

Dedicated to

TARUNESH BEANT

With Love

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The field of study

The new directions in sociology of education with its adoption of a combination of symbolic interactionist and phenomenological perspectives, its alleged political character of educational knowledge, and, its contention that knowledge is 'socially constructed,' initially stimulated the researcher's interest in the field of sociology of education, but more particularly enhanced the notion that education occurs within a broader 'social condition'.

Moreover, since the 1950s there has been a steady growth of books and papers in the USA and UK, concerning the education of children of low social class whose material circumstances are inadequate, or with the education of Black children of low social class, whose material circumstances are chronically inadequate. The general picture that emerges from such studies is that there is a high proportion of school failure, school drop-outs, reading and learning disabilities, as well as a host of social problems among children who come from lower class socially impoverished circumstances. Children from poor environments often come to school with a qualitatively different preparation for the classroom and therefore for life in general. It seems, too, that these children have different kinds of socializing experiences when compared to those of children from middle class homes. It would seem therefore that the lower class child enters the school so poorly prepared to produce

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what the school demands, that failure is almost inevitable. Moreover, it appears as though the school experience itself becomes negatively rather than positively reinforced. It is thus reasonable to assert that when educating children their social and cultural background must be taken into account, since they have already been exposed to socialization experiences peculiar to their socio-cultural and material circumstances. It is argued therefore that the social and cultural environments during early social development largely influence the development of the self concept.

It is thus indicated that there are close links between the socio-cultural environment and the primary socialization process, during which development of the self occurs. To contextualize this relationship, it is proposed that during primary socialization, the home and the *pre-primary school* are active forces which help to create the direction that the development of the self assumes. It is important at this point to define the concept pre-primary school. According to Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 18), a pre-primary school refers to a unit that exists independently of a primary school, and operates from independent, purpose-built premises, offering a three year programme to 3-6 year olds, preceding their entry into the formal school systems. Alternatively a pre-primary school is also referred to as a nursery school. However, the unit of study, namely the Shrimathi Anandben Desai Pre-Primary School (SADPPS) in the context of the present study is defined as a *pre-primary class* since it corresponds with Reilly and Hofmeyr's (1983 : 18) definition of a pre-primary class being a class that 5-6 year old children attend

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during the year preceding compulsory school attendance. This is done purely to distinguish among the prevailing definitive categories serving pre-primary education. With these definitions clarified let us now focus on the area of study.

The problem upon which the present study is based is related to the socio-cultural differences that prevail in the home, as compared to the pre-primary class that a group of children attend, and the social effects of this in so far as it prepares the child for life. It is observed accordingly that, from infancy onwards children are exposed to distinct patterns of learning, which indeed are largely class based ones. White (1977 : 64) believes that this becomes problematic in terms of successful socialization, in so far as educational traditions suggest that schools are geared-up for producing successful children of the middle-class. Further Bernstein (1970 : 344) notes,

"The context in which children learn is usually a middle-class one. Should we try to coax them to that 'standard', or seek what is valid in their own lives?"

Such questioning by Bernstein serves to highlight the fact that the educational process is woven into a much wider social condition.

With these initial ideas the researcher has formulated the basic goals and assumptions of the present study, in an attempt to analyse the effectiveness of the social condition of education in an Indian pre-primary class.

1.2 Goals of the present study

In a study of this nature it is not uncommon to resort to generalized statements regarding the associations between characteristics of the home and those of social class. Although it is imperative to examine the social class dimension, the concept social condition suggests a far more complex network of relationships, in dealing with pre-primary education and primary socialization. In the light of this, the following goals of the study have been taken into consideration:

- 1) to provide an overview of the present position of pre-primary education for Indians in South Africa. This is done in the second and third chapters;
- 2) to analyse the process of primary socialization (with reference to the theories of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967)) as creating a social condition within which education occurs. This is done in Chapter Four;
- 3) to explain the effectiveness of the social condition of education in the pre-primary class, with reference to:
 - i) development of the self;
 - ii) parental involvement; and
 - iii) cultural transmission.This is done in Chapter Six;
- 4) to make recommendations after examining the results emerging from the empirical research in an attempt to ameliorate problems which may be identified.
This is done in Chapter Seven.

The identification of these specific goals of the present study are also supportive of an overriding three-fold relevance. The study is theoretically relevant in so far as it attempts to provide a synthesis of the ideas of Mead, a symbolic interactionist, and those of Berger and Luckmann, who are phenomenologists. On methodological grounds the study is relevant in so far as it attempts to combine both qualitative and quantitative research methods in its empirical component. And finally, the study has a practical relevance in terms of identifying problem areas at the SADPPS, and possibly suggesting recommendations towards improvement.

1.3 Assumptions upon which the present study is based

On the basis of an initial literature study undertaken, the researcher was able to formulate certain assumptions regarding the process of primary socialization, pre-primary education and home background. These assumptions are mentioned here.

- 1) Interaction during primary socialization is largely directed by the dominance of the *I* component of self, and the process of *externalization*.
- 2) Parental involvement in the pre-primary educational process is related to the material circumstances of the family.
- 3) Pre-primary education, in providing a readiness for life, requires a cultural link between the home and the school.

1.4 The scope of the study

According to the survey of literature undertaken during the course of the present study the researcher did not come across any research

dealing with the pre-primary phase of education within the Indian community of South Africa. The present study examining the social condition of pre-primary education, may thus be regarded as breaking new ground in its investigation into the effectiveness of the socio-cultural and material circumstances surrounding the pre-primary educational process. It is also hoped that the present study will provide some insight into the importance of this phase of education, as well as highlight the fact that the educational process is essentially a social process involving social, cultural, and material components which serve to influence acting and thinking human beings.

Details of the empirical design of the current study are outlined in Chapter Five. However, at this stage, it would suffice to give a brief description of the present study, indicating its main delimitation.

The SADPPS was carefully selected for the purposes of this study, since at the commencement of the study, it represented to the researcher the only known example in the Indian community, which closely approximated a regular pre-primary school according to the definition provided by Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983) as mentioned earlier in the discussion.

During 1986, the SADPPS had an enrolment of 136 children, aged between five and six years. There were four teachers, a principal and one labourer employed at the school. The *Tongaat Child and Welfare Society* is responsible for the management of the SADPPS, and also for the payment of staff salaries. The funds for the erection of the

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premises were generated from the local community in a fund-raising project initiated by the *Tongaat Jaycees*. A portion of the daily running costs of the school is furnished by the school-fees which are received from the parents. This amounts to R18,00 per child per term. All additional costs are borne by the *Tongaat Child and Welfare Society*.

It is important to mention that none of the teaching staff at SADPPS held any academic or professional qualifications. However, they regularly received informal training from the *Association for Training and Resources* (TREE) a community based organization founded by the regional branch of the *International Society for Early Childhood Education*. The SADPPS operates in accordance with the school calendar, as prescribed by the House of Delegates in the Department of Education and Culture, between 08h00 and 12h30.

