the context of South Africa, where education was a key vehicle of oppression during the apartheid era.

However, investment in equity in education must be complemented with efforts focused on building *social capital*, thereby reducing the importance of group divisions in favor of national identity, integration, and tolerance. As physical spaces that bring youth together, schools have the potential to promote engagement among students from diverse backgrounds (Ali, 2012). This idea that interaction is central to building social bonds and promoting tolerance for others is often referred to as "the contact hypothesis," a concept that originated in the 1950s with the psychologist Gordon Allport. Through fostering common social values such as respect for diversity and positive, meaningful interaction across traditional group lines, schooling provides a unique space for building national unity and creating a new, positive cultural narrative for social cohesion.

Research shows that education forms the cornerstone of group identity and defines a sense of belonging to a wider community larger than one's immediate family (Darden & Grzymala-Busse, 2006; Darden, 2011), and this sense of an identity beyond one's immediate group is central to peacebuilding. In the South Africa context, this is especially salient: The Department of Basic

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[4] For an extended review of the literature on horizontal inequality and conflict produced for this project, see
http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/resources/horizontal-inequality-in-education-and-violent-conflict/.

Education (DBE) argues that "…national identity provides a framework for broader involvement within a society, and facilitates the project of social cohesion through entrenching a sense of common ground that is founded on the rights of the individual" (2011, p. 34).
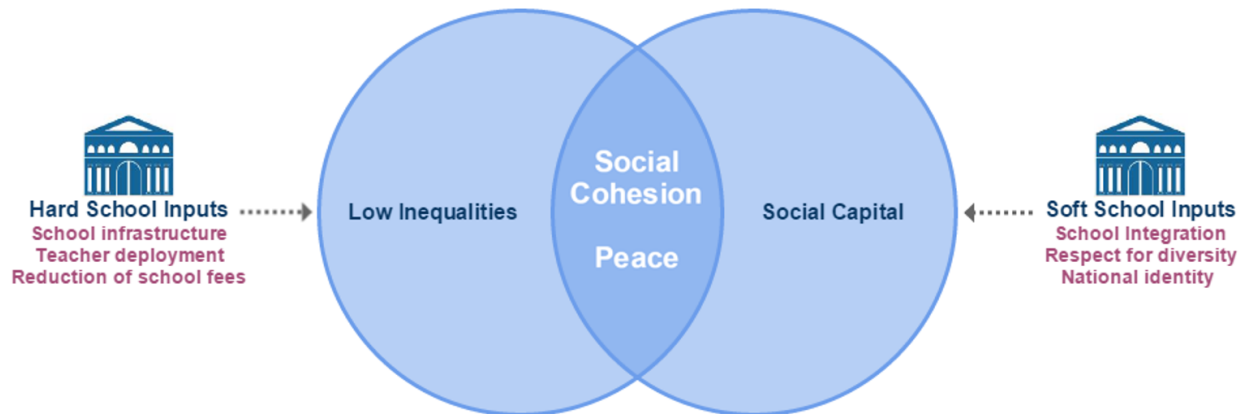
Figure 5 illustrates our view of investment in equity and social capital as distinct spheres, yet both serving as the foundation of peace and social cohesion. There is also an element of overlap and mutual reinforcement between the two spheres. Embracing equity as a policy commitment and a cultural value in a society that was structured around inequality and where inequality was institutionalized in education has an important normative benefit, in addition to the economic benefits discussed above. It affects social cohesion by strengthening a sense of a common national identity and common goals in nation building. Conversely, by building social capital and respect for diversity, one creates a stronger impetus for greater investment in equity.

Investment[5] in each of these spheres is operationalized in our framework as specific policy efforts, to which we refer as investments into *hard inputs* from *soft inputs*. Hard inputs include policies that focus on addressing imbalances in quality infrastructure, teacher deployment, fee abolition or scholarships as a way of improving equity of access. Soft inputs seek to strengthen social capital and include efforts in curriculum, classroom-based and extracurricular activities with the goal of shaping a shared identity (reducing the concept of the "other"), the minimization of racial prejudice, the development of frameworks for handling disputes, and making schools places where diverse students interact.

Our research hypotheses are articulated in Box 1. Each of the hypotheses indicates, in a parsimonious way, the expected outcome if the investments are successful. We recognize the plethora of factors outside of this framework that affect the key outcome – social cohesion – and we do not argue that our model is deterministic. The historical case study approach does not allow for isolation of all factors but the ones of most interest to us, and hence we must take the policy process "as is", as part of the complex country context. Rather, we seek to "connect the dots" in examining the hypotheses as these investments are unfolding, providing an illustration of implementation challenges and early results. We do, however, argue that given sufficient time and

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[5] We define investment broadly as targeted efforts by the national government or outside parties intended to strengthen equity and improve social cohesion.

level of investment, these efforts *can* be expected to play a role in strengthening social cohesion, and therefore, this study provides important lessons for the broader literature on education for peacebuilding.

H1:   Investments in educational equity, if implemented successfully, will support social cohesion by strengthening relations between groups and the state. *If efforts have been successful, we expect to see:*
   a) *improvements in actual and perceived equity in education; and*
   b) *reduced group-based grievance against the state.*

H2:   Efforts to improve social capital at schools, if implemented successfully, will support social cohesion by strengthening relations between groups. *If efforts have been successful, we expect to see:*
   a) *interactions between students of different backgrounds;*
   b) *that those interactions will be positive in nature; and*
   c) *that schools help spread the idea of an inclusive national identity.*

H3:   If investments in both elements of the framework are effective, the potential for conflict will be minimized. If schools are the instruments of building social cohesion, we should see it first and foremost at and around schools. *We gauge this by examining:*
   a) *the extent to which conflict (particularly, violence) is present in and around schools*
   b) *the extent to which violence takes place along horizontal (group) lines.*

5   Methodology

This report draws on both quantitative and qualitative data, including policy documents, national statistics, as well as interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders. First, we conducted a thorough review of the post-apartheid policy context, which included a desk review of relevant policies as well as interviews with officials at the DBE. The review identified specific policies designed to promote equity and social capital, with a particular focus on policies regulating teacher deployment and school funding norms.

Secondly, we used statistical data drawn from nationally representative surveys, as well as education management information systems (EMIS) to examine changes in perceptions of the cost of education and school quality over the past decade. The quantitative data provide information on the effects of the policy eliminating school fees on both the financial burden of schooling on families and on perceptions of schools' educational resources. Because the South African GHS is available annually, we are able to examine the cost of education and the percentage of families paying school fees over time – both before and after the implementation of the no-fee policy. Additionally, we examine citizens' perceptions of educational quality, looking specifically at how different racial groups perceive their school's resources and facilities over time. This quantitative analysis provides a backdrop for the qualitative interviews and focus group discussions we conducted with teachers, parents, and administrators in South African schools.

In the qualitative fieldwork, we selected two provinces for focused analysis based on the principle of maximizing diversity: Limpopo and Western Cape, which offer significant regional and demographic variation. The two provinces represent among the wealthiest (i.e., Western Cape) and poorest provinces (i.e., Limpopo) in the country, as well as one of the most racially homogenous (i.e., Limpopo) provinces and the only province in which the largest population group in the province is a minority group at the national level (i.e., Western Cape). Additionally, the two provinces also ranked among the highest in terms of the levels of violence experienced by learners, according to a recent survey (Burton & Leoschut, 2013). Western Cape (18.5%) followed by Limpopo (15.9%) were the provinces with the highest percentages of students who had experienced a threat of violence.

In each province, we worked with DBE officials to identify participating schools; in total, we visited 19 schools in five districts.[6] We conducted interviews with key stakeholders to assess their perceptions of how post-apartheid equity and cohesion policies have affected educational quality and inequality, as well as social cohesion. The key stakeholder groups were: education officials, school administrators, teachers, and parents. Interview and focus group questions asked about teachers and schools' backgrounds, student body composition, general opinions on the no-fee school policy and issues of violence at the school. In total, we interviewed 10 officials, 54 teachers, 20 school administrators and 24 parents.

Following fieldwork, we analyzed all interview recordings and identified the key themes that emerged in relation to equity, social capital, and social cohesion. We triangulated interview findings with quantitative analysis from various sources and secondary studies. In the next section, we discuss the post-apartheid policy framework and then turn to discuss the findings concerning the emerging effects on equity and social cohesion.

6   Policy Framework for Educational Equity and Social Capital

Since the end of apartheid and the country's transition to democracy, the government of South Africa has substantially reformed its education and training system, systematically "dismantling the previous segregated education racial order as well as comprehensively revising the entire education policy environment at all levels" (Sayed 2008, p. 3). In this section we discuss the post-apartheid policy framework in two parts, distinguishing policies that target equity from those that aim to strengthen social capital across society.

6.1   Equity Policies

The post-apartheid educational policy framework intended "to provide for the redress of past inequalities and the provision of equitable, high quality and relevant education" (Mestry and Ndhlovu, 2014, p. 1). In line with this goal, the government directed substantial public funding to education and passed specific policies that equalized teacher deployment, regulated school fees, and provided nutritional programs to support learners, as shown in Table 4.

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[6] All interview and focus groups followed IRB guidelines; interview protocols are provided in Appendix B.

Table 4. Key Educational Policies That Promote Equity

Year	Educational Policy	Policy Goals
1994	Teacher Post Provisioning	Equalize student-teacher ratios nationwide
1994	National School Nutrition Program	Provide basic nutrition at school to poorest learners
1996	South African Schools Act	Establish school governing bodies that are allowed to levy compulsory school fees
1996	National Norms and Standards for School Funding (NNSSF)	Establish policies guiding school funding. Directed provinces to spend 60% of educational budget on poorest 40% of schools.
1998	Fee exemptions	Amendment to SASA introduces school fee exemptions based on a means test for low-income households.
2006	Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding (ANNSSF)	Establish schools in Quintile 1 and 2 as "no-fee schools"
2010	Quintile 3 Expansion	Expand "no-fee school" status to all schools in wealth Quintile 3

6.1.1 School Funding Norms

The current policy framework regulating school fees originates in the 1996 South African Schools Act (SASA), which decentralized control of the educational system and required all schools to create a democratically elected school governing body (SGB). Under SASA, the SGB's were encouraged to supplement official funds with additional outside funding, including charging school fees. Quickly, nearly all students in South African schools were expected to pay school fees. Given that the government covered the cost of teacher salaries, school fees were estimated to account for only a small portion of overall operating budget, yet were nonetheless thought to contribute to "enormous inequities between schools" (Motala and Sayed, 2012, p. 20).

In 1998, recognizing that not all parents could pay the school fees, the government passed an amendment to the SASA that exempted parents from paying school fees by introducing waivers for families. The policy established a means (i.e., income) test for fee exemptions, based on the family's total income. Officially, the policy, which is still in effect, states that if the combined annual gross income of the students' family is less than ten times the annual school fees per leaner, then the student will qualify for a full exemption of school fees. If the combined family income is between 10-30 times the school fee, the student receives a partial exemption (DOE, 2003). To compensate schools, the Government provides a per-student allowance to schools for each qualifying student (which may or may not reflect the actual level of school fees). However, research has suggested that many SGBs were unable to manage the waiver process. Moreover, it was estimated that, at the time, only 2% of parents actually took advantage of the waivers (Garlick, 2013), while many chose noncompliance by refusing to pay fees.

The same year – 1996 – saw the passage of a second important policy, the National Norms and Standards for School Funding (NNSSF). Under NNSSF, all schools were categorized into *national wealth quintiles* within each province based on the characteristics of the surrounding community, including unemployment and illiteracy rates, and the poorest two quintiles (40% of schools) were to receive 60% of provincial funding for operational expenses, following a progressivity curve, which allocated 35% of funding to Q1 schools, 25% to Q2 schools, 20% to Q3 schools, 15% to Q4 schools, and 5% to Q5 schools.

There is evidence that the policies of redistribution had a visible impact. By 2006, van der Berg argues that spending was "no longer racially discriminatory" (2009, p. 11). In fact, he finds that "the government's norms and standards policy allocated disproportionately more non-personnel spending to poorer schools" (p. 11). Gustaffson and Patel examine public expenditures on education in 2005 and find that "the poorest 40% of enrolled learners receive around 57% of the school allocation nationally" (2006, p. 66). Additionally, although the existence of private spending in education through school fees exacerbated inequalities, they argue that "public plus private spending in 2005 [was] still far more equitable than public spending on its own was in 1991" (Gustaffson and Patel, 2006, p. 74).

6.1.1.1   No-Fee Schools

Despite the clearly positive effects of progressive funding policies introduced in the mid-1990s, the existence of school fees was thought to pose a significant financial burden to families, and to undermine the principles of equity that undergird the post-apartheid policy framework. In a large-scale policy revision, the Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding (ANNSF) were passed in 2006 and went into effect in on January 1, 2007. This policy became known as the "no-fee school policy" because it eliminated school fees for the poorest South Africans. Under the ANNSSF, schools in the poorest two national wealth quintiles (determined by indicators of community poverty, i.e. income, unemployment and education) were designated as no-fee schools. Lists of no-fee schools were generated at the provincial level, by Provincial Education Departments (PEDs) based on national wealth quintile classification. No-fee schools – those in Quintiles 1 and 2 – were not permitted to charge fees, in return receiving substantially greater levels of funding per student for non-personnel, non-capital expenditures. Funding allocations for Quintiles 3-5 were lower, and schools in these categories were expected to garner additional funds through fees.

Since its introduction, the no-fee school policy has been reformed several times. In 2010, all Quintile 3 schools were declared no-fee schools, and in 2013, the policy was reformed again so that all no-fee schools received the same allocation per student per year. In contrast, schools in Quintiles 4 and 5 are still designated as fee-collecting schools, and they receive different allocations from the government (Table 5). Under the fee exemption policy, learners that enroll in fee-paying schools may be eligible for a means-tested waiver, and schools receive government allocations for each eligible learner, up to the no-fee school funding level (Government of South Africa, 2015).

Table 5. Current Government Allocations to Schools, by Quintile

School Quintile	Per Student Allocation (ZAR)
Q1	1,116
Q2	1,116
Q3	1,116
Q4	559
Q5	193

Data Source: 2015 Government of South Africa, Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding

The no-fee school policy is a clear example of pro-poor and pro-equity investment on the part of the government. As Motala and Sayed note, "the differential allocation is a significant departure from previous policies that focused on equalizing state per-capita expenditure. It acknowledges

that the poor need greater support, but also that the apartheid legacy of poverty remains" (2012, p. 23). In the finding section we discuss whether pro-equity funding policies are having the desired impact and how these policies are perceived.