The SADPPS is geographically located in the township of Flamingo Heights which is in the Borough of Tongaat. However, SADPPS draws its population from the surrounding townships of Belvedere and Buffelsdale as well. Almost all houses in this locality are sub-economic housing provided by the municipality. Social indices operating in this community seem to suggest a strong working class component. This is also verified in the empirical component of the study, which is discussed in Chapter Six.

1.5 Background studies on primary socialization, pre-primary education and home background

Several of the research bodies in South Africa have undertaken studies pertaining to the Indian community in this country. For instance work undertaken by the *South African Institute of Race Relations*, the *Institute of Social and Economic Research* at the University of Natal, the *Institute for Social and Economic Research* at the University of Durban-Westville, the *Human Sciences Research Council*, and the *Institute for Black Research* at the University of Natal, have all contributed significantly towards the development of a body of knowledge on the history of South African Indians. However, none of the research undertaken thus far is directly related to primary socialization, pre-primary education and home-background.

However Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983) undertook an extensive study on pre-primary education in South Africa, under the direction of the *Human Sciences Research Council*. They have thus provided some insight on the position of pre-primary education for Indians, and this is referred to extensively in Chapter Three. Prior to their research there was a study undertaken by Garrib (1978), concerning pre-primary education in the Durban-Pietermaritzburg area. This is also referred to in Chapter Three.

In contrast, to the position of research in this field locally, in the United States of America and Britain several studies have been done in related areas. A notable study in England, for example, is that of the Plowden Committee [(Report of the Central Advisory Council

for Education (England), 1967] which attempted to differentiate the effects of home circumstances and schooling. A parallel study in the USA is that of Coleman (1966) which examines the process of schooling and the equality of educational opportunity. Other related studies are those of Douglas (1964), Bernstein (1971), Bossio (1971), Midwinter (1972), Keddie (1973), Hopper and Osborn (1975) and Lubeck (1985). In the discussion that follows the researcher briefly explores some of the ideas that emanated from such studies undertaken abroad.

Concerning class differences and the process of education, Hyman (Haralambos, 1980 : 193) argues that the value system of the lower classes creates 'a self imposed barrier to an improved situation'. Further, Hyman (Haralambos, 1980 : 194) distinguishes the following differences between working class and middle class value systems: firstly, members of the working class place a lower value on education; secondly, they place a lower value on achieving high occupational status; and thirdly, compared to their middle class counterparts, members of the working class believe that there is less opportunity for personal advancement.

Similarly, Sugarman (Haralambos, 1980 : 194) relates certain aspects of middle and working class subcultures more directly to differential educational attainment. He provides an explanation for differences in attitude and outlook between the two classes, arguing that the nature of manual and non-manual occupations largely accounts for these differences.

Furthermore, Douglas (Haralambos, 1980 : 196) related educational attainment to a variety of factors, including the student's health, the size of the family and the quality of the school. The single most important factor appeared to be the degree of parents' interest in their children's education. In general middle class parents expressed a greater interest as indicated by more frequent visits to the school to discuss their children's progress. Moreover, Douglas (Haralambos, 1980 : 197) suggests that during primary socialization, middle class children receive greater attention and stimulus from their parents. He elaborates that this forms the basis for high achievement in the educational system. He finally attributes that many of the major differences in performance are due to environmental influences acting during the pre-school years.

Noting the influence of class differences during the educational process, the working class subculture is portrayed as a sub-standard version of the mainstream middle class culture. From this portrayal, the theory of cultural deprivation was developed. It states that the sub-culture of low-income groups is deprived or deficient in certain important respects and this accounts for the low educational attainment of members of this group. This theory, places the blame for educational failure on the child, his family, his neighbourhood and the subculture of his social group. This notion of deprivation is examined in the context of the present study, as the discussion proceeds. From this point of view, the present study analyses the relevance of the pre-primary programme to the child's socio-cultural experiences of the home.

1.6 Restrictions on the present study

The restrictions imposed on the structure of the present study have generally emerged from theoretical as well as practical considerations.

On theoretical grounds it has not been possible to contextualize the field of study within a uniquely South African arena, largely because of the absence of research into primary socialization, pre-primary education and home-background within this context. By contrast, the abundance of research into this field of study in the USA and England has resulted in the emergence of a wide range of theoretical perspectives to be utilized.

According to Robinson (1981 : 34-41) theories of socialization are constituted of three categories, namely passive, radical and active theories. Let us firstly briefly examine these theories of socialization and later consider the theoretical limitations that have been brought to bear upon the present study. Within the scope of the passive theories of socialization, Parsons (1951) comments that socialization like learning continues throughout life, but that it is at its most dramatic when seen in relation to the child. Whilst Parsons' insight concerning the importance of childhood socialization in the development of personality is recognized, it must be conceded that there are several problems with this essentially passive model. For example, an assumption that the child is just responding to the stimuli of the parents and thereby ignoring the possibility that the child may well experience several conflicts within himself as to what the most appropriate behaviour is. Such a criticism appears to reflect the

limitations of the passive theories in general. This appears to substantiate the researcher's selection of a different theoretical approach towards socialization.

Secondly, the radical theories of socialization suggest that the most important consideration is that socialization takes place within a stratified society (Robinson, 1981 : 40). Essentially, this perspective suggests that the social class dimension is integral to the process of socialization. The researcher acknowledges the merit of this perspective, and also its relevance to the current study. However, in terms of practical feasibility this theoretical perspective was not adopted for the following reason: the researcher was interested in studying socialization within the context of the pre-primary school, and SADPPS represented the only available sample for study, and it was apparent that all the children were from a working class background therefore not facilitating a comparison of social class differences within the school. Nevertheless, the researcher concedes that the lack of such a theoretical dimension is indeed indicative of a theoretical limitation to some extent.

The current study is based on an alternative to both the passive and the radical theories of socialization. This approach stems from the work of George Herbert Mead (1934), and is referred to as the active theories. According to Blumer (1969) the active theories are formulated on the following assumption:

"Action is built up in coping with the world instead of merely being released

from a pre-existing psychological structure by factors playing on that structure." (Robinson, 1981 : 38).

It is therefore implied that people do not simply respond to their roles, to the value orientations, or to the economic sub-structure, but rather, they actively create their roles in the material circumstances in which they live. The theoretical framework for the present study has been formulated on the basis of this idea. It is hoped therefore that the limitations created by not incorporating the radical theories are largely overcome by this inclination towards regarding the individual as a dynamic entity within his social world. However, it is conceded that, the danger of the active theory is of implying that the individual has the freedom to do just as he pleases and of ignoring the power which some have to constrain the activities of others.

Moreover, the active theory was utilized since it aptly captured the social development of the individual as being founded on interaction processes. Further, this approach allows one to analyse the social involvement of parents within the context of the educational process. And finally, this perspective facilitates an analysis of the relationship between the individual and his social, cultural and material circumstances, in the context of his social development. Overall, this perspective allows one to discuss education as a social process, surrounded and created by social conditions.