6.1.2   Teacher Deployment

Teacher deployment policy is another piece of a larger package of progressive policy making in education intended to equalize public education inputs across all racial groups. In this vein, the policies on the deployment of teachers in the post-apartheid education system marked the first major step towards equity and redress. The Rationalization and Redeployment policy introduced in 1996 called for a redistribution of teaching posts, with the goal of moving positions from schools with low pupil-teacher ratios to schools where class sizes were historically high.

The redeployment process provided for voluntary transfers of teachers to schools with a determined teacher need. The 1998 Post Provisioning Norms policy established single learner-educator ratios ranging from 35:1 for primary to 40:1 for secondary schools. Subject-specific norms also vary across school subjects (e.g., music classes are expected to be of lower size than mathematics or official languages). Subsequent revisions of the policy introduced an upward adjustment coefficient for schools at the bottom of the wealth distribution, recognizing that historically disadvantaged schools may require lower learner-educator ratios to compensate for the negative effects of poverty. A pool of teaching posts are set aside at the provincial level as "redress pool," from which additional positions may be allocated to schools after the uniform post provisioning formulas have been applied, with priority given to schools in the poorest two quintiles (DBE, 2014).

The Department of Education[7] guidance (DOE, 2003), reiterated in our interviews with key DBE staff, call for a ratio of 80:20 between personnel and non-personnel spending at the school level. This policy aims to allow sufficient resources for learning materials and recurrent expenditures necessary to ensure a minimum quality level in the provision of educational services at public schools. However, in interviews at the DBE, officials acknowledged that the skew towards an even higher proportion of salaries is often evident in poorer provinces such as Eastern Cape and Limpopo, where personnel spending may reach as high as 95% of the entire school budget.

In keeping with the overall emphasis on equal distribution from the qualified teaching cadre, official teacher salaries are set uniformly across the country, with compensation based primarily on seniority, regardless of the location of a given teaching position. While our DBE respondents indicated that special allowances could be offered by the provincial departments to incentivize teachers to take posts in rural schools, as well as to recruit teachers of "scarce skills" (such as the hard sciences), we were not able to verify the presence of allowances at the provincial level.

The salary norms and protections do not apply to teachers hired by the School Governing Bodies, such as those in fee-paying schools and wealthier communities. Nonetheless, SGB-managed hiring tips the balance in favor of fee-paying schools, reducing class sizes and potentially providing the needed incentives to lure more experienced teachers, as well as those with scarce skills. Further in

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[7] In 2009, the Department of Education (DOE) was broken into two departments: the Department of Basic Education (DBE), which is responsible for education from Grades R to 12 as well as adult literacy, and the Department of Higher Education and Training, which oversees post-secondary education.

this report, we discuss the implications of post provisioning and rationalization, as well as SGB hiring authority for schools in Western Cape and Limpopo provinces.

6.2   Policies to Strengthen Social Capital

Over the past two decades, the government has also passed important policies to strengthen social capital through improved interactions and the promotion of a unified national identity. The National Development Plan (NDP) outlines overarching goals for South Africa that include building social cohesion through greater interaction and promoting an inclusive national identity. The Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) articulates policy goals in these areas, stressing the need for a united society that reflects values of the Rainbow Nation, including multiculturalism and national unity: "The nation will be more accepting of people's multiple identities. In this South Africa there will be knowledge about and support for a set of values shared by all South Africans" (Republic of South Africa, 2014, p. 35). The framework also suggests that schools can boost social relations through the expanded use of African languages and by mainstreaming national symbols, like the South African flag.

Table 6 provides an overview of the key pieces of legislation relevant to this study.

Table 6. Key Educational Policies and Content That Promote Social Cohesion

Year	Educational Policy	Policy Goals
1990	White schools permitted to allow black student enrollment under specific conditions	To facilitate partial integration of schools under strict conditions, including the maintenance of a majority white student body and of "the white cultural ethos of the school" (Vally & Dalamba, 1999, p. 10).
1993	Official desegregation of all schools	To allow schools to legally diversify; to remove legal barriers to desegregation (Vally & Dalamba, 1999)
1997	Language in Education Policy	To expand multilingualism in schools as well as access to mother tongue instruction in grades 1-3 with some home language instruction in later primary school grades
2006	Publication of *My Country South Africa: Celebrating our National Symbols and Heritage*	To promote a South African national identity and values that build social cohesion in the curriculum
2015	Incremental Introduction of African Languages (IIAL)	To improve access to education in African languages from Grades 1-12 and ensure that all South African students gain experience with an African language; to build social capital though multilingualism

Language of instruction. South Africa has sought to promote multilingualism and the use of African languages in education as a key element of social relations. In 1998, the Language in Education Policy went into effect, allowing learners to access mother tongue instruction in one of South Africa's eleven official languages through the first foundation phase and then some home language instruction in subsequent grades. This policy envisioned a multilingual South Africa and sought to ensure that speakers of African languages had better opportunities to learn to read in their native language. In 2013, a new language policy was proposed to further expand the use of African languages in education starting in the 2015 school year (DBE, 2013). The Medium Term Strategic Framework issued in 2014 calls for the use of at least one African language in every

school by 2018, which is seen as explicitly promoting stronger social relations by encouraging multilingualism and raising the status of African languages (and their speakers) though the expanded use of African languages throughout society.

Curricular Content. Social studies and history curricula teach students who they are and how to define the nation they live in. Since apartheid, South Africa's national curriculum has been replaced several times but continues to promote the idea of an inclusive, united South Africa in its history and social studies content. One exemplary effort to promote national unity and national symbols through the curriculum was in the 2006 publication of the book "My Country South Africa: Celebrating our National Symbols and Heritage" by the DBE and the Department of Arts and Culture. The book is devoted to teaching about national identity and valuing difference, explaining, for example, that "being proud to be a South African does not mean looking down on others" (DBE, 2006, p. 9). In its review of national symbols and ideals of diversity and unity, the book is dedicated to promoting Rainbow Nation ideals through education. Interviews we conducted at the DBE reinforced the importance of knowing national symbols as a national education policy priority.

Special Programming. Several other DBE programs have been designed to promote the social cohesion goals outlined in the NDP and detailed in the MTSF. DBE programs include a series of special initiatives in collaboration with the Department of Arts and Culture, such as the iNkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Project, which calls on students to gather stories of apartheid resistance and political change from the elders in surrounding communities, with the goal of redefining schools as "centers of collective consciousness" (Interview, DBE, 2015). Placing schools in the center of community dialogue as agents of social cohesion, according to an interview with a DBE official, is intended to change the negative perceptions formed during the apartheid era, when schools were seen as manifestations of the repressive state.

School Integration. In addition to language and curriculum policies that seek to improve social relations and inclusive notions of citizenship, our study also considers issues of integration at schools as an element of social relations. Official segregation ended with apartheid, but the MTSF observes that South Africa still suffers "spatial imbalances" (Republic of South Africa, 2014, p. 8), meaning the persistence of racially isolated housing settlements that limit integration and social cohesion. The MTSF also recognizes the importance of schools becoming increasingly diverse spaces, particularly via sports activities. In the analysis that follows, we consider progress in school integration, generally, and the effect that certain policies, like the exemptions built into the 1996 South African schools act and discussed above, have had on diversifying schools and increasing interactions among students of different backgrounds in a society where racial groups often remain separated.

In the next sections, we discuss how these pro-equity and unity policies have been implemented at the school level, and what effects they have had on improving elements of social cohesion.

7   Emerging Effects of Investment into Equity

> *"Nowadays we have more graduates than before…. because education now is compulsory and free, unlike before. [Then] you were supposed to pay the school fund, buy books, and [if] these parents cannot afford, then [the child would] stay home."*

In this section, we discuss the effects of South Africa's investment in educational equity through the rollout of the no-fee school policy, the teacher deployment policy and the school nutrition program. All three policies are considered "hard inputs" into the educational system because they are financial resource investments that intend to provide redress to historically disadvantaged groups and equalize access to quality education. In our theoretical framework, investment in equitable distribution of educational resources helps form the foundation of social cohesion. This framework recognizes a peacebuilding role for education through the promotion of more equal life opportunities for all citizens and the reduction of group-based grievances over inequality and disparity, as grievances may be directed against the government and motivate civil violence.

We first examine if the no-fee school policy is having the intended effect by reducing the financial burden on students and parents using quantitative data extracted from the South African GHS before and after the implementation of the no-fee school policy. We then follow these quantitative findings with interview and focus groups that examine teachers, parents and administrators' perceptions of the effects of the policy. Finally, we consider whether respondents have positive impressions of government efforts to provide equitable education or whether new policies are a source of grievance against the government.

Overall, we argue that the pro-equity policies pursued by South Africa in the wake of apartheid have brought up the bottom by guaranteeing a significant resource base to all schools, regardless of the local community's ability to pay. However, the effect on equity is less clear – there are still substantial inequalities in funding in South Africa, and the implementation of the no-fee school policy are doing little to address historically unequal resource legacies and mobilization. In short, the no-fee school policy, while doing much to provide resources to needy schools and communities, may not be so effective in addressing equity itself, largely due to the entrenched differences in schools' resource legacies and ability to mobilize local resources. Stakeholder perceptions suggest that the government has, crucially, elevated the issue of educational equity and that the distribution of education resources is at least marginally more equal now than in the past. At the same time, these sentiments are accompanied by frustration and the sense that more must be done to overcome impediments to greater equity in funding and resources.

7.1   Reducing Financial Burden

Since its implementation nearly ten years ago, the no-fee school policy seems to have had the desired effect of reducing the financial burden associated with going to school for the majority of families in South Africa. **Error! Reference source not found.** shows GHS data on the percentage of South Africans, by racial group, who reported paying school fees over time. Prior to the implementation of the policy, most South Africans reported paying fees, in addition to the cost of textbooks and uniforms (however, our interviews suggest that fee evasion was widespread). For many families, fees posed a significant burden: according to a DBE report, in 2003, 56% of households in the poorest quintile stated that the cost of school fees was the reason their children dropped out of school (2009a).

The no-fee school policy seems to have been most beneficial for historically disadvantaged groups, such as black students and, to a lesser extent, coloured students. As **Error! Reference source not found.** shows, by 2011, after the implementation of the policy, the percent of black South Africans paying fees went down to only 32.4%, while more than 95% of white South Africans continued to pay school fees. In qualitative interviews we conducted in Q1-Q3 schools in both Western Cape and Limpopo provinces, teachers and administrators overwhelmingly agreed that the elimination

of school fees was widely lauded by communities, reducing the financial burden on parents and thereby helping their communities more broadly.

Figure 6. Percentage of Primary and Secondary School Students Whose Households Pay School Fees
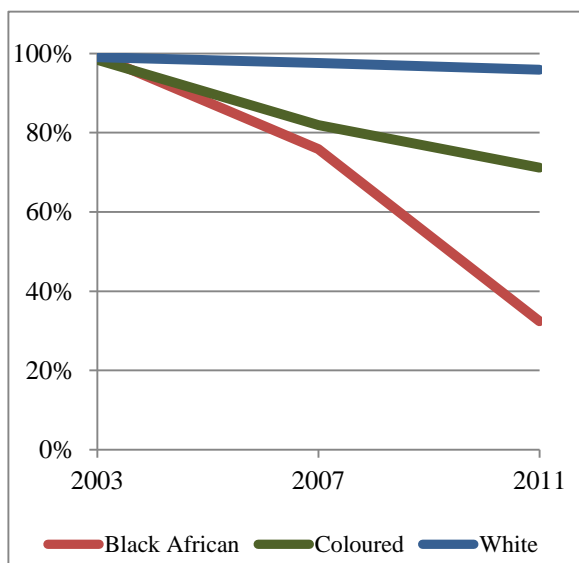
Figure 7. Percentage of Primary and Secondary School Students Experiencing School Fees That Are Too High
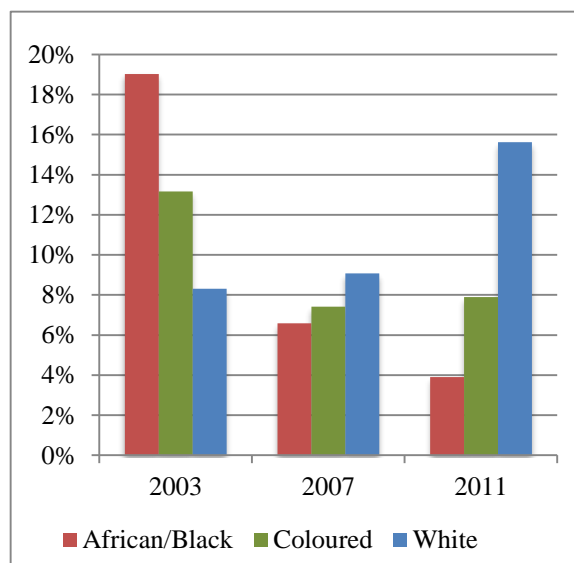
Data source: GHS

White South Africans, meanwhile, not only continued to pay fees, but the average amount of their fees increased over time. Table 7 shows the amount (adjusted for inflation) that families pay in school fees at the primary and secondary level. Both white and coloured families were paying higher fees in 2011 than they were paying in 2003 (Table 7), with white families seeing the steepest hike, whereas the financial burden on black families wavered only slightly over the decade – up slightly in 2007 and down again in 2011. For white and coloured families, this may indicate a shift towards schools at the upper end of the spectrum or towards independent schools (see our analysis of EMIS data further in this report).

Table 7. Average Primary and Secondary School Fees (ZAR), by Race and Year (Adjusted for Inflation)

Race	2003	2007	2011
African/Black	480.38	514.00	468.62
Coloured	960.24	949.13	1151.43
White	5,330.34	5,777.24	6682.82

Data source: GHS

Unsurprisingly, attitudes towards school fees reflect real differences in fees paid. Figure 7**Error! Reference source not found.** shows the percent of individuals who state that fees are too high. Black South Africans perceived school fees to be the most burdensome in 2003, with 19% saying that school fees were too high. In contrast, only 8% of white South Africans said the same. By 2011, perceptions seemed to have reversed, with only 3.9% of black South Africans saying that school fees are too high, and 15% of white South Africans saying the same. In sum, the no-fee school policy has had a real impact on the percentage of South Africans paying fees, with black South Africans benefitting the most from its implementation.

7.2 Reducing Absenteeism

> *"Most children were coming to school with empty stomachs. The fact that they are getting breakfast before school helped eliminate truancy as well as absenteeism."*

The designation of a school as a no-fee school under ANNSSF triggers additional equity-enhancing programs, such as the National School Nutrition Program (NSNP), an important poverty alleviation policy that provides one or two meals to students in no-fee schools. Teachers and administrators alike universally praised the NSNP as a way of supporting students from food insecure households and enhancing their ability to focus on their studies. One teacher in Western Cape shared: *"You can't teach a learner on an empty stomach….so on that matter, we need to applaud our government….because now the learners are getting food at school."*

In addition to reducing the financial burden on families, administrators and teachers also believed that the school feeding schemes were responsible for reduced absenteeism in both of the provinces we visited. As one principal from a primary school in Western Cape explained, children sometimes attend school "just because they want to come and eat." Although we do not have the quantitative data on attendance to substantiate this claim, one principal in a rural school in Limpopo stated that among her students, on the few days when meals are not provided by the NSNP, attendance rates drop from above 90% to only a fraction of that – suggesting that the NSNP was a clear factor that brought students into the school.

7.3 Establishing a Predictable Level of Resources

One of the most important benefits of the no-fee school policy is that it has allowed schools to have a stable and predictable baseline of resources, which is a clear advantage to many schools in poorer communities. Interviewees in poor communities explained that prior to 2006, when the school did charge fees, administrators were not able to consistently collect them. For example, one teacher explained that before the school was a no-fee school, *"parents didn't pay the way they should have paid, so we only received very shortened pay and little money."* These findings align to a 2009 study conducted by the Ministry of Education, which finds that: "71% of the surveyed no-fee schools indicated that they are able to provide better services with their school allocations as compared to when they were collecting fees" (DBE, 2009b, p. 6). After the implementation of the no-fee school (NFS) policy, many schools enjoy higher, and more stable, levels of financial resources.

School Resources. In practical terms, teachers and administrators explained that the primary impact has been on the quality of the learning environment and school resources. Nearly all school administrators and teachers explained that after 1994, it was illegal to exclude students based on their ability to pay, and therefore high rates of noncompliance by families meant that schools operated under severely limited budgets, with few resources for upkeep, maintenance, and learning materials. The designation of schools as no-fee schools meant a stable infusion of new resources, and principals of no-fee schools explained that, for example, they were able to purchase photocopy machines and computers for the first time for their schools. A teacher at a Quintile 1 school in Limpopo summarized the general impression with respect to resources: *"In terms of material support and an attempt to build infrastructure, and financing, I can say it has improved…the material provision by the Department, I think, has improved so much."*

Textbooks. Another important aspect where the no-fee school policy has affected the quality of the learning environments in lower income communities is through the provision of textbooks. The policy mandates that schools provide textbooks for all students. It also directs schools to spend roughly 50% of the school's non-capital budget on learning and teaching support materials (LTSM), such as textbooks and teacher's guides. Although teachers often complained that textbooks were not delivered by the start of the school year, experienced teachers explained that the provision of a textbook to every student had a demonstrable impact on the quality of education in schools. Prior to the policy, students were expected to purchase their own textbooks, which placed an additional burden on families and forced students to share textbooks or be without textbooks altogether. One long-time teacher from Limpopo explained: "*you see now with these new textbooks, every learner has his or her own textbook. You don't have to draw the pictures on the chalkboard….because of the textbook you have got clear pictures.*" The provision of textbooks has thus helped level the playing field for students in terms of their ability to follow the national curriculum.

These interview findings are supported by nationally representative data on perceptions of the school environment.Figure 8. Percentage of Primary and Secondary Students Experiencing a Lack of Textbooks, by RaceFigure 8 shows the percent of South Africans stating that their school lacks books and Figure 9 shows the percent of South Africans perceiving their school as having poor facilities. Figure 8 show that in 2003 almost a full fourth of black South African students did not have textbooks, compared to only 1.75% of white students. By 2011, this percentage has fallen significantly to only 6.27% of black South Africans and also fell slightly for coloured South Africans. In contrast, the percent of white South African students, although the least likely to state that they experience a lack of books, actually increased slightly to 3.74%.

Similarly, Figure 9 shows that South Africans' perceptions of their schools' facilities have also improved, particularly among black South Africans. The percentage of South Africans perceiving that their school has bad facilities dropped from 12.25% in 2003 to 4.43% in 2011.

Figure 8. Percentage of Primary and Secondary Students Experiencing a Lack of Textbooks, by Race
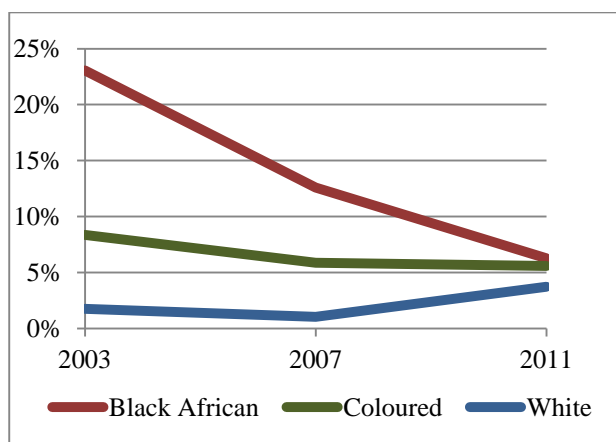
Figure 9. Percentage of Primary and Secondary School Students Experiencing School Facilities in "Bad" Condition, by Race
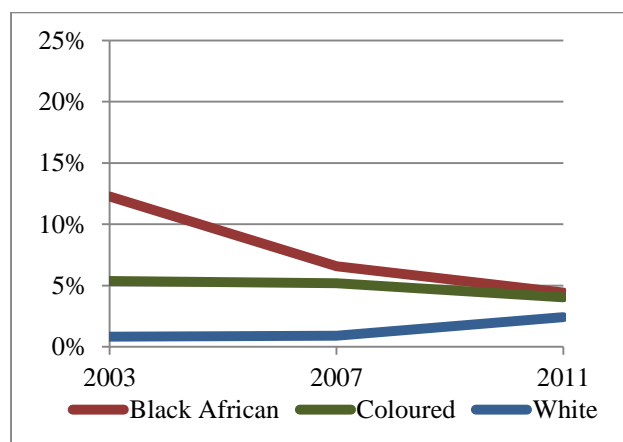
Data source: GHS

In short, it is clear from both qualitative and quantitative evidence that the pro-equity policies pursued by the NNSSF and ANNSSF have helped to provide a minimum resource base for all

schools that has resulted in a reduced fee burden and an improved school resources over the past decade. At the same time, black respondents tend to have seen a larger gain in school resources, while white respondents, while still having the best perceptions of their schools' resources, have slightly more negative views than they did in 2003.

7.4   Teacher Availability

> *"From the Education Department's point of view, there's a ratio across the board, but, because [another school in the area] is in a more affluent area they can charge their parents more money to add more teachers. And because we are a no school fee school, we cannot ask any parents, so we will have to make do with what we get from the Department. So in terms of personnel, it's not ever going to be equal."*

To examine whether the teacher deployment and rationalization policies have had the intended effect of equalizing teacher availability across the well-off and poorer schools, we can examine pupil-teacher ratios in public schools by wealth quintile at two points in time, 2006 and 2013.[8]

Figure 10 shows that pupil-teacher ratios have declined slightly over time for public schools in all wealth quintiles and also indicates that pupil-teacher ratios in no-fee schools are not substantially different from those in Quintile 4 fee-paying schools. However, schools in Quintile 5 still have lower pupil-teacher ratios than those in other quintiles. The figure speaks to modest progress in pupil-teacher ratios across all public schools but also to ongoing inequality between the most advantaged (Quintile 5) schools and other public schools.

Figure 10. Pupil-Teacher Ratios by School Quintile and Year
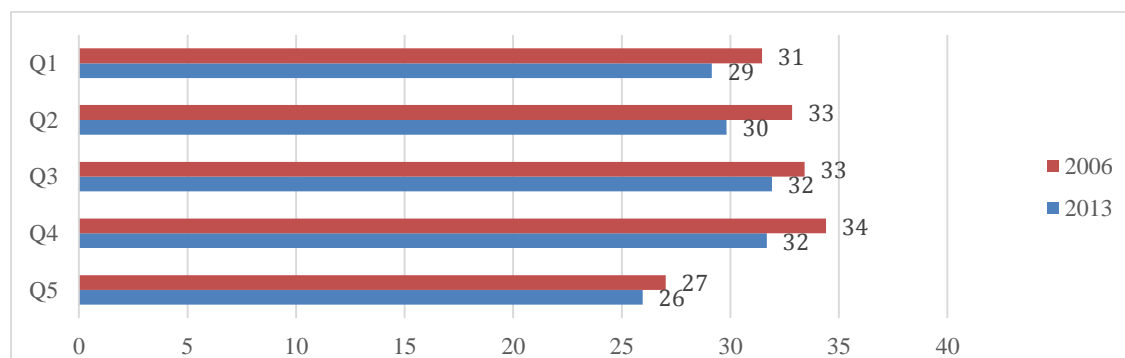
Data source: Snap Survey of Ordinary Schools

As we described above, beginning in 2006 the Post Provisioning Norms policy that regulates the deployment of teachers takes into account a schools' income quintile status, and provinces are able to provide additional positions to schools in Quintiles 1-3 from the redress pool set aside for that purpose. The DBE recognizes that historically disadvantaged schools face particular challenges in attracting qualified teachers, and encourages provinces to provide allowances to teachers willing to take up posts in remote and rural areas and other "hard-to-teach" schools (Interview, DBE, 2015). However, there is some evidence that the implementation of the no-fee schools policy has

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[8] Although we would like to examine the change over a longer period of time, since the initial implementation of the policy, we do not have teacher data prior to 2006.

interacted with the existing post provisioning norms in ways that may have negatively affected both educational quality and equity.

First, the rationalization policy has meant that some schools, particularly in urban areas, where the ratio of total pupils to teachers was above the recommended level, lost teaching positions, as was the case in some schools in Western Cape. In the wake of the policy, in one such school teachers have reportedly seen a rise of discipline issues, which according to them, affected the quality of the learning environment at the school. Secondly, teachers stated that no-fee schools often felt compelled to take in more students than they had capacity for, since their status as a no-fee school made it more difficult for them to turn away students. This may be due to the challenges in assessing need in time to deploy teachers. An official at the DBE explained during an interview, that teacher deployment can suffer a backlog if families do not register at their schools prior to the start of the school year, making it difficult to predict the level of enrollment at no-fee schools. In contrast, simply by charging fees, fee-paying schools were able keep some students out. One teacher explained:

> *"In terms of learner numbers…1 is to 20 is the teacher-learner ratio in school-fee [paying] schools. Because we are a no-school fee school, we are never full according to the Department. They will feed learners into our schools. They will tell us, 'You've got a place. You can take the learner.' But they won't force the fee[-paying] schools."*

In this manner, fee-charging schools were reportedly able to invoke the national norms on teacher provisioning to prevent unwanted enrollment growth at their schools. A parent who is the Chair of the School Governing Body at a Quintile 3 school in Western Cape explains:

> *"A school like [that fee-paying school] is not allowed by law to shove away a child….But if you go to [them], they say, 'Oh, we can't take poor kids, because we need to keep the basis of 20 kids per [class] and the education department will let them get away with it. If I move out of step here, hell breaks loose on us."*

Finally, in accordance with SASA, fee-paying schools can hire additional teachers with the funds they generate from fees and outside fundraising. For example, we visited a Quintile 5 school where the SGB paid for 16 full-time teachers. These additional teachers helped to keep class sizes small and manageable. Unsurprisingly, this was one of the few schools whose teachers explained that they did not have issues with large class sizes.

Our interviewees attributed this practice to creating deep inequities in the quality of learning students received. Teachers and administrators were conscious of the fact that highly differentiated class sizes have implications for equity, as one teacher from a rural school in Western Cape explained: *"We have between 40-50 learners [per class]; you find that [in fee-paying schools] there are less than 30 in the class, and definitely, they will have more quality in the class."* Referring to the unequal pupil-teacher ratios, another teacher offered: *"That is why education is not equal in this country. When you talk about schools like [the fee-paying school in a town nearby] my blood boils. It is very unfair towards kids."*

7.5   Implementation Challenges Undermine Equity

Interview findings also indicate that the specific challenges associated with implementing the no-fee school policy actually may exacerbate inequalities in educational financing and ultimately, quality.

Quintile Classification. Because of the way that schools are classified into quintiles based on characteristics of the community surrounding the school rather than the characteristics of the students who attend the school, it is not uncommon for fee-paying schools to serve very poor students. In practice, this means that students who are the intended beneficiaries of ANNSF often do not benefit from it.

In interviews, parents, teachers and administrators stated that the classification method of schools was unfair to students. One teacher explained: *"It's so unfair. [The factors used to determine a school's quintile] are so wrong, and they know it. And promises and promises (from different levels of government) to help our schools that really struggle a lot to lower our quintiles where it should be. We should be at least a Quintile 3 school."* The administrator at this school explained that they had pushed to change their classification for over ten years, to no avail. At a school in Western Cape, teachers similarly explained that: *"If you are situated in a middle-class area you can forget about being a no-fee school, although all the kids that go to the school should qualify for no fees."*

In fact, one of the most surprising findings from our fieldwork was that some of the schools that struggle the most to provide basic resources are those in Quintiles 4 and 5. For example, one teacher explained that at their school the fees are *"[ZAR] 840 per year [USD 71], but we only collect about 62% of that money."* Another explained, referring to parents*: "...they fall into a culture of non-payment. They refuse to pay."*

When a school is classified as Quintile 4 or 5, the school receives less than half the amount from the government as it would if it were a no-fee school. For schools serving lower income students, this results in a lower operating budget than would be the case had they been designated as no-fee schools. The DBE report from surveys with school principals recognizes this problem, explaining: "Most schools in urban areas servicing poor communities lose a large portion of their school income due to fee exemptions granted to poor parents" (DBE, 2009b, p. 9).

This has a severe impact on the school's ability to meet even basic expenditures for educational resources. The principal at a Quintile 5 secondary school in Western Cape explains that in his school: *"It's not strange for the school to have no telephone connection, because we don't have money to pay the telephone [bill]."* In another Quintile 4 school, teachers explained that many students do not have textbooks because they cannot afford to buy them and the government does not provide them, as is done in no-fee schools. As a result, although the school is a Quintile 4 school, teachers must often resort to simply using photocopies for lessons, rather than textbooks. Ironically, some of the poorest students likely receive an inferior education due to a lack of needed resource at a Quintile 4 school in the suburbs of Cape Town than they would if they attended a school in a poorer township because of the quintile classification system.