Bearing in mind that each perspective in socialization presents methodological problems, it is recognized that the active theories present the difficulty of empirically demonstrating how interpretative

procedures operate. An attempt to overcome this limitation is observed in the researcher's reference to Denzin's (1978, 9-16) seven methodological considerations from the point of view of interaction theory. This is explained in detail in Chapter Five and approached further in the empirical component of the study, the results of which are discussed in Chapter Six.

Furthermore, these theoretical limitations have imposed other limitations concerning practical feasibility of the scope and scale of the study. Related to these limitations is the fact that pre-primary education for Indians in South Africa is still in its early developmental stages, hence unavoidably influencing the scope and scale of one's research.

Other practical limitations have arisen as a consequence of the research procedure that was adopted. Reference is made here to the fact that observation was undertaken over a limited period of three weeks, perhaps having an influence on the accuracy of the results obtained. Further, the researcher is mindful of the fact that other practical limitations may have stemmed from the implementation of the interview method of obtaining data. However, the researcher made an effort to anticipate the likely sources of error and took precautions to minimize these.

1.7 General structure of the present study

The researcher has attempted in Chapter One to provide an adequate statement of the problem. Chapter Two provides a discussion of the

socio-economic position of Indians in South African society. Against this background an account of the present position of pre-primary education for Indians is provided in Chapter Three. Chapter Four focuses on the construction of a theoretical framework for discussion of the topic under investigation. The study develops around the primary socialization process, therefore an active theory is presented by combining the theoretical propositions of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) in order to explain the social conditions of the educational process in the context of a pre-primary class. In Chapter Five a methodological process is argued by combining qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The empirical component of the study included a period of non-participant observation at the SADPPS, and also a social survey whereby all the parents and teachers were interviewed using an adapted interview schedule as a basic instrument to obtain relevant information. Chapter Six presents an analysis of the data obtained, and interpretations are rendered. Chapter Seven provides a summary of the study, lists the conclusions and recommendations that were formulated on the basis of the data obtained through the means of non-participant observation and the interview schedule.

1.8 Some preliminary considerations

The researcher stresses the importance of clarifying certain considerations which are closely related to the current study.

At the outset it is noteworthy to mention that the relationship between primary socialization, pre-primary education and socio-cultural experiences of the home is indeed a complex one, requiring in-depth analysis.

Underlying the title of the present study is its most basic premise, namely that both subjects and knowledge are processed during social interaction, thereby rendering the interpretative process as a necessary ingredient in attempting to make sense of social action and interaction. Simply stated, the study is directed at interpreting the initial process of social development in relation to certain situated aspects (ie. pre-primary class and home) which are created by the wider social, cultural and material circumstances which the individual is born into. Thus Gorbutt, as cited by Robinson (1981 : 25) states:

"An interpretative sociology of education focusses attention on the social nature of educational categories, and the social processes through which these are constructed and maintained."

In the context of the present study, primary socialization is conceived of as a dynamic process involving perception, interpretation and action. More specifically Mead (1934) explains that primary socialization refers to the development of the self. This is facilitated through mind activity, play, and by assuming the role

of the other. Similarly, Berger and Luckmann (1967) suggest that primary socialization occurs in the context of social interaction, whereby the individual is exposed to three processes, viz. internalization, externalization and objectivation.

Emphatically, the present study conceives of primary socialization as *process*, as opposed to a fixed entity. In terms of this view then, primary socialization is seen as the initial process of social development, which is situated in the contexts of the pre-primary class and the home. It is in this sense also that the pre-primary educational process is seen as a social process, with related social conditions.

Thus the concept *social condition* seems a useful working concept for a discussion of education and primary socialization in this study. The theme is social. Moreover, it offers an opportunity to ask what are some of the main features of the way a group of pre-schoolers are together; and to assess what we can expect of education in that setting. Furthermore, the concept social condition acknowledges the dynamic nature of the primary socialization process.

Indeed, we have seen that the primary socialization process encompasses all aspects involving early childhood development. To contextualize the concept in terms of a social condition of education, the current study focuses on three broad categories which are

related to the assumptions of the study. The first aspect of the social condition then is considered in terms of the development of self. The related concepts have been operationalized and observed in the context of interaction at the pre-primary class. The second aspect of the social condition has been categorized as parental involvement. By means of the interview schedule technique, parents' perceptions of education have been gauged and the degree of communication between home and school has been investigated. Indeed parental involvement, and their perceptions and attitudes toward education create a peculiar social setting within which primary socialization and pre-primary education proceed. The third aspect of the social condition relates to the socio-cultural environment. Here the researcher distinguishes between home-based experiences and the relationship between the cultures of the school and the home respectively. These dimensions have also been operationalized in the context of the interview schedule.

Another issue that is suggested in the present study relates to the philosophy of 'preparation for life' as opposed to 'preparation for school'. Since the study focuses on social development it argues strongly that a pre-primary programme should offer the child the social conditions essential for preparing it for life. Inevitably such a 'readiness for life' approach would incorporate preparation for every facet of life. Therefore, 'school readiness' is incorporated into the concept, 'readiness for life'. Moreover,

as a sociological analysis the study focuses on social conditions and the social development of the child, rather than educational conditions and the intellectual development of the child. However, it is acknowledged that educational and intellectual aspects will be present, but it must constantly be remembered that the focus is on social development.

Another aspect that deserves clarity relates to social class differences that emerge during the educational process, especially in terms of children from a working class culture. In relation to the preparation for life philosophy the study argues that the educational process should also be meaningfully related to the social conditions of the child's existence.

But Bernstein, (Cosin, et al., 1977 : 65) suggests that the education process involves the transmission of a middle class culture. The present study attempts to assess the relationships between the culture that is being transmitted in the pre-primary class, as compared to the culture of the home. This idea is limited to the third aspect of the social condition of education mentioned earlier, and is thus operationalized in this study.

1.9 Summary

Several central issues have been addressed in this introductory Chapter. Initially the researcher set out by addressing the field

of study, following which, the goals of the study were clearly outlined. Then the researcher provided a summary of the assumptions upon which the study has been formulated. The next logical step is to specify the scope of the study. An important feature of all research efforts relates to the way in which the current investigation relates to or slots into the existing body of knowledge. An attempt was thus made to identify previous research done on primary socialization, pre-primary education and home background. The next significant step was for the researcher to identify the restrictions of the present study. This was followed by providing a general structure of the current study indicating its methodological processes. Finally the researcher discussed some of the basic considerations governing the present study.

Chapter Two

AN ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION, PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION AND HOME BACKGROUND WITH REFERENCE TO INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

At this stage it is necessary to provide some light on the relationship that obtains between the home and the pre-primary class during the process of primary socialization. Further, it is essential to operationalize this relationship in the context of the current study. In view of this, it is clear that this Chapter has a two-fold purpose; firstly, to briefly examine the relationship between primary socialization, pre-primary education and home background, and secondly, to provide an overview of the social structure of Indians in South Africa.