Although most participants believed that fee-paying schools would necessarily have better resources or facilities than no-fee schools, in fact, our findings show that this may not be the case: whereas ex-Model C schools had significantly better resources than most schools, many other fee-paying schools were facing severe resource challenges.

Resource Mobilization. Interviews also suggest that schools have very different abilities to mobilize additional resources, which may exacerbate inequalities in current funding despite progressive funding policies. In all but the wealthiest schools, teachers and administrators stated that it was difficult to supplement government resources with parental contributions. They suggested that this is particularly difficult because the idea of being a "no-fee school" has been associated in the popular media with no parental contributions, even voluntary ones. This likely has a negative effect on equity, because wealthier schools (ex-Model C schools as well as other Quintile 4 and Quintile 5 schools) are able to call on alumni communities or other fundraising drives to raise additional funds.

Teachers at one Quintile 3 school explained that when they asked parents to contribute to certain costs, parents were angry: *"We've been attacked in [parent-teacher] meetings – 'You are a no-fee school. What do you do with the money? Why are parents expected to pay?'"*

In addition to differences in parents' contributions, no-fee schools were less able to mobilize additional funds from their local communities. At most schools, SGBs instituted fundraising programs, which include selling snacks, selling vegetables from a school garden and allowing students to dress in casual wear on Fridays for small fees. However, in general, interviewees indicated that fundraising is a challenge, in contrast to ex-Model C schools, which are able to raise funds from networks of alumni donors and community sponsors.

Control over School Funds. Finally, we find that inequities may inadvertently be exacerbated through the restrictions placed on some schools for control over their own budgets. Under SASA, schools that receive cash transfers and are able to procure their own inputs are referred to as Section 21 schools. In contrast, non-Section 21 schools receive paper budgets that are managed by the Provincial Education Department. Schools must apply for Section 21 status and must prove they have capacity to control their own funds. Section 21 status for all schools is the explicit goal of post-apartheid education policies, including the 1998 NNSSF and its subsequent revisions. A 2003 DBE report emphasizes the importance of all schools to eventually acquire Section 21 status as a core element of self-governance and grassroots democracy (DBE, 2003). However, the same report acknowledges the challenges in establishing the capacity of schools to manage their resources in accordance with the regulations. The same concerns were voiced during interviews at the DBE for this study.

Non-Section 21 schools we visited complained that they had to wait long periods of time to have their equipment and infrastructure needs met. Fee-paying schools, which have more immediate control over their funds, are reportedly able to purchase their own equipment and learning resources in a timely manner. The same is true of no-fee schools that have Section 21 status.

Importantly, even when schools are granted Section 21 status, they are still instructed to spend roughly 50% on learning materials, with specific spending recommendations set at the province level. Schools lamented the lack of flexibility to spend resources on the specific needs of the school, such as infrastructure upkeep and renovation: *"You have to scrape to get by because the government is prescriptive, so you get the money – yes – but they tell you what to do with it to the letter."* The DBE made a similar finding in a comprehensive study with school principals in 2009. They state that most principals "indicated that a great portion of their allocation goes for LTSM whereas they would prefer to use these funds for other things" (DBE 2009b, p. 8). In interviews, DBE officials emphasized the importance of such norms to ensure that an adequate level of

resources is allocated to specific inputs, such as textbooks, that have direct implications for relieving the financial burden on parents.

7.6 Changing Perceptions of Quality

Despite the many benefits of the no-fee school policy, inequalities in learning resources and educational quality persist. In fact, interviews suggested that the no-fee school policy was creating a two-tiered system that allowed professionals and upper middle class – including teachers and principals of no-fee schools – to send their children to fee-paying schools that offered substantially better resources and smaller class sizes, which contributed to overall differences in the quality of learning environments.

Our interviewees widely recognized that in the post-apartheid era, students have access to schools regardless of their race – and that this legal equality has an important equalizing effect. For example, the principal in Western Cape explained: *"Schools are all open now, which they weren't in the past;"* however, he continued by stating that this means that *"the more affluent send their kids to the other schools."*

The very existence of fee-paying schools means that some parents can pay for better educational quality. Fee-paying schools, and particularly the formerly all-white schools known as ex-Model C schools, tend to have more resources and smaller class sizes, which means that students become re-stratified along socioeconomic lines. This has important implications for the quality of education in fee and no-fee schools. One principal in a school in Western Cape explained: *"This is where the disparity comes in. In the more affluent schools, they are allowed to charge school fees up to [ZAR] 8,000 a year, go up to 10,000. Where at most schools in the township, we're looking at – if they are charging school fees – [ZAR] 100 to 150. If you are looking at the quality of a school, we are still lagging behind."*

Moreover, given the strong and persistent relationship between race and socioeconomic status, educational quality is still stratified along racial lines. One teacher explains: *"In [this community], parents who can afford it take their learners somewhere [else]. They won't put them in this school because of the fact that this is a no school fee school and because we have black kids."*

Some teachers and administrators also believed that the fees are used to exclude certain learners, and that this exclusion still occurs based on academic ability as well as race. Ex-Model C schools, where demand for admission is very high, can choose the most academically gifted students. One teacher explains that fee-paying schools are able to exclude learners as a result: *"We can't choose our learners – number one. The fee-[paying] schools [can], based on school-fees. Some of them are forced, these days in the last couple of years, to open their schools. Then the government will subsidize them to take in certain learners, but they still use it as a mechanism to control the type of learners they will allow at their school."*

7.7 Summing Up: Effects of Pro-Equity Policies

Our theoretical framework sees social cohesion as the product of two components, low levels of inequality and strong social relationships across groups and individuals in a society. This section considered the first component as we evaluated the peacebuilding role of investments in educational equity in South Africa. Specifically, we posited that investments in educational equity, if implemented successfully, would support social cohesion by strengthening relations between

groups and the state, and that a) improvements in actual and perceived equity in education and b) reduced group-based grievance against the government would signal positive change.

Regarding actual and perceived educational equity, we found that historically disadvantaged populations, including black and coloured populations, received substantial redress through a package of programs, including the teacher deployment policy, school funding norms, and school nutrition. This has resulted in reduced financial burden on poor families, more equitable distribution of the teacher cadre, and some indication of reduced absenteeism. However, the existence of fee-paying schools has led to a re-stratification of students along socioeconomic lines on top of race, while the gap between no-fee schools and fee-paying schools in the top quintile remains large.

Additionally, we found that the progress made in bringing up the bottom, and particularly the provision of meals through the school nutrition program, has translated into positive attitudes towards the government and recognition that the government is attempting to redress historical disparities in education. At the same time, some felt frustration towards the government and policies perceived as not going far enough to improve equity in part due to implementation challenges, such as ineffective teacher deployment or the (mis)classification of schools into quintiles. With the relatively small scope of this study, we cannot say whether these frustrations constitute grievance against the government or that they are stronger in some groups than others. Overall, our interviews suggested that educational resources are perceived as more fairly distributed now than in the past, and the government is credited with this achievement, but that much more remains to be done.

8   Emerging Effects of Investment into Strengthening Social Capital

In this section, we turn to the question of social relationships and examine whether recent policy changes have resulted in stronger social capital at schools, which we propose is essential to achieving social cohesion and reductions in violence in society. To explore these issues, we draw on quantitative data from EMIS systems, South African Reconciliation Barometer Reports, National School Violence Survey Reports, and on qualitative data from interviews and focus groups with parents, teachers, and school administrators in Limpopo and Western Cape and with national education officials.

Specifically, this section focuses on policies promoting racial integration, mother tongue education, and the post-apartheid history curriculum. Within our theoretical framework, these policies are conceptualized as *soft inputs* into social cohesion because they attempt to create a unified, inclusive South African identity and to promote interaction among students of different races. Using quantitative data, we examine whether student bodies are becoming more diverse, while our qualitative data provide a gauge of how policies that promote multiculturalism and diversity are adopted at the school and community level. We find that the history curriculum and mother tongue education advance multiculturalism and national unity, but that attempts by schools to strengthen social bonds is undermined by limited school integration that is largely a result of racially and ethnically homogenous residential areas.

8.1 School Integration: Creating Spaces for Social Interactions across Groups

Exposure to those of different backgrounds can help to promote an appreciation for diversity and to erode the divisive sense of "us" versus "them." Schools provide a physical site for students of diverse backgrounds to come together, and therefore, school integration policies can be seen as a way for the government to explicitly lay the foundation for social cohesion. Historically, South African schools were racially segregated; however, in post-apartheid South Africa students have legally been permitted to enroll in any school in the country, given there is space for them.

Box 2. A New School for the New South Africa

> *"We are a unique school in South Africa…We have our racial groups…represented in the right proportions. That's why I believe in the school so much. It's the first place that actually represents our communities."*

One challenge to integration is that schools retain reputations as formerly white schools or formerly black schools. Perceptions of school quality and resources follow these labels, shaping the ability of non-elite schools to attract more diverse student bodies and marking formerly black schools as the schools of last resort.

One school we visited is a newly founded no-fee school with a mandate to reflect the diversity of Western Cape. It does so by serving white, coloured, and black communities, providing transportation to students who live in communities far from the school grounds. The school's deliberate pursuit of an integrated student body is an attempt to build a school community that better reflects the ideal diversity of the Rainbow Nation. As one parent explained, *"I fully believe that the kids who come here have got a basis for far better things than going to any other school, because they actually get to deal with how South Africa is going to be for them in the future."* Because it is new, the school avoids the problem of apartheid school legacies that shape community perceptions of quality and resources, and the school has delivered respectable matric pass rates from students of all races.

Although the school still struggles to foster mingling between students of different backgrounds and with fundraising, it demonstrates the need to think creatively about how to promote interactions between students of diverse backgrounds at schools. The constraints of ethnically and racially homogenous communities necessitate bold solutions to school integration, and schools provide unique spaces to model positive engagement with others. The results of efforts to actively build integrated schools, at least in this particular school case, are promising.

Many interviewees emphasized the importance of this legal equality, stating that schools are open now – legal school segregation has ended and race is no longer an official barrier in access to top-performing schools, especially formerly white schools. This perception that legal barriers to integration have been removed is significant, and our interviewees overwhelmingly recognized that the government has laid the groundwork for integration even if things have changed little in practice.

Elite schools, usually ex-Model C schools, with their superior resource legacies and their strong funding bases, can maintain excellent resources that attract white and Indian students as well as coloured and black students. To address the economic barriers in entry to fee-paying schools, since 1998, the government has given a per-student allowance to fee-paying schools that enroll students who cannot pay school fees. Given the overlap of race and class, black students are more likely to

qualify for exemptions, suggesting that this allowance should promote racial integration in fee-paying schools.

Indeed, interviews suggested that the fee exemption policy, which exempts some students from paying fees at Quintile 4 and 5 schools, does facilitate integration, and that elite schools, particularly ex-Model C schools, are perceived as being more racially diverse (if not more economically diverse) than less resourced schools, which tend to serve a more homogenous local community. These elite schools can support students who qualify for exemptions, even though government subsidies for students receiving exemptions tend to be only a portion of what the school would collect in fees. Somewhat surprisingly, this means that even though these schools tend to be disproportionately white and Indian compared to the actual population in South Africa, ex-Model C schools likely reflect the diversity of the Rainbow Nation more than at less resourced schools.

Despite the important potential of integrated schools to promote social engagement between students of different backgrounds, respondents pointed to three factors that undermine greater integration: racially and ethnically homogenous residential areas, socioeconomic inequality, and racial discrimination. These issues reflect broader challenges of integration across South African society as illustrated in Figure 11 and Figure 12**Error! Reference source not found.**, which provide data from a recent survey, the South Africa Reconciliation Barometer. The data show that many still do not talk or socialize regularly outside their racial group, but that the percentage who do is slowly rising and this regular interaction is most common for white as well as Indian and Asian populations.

Figure 11. Percentage of South Africans (Age 15+) Who Talk and Socialize Across Racial Lines, 2003 and 2013
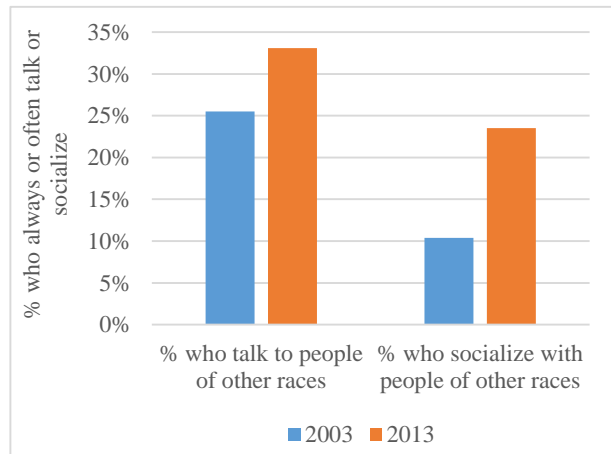
Figure 12. Percentage of South Africans (Age 15+) Who Talk and Socialize Outside Their Racial Group, 2013
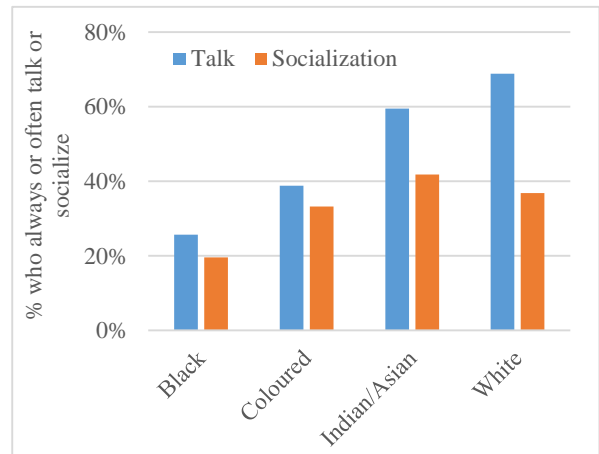
Source: 2013 Reconciliation Barometer Survey Report. NOTE: Graphs are on different scales.

8.1.1 Racially and Ethnically Homogenous Communities

Despite integration policies and the possibility of fee exemptions, respondents noted that schools remain largely homogenous places. Most commonly, our interviewees suggested lack of diversity within schools is a reflection of lack of diversity within communities, i.e. that tendency for racial and ethnic populations to be spatially concentrated undermines the potential for greater integration at schools.

Admissions to schools in South Africa are based on students' residences. Students can enroll in any school in their province but students within a five-kilometer radius must be given priority in admission. Additionally, because students can study in both English and Afrikaans, those attending an Afrikaans primary school must be given priority in an Afrikaans secondary school, and vice versa.

Because elite schools are typically in wealthier residential areas, the student base for these schools is also better off. Although, in principle, students can apply to attend such schools from outside the immediate geographic area, schools rarely have the space for all those who apply. This means that, in practice, very few students who would qualify for school fee exemptions are actually granted admission to elite schools. In addition, the level of exemption may be lower than the actual amount of fees collected by a school, which works as a disincentive for fee-paying schools to admit students qualifying for exemptions. Some students in that township area travel more than seven kilometers to get to a no-fee school, even though the elite school in the area was closer to the informal settlements they live in. However, because the elite school said it had no space for additional students, students were not able to gain exemptions to attend there.

Less resourced schools, whether they are no-fee schools or fee-paying schools, typically serve only their immediate communities. The persistence of racially and ethnically homogenous communities is partially a legacy of apartheid policies that created racially (and sometimes ethnically) distinct township communities and it has also been re-entrenched in some areas as a result of newly created government housing settlements for low-income families, meaning that schools tend to serve communities that are not very diverse. This is true particularly in more rural areas both in Western Cape and Limpopo and in the township areas surrounding towns and cities. These are the areas historically designated as black and coloured spaces under apartheid and that remain poorer neighborhoods in contemporary South Africa, failing to attract diverse populations with the occasional exception of international immigrants.

8.1.2 Socioeconomic Inequalities

Divisions in access to school are increasingly inscribed along socioeconomic lines that are, in part, reinforced by the no-fee school policy, as discussed earlier in this report (see Changing Perceptions of Quality). Wealthier black and coloured families from poorer communities may send their children to schools outside of their communities to more diverse schools when they can afford school fees, but less-resourced schools do not attract white or Indian students into the schools. In practice, this means that most Quintile 1 and Quintile 2 schools serve all black learners, and there is little potential for more diverse student bodies in these schools.

In fact, the South Africa Reconciliation Barometer, using its Living Standards Measure, reports that South Africans see class as the biggest division in society – 27.9% see class as the biggest division in society while only 14.6% see race as the biggest. Nonetheless, the extent to which race and class coincide in South Africa means that the socioeconomic separation of communities, along with legacies of housing segregation, undermines racial integration at schools.

To examine whether the no-fee school is having an impact on school integration, we analyzed EMIS data on the racial breakdown of students by their schools' wealth quintile (EMIS Unit/DBE, personal communication, March 26, 2015).[9] Figure 13 presents EMIS data on the percentage of

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[9] Although we would have liked to examine indicators of school composition, this data was not available.

students from each racial group enrolled in schools in each wealth quintile. It shows that although the distribution of students has not changed significantly over the past decade, there is a higher concentration of black and coloured students in the lowest three quintiles in 2013 than prior to the ANNSF. Black students are proportionally more likely to attend Quintile 1 and Quintile 2 schools than Quintile 3-5, and coloured students are more likely to attend Quintile 3 schools than Quintile 4 than they were prior to the implementation of the no-fee schools policy. In contrast, the proportion of white students attending Quintile 5 schools, already high in 2003 at nearly 82%, grew further by 2013, reaching 87%. By 2013, almost no white students attend schools in Quintile 1-3.

Figure 13. Distribution of Primary and Secondary School Enrollment, by Race, Year and School Wealth Quintile
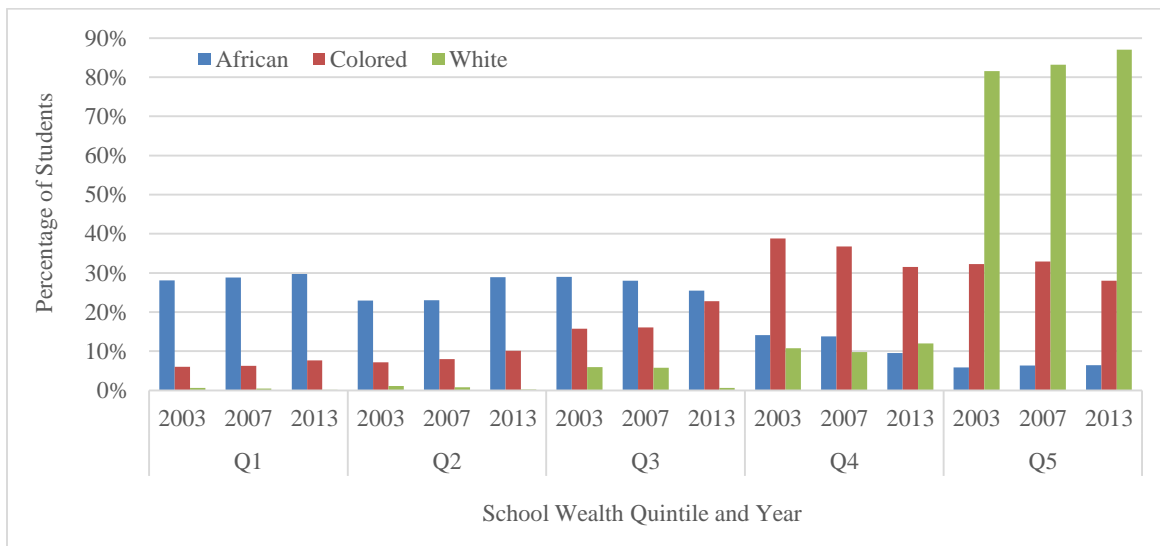
Data source: EMIS

Using these data in combination with self-reports on the levels of fees paid by students, it appears likely that in the wake of the no-fee schools policy, schools in Quintile 4 and Quintile 5 raised fees, thereby pushing less wealthy coloured students into Quintile 3 schools and ensuring that only a very small percentage of black students could afford to enroll in fee-paying schools. Even if the fees were raised purely in the name of higher quality, one clear outcome has been to reinforce the disparity between students of different racial groups.

8.1.3   Racial Discrimination

In urban areas, which tend to have more racial and ethnic diversity, we would expect more diversity in schools. And yet, where racially distinct communities often adjoin one another, we occasionally heard of active aversion to integration, sometimes perceived to be racially motivated. As formerly white schools diversified, white students fled to other schools:

> *"I don't want to appear racist but some Whites still have this mentality… They don't want to mix with Blacks and others. For example, School [X] was a Whites-only school, now it's 90% Blacks and Coloureds. You have to ask, where did all the White kids go?"*

Black teachers observed that many white parents left the public school system altogether or enrolled in ex-Model C schools in pursuit of lower pupil-teacher ratios and smaller class sizes.

This suggests that integration may be challenged not only by the legacies of housing segregation, but occasionally by resistance to diversity and the perception that the presence of historically marginalized groups, particularly black South Africans, indicates a diminished quality of education.

Additionally, we heard of perceived discrimination in the application process to elite schools. Because many students outside the five-kilometer radius want to attend ex-Model C schools, students must apply for admission to the school. This means that in practice, school management committees and school governing bodies have substantial control over who is accepted. In these cases, respondents felt that schools sometimes used language of instruction as an excuse to keep out poor or less-achieving students. While such allegations are difficult to verify, the perception of many black South Africans was that admission processes in historically white schools were more racially motivated. A teacher in Western Cape explains how she has applied for her children or some of the top learners from the township school to enroll in a formerly white school many times, but they were never accepted. She stated: *"That's what I'm always saying – it all goes back to race. I always feel that they are chasing away our kids in their schools, but they don't want to say it."* Another teacher added, *"They are depriving kids of their rights because they are black."*

In short, although South African education policy has opened schools and attempted to address disadvantage in school access – and many recognize this as important progress, the overlap of class, race, and racially divided housing undermines the efficacy of these policies.

8.2 Building the Rainbow Nation at Schools: Promoting National Unity and Celebrating Diversity

Schools in South Africa are important spaces for grappling with the divisive past, celebrating the country's multiculturalism, and forging a new sense of unified identity. Apartheid era values elevated white culture above black South African cultures and deliberately divided groups into racially and ethnically homogenous nations. In contrast, the post-apartheid educational framework attempts to build social capital by embodying the ideals of the Rainbow Nation in both celebrating South Africa's linguistic and ethnic diversity while also constructing a new united national identity.

In this section, we focus on how language education policies and a reformed history curriculum are used to promote a sense of a unified South African identity, including respect for diversity. Our interviews reveal that mother tongue language policies are seen as an important channel for building this respect for diversity, but that some fear that mother tongue education comes at the expense of quality education for black South African learners. Similarly, the history and social science curriculum is also seen as a way to promote social capital by encouraging students to think of themselves as South African, but that unintended consequences of teacher rationalization policies and an emphasis on math and science undermines rural schools' ability to offer a history stream at the secondary level.

8.2.1 Language Policies

Language of instruction policies have a history of being incendiary in South Africa: it was the proposed policy of teaching math and science in Afrikaans that sparked the 1976 Soweto riots. Because language is an important marker of identity, the use of multiple languages in the formal education system can be one way to promote respect for different ethno-linguistic groups. On the

other hand, the use of a single language can foster social cohesion and carry economic benefits (Brown, 2011), while instruction in multiple languages may deepen ethnic cleavages (Tilly, 1975). Related to educational quality, a substantial research base finds that mother tongue education facilitates reading development as reading skills build on oral language development, although research also suggests that good implementation is key to the effectiveness of these policies.

In the context of South Africa, Afrikaans is viewed as the dominant language of the white Afrikaner minority, while English is the lingua franca across the multiple ethnic groups forming the black race in the country. In the post-apartheid era, South Africa recognized eleven official languages and adopted a mother tongue policy that mandates mother tongue instruction in the foundation phase (Grades 1-3), switching to either English or Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in Grade 4. The 2013 South African Reconciliation Barometer survey finds that the majority of South Africans (59.2%) believe that their mother tongue receives the recognition it deserves (Wale, 2013). As we noted above, greater use of local languages in school instruction is articulated in the MTSF, with the policy calling for at least one African language to be part of the standard curriculum of every school.

Teachers we spoke with felt that mother tongue language policy was important because it promoted black South African culture: *"We are having different cultures. They [students] have to practice their culture. That's why we encourage [it]. They need to know their mother tongue."* In other words, the use of mother tongue in the early primary grades helps to promote the status of and appreciation for linguistic diversity, as was commonly expressed in interviews. Elevating the official status of black African languages is one way that schools can counter apartheid era policies that African languages are inferior to Afrikaans. This effort to raise the status of languages provides a foundation for social interactions that position participants of different backgrounds as equal and thus facilitate the strengthening of social capital in a society.

Nonetheless, perceptions of mother tongue education were complicated by its relationship to educational achievement and future opportunities. While new policies elevate the status of local languages and encourage diversity, teachers felt that the policies were not always in the best interests of black South African learners, who must then transition to English or Afrikaans in Grade 4. Without formal training or adequate support in the transition to English or Afrikaans, we often heard that many black students struggle, falling behind those learners who speak English and Afrikaans starting in Grade 1. This was particularly difficult in subjects like science, which rely heavily on terminology. As one teacher explained, *"a lot of learners…are Xhosa learners, so they have huge language barriers, so that becomes a problem the minute they step into another subject class, because they don't understand the terminology."*

Teachers reported that students ultimately "coped" with language challenges, but some suggested that the system would be more equitable if all students learned English from early grades: *"It is better to introduce English in Grade R [Kindergarten]. It is not easy for learners to catch up on language."* Quantitative research does not always substantiate the claim that mother tongue education in black South African languages limits learning in South Africa. [10] However, respondents were adamant that the transition to Grade 4 was very hard on students. South Africa has attempted to ease students' transition by introducing at least five hours of English instruction

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[10] Taylor and Coetzee (2013) find that, when other factors affecting school quality are controlled for, that mother tongue language instruction improves learning.

in primary schools, although teachers generally thought that more exposure to English at younger ages was needed.

Language as an entry barrier. As noted above, we found that language of instruction policies were sometimes used to restrict admissions to elite schools, thereby undermining the potential for social interactions between students of different backgrounds. Most black South Africans are taught in their mother tongue in the foundation phase and then transition to English, while many white and coloured students tend to study in Afrikaans, particularly in the Western Cape where white and coloured students are the demographic majority. As a result, requiring students to know Afrikaans is one way that schools can essentially exclude black students, justified in linguistic rather than racial terms.

Teachers in Western Cape described personal experiences of trying to enroll their own children and other top students from township schools in formerly all-white schools. They explained that the nearby school denied their children admission based on their inability to speak Afrikaans, stating that this was "one of the excuses" used to keep their students out of formerly all-white schools. Similarly, in Limpopo, we visited an ex-Model C school that was the only Afrikaans-medium school in the area. Although the school also offered an English stream, they explained that they had to accept all Afrikaans-medium learners from the area – regardless of where the learner lived – because it was the only Afrikaans-speaking secondary school in the district. Because Afrikaans tends to be spoken by white and coloured South Africans, Afrikaans language instruction inherently leads to the admission of proportionately higher numbers of white and coloured students than black students.

In short, South Africa's commitment to linguistic diversity and mother tongue education are all to be commended as promoting diversity and respect for the country's multiculturalism. However, because linguistic differences are linked to racial and ethnic differences, they can be used to divide or exclude some students. Moreover, even well-intended policies such as mother tongue policies, may create unintended consequences that undermine students' learning.

8.2.2   History Curriculum

> *"The Department is sort of disregarding it [social science and history] and elevating math and science. But to build cohesion [social science and history] needs to be introduced [more at the secondary level]."*

Education plays a role in constructing identity, and history and social studies in particular, help teach students who they are and how to think of the nation and their role in it. History curricula in South Africa since apartheid are designed to promote the idea of South Africa as the Rainbow Nation, teaching students to see themselves as South African while valuing the rich diversity of different groups.