2.2 The influence of social class during primary socialization and pre-primary education

Lubeck (1985 : 13) states that for every child early in life when the first thought hovers and begins to take form, others are there (usually family members) to guide its formation, and, when expressed to value it or to dismiss it. It is through this process of early social development, or primary socialization that the child begins to acquire norms, values, attitudes and skills in the course of social interaction with those immediately around him. This process of social development continues throughout the process of pre-primary education, hence it constitutes the foundations of human development,

directly influencing adult life. It is on these grounds that the present study addresses primary socialization, pre-primary education and home background as key issues.

In elaboration it is useful to note that much empirical research in sociology of education during the 1950's and 1960's addressed itself to the problem of understanding the relationships between the child, the family and the school. Consequently, it was found that schools roughly corresponded with social class, and that family social privilege was a powerful indicator of educational success. Indeed, it became clear that the role of the family was fundamental, in that the child's earliest experiences powerfully influenced the way in which he ultimately responded to school, and even the nature of educational stimuli that was available to him, by indirectly determining the kind of school he entered (White, 1977 : 65). Therefore if the relationship between home and school is crucial in socializing the child, it is important to examine why and how this was the case. Three major areas of social class contribute towards shaping the nature of the child's socialization. These are the characteristics of the home itself, the use of language, and the values and attitudes expressed by parents (White, 1977 : 66). These social class variables are examined further in the empirical component of the study in an attempt to analyse the influence of social class during early social development.

In this regard, Kerckhoff (1972 : 125-133) refers to social class as a determiner of context, which refers to the kinds of people

encountered by those in different social classes. Further he explains that social class also serves as a basis for expectations, which implies that people in different positions in the social structure may behave differently when placed in the same situation. Kerckhoff (1972 : 125-133) argues therefore that if social class serves both as a determiner of context, and a basis for expectations, one ought to be able to predict something about the outcome of the socialization process from a knowledge of the social class of origin of the individual.

It is therefore suggested that contexts, performances, expectations, and outcomes are all somewhat predictable from social class of origin. Underlying this statement is the notion that the different social classes display characteristic variations.

White (1977 : 27-28), for instance, elaborates on the varying styles of mothering to illustrate the influence of such class based differences. He explains that at one extreme a child may have a young, lively mother who is interesting at a level which appeals to the child; a mother who is well educated, confident in meeting people and prepared always to involve the child in her activities. This mother encourages a loving, sharing and comfortable family setting which brings together parents and children in a range of shared family activities. This kind of family situation portrays essentially a middle class family setting. At the other extreme is an older-looking woman from a poor background, a mother with a large family who is tired of working, at a job which takes her away

from home. She is disillusioned with a poor economic situation which finds her husband unemployed. Her young child is likely to be out of the house as often as he is in it; he may be brought up by other children, sometimes his brothers and sisters or other playmates from the neighbourhood. Such a child will certainly experience a pattern of socialization quite different from the typical middle class child. Although these models represent the poles of a continuum, they serve to underline the apparent impact of social class upon children in the home.

A considerable number of variations in the manner of primary socialization between the middle class and working class, together with speculations as to the possible effects of these differences have been noted by sociologists [Floud, Halsey and Martin (1956); Douglas (1964); Bernstein (1970); Goodacre (1970); Banks (1976); Lubeck (1985)]. The researcher observes that the notion of class, being a generalized view of a range of occupations, values, incomes, educational levels, and so on, limits what can be said about any single aspect of life within a class division. Similarly, forces which have already been noted as being related to patterns of socialization, such as mother's personality, or a happy and loving home, are not the province of one class more than the other. So it is with acknowledgement to such limitations that the effects of social class upon the child's socialization in the family setting should be seen.

Furthermore, the picture of the working class subculture is not an attractive one. It is portrayed as a sub-standard version of the

mainstream middle class culture. It is from such a portrayal that the theory of cultural deprivation was developed. It states that the culture of low income groups is deprived of or deficient in certain important respects and this accounts for the low educational attainment of members of these groups (Haralambos, 1980 : 201). This theory argues that the child, his family, his neighbourhood and the subculture of his social group are responsible for the child's educational failure.

From the standpoint of cultural deprivation theory, equality of opportunity could only become a reality by compensating for the deprivations of low-income groups. From this kind of reasoning developed the idea of positive discrimination in favour of culturally deprived children: they must be given a helping hand to compete on equal terms with other children. This took the form of compensatory education - additional educational provision for the 'culturally deprived'. Several theorists [Bernstein (1971); Midwinter (1972); Friedman (1976); Halsey et. al (1977); Lubeck (1985)] have suggested that most of the damage was done during primary socialization. They have argued that during this period a sub-standard culture was internalized, in an environment largely devoid of 'richness' and stimulation. Thus it was suggested that compensatory education should concentrate on the pre-school years. This idea lay behind many of the programmes instituted by the Office of Economic Opportunity in the United States of America. *Operation Head Start* represented such a massive programme of pre-school education throughout America. In Britain, compensatory programmes were introduced in the

Educational Priority Areas (EPA). Midwinter (Haralambos, 1980 : 204), who headed the Liverpool *E.P.A.* argued that:

"... no matter how much you do inside the school you can make virtually no impact at all without the informed support of the home."

The present study is approached with this insight regarding socialization, pre-school education and the working class child. Moreover, in focussing upon the importance of home-school relations it is observed that all learning is socially based and occurs within a cultural context. It is these social and cultural aspects that create the social condition within which education occurs. Thus it is generalized that home-school relations is an important consideration during the primary socialization process. Thus the researcher believes that in considering such an approach, much insight into the field of pre-primary education for Indians in South Africa may be gained.

Until Reilly's death in 1985, the combined efforts of Reilly and Hofmeyr in their research unit, attached to the Human Sciences Research Council, offered the only source of information that had generated research into the field of pre-school education for Indians in South Africa. Therefore their study, *Pre-primary education in R.S.A.* (1983) is utilized extensively in Chapter Three. Also, much reference is made to Joshua,¹ the Director of the pre-primary educational planning division in the House of Delegates: Department of Education and Culture, in an attempt to provide an updated account

1. Address by Mr C.L. Joshua to the members of the Natal Pre-primary Teachers Association (Durban and District) of the Natal Teachers' Society at their AGM at Temple David Hall on 15 April 1986.

of the involvement of the state in this phase of education. This aspect is also dealt with in Chapter Three.

This brings us to the second major category of the present Chapter, namely an overview of the social structure of Indians in South Africa.

2.3 An overview of the social structure of Indians in South Africa

This sub-section is included in the discussion mainly to stress the nature of class-based experiences that are typically available to the pre-school child, in terms of the wider social structural conditions. It is important to note that South Africa constitutes a highly stratified social system, of which the Indians belong to the Asian race group. In South Africa this term refers to Indians and Chinese. Approximately 98% of the Asiatics are Indians. Slightly more than 80% of these South African Indians live in Natal. Table 2.1 sets out the population statistics relating to the various racial groups of South Africa and specifically indicates their distribution in Natal. Further, by a second level of stratification, the Indians are further sub-divided into various social classes.

With the arrival of the indentured Indian labourers in 1860, many of the traditional social and cultural aspects of the Indian life-style were adopted in the South African situation. Since their arrival the Indian population have become increasingly westernized, as a consequence of such factors as urbanization, acculturation, educational and economic mobility. For instance, Schoombee and Mantzaris (1985 : 17) hold that western culture has exerted a

Table 2.1Population distribution of South Africa
and Natal

	SOUTH AFRICA	NATAL
Blacks	15 162 454	829 541
Coloureds	2 832 705	95 743
Asians	821 747	659 703
Whites	4 468 739	560 031
Total	23 385 645	2 145 018

Sources: (A) 1986, South African Statistics, Compiled by the Department of Statistics, Pretoria.

(B) Population Census 1985, Central Statistical Service.

powerful influence on the Indian community. According to their research (Schoombee and Mantzaris, 1985 : 17) there is much everyday evidence of the influence of western culture, such as the adoption of the English language as a first language, style of clothing, educational curricula, recreational preferences, and the acceptance of western music and drama. However, it must be emphasized that many traces of traditional Indian culture still characterize this race group. Presently, special class distinctions appear to feature increasingly as this group becomes more and more assimilated into the wider sub-stratum. Such social class differences are discernible in

terms of occupational classifications, income distribution and, educational levels. The official statistics in census data are indicative of the prevalence of these social class differences. Table 2.2 illustrates the occupational structure of the Indian race group.

Table 2.2

Occupational categories and distribution of economically active Asians in South Africa during 1985

Professional, semi-professional and technical workers	30 487
Managerial, executive and administrative workers	12 393
Clerical and sales workers	95 694
Transport and communications workers	13 861
Service workers	16 279
Farmer, fisherman, hunter, farmworker	3 882
Tradesman and apprentice	19 668
Mining and quarrying worker, production foreman, supervisor, operator, production and related worker	66 343
Workers not classifiable by occupation	26 994
Economically active	292 865
Total population	821 747

Source: Population Census 1985, Central Statistical Services.

With reference to the concept social class, as discussed earlier, it is highlighted here that the upper social classes occupy higher occupational positions, and also possess higher levels of education. Table 2.3 sets out the educational levels of the Asian group.

Table 2.3
Levels of education of the Asian population
of South Africa during 1985

None	162 691
- Std 2	64 171
Std 3	36 198
Std 4	47 384
Std 5	61 019
Std 6	109 478
Std 7	52 681
Std 8	85 845
Std 9	43 639
Std 10	81 225
Diploma + Stds 7-10	25 521
Diploma & Degrees	2 416
Degree only	9 090
Level of education unspecified	3 188
TOTAL	821 747

Source: Population Census 1985, Central Statistical Services.

The figures presented in Table 2.3 suggest that well above 50% of the total Indian population had not received an education beyond the standard six level. It suggests therefore that only a small proportion of the population were highly educated, implying further that the bulk of the population belonged to the ranks of the working class. Although the discussion on social classes among the Indian group has been concerned mainly with occupational and educational levels, which to some extent considers their overall levels of income, one should not restrict ones analysis of social class to a range of occupations, educational levels and income since the subjective aspects of social class, relating to life-styles are indeed influential during primary socialization. Further, although the Indian group as a whole has undergone much transformation in so far as their life-styles are concerned, it is emphasized that cultural values still critically influence the nature of social experiences within the home environment. Schoombee and Mantzaris (1985 : 17) suggest that amongst South African Indians there is much evidence of the influence of western culture. Though certain traditional features of Indian life, such as religion and language have been entrenched, the extent to which this is so depends on the degree to which Indians have become multi-cultural in the wider South African society. Generally it may be stated that distinguishing characteristics of the home background of Indians include the degree of assimilation into the western culture, the material prosperity of the home, lower levels of family income, an increasing number of working mothers, and medium to large family size. Characteristically therefore, it

may be argued that a greater proportion of the Indian population belongs to the working class stratum, as compared to the middle class stratum.

2.4 Summary

In total it may be stated that the primary socialization process of Indian children, in order to be understood, requires an in-depth analysis in terms of a particular socio-cultural condition, involving specific cultural norms and values, and also consideration in terms of social class influences, including educational, economic and occupational factors. Moreover, the present study needs to be interpreted against these wider social - structural conditions confronting the Indian population in South Africa. It is primarily for this reason that this overview has been included in the discussion.

Let us now proceed to discuss the present position of pre-primary education for Indians against this overview of the position of Indians in South African society. The purpose of Chapter Three therefore, is to make a brief survey of the pattern of pre-primary education for Indians in South Africa. This is necessary since the present study is relevant to this phase of education.

Chapter Three

THE PRESENT POSITION OF PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

In order to provide an account of the position of pre-primary education for Indians, the researcher distinguishes between the Department's involvement in this phase of education, and the quality of existing services. In view of the developmental stage which this phase of education is experiencing presently, detailed and comprehensive information is considerably lacking. Therefore the researcher had to rely largely on information obtained through interviews held with individuals involved in educational planning in the House of Delegates: Department of Education and Culture and also on the information provided by the study undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council in 1983, under the direction of Reilly and Hofmeyr.

Emphatically, Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 124) state that pre-school education has already been accepted as an integral part of the total education system for Indians. Thus, in the light of this optimistic view, this study is not intended to question the existence or non-existence of pre-school facilities, but rather it directs itself at analysing the effectiveness of the quality of education that is being made available to pre-school children through the existing facilities. Of importance to the researcher is the significance and the relevance of the pre-primary programme to the wider social conditions of the child's social existence. To clarify this area let us first examine the nature of the Department's involvement in the provision of pre-primary education.

3.2 The Department's involvement in pre-primary education

The Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates is involved in the provision of pre-primary education through direct or indirect means in three ways, which are elaborated here:

- 1) through the registration and subsidization of private pre-primary schools;
- 2) through the provision of a bridging module readiness-class service at departmental schools;
- 3) by making school premises available to local community organizations for the conducting of school-readiness classes (Joshua, 1986).

The unit of study, viz. the SADPPS is accordingly categorised as belonging to the type one distinction. This reflects that the SADPPS is a registered pre-primary *School* (see also Chapter One) in receipt of a state subsidy. Upon the commencement of the present study there were no other known examples that came close to satisfying the definition of a pre-primary school. Another guiding principle influencing the researcher's choice in selecting SADPPS as the unit of study includes the fact that it appeared to constitute a typically working class situation which in turn reflected the substantial working class component evident amongst the South African Indian population.