Some teachers articulated the role that they see for education in facilitating social cohesion: *"If we get education to say 'we are one race, one people,' if that understanding can be put into our hearts then I think there will be no problems."* Yet, in Limpopo province, some schools mentioned that history education suffers in small, rural schools with shrinking enrollments. These schools explained that this is the result of teacher deployment policies that force schools to remove teaching posts as enrollment shrinks. This hurts history education in secondary schools because it is often history teachers who are cut from the teaching ranks. Teachers felt that this happens because schools prioritize math and science education over history, in keeping with a national

emphasis on boosting math and science results. One teacher explained that when schools are faced with reallocations:

> *"You'll find that the teacher who is in excess, the teacher who is redundant at a school is the history teacher. So they better discard this teacher and the subject itself and so promote science, math, and business studies…and this also brings the lack of social cohesion. You'll find it difficult to come to the level where we regard ourselves – regard each other – as fellow brothers and sisters."*

Another secondary school said that a history teaching position had been cut, because students were not choosing history classes, and that as a result, there was not enough enrollment in history classes in grades 10, 11, and 12 to defend maintaining a history teacher for those grades: *"The school only has geography, not history."* They used to offer history but *"phased it out after realizing that learners were not taking it."* In sum, comments about the history curriculum suggested it was important, but that its ability to build allegiance to an inclusive national identity through an understanding of the past was undermined by other goals, including emphasis on math and science and equity in teacher deployment.

8.2.3   South Africans' Primary Identification

> *Interviewer: Is this really a Rainbow Nation? Do you feel South African, and belonging to the same country as the Whites and the Coloureds and the Indians?*
>
> *Teacher: "Yeah, I do, man! What else can I be? I do, and I'm proud. We just have to work hard to improve this country. As far as the Rainbow Nation goes – actually it was Desmond Tutu who said that, we are – we have white, and black, and coloured, and Indian. But I don't know if you put that mix in the pot, whether it comes out, uh… edible… or… nice to swallow, you know. Because even between us Blacks, we have this mentality of 'no you are a Zulu, I'm a Xhosa, and so maybe at some point I am better than you'…So it's much worse when you come with a different race."*

Even as a united South African identity is promoted, many students live in homogenous communities, especially in rural areas. Particularly when they are young, teachers felt students may not have a reference for what it means to be South African, seeing themselves instead as a member of their ethnic group. This is because when students do not encounter diversity at schools or in their communities, it may be difficult for them to see themselves as part of a group larger than their ethnic group. As one teacher explained, *"[students] do identify with their culture and tribe… but it's difficult to gauge, you know, because here they are mostly Xhosa."* Some interviewees elaborated further, suggesting that South African society remains segregated: *"The difference is that in the apartheid era the segregation was official, now it is unofficial."* This persistent residential separation undermines the development of healthy social capital.

At one school, black South African teachers in Western Cape pointed to lingering racial divisions among teachers, specifically reporting rifts between Xhosa teachers and Afrikaner teachers at provincial teaching workshops. The Xhosa teachers felt that discussions at the workshops should be conducted in English, which was the language Xhosa and Afrikaans teachers had in common. Yet Afrikaner teachers used Afrikaans, excluding Xhosa teachers from discussions and important training information. These teachers' frustrations suggest that, while many felt that there were no

tensions between groups, at least some perceive that group tensions persist in South African society.

Figure 14. Primary Source of Identification among South Africans (Age 15+)
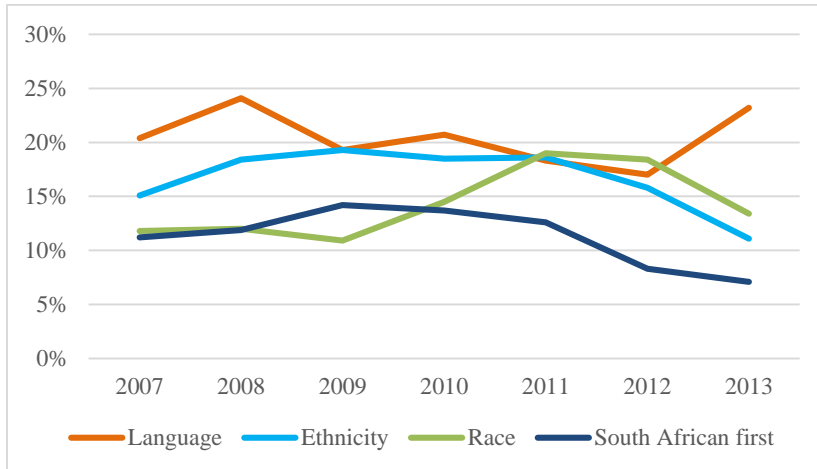
Data source: 2012 Reconciliation Barometer Report

One indication of the nature of group relations is whether identification lies mainly with the South African nation or with a specific identity group. As presented in Figure 14, in 2013 only 7.1% of South Africans ages 15 and older felt that they identified first as South African according to a recent South African Reconciliation Barometer survey. This is the lowest percentage since 2007, suggesting that national identity may be struggling to gain or maintain traction, at least as the primary identity that people cite. Instead, language has consistently been the strongest source of primary identification. In 2013, 23.2% of South Africans identified first with their language group followed by 13.4% who stated that they identified first by their race.

When asked whether these patterns of identification are different for youth, many of our respondents felt that, especially at the secondary level, students *did* see themselves as South African, now more than in the past – however, short of youth interviews we were unable to verify whether this was the case. However, the 2012 Reconciliation Barometer survey paints a different picture in its comparison of youth responses about primary identification to those of adults, as presented in Figure 15. The survey results suggest that youth of all races, except Indians and Asians, are *less likely* than adults to identify first as South African. This suggests that youth are not necessarily more inclined to identify first as South African, contrary to what we heard at schools. It may be that the wide definition of youth used in the survey (ages 15-34) is too broad to capture recent changes in youth identification, or – as identities are multiple – that youth identify as South African but that it is not their first identification. In a society that remains relatively racially and ethnically separated and where schools and society face challenges with integration, it is not necessarily surprising that primary identification reflects the immediate community.

In sum, the available statistics and our teacher interviews indicate that substantial space still remains for South Africa to foster a unified national identity. A deeper analysis into youth perceptions may be needed to understand whether there is a generational difference on this issue. At the general level, it appears that the percentage of those identifying first as South African is less than 14% in all racial groups, and remains lower than those who identify first with their racial,

ethnic and linguistic identity. Recognizing this challenge, the Government has established nation-building as its key priority (Republic of South Africa, 2014), and the shaping of a common cultural narrative is one of the goals of the National Strategy on Social Cohesion (DAC, 2012). In our next section, we discuss some of the efforts that have been aimed at building social capital through schooling.

Figure 15. Percentage of Youth (Ages 15-34) and Adult (Ages 35+) Respondents who Identify First as South African
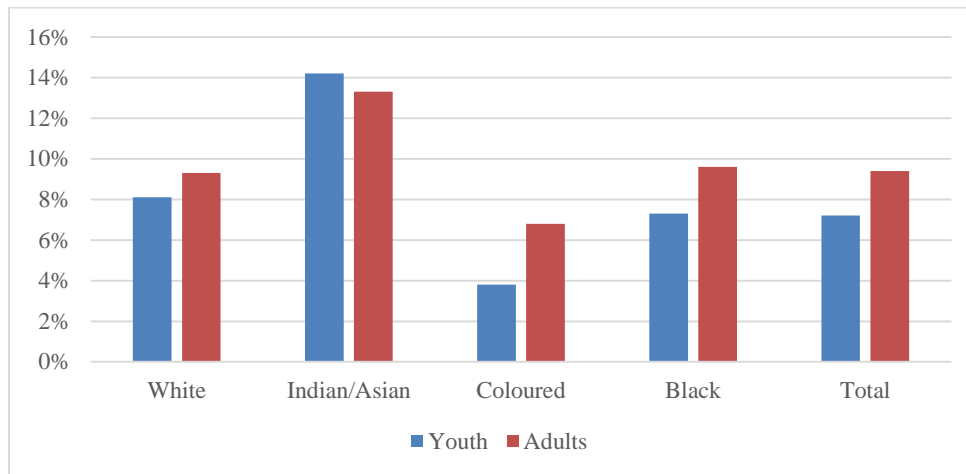
Data source: 2012 Reconciliation Barometer Report

8.3 Summing Up: Strengthening Social Capital at Schools

In our theoretical framework, we identity two dimensions of social cohesion, low levels of disparity and broad social capital. In this section, we considered the peacebuilding role of education in targeting the latter dimension, and we investigated whether policies that promote integration, diversity, and an inclusive national identity at schools (soft inputs) have improved social relations. Earlier, we hypothesized that efforts to improve social capital at schools, if implemented successfully, would support social cohesion by strengthening relationships and bonds between groups. Specifically, we expected improvements in social capital would be indicated by a) greater interaction between students of different backgrounds, b) positive interactions between students of different backgrounds, and c) a role for schools in spreading the idea of an inclusive national identity.

While history and social studies curricula and mother tongue education support the Rainbow Nation values of multiculturalism and national unity in principle, we found that history instruction is not always a priority in situations of scarce human and material resources at schools, and that language issues often invoke past social tensions. Moreover, the attempt of schools to facilitate positive social relations between students from diverse backgrounds is undermined by limited school integration that is largely a result of the racial and ethnic homogeneity of surrounding communities. Without greater racial and ethnic interactions, attempts to build strong social relations across groups will continue be challenged.

9 An Absence of Social Cohesion – Violence and Conflict in Schools

"How can a child work if he is scared?"

The larger focus of this study is the relationship between equity, social capital, and social cohesion. In this section, we look at social cohesion *as an outcome* using violence in South African schools and the communities around them as an indicator of *a lack* of social cohesion. In the past, violence in South Africa was directed at, or perpetuated by, the apartheid state, and tended to affect black South Africans disproportionately. Even in the post-apartheid era, South Africa is one of the most violent countries in the world, and schools often experience the effects of this violence. Scholarship often sees violence, whether crime or violent protest, as theoretically rooted in failures of social cohesion. We recognize that violence affects communities differently and has myriad root causes. To better understand the sources of violence in South African schools and communities, we spoke with teachers and administrators about the nature of violence in their schools and communities and the factors shaping this violence. In particular, we were interested in whether the nature of violence in South Africa is exacerbated by racial or ethnic tensions, as is the case in some parts of the world.

We find that for the most part, problems with violence and a lack of social cohesion in schools and communities do not have their roots in divisions between groups. Nonetheless, our interviewees suggested that violence seems to affect communities differently, with urban schools suffering from much higher rates of violence, and schools in Western Cape reporting that coloured students were more likely to be involved in violence. The widespread perception among those interviewed was that the source of the outbreaks has changed in the past twenty years, and is often – although not always – rooted in poverty and socioeconomic inequality, rather than racial or ethnic divisions.

9.1   Patterns of School Violence

We began by examining existing data on violence and crime in and around schools. The 2012 National School Violence Survey reports that 22.2% of secondary students have encountered violence at school at some point between August 2011 and August 2012. Moreover, the survey found that levels of violence have hardly changed since 2008, when the same proportion of students reported experiencing violence. The survey found that school violence was more common in urban and metropolitan areas than rural areas. Western Cape (18.5%) followed by Limpopo (15.9%) were the provinces with the highest percentages of students who had experienced a threat of violence. Although in both of those provinces, the percentage of students reporting violent threats has declined, other types of violence, including assault, sexual assault, and robbery increased. In Western Cape, theft rose markedly from 28.9% to 42.2% between 2008 and 2012 among students whereas theft dropped in Limpopo from 37.8% in 2008 to 34.5% in 2012 (Burton & Leoschut, 2013).

In our interviews in Western Cape, many teachers expressed frustration and fear at the violence and discipline issues experienced in schools. In many schools in the province, the level of frustration felt by teachers was palpable as they pleaded with the interviewers to pass on their concerns to higher authorities. One principal in an urban area shared: *"This is really a very unsafe place to teach. Even the security guys don't want to interfere with them, because they fear for their lives. This is a really unsafe place. This is a red zone."* Violence even penetrated primary schools, as teachers at one school in Western Cape explained:

> (Teacher 1) "[Now there is] violence to the extreme…it's not just hitting somebody else. It's really like…" (Teacher 2) "picking up a brick and throwing it at somebody else."

In Limpopo, however, violence reported by the schools we visited was limited and schools suffered more from nonviolent crime, specifically burglary. In both Western Cape and Limpopo, schools emphasized that violence or, in the absence of violent behavior, tensions between students were not rooted in racial or ethnic tensions. In Western Cape, where racial diversity is more pronounced than in Limpopo, one school explained that *"we have very little color-against-color conflict / cross-cultural conflict [at the school]."* In Limpopo, in which the population is nearly entirely black but there is ethnic diversity, schools typically explained that students of different ethnic backgrounds got along. As one school offered, *"the school has got tensions with children but not really because of background of learners [or their] languages. Just normal children [or] adolescents having differences, but not mainly on their ethnic backgrounds."* It is important to note, however, that many of the schools that we visited, especially in rural areas and more disadvantaged schools, were fairly homogenous, so students of different backgrounds and social class do not necessarily encounter one another, and hence opportunities for inter-racial or inter-class conflict are limited.

Figure 16. Percent of Secondary School Students Experiencing Violence at School in 2012
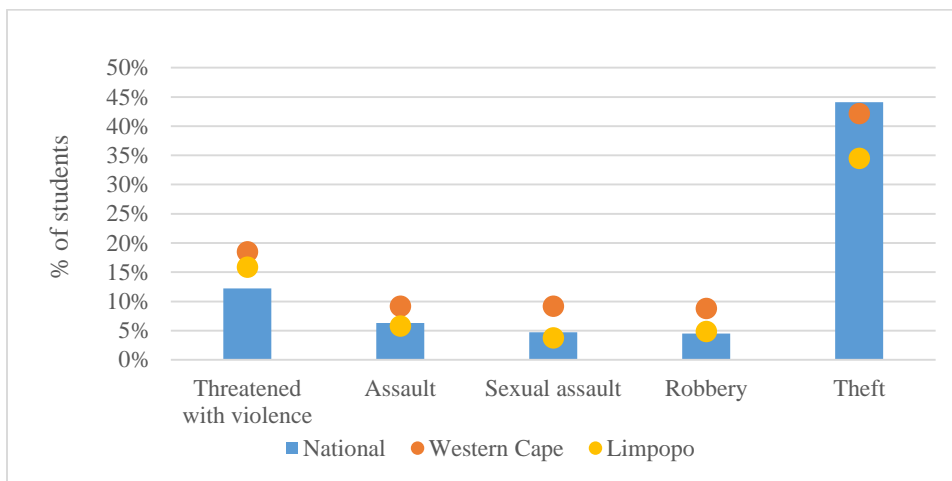
Source: Burton and Leoschut (2013) School violence in South Africa: Results of the 2012 National School Violence Study

Where schools mentioned that racial or ethnic tensions occasionally arise, some noted the particular role that schools play in modeling the Rainbow Nation. Schools mentioned that they do not tolerate racism or ethnic intolerance. At the same time, in the Western Cape, schools with more diverse student bodies offered that that violent behavior in the community and in the school was largely coming from the coloured population, due to their involvement in gangs and that community norms and cohesion had degraded more severely in coloured communities. According to the National School Violence Survey, rates of victimization at schools vary by race: Indian learners (31.8%) most commonly experienced school violence followed by coloured (26.3) then black learners (22%). White learners were the least likely to be victims of school violence (15.9% of secondary school students). This suggests that, while the violence may not be racially or ethnically motivated, that it may involve and affect groups differently.