3.2.1 Registered and subsidized private pre-primary schools

Table 3.1 represents a list of registered private pre-primary schools for Indians, also noting their regional distribution. Here the researcher notes that according to the information provided by the

Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, these 27 pre-primary units were categorized as pre-primary schools. Upon investigation the researcher discovered that several of these units were in fact pre-primary classes in terms of the definitions utilized in the current study. This is clearly noted, since it would be misleading to assume that there are actually 27 pre-primary schools serving the Indian community. Indeed, this further stresses the need for adequate provision of pre-primary education facilities in the Indian community. Furthermore, several of these pre-schools are managed by community-based and religious organizations hence there is no indication of the actual nature and quality of the programmes being instituted. This observation becomes more meaningful when one considers in terms of the social stratification of the Indian community, the influence of religious, linguistic and economic criteria. Therefore, the researcher observes that although this list of registered pre-primary schools may seem substantial, it does not in any way reflect the degree of availability of pre-school facilities to all members of the Indian community.

Table 3.1Regional distribution of registered, private pre-primary schools for Indians in South Africa during 1986

NO.	PROVINCE	AREA	NAME OF SCHOOL	
1.	Natal	Durban	A M Moolla	
2.			Anjuman Islamic	
3.			A V S Puntan's Hill	
4.			Green Fern	
5.			Lake Haven : M L Sultan	
6.			Chatsworth	Aryan Benevolent Home
7.				Bayview
8.				Cato
9.				Christ Church
10.				Helen K Ross
11.			St Luke's Church	
12.		Silver Star		
13.		Isipingo	Golden Sun	
14.			Snow White	
15.		Shallcross	Heidi	
16.		Umzinto	St Patricks	
17.		Tongaat	SADPPS	
18.		Stanger	Circle	
19.		Westville	Richmond Gardens	
20.		Pietermaritzburg	Hansel and Gretel	
21.			Sunbeam	
22.	Transvaal	Pietersburg	Crescent	
23.		Fordsburg	Jiswa	
24.		Lenasia	Lenasia Muslim Association	
25.			Lenasia Muslim Association	
26.			Nur-ul-Islam	
27.			Shree Bharat Sharda Bal Mandir	

Source: Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, 1987.

Private pre-primary schools which cater for children in the age group 3 - 5 years register with the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, as private schools in terms of section 6(1) of the Indian's Education Act, 1965 (Act No. 61 of 1965) and as provided for in the Regulations Governing the Registration and Management of Private Schools for Indians (R682 dated 6 May 1966).¹

Hereby provision is made for state subsidization of registered private pre-primary schools which are conducted on a non-profit making basis. In 1987, there were 27 private pre-primary schools registered with the department, of which 17 were in receipt of subsidies (Joshua, 1987). The average enrolment at these schools is in the region of 80 children. Against these estimated figures reflecting the number of children receiving pre-school education it is noted that during 1984, 1985 and 1986 the intake of pupils into class i constituted the following totals 19 949, 19 983, and 20 000 respectively. Although the actual percentage of children in pre-primary schools was not available, a comparison of the figures provided above reflects the intense inadequacy in the existing provision of pre-primary facilities. It is perhaps, also an indication of the early developmental stage which this phase of education is at presently.

Regarding these government subsidies to registered pre-primary schools Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 28) suggest that such grants in aid have been very limited and have not resulted in a significant increase in the establishment of properly organized pre-primary schools. Since exact statistics for 1987 were not available the researcher resorts

1) In practice this age distinction refers to children from three years to school-going age, which is set at \pm six years.

to the use of 1981 statistics, to emphasize the need for development in this area. Table 3.2 provides a summary of the existing pre-primary education services during 1981. According to Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 71), during 1981 there existed 16 registered pre-primary schools which catered for 818 children. Only four of these schools were in receipt of state subsidies. So in 1981, only 0,96% of the total population of Indian children aged 3-6 years attended registered pre-primary schools. Furthermore, during the same period, 2 019 children aged 5-6 years attended 52 readiness classes which operated at schools' premises after regular school hours (categorized as type three). In 1981, a total of 2 837 Indian children received some sort of pre-primary education. This figure represents 3,33% of the Indian pre-school population figures during that period. The following table summarizes the above discussion.

Table 3.2

Existing pre-primary education services during 1981

AVAILABLE SERVICES	NO.	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
Registered & Subsidized schools	16	818
Readiness classes	52	2 019
TOTAL	68	2 837

In spite of the development and progress that has occurred in the provision of registered pre-primary schools between 1981 to 1987, the point that is stressed here is the intense need for improvement in

this area of education. Regarding the need for pre-primary schools, G.K. Nair, as cited by Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 71) estimated the need for 64 pre-primary schools already in 1983. Indeed, by 1987 this estimation is expected to have increased substantially.

3.2.2 Bridging module readiness classes

The second way in which the Department is involved in pre-primary education is through the provision of a bridging module readiness class service at departmental schools in the regular school context (Joshua, 1986). These are classes held for five year olds who are due to enter class i the following year. The institution of this bridging module service arises out of the Department's own experiences with school readiness programmes and the priority recommendation accorded to such a service in the 1981 De Lange Committee Investigation into Education. The main purpose of these classes is to provide an environment in which physical, experiential and psychological development is stimulated, so that children are willing and better able to cope with the demands of the formal school situation.

In 1985, 20 such bridging module units were established as a pilot project in Natal and the Transvaal. A further 20 bridging module units were established during 1986 (Joshua, 1986). The schools for inclusion in this project were selected on the basis of socio-economic status of the communities they served and the availability of classroom accommodation. These communities were identified as being of lower socio-economic status, therefore assuming some degree of environmental and social deprivation. This issue needs further consideration in the light of some of the studies mentioned earlier

on in the discussion. Each of these bridging module units has a maximum of 25 children. In-service teachers holding combined primary and junior primary diplomas have been appointed to conduct a daily four-hour school-readiness programme. It has been estimated that within the next decade, a readiness service will be available to all five year olds, either at departmental schools or at state subsidized private pre-primary schools (Joshua, 1986).

In this regard, the researcher questions whether these readiness classes can in fact be regarded as a replacement for properly organized pre-primary schools in view of the fact that their basic goals are essentially different? Readiness classes, whilst their usefulness in preparing the child for formal schooling is appreciated, do not replace the primary socialization function of pre-school education over a three year period. While the former programme is directed at attaining physical and intellectual development, necessary for entry into school, the latter is directed at attaining social development of the whole child, which inevitably produces school-readiness as well. The point of illustration here is that attendance only at a readiness class deprives the child of a socially and emotionally enriching socialization experience, which is directed at preparing the child for interaction in the social world at large. The importance of this primary socialization experience is further explained in Chapter Four.

3.2.3 School premises made available to community for the purpose of bridging module readiness classes

Finally, the third type of involvement of the Department includes

making school premises available to local community organizations, for the conducting of school readiness classes for five year olds. These readiness classes involve a daily two-hour programme normally conducted from 12.30 pm to 2.30 pm in classrooms that have been vacated by junior primary pupils. Persons from the community are engaged and paid by community organizations to conduct these classes. Principals and their junior primary staff assist in the supervision of the programme for these pre-schoolers. A recent survey of community based readiness classes, undertaken by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, established that such readiness classes are being conducted at 145 schools in 253 class units, accounting for 7 195 five year old children (Joshua, 1986). Table 3.3 summarizes this information.