9.2   The Changing Roots of Violence

> *"...Unemployment is increasing, crime is increasing, poverty and all that stuff.*
> *But we are celebrating twenty years of democracy. To an extent that has*

> *something to do with the imbalances that were created [during apartheid], but at least the government needs to play a major role in changing that."*

Teachers see the roots of discipline, burglary, and crime as largely stemming from issues related to poverty and social problems, including drugs, young parenthood, and orphanhood. For example, we heard that many problems stem from poor and unstable home conditions:

> *"Because of [low] socioeconomic levels and because of all the people living in close proximity to one another, we [have] many problems in the community and they bring it to school….We struggle with bullying. We struggle with learner violence. We struggle with bad language. We struggle with back-chatting to the teachers."*

Additionally, teachers point out that many students come from homes where they themselves had been hurt or abused. One teacher in Western Cape explained:

> *"You know the sad thing about those learners? They are molested at home so now they come to school and hurt the other children, because, if I'm hurt, I'm going to hurt someone else. That's what happens to most of them. They come with their baggage and they don't know how to cope with it."*

Many cited informal settlements and new government housing developments as particular breeding grounds for violence. Respondents explained that new settlements do inspire tensions but ones that draw lines not between racial or ethnic groups but rather between new and old residents, particularly where unemployment leads to competition, as explained by a [teacher] in Western Cape:

> *Teacher 1: [Work opportunities being taken by new-comers] "creates conflict between adults…it's not in the school but it's outside the school." Teacher 2: "If it's an issue in the community, it eventually ends up in school, because if children observe that type of conflict at home, and they hear what their parents say, tomorrow they are going to say it to the other child…and that's where the conflict starts in schools also."*

Survey evidence supports this link between community and school violence. Students who experienced violence were more likely to say that there was crime in their neighborhood: 60.5% of learners who experienced school violence noted this whereas 46.5% of those who had not experienced school violence said they came from communities with crime (Burton & Leoschut, 2013).

More generally, many educators pointed to a cultural shift away from responsibility and social respect, some suggesting that this was rooted in a dependency on social grants and a lack of self-reliance. Some veteran educators suggested that students at both the primary and secondary school level no longer come to school showing respect for teachers or fellow learners.

In short, we find that most schools do report problems with social cohesion and that some group tensions remain. However, most people we spoke with did not feel that tensions between racial or ethnic groups explained the violence around them. Given that violence destabilizes educational delivery and students' and teachers' sense of safety and wellbeing, South Africa has introduced

measures to make schools safer environments though the ability of a school to effectively provide security depends largely on school resources, as discussed below.

9.3   Policy Solutions to Stop Violence

> *"While you are waiting for a [violent] child's parents to respond [about discipline problems], that child is still in your class. That child poses a threat to other learners' safety and the teachers' safety. There's nothing you can do…You have to follow a system, but I'm telling you the system is failing."*

In Western Cape, where problems of school violence were perceived to be significantly worse than in the Limpopo schools that we visited, some educators felt defeated by the extent of violence and behavioral issues that they face. One teacher articulated a sense of helplessness and that support was inadequate:

> *Regarding government support for the discipline issues that teachers face, "we're talking to the ceiling. No one is hearing us…. How long before 90% of us [teachers] will be burnt out, in hospitals, in psychiatric hospitals? It's true. It degrades you as a teacher. It takes your pride."*

At the same time, other schools felt that things were improving. One Limpopo principal said, *"I think we are winning the battle on violence in the school."* One effort that was lauded as an effective way of reducing violence at schools was the Safe Schools Program, which provided a one-time grant of resources to help build up school security and develops a process for continuing support that helps strengthen the relationships between schools and the local police. The program is part of the Safety in Education Partnership between the DBE and the South African Police Department, and involves the creation of Safe School Committee and the establishment of early warning systems that help identify potentially destructive behavior. While the program is intended as a nationwide approach, however, only some of the schools we visited reported having benefited from it.

Respondents felt that safer schools had been able to mobilize resources from school budgets or fundraising to equip the school with a fence, security cameras, or a night watch. Even class sizes play an important role in a school's ability to maintain a safe environment, as one parent explained regarding discipline issues: *"The only difference is [my school] has got 40 students per class while the other school has got 20. It's a major, major disciplinary difference as such."* Schools unable to acquire resources felt less safe and, though such schools often served populations that schools described as disadvantaged or improvised, both fee-paying schools and no-fee schools struggled to mitigate school violence. Not all no-fee schools faced resource constraints in this area, however. One school in Limpopo that had been newly renovated had a government-provided security systems while other no-fee schools in Western Cape and Limpopo had donations or funds from fundraising to use to build safer schools.

Ensuring proper investment in school safety and security is essential. As schools can expand notions of identity and help create environments of tolerance, they also have the ability to teach and model peaceful communities, since cultures of non-violence in schools help to stem violence in communities (UN, 2012). Addressing the physical safety of teachers and students is the essential fundamental step to ensuring that schools are spaces in which real learning and the formation of a peaceful and equitable society can begin to take shape.

9.4 Summing Up: Is Social Cohesion Modeled in South African Schools?

This section looked at the state of social cohesion as indicated by the persistence of violence in South African schools. In our theoretical framework we proposed that effective investments in equity and social capital will lead to social cohesion and minimal violence. Moreover, if schools are instruments of peacebuilding, we should see social cohesion modeled first and foremost in and around schools. We approached these issues by examining the extent to which violence is present in and around schools and the extent to which violence occurs along group lines.

Overall, we find that most schools experience problems with social cohesion and, particularly in Western Cape, with issues of outright violence. While some reported that group tensions are a problem, most people we spoke with did not feel that tensions between racial or ethnic groups explained the violence around them.

Our earlier findings discuss persistent challenges to educational equity and improved social relations at schools even in the face of modest progress in these areas. Though we do not claim a direct link between these challenges and the violence experienced in and around schools, social cohesion is clearly strained in South Africa. Continued investments in the foundations of cohesion – equality and social capital – along with direct efforts to create safe school environments may help improve cohesion in the future.

10 Conclusion

This case study has explored the role of education in peacebuilding in South Africa, examining the educational policies and practices that seek to improve social cohesion through investments in equity and social capital at schools. In considering the effectiveness of inputs on strengthening social cohesion, our framework distinguishes hard educational inputs (like improvements in school infrastructure, teacher deployment, and school fees) from soft inputs (like school integration, the history curriculum, and mother tongue education policies). Our analysis employs quantitative analysis of GHS, EMIS data, and other available survey reports and qualitative interviews with national government officials in Pretoria and with schools, teachers, and parents in Western Cape and Limpopo.

In our analysis of hard inputs that target equity, we find that the pro-equity policies pursued by South Africa in the wake of apartheid have brought up the most disadvantaged by guaranteeing a significant resource base to all schools, regardless of the local community's ability to pay. However, the effect of hard inputs on equity is less clear – there are still substantial inequalities in funding in South Africa, and the implementation of the policy is doing little to address the historically unequal resource legacies and mobilization. In short, the no-fee school policy, while doing much to provide resources to needy schools and communities may not be so effective in addressing equity itself, largely due to the entrenched differences in schools' resource legacies and ability to mobilize local resources.

In terms of soft inputs that aim to build social capital across society, we find that history and social studies curricula and mother tongue education support Rainbow Nation values of multiculturalism and national unity, but that the attempt of schools to build social cohesion is undermined by limited school integration that is largely a result of de facto housing segregation. Without greater racial

and ethnic interaction and integration, attempts to build a national identity and hence, social cohesion will continue to face challenges.

At the same time, shifts in the legal framework that make integration a possibility, if not a reality, and that have sought to improve educational funding seem to have helped reframe discussions of inequality, social capital, social cohesion, and violence. In general, interviewees recognized the roots of social cohesion challenges and violence in poverty and most – though not all – felt that racial or ethnic tensions between groups were not the source of these problems. Of course, the strong overlap between group divisions, poverty, and socioeconomic inequality complicate this story. Investments in education have made it clear that the government recognizes educational inequality and group relations as a problem, while the realities of sustainable peace and long-term social cohesion are slower to come.

11 Recommendations

The study has generated a number of recommendations to improve equity and social cohesion:

1. *Promote school safety, addressing physical concerns as well as underlying challenges in social cohesion.* School safety and the prevention of physical violence on and around school grounds should be a priority for the DBE, provincial departments, and national and international organizations working in the field of education in South Africa. Because groups and communities are affected by violence differently, and some groups are particularly susceptible to destructive levels of violence, *safety is an essential element of equity in education in the country*. Safe schools model safe societies, and therefore, responsible parties must ensure that all schools have adequate security, including quality fencing and a night watch, and continue to have curricular and program interventions that help promote peace and cohesion.

2. *Revise the approach to no-fee school designation.* The DBE and provincial departments of education have long recognized the imperfections of the quintile system for the no-fee school designation. Where community quintile designations do not reflect reality, schools that have been designated fee-paying schools appear to be at the greatest disadvantage in comparison with no-fee schools and schools in wealthier communities. A more streamlined process for allowing schools to obtain no-fee status, and taking into account student body composition are needed. Options to be considered include: easing the process by which schools can voluntarily opt in to no-fee status, or allowing schools to be classified as no-fee schools based on the percentage of their students coming from homes receiving social grants. Internationally, however, it is a recommended norm that primary public education be free and open to all.

3. *Promote greater integration at (and through) schools.* Twenty-one years after the end of apartheid, most schools remain highly homogeneous in their student composition, largely as a result of historical residential patterns. The influence of residential homogeneity may be reduced through better transportation options to schools, as well as deliberate initiatives, such as extracurricular activities. These activities could include athletics, as proposed in the MTSF, as well as arts or music, with the goal of bringing multiple communities together, to promote greater intercultural exchange and social interaction.

4. ***Prevent discrimination on the basis of language.*** Where students begin their education in an African mother tongue, ensure that substantial support and instruction is provided for their transition to official language mediums-of-instruction in later grades. Students should not be academically disadvantaged later in their educational careers because they participated in mother tongue instruction in African languages in early grades. Further, accommodation must be made to ensure students have the opportunity to access good quality education within the 5 km catchment area for their residence, and preventing discrimination in admission based on language. Where demand for another language is high, dual language programs should be considered as ways of integrating non-majority language speakers.

5. ***Greater funding to social cohesion programs***. Despite the prominence of social cohesion in the government's strategic priorities, and a number of promising pilots launched by the DBE, most programs and initiatives, including teacher training efforts are, according to our interviews, funded at a very minimal level or not funded at all (issued instead as unfunded mandates). This limits the space that schools can play in fostering social cohesion and serving as the agents of peacebuilding in their communities. The government and its national and international partners should consider opportunities for building on existing efforts and scale up promising initiatives.

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13 Appendix A. Province, district and participant selection

13.1 Selection of Provinces and Districts

We selected two provinces for focused analysis based on the principle of maximizing diversity of experiences with the NFS policy and with community violence: Limpopo, and Western Cape. Western Cape and Limpopo offered significant regional and demographic variation – these two provinces also represent among the wealthiest (i.e., Western Cape) and poorest provinces (i.e., Limpopo) in the country, as well as one of the most racially homogenous (i.e., Limpopo) provinces and the only province that is a majority minority province (i.e., Western Cape).

Table 8. Overview of Provinces in South Africa

Province	Population (2011)	GDP per capita (USD)	Enrollment in NFS (%)	Racial Breakdown (% population)			
				African	Coloured	Indian/ Asian	White
Eastern Cape	6,743,800	3,651	92.9	88.8	6.2	0.4	4.6
Free State	2,824,500	6,213	80.9	89.5	3.1	0.3	7.1
Gauteng	11,191,700	9,681	61.9	83.7	3.2	2.2	10.9
KwaZulu-Natal	10,645,400	4,767	71.8	86	1.2	9.4	3.4
Limpopo	5,439,600	4,259	96.2	98.7	0.1	0.2	1.0
Mpumalanga	3,617,600	6,251	89.3	95.1	1.0	0.4	3.4
North West	3,200,900	6,677	68.1	93	2.2	0.2	4.5
Northern Cape	1,103,900	6,688	93.1	55.7	38.3	0.1	5.9
Western Cape	5,223,900	8,694	39.5	25.6	60.3	0.4	13.7
Total	49,991,300	6,426	77.6	81	10.9	2.2	6.0

Data source: GHS 2013

Limpopo is the northernmost province in South Africa. Although the province is overwhelmingly black South African (97.3%), there region also has significant ethnic diversity, with a number of groups including the Northern Sothi (52% of black South Africans), Tsonga (17.0%) and the Venda (16.7%). Limpopo is also considered one of the poorest provinces in South Africa, as it has the highest level of poverty in the country – with 78.9% living below the national poverty line. Table 9**Error! Reference source not found.** shows the quintile breakdown of schools in Limpopo by the districts we visited.

Western Cape is home to South Africa's second largest city – Cape Town, and has the highest GDP per capita of any province. Western Cape is a racially diverse province, where coloured South Africans are the largest racial group and is also home to a significant number of white South Africans. In addition to the public system, roughly 9% of students are also in private schools. Additionally, Western Cape province has the lowest number of schools and students benefitting from the NSF policy, where only 39.5% of students are enrolled in no-fee schools. There are eight districts in Western Cape, of which we selected three for fieldwork. We included both a rural district and two in the greater Cape Town area, aiming for linguistic and racial diversity in the selected districts. Table 9 shows the quintile breakdown of schools in Western Cape for the districts we visited.

Table 9. Quintile Breakdown of Schools in Limpopo and Western Cape, 2013

Province	District	% Q1 and Q2	% Q3 and Q4	% Q5	Total Schools
Limpopo	Capricorn	72.01	25.82	1.96	918
	Waterberg	80.27	13.68	6.05	446

Western Cape	Metro East	26.76	28.17	44.37	142
	Metro Central	0.95	49.29	49.29	211
	Overberg	47.57	36.59	15.85	82

Data source: Snap Survey of Ordinary Schools

The two provinces also ranked among the highest in terms of the levels of violence experienced by learners, according to a recent survey (Burton & Leoschut, 2013). Western Cape (18.5%) followed by Limpopo (15.9%) were the provinces with the highest percentages of students who had experienced a threat of violence.

National Wealth Quintile: We worked with the Department of Basic Education (DBE) to sample schools purposefully from schools from all five wealth quintiles, while also prioritizing those in lower three quintiles, which benefited directly from the NFS policy. Table 10 shows the breakdown of schools visited by wealth quintile; in total, we visited 16 schools classified as no-fee schools and three that are not.

Table 10. Selected Schools by Wealth Quintile

School Quintile	# Schools
Quintile 1	5
Quintile 2	6
Quintile 3	5
Quintile 4	1
Quintile 5	2

Table 11. Interviews by Stakeholder Group

Stakeholder Group	# Interviews
Department of Basic Education and Treasury	10
Teachers	54
School administrators	24
Parents	20

13.2 Participant Selection

We interviewed key stakeholder groups to assess their perceptions of how the NFS policy has affected educational quality and inequality. The key stakeholder groups were education officials, teachers, and parents. Interview and focus group questions asked about teachers and schools' backgrounds, the student bodies at their school, general opinions on the no-fee school policy and issues of violence at the school. As shown in Table 11 we interviewed 54 teachers, 20 school administrators and 24 parents, drawn from 19 schools in five districts.[11]

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[11] All interview and focus groups followed IRB guidelines; interview protocols are provided in Appendix B.

14 Appendix B. Interview Protocols

14.1 Interview guide: Public official – National and Provincial

14.1.1 Background

1. We begin with a brief contextual background.
   a. What is your current position and role in your agency?
   b. How long have you been in this position?
   c. Have you held other government positions? If so, where and what were they?
   d. Have you worked in other districts of [REGION], or regions of [COUNTRY]?
2. Personal background.
   a. Are you originally from this region?
   b. What language (-s) do you speak at home?
3. Let's talk about the big picture – education in South Africa as a whole.
   a. How would you assess the challenges still facing the education sector in South Africa?
   b. Would you say that these needs are uniform or consistent across the country, or diverse? If so, how diverse?
      i. In your opinion, what are the most disadvantaged groups in South Africa, with respect to education and life opportunities? Why is it so?
4. What are the policy priorities for the national government in the education sector? [*If appropriate:* How would you define equity in education?]
   a. Would you add or remove anything on the list of national priorities, thinking of the needs of your district?

14.1.2 No-fee school policy

5. How has the NFS policy been implemented in PEDs and schools?
6. What have been major successes/obstacles to implementation?
7. How has the NFS policy changed since its inception? Why were these changes made?
8. Who were the different actors pushing for change? What factors affected changes?
9. Why has the newest plan moved away from the quintiles? Why was that change made?
10. What other pro-equity/pro-poor policies are coupled with NFS? Is NFS policy viewed as part of a larger package of pro-equity policies?
    a. What factors shaped the design of the No-fee school policy?
    b. How has the NFS policy been implemented in PEDs and schools?
    c. What have been major successes/obstacles to implementation?
    d. What have been the effects of the NFS policy on equity?
    e. What have been its effects on equity?
    f. In terms of access?
    g. In terms of educational quality?
    h. What have been its effects on communities?
    i. [Address the big shift away from quintiles to essentially only two groups, and whether that policy is in effect]

14.1.3 Policy Design/Roll-Out

    j. How has the NFS policy changed since its inception? Why were these changes made?
    k. Who were the different actors pushing for change? What factors affected changes?
    l. Why has the newest plan moved away from the quintiles? Why was that change made?
    m. What other pro-equity/pro-poor policies are coupled with NFS? Is NFS policy viewed as part of a larger package of pro-equity policies?
    n. What have been the main challenges in the implementation of the education policies across the country?
11. Do you think that the intent of the policies is: fully achieved, mostly achieved, partially achieved, or not achieved? Why or why not?

Thank you for your time. Please feel free to ask us any questions. If you wish to get in touch with us after this meeting, we can be reached at: [PROVIDE CONTACT INFO].

14.2 Interview guide: Public official – District

14.2.1 Background

1. We begin with a brief contextual background.
   a. What is your current position and role in your agency?
   b. How long have you been in this position?
2. How would you describe your district in a few words?
   a. In terms of the student body it serves, its diversity and past experiences
   b. Its teachers and principals
   c. Parents and community leaders
   d. Successes and challenges
3. How would you assess the status of the education sector in your district at this time?
   a. Does your district have specific targets for education, and if so, how would you assess progress towards them?
   b. Do you think your district is more <u>advantaged</u> or more <u>disadvantaged</u> relative other districts in [REGION]? Why do you think it is so?
4. Are these challenges different or similar, in your opinion, in comparison with the challenges facing the country as a whole?
5. How would you say that people in your community, teachers and students are likely to describe themselves: as belonging to their tribe first, or as a [South African] first? Which identity is closer to them? Why do you think that is?
   a. Can you describe some of the important developments in your district over the past ten years?
      i. Developments in education?
      ii. Developments in the community as a whole?
6. What would you say are the biggest challenges facing teachers in your district on a daily basis?
   a. Do you think teachers are equipped to address these challenges? What do you think they are lacking?
   b. Is diversity in a classroom a benefit or a challenge of a school, in your opinion? How are schools in your district dealing with diversity at this time? What would you say is working/ not working?
   c. What role do you think communities play in addressing or magnifying these challenges? What role do you think they *should* play?

Thank you for your time. Please feel free to ask us any questions. If you wish to get in touch with us after this meeting, we can be reached at: [PROVIDE CONTACT INFO].

14.4 Interview guide: School Administrator

14.4.1 Overview

1. How would you describe your school in a few words?
    a. In terms of the student body it serves, its diversity and past experiences
    b. Its teachers and principals
    c. Parents and community leaders
    d. Successes and challenges
2. Are these challenges different or similar, in your opinion, in comparison with the challenges facing other schools in the district?

14.4.2 No-Fee School Status

3. Is this/when did this school become a no-fee school?
4. Do students pay fees of any kind? What types of expenses do parents still need to contribute for their students' education?
5. Are there any mechanisms by which families can contribute to the school financially?
6. How much did the school charge in fees before the implementation of the NSF policy?
7. Is the allocated amount enough? Does it cover the amount raised in fees before? More/less?
8. How much did parents pay for their students before? When did the policy go into effect?
9. **How has the policy been implemented at the school level?**
    a. What types of training did school administrators receive for the implementation of NFS policy?
    b. What are the implementation and management challenges of the policy at the school level?
    c. How are the schools managing the paper budgets? Do they raise money other ways?
    d. What exactly have they used their NFS allocations on? How have they focused the monies?
    e. How are decisions made concerning what to spend NSF money on? Who is involved?
    f. What is the role of local school councils/governing bodies in management of NF school decisions?

Thank you for your time. Please feel free to ask us any questions. If you wish to get in touch with us after this meeting, we can be reached at: [PROVIDE CONTACT INFO].

14.6 Focus group guide: Teachers

14.6.1 Background

1. We would like to begin by learning a bit about you as a group. Could you share with us some basic points of information?
   a. What are your current positions and the subjects you teach?
   b. How many hours do you work per week, as a teacher?
   c. How long have you been at this school?
   d. Have you all been teachers before this job? If so, where and for how long? Have you taught in other districts?
   e. Do you have other jobs in addition to teaching? If so, how many hours?
2. Personal background.
   a. Are you originally from to this region?
   b. What is your ethnic background and religious background?
   c. What language (-s) do you speak at home?
3. How would you describe your community and in particular, your school, in a few words?
   a. In terms of the student body it serves, its diversity and past experiences
   b. Parents and community leaders
   c. Successes and challenges
4. Are these challenges different or similar, in your opinion, in comparison with the challenges facing the country as a whole?

14.6.2 Your Students

5. Let's return to your school and talk about your students. What backgrounds do they come from?
   a. What ethnicities and languages?
   b. Have they lived in this community all their lives or migrated?
   c. Have they been at this school for the full duration or less?
6. How do you deal with their differences in the classroom? Does that pose a challenge or does it help you in any way?
   a. Language of instruction, if different from spoken at home
   b. Different family/ cultural backgrounds and the value placed by their family on education
   c. Attendance and academic performance
   d. Gender differences
7. What or whom do you turn to for guidance, if you run into difficulties in the classroom?

14.6.3 Student Identities

8. How would you say that people in your community, your students and their families are likely to describe themselves: as belonging to their tribe first, or as a [South African] first? Which identity is closer to them? Why do you think that is?
9. If they were asked to describe the history and developments in your community over the past ten years, would they tell the same story, or different stories? Why similar/ different, and in what ways?
10. Do you think students feel or see any differences between those of their own tribe and those of others?
11. Do you think that schooling (such as the curriculum and other policies) affects the way students think of themselves and others, including those from other ethnic groups? In what ways? Provide examples.
12. Can you provide examples where these differences came up in the classroom and were either quelled or magnified?
    a. What class/ year/ subject was it related to?
    b. How old were the students?
    c. Were they male or female?
    d. How, if at all, was the situation resolved?
    e. Do you think it might happen again? Why or why not?
13. Are there specific topics – especially for those of you teaching language, history, or other social sciences – that are difficult to teach, given the background of your students?
    a. If so, what are they and what are the difficulties?
    b. How do you resolve these challenges?

14.6.4 School Violence

14. In your experience, have there been instances of violent behavior at the school? Who was involved and what were the reasons? **Please be sure not to name any names**.
15. How often do such instances happen at your school? In your district?

16. What conditions outside of the school make it more or less likely to happen?
17. Do you think that the schooling process, or the learning process, affects the likelihood of violence? Why or why not?
18. Do you think that the content of your curriculum helps you in addressing such instances in the classroom?

14.6.5   Education Policies and the No-fee school policy

19. Are you familiar with the goals and policies of the national government? How do they relate to your work?
20. What are your general perceptions of the no-fee school policy?
21. Have teachers seen any changes in the school since the implementation of the NFS policy?
    a. Are there changes in learning environment?
    b. Are there changes in relationships in the school?
22. How has the NFS policy affected students?
23. How has the NSF policy affected the school?
    a. How did it affect the relationship between administrators and students?
    b. How did it affect the relationship between students/the school and community?
24. Do you think that the intent of the policies is: fully achieved, mostly achieved, partially achieved, or not achieved? Why or why not?

14.6.6   Changes in last 5-10 years

25. For those of you that were here for a few years, how would you compare the situation at your school and community now to that five or ten years ago?
    a. How did the student body change, if at all? (Give examples)
    b. Changes in the community? (Give examples)
    c. The things that were most important (priorities) – then and now?
26. Looking towards the future, what are your aspirations for your community and school?
    a. What role do you see schools playing in the development process over the next decade or so?
    b. What challenges/ threats do you see to stability in your community? What do you think is necessary for them to be resolved?
27. What advice or lessons learned would you share with communities like yours outside [South Africa] that are going through a similar process of addressing historical inequalities?

Thank you for your time. Please let us know if you have any questions.

14.7 Focus group guide: Parents

14.7.1 Background

1. We would like to begin by learning a bit about your experience as a parent of school-age children. Could you share with us some basic information?
    a. How many children do you have?
    b. Are you originally from this region or did you move here?
    c. What is your ethnic background and religious background?
    d. What language (-s) do you speak at home?
2. How would you describe your community and in particular, your school, in a few words?
    a. In terms of the student body it serves, its diversity and past experiences
    b. Teachers, administrators, and community leaders
    c. Successes and challenges
3. Are these challenges different or similar, in your opinion, in comparison with the challenges facing the country as a whole?

14.7.2 Conflict Sensitive Instruction

4. How would you say that people in your community, your students and their families are likely to describe themselves: as belonging to their tribe first, or as a [South African] first? Which identity is closer to them? Why do you think that is?
5. How has the school and community changed over the past ten years?
    a. What are the major changes?
    b. Do you think most people see these changes the same way? Would they tell the same story, or different stories? Why similar/ different, and in what ways?
6. Do you think students feel or see any differences between those of their own race and tribe and those of others?
7. Do you think the schooling affects the way students think of themselves and others, including those from other ethnic and religious groups? In what ways? Provide examples.

14.7.3 School Violence

8. In your experience, have there been instances of violent behavior at the school? Who was involved and what were the reasons? **Please be sure not to name any names**.
9. How often do such instances happen at your school? In your district?
10. What conditions outside of the school make it more or less likely to happen?
11. Do you think that the schooling process, or the learning process, affects the likelihood of violence? Can you provide examples?
12. Do you think that the content of your curriculum helps you in addressing such instances in the classroom?

14.7.4 No School Fee Policy

13. Are you familiar with the educational goals and policies of the national government? How do they relate to your work?
14. What are your general perceptions of the no-fee school policy?
15. Have teachers seen any changes in the school since the implementation of the NFS policy?
    a. Are there changes in learning environment?
    b. Are there changes in relationships in the school?
16. How has the NFS policy affected students?
17. How has the NSF policy affected the school?
    a. How did it affect the relationship between administrators and students?
    b. How did it affect the relationship between students/the school and community?
18. Do you think that the intent of the policies is: fully achieved, mostly achieved, partially achieved, or not achieved? Why or why not?
19. What differences have parents and families noticed since the NFS implementation?
20. What are the benefits/advantages of the policy? What disadvantages do parents see?
21. Do parents/communities still contribute to the school financially in other ways? Are there ways for them to do that?
22. Do the parents/communities feel involved in the decisions at the school?
23. What other programs, policies or initiatives of the Government or PED have affected equity or quality at your school?

14.7.5 Changes in the past decade

24. For those of you that were here for a few years, how would you compare the situation at your school and community now to that five or ten years ago?
    d. How did the student body change, if at all? (Give examples)
    e. Changes in the community? (Give examples)
    f. The things that were most important (priorities) – then and now?

25. Looking towards the future, what are your aspirations for your community and school?
    a. What role do you see schools playing in the development process over the next decade or so?
    b. What challenges/ threats do you see to stability in your community? What do you think is necessary for them to be resolved?

26. What advice or lessons learned would you share with communities like yours outside [South Africa] that are going through a similar process of addressing historical inequalities?

Thank you for your time. Please let us know if you have any questions.