Table 3.3

Readiness classes operating during 1986

NO. OF SCHOOLS PARTICIPATING IN PROJECT	NO. OF CLASS UNITS	NO. OF PUPILS
145	253	7 195

Here the researcher indicates that these community appointed teachers possess no formal, academic, or professional qualifications in the area of pre-primary education, but receive in-service training from TREE. However, as much as their contribution in this area is

acknowledged and appreciated, the effectiveness of such a learning environment has not been examined. Further, some of these teachers receive support and attend orientation classes organized by the *Durban and Coastal Society for Early Childhood Education*. Indeed, this offers some compensation for the lack of professional training. It undoubtedly assists in the teachers' development of skills and resourcefulness.

It is further indicated that the Departmental bridging module readiness service is to be extended in the future, and this will inevitably mean that community service will be phased out (Joshua, 1986). In the interim the Department has decided to assist the community service by paying a wage subsidy to the teacher.

The following table represents a summary of the ways in which the Department is involved in the provision of pre-primary education services to Indians.

Table 3.4

Department's involvement in pre-primary education during 1986

CATEGORY	NO. OF SCHOOLS/ UNITS	SUBSIDIZED	APPROX. NO. OF CHILDREN
1	27	17	±2 160
2	40	--	1 000
3	253	--	7 195
			10 355

In the light of the Department's current involvement with pre-primary education, it appears as though pre-primary education per se is being largely interpreted in terms of school-readiness, intellectual development, and generally as offering a preparation to succeed in primary school. What needs to be emphasized is the importance of considering the total development of the whole child, implicitly by offering a preparation for life, in allowing the process of social development to be encouraged and stimulated during early childhood. The significance of early social experience, ie. primary socialization is substantiated in Chapter Four, with reference to the work of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967).

There is a further need to understand the educational process as constituted of wider social conditions which become relative to the learning process. This brings one to the next point of discussion within this Chapter; viz. an analysis of the quality of existing pre-primary education services.

3.3 The quality of existing pre-primary educational services

The quality of pre-school care and education depends on a complex interplay of factors. In the H S R C investigation into pre-primary education, the following criteria were selected as indicators of the quality of educational services, viz.

- 1) percentage of trained staff;
- 2) quality of training;
- 3) ratio of adults to children;
- 4) physical provision including equipment;
- 5) involvement of parents;

- 6) supportive services available;
 - 7) quality and effectiveness of management and supervision;
- (Reilly and Hofmeyr, 1983 : 75).

This analysis provides a satisfactory frame of reference in attempting to understand the quality of the existing pre-school services. It is noted here that the researcher refers to statistics provided for 1983, since official information subsequent to this period was unavailable at the time of the study. It is therefore supplied with the intention of providing an overview of the quality pre-school services available to Indians.

3.3.1 Percentage of trained staff

Perhaps the most important determinant of the standard of education and care rendered at a centre, is the presence of adults who understand the needs of young children and who are trained to support and guide them in their development. Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 75) regard the present percentage of trained pre-school teachers for Indians as being critical. Due to this shortage of qualified pre-primary teachers, much use is made of teacher aides and other untrained personnel. Apart from the University of South Africa which offers a higher education diploma in pre-primary education, it is only until recently that the other two teacher training colleagues under the control of the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, in Durban and Ladysmith have offered a combined pre-primary and junior-primary education diploma. These teacher-training programmes however are mainly junior primary oriented. Another consideration is that students qualifying with this diploma are

obliged to fulfill their bursary/loan obligations to the Department, by teaching at Departmental schools for a specific period. Notable is the fact that this teaching period cannot be undertaken at a pre-primary school, since the Department does not include pre-primary schools under complete state control. Moreover, the few registered pre-primary schools do not attract qualified teachers because of the comparatively lower remuneration that it offers, even in view of partial state subsidization.

3.2.2 Quality of training

Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 79) suggest two important determinants of the effectiveness of training, viz. the entrance qualifications of students, and the ability of lecturers to relate theory to practice. Critical in this regard is the limited availability of demonstration schools, where the integration of theory and practice can be demonstrated to students in training. Community involvement in this regard has been encouraged by the *South African Association for Early Childhood Education*, via its provincial bodies, in offering non-formal training to unqualified pre-primary teachers and aides, thus providing a programme of upgrading skills. Furthermore, the *Durban and Coastal Society for Early Childhood Education* spearheaded the founding of TREE in 1983. Working alongside health and welfare bodies, harnessing community skills, resources and strengths TREE acts as a support system, providing training at grassroots level in nutrition, health, intellectual stimulation and emotional stability. This summarizes the training that is available for pre-primary teachers by the formalized educational sector, and also via the non-formal community organized machinery.

3.3.3 Ratio of adults to children

A low adult-child ratio is considered by most pre-school educators to be an important determinant of an effective pre-school programme. No official statistics regarding the ratio of adults to children were available beyond 1978. What is cited by Garrib (1978 : 149) is that the greater Durban-Pietermaritzburg area reflected a 1 : 28 adult-child ratio.

3.3.4 Physical provision including equipment

The present policy governing physical provision and equipment for registered, privately run pre-primary schools is as follows:

"Any nursery school shall have a roofed play-ground of not less than 1,858m² per pupil, and a garden space of not less than 3,716m² per pupil"
(Indians Education Act, 1965 - Act No. 61 of 1965).

Further, all pre-primary schools seeking registration are subject to local health by-laws, and inspections by departmental inspectors, to assess the suitability and hygienic standards of the premises. Another consideration that deserves mention here, is that the number of purpose built pre-primary institutions is critical. Usually old warehouses, old school buildings, church or community halls and garages were converted to be used as pre-school premises. It is therefore indicated that the physical provision of pre-schools for Indians is seriously inadequate, in terms of the goals of pre-primary education in fostering social, emotional and intellectual development in a stimulating and enriching learning environment.

3.3.5 Involvement of parents

The researcher views parental involvement as an important element in the establishment and maintenance of a continuation of socialization experiences between the home and the pre-primary school. Reilly and Hofmeyr (1983 : 85) list four important factors that they believe are instrumental in influencing parental involvement, viz.

- 1) the effectiveness of the principal in motivating parents;
- 2) leadership potential in the community;
- 3) the tradition of the pre-school; and
- 4) socio-economic factors.

In general terms, parental involvement refers to the rendering of services to the pre-school centre, and also parental participation in the child's learning experiences.

3.3.6' Supportive services available

The emphasis here is that the effectiveness of early childhood programmes in promoting sound, all-round development depends largely on the integration of care, education, health facilities, psychological services and social services in the interests of the child. Therefore pre-school education should be an integrated aspect of community life.

Currently, TREE, an organization that works alongside health and welfare agencies provides a supportive service to the existing pre-school centres. This contributes towards a holistic interpretation of the process of social development, thus promoting a 'readiness-for-life' philosophy.

3.3.7 Quality and effectiveness of management and supervision

The quality of management and supervision of pre-school centres vary considerably, depending on the levels of expertise, experience and responsibility of office-bearers; as well as the stability which is maintained over an extended period of time. This issue appears to be somewhat problematic because of the high degree of turnover of staff at existing pre-primary schools. This is perhaps related to the poor qualifications and therefore limited remuneration received in the job. With this in mind, it is suggested that the quality and effectiveness of management and supervision varies significantly from centre to centre.

3.4 Summary

This Chapter has addressed two important areas. Firstly, it has analysed the Department's involvement in the provision of pre-primary educational service to Indians and secondly, the quality of existing services was analysed.

In general terms the researcher sees the following areas as being problematic in the existing system of pre-primary education:

- 1) inadequate funding, which should be largely a departmental initiative, since the areas that require most development in this sphere, are of low socio-economic status;
- 2) inadequate provision, coupled with a lack of attractive incentive schemes, has resulted in an extremely lowly qualified teaching staff at pre-school centres;
- 3) inadequate provision of suitable premises highlights the need for

purpose built pre-primary schools, which could also serve as demonstration schools to those in teacher training;

- 4) the concept of pre-primary education needs to be re-formulated, in order that it corresponds with the goals of primary socialization. In other words, it should attempt to offer a readiness for life, as opposed to school readiness. In this regard, it should cater for 3-6 year olds, over a period of three years, preceding entry into the formal school system; and
- 5) community initiative and parental involvement needs to be stimulated through pre-primary education, in order to ensure that a socially meaningful and relevant programme is being offered to the child.

These ideas are further elaborated upon in Chapters Six and Seven where interpretations of the data are rendered and recommendations are suggested respectively. These views are formulated in relation to a particular theoretical framework which is extrapolated in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF EDUCATION

4.1 Introduction : A synthesis of ideas

Earlier it was stated that the study attempts to unify the ideas of George Herbert Mead (1934) and Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1967) in interpreting the social condition of education during primary socialization. Here, the researcher will elaborate the basis for this undertaking.

Symbolic interactionism and phenomenology both represent interpretative perspectives in sociology. They focus their analyses on the process of social interaction and their consequences for the individual and society (Charon, 1979 : 23). This interpretative perspective, like most sociological theory constitutes a verbal, "image of society", rather than a rigorously constructed set of theoretical statements organized into a logically coherent format (Charon, 1979 : 25). In presenting a synthesis of ideas, the researcher attempts to overcome the theoretical weaknesses of generality in sociological perspectives by blending the ideas of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967). Overall, it is hoped that the present analysis will be based upon more explicitly stated assumptions which serve to generate abstract theoretical statements, which contain well defined concepts, and which contribute towards a sound understanding of the primary socialization process, and the process of education as constituting a social condition. Although the theoretical contributions of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) are closely interrelated to

each other, for analytical purposes they will be dealt with separately. Finally, a combined theoretical evaluation will be provided.

It is from this point of view then, that the group of children attending the pre-primary class, are perceived as undergoing a dialectical process during the development of the self. It is this idea specifically that will be emphasized throughout the discussion with reference to Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967). In the present study the researcher concentrates on analysing three broad areas which manifest a dialectical process. Firstly, the development of self involves a dialectical process between the *I* and *me* components. Secondly, parental involvement incorporates an ongoing dialectic between the child, the home and the pre-primary class. And thirdly, primary socialization involves a process of cultural transmission which through the process of social interaction creates a dialectical relationship between the cultures of the home and the pre-primary class.

Within this framework it becomes possible to consider the pre-primary educational phase, during primary socialization as offering a preparation for life. In its entirety the current study is directed towards understanding the pre-primary educational phase as constituting an opportunity during which the primary socialization process may be stimulated so as to prepare the child to develop his abilities for participation in society.

4.2 Correlates of the social condition

An attempt is being made to explain the basis of the social condition of education. In general terms, the social condition emerges as a consequence of two important processes that are occurring within this pre-primary educational context; viz. the development of the "self" and social interaction. These correlates therefore have a direct relevance to the process of primary socialization. To provide a meaningful understanding of this process, the researcher refers to Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967).

In the ensuing discussion central concepts in Mead's scheme will be dealt with. The reader must be reminded however, that only the concepts that bear direct relevance to this particular study will receive in-depth analysis, viz. development of self, the dialectical relationship between the *I* and the *me* and the "play stage".

Similarly, Berger and Luckmann's ideas will receive attention, in so far as the primary socialization process is concerned. As such, it becomes important to examine the three moments, viz. internalization, externalization and objectivation.

At the conclusion of this Chapter a combined theoretical interpretation of the social condition of education is provided.

4.3 An analysis of Mead's (1934) ideas on the development of the self during early childhood

4.3.1 Introduction

Mead is an exemplar of symbolic interactionism, a perspective which

is almost exclusively concerned with the microscopic issues of the relationship between consciousness, action and interaction. In addition to being a sociologist, Mead is acclaimed as a philosopher and social psychologist. As a sociologist, Mead gives systematic treatment to the key ideas of symbolic interactionism. He elaborated on the mechanisms through which mind, self and society emerge from social interaction. Generally speaking, Mead draws on a wide range of intellectual resources, viz. pragmatism, Darwinism and behaviourism (Stryker, 1980 : 34).

Blumer (1977 : 136) notes that Mead's scheme centres on a picture of the human being, which is quite different from that presented by the classical sociological approaches. Moreover, his picture of the human being as a participant in group life stands up exceptionally well when subjected to the rigors of empirical testing. Further, this combination of uniqueness of perspective, and of empirical validation appears to be bringing about increasingly serious consideration of Mead's approach (Blumer, 1979 : 136). With this in mind, we shall approach an analysis of the development of self during primary socialization.

4.3.2 Self

It is noteworthy to mention that the discussion here is based mainly on Mead's writing (1934 : 135-226). 'Self' is indeed a key concept in the present analysis. Mead used this term to explain that the human being becomes an object to himself (Blumer, 1981 : 137). The human being can come to see himself or herself in a large variety of ways, each one of which leads to an object of himself or herself.

Thus, individuals may see themselves as being male or female, children or adults; as having an encouraging or a dismal future, and so on. So we see that the human being may come to be many different objects to himself; and in being an object to himself, can approach and talk to himself, and thus is put in a position of interacting with himself.

Such self interaction becomes possible because of the existence of symbols. Symbols are important for human interaction because they invoke interpretation and action, which is what distinguishes human social action from instinctive animal behaviour. Mead, (1934 : 149) calls symbols, "meaningful" or "significant gestures"; which essentially refers to the fact that symbols have meaning to both the user and to others with whom the user communicates. Human social life depends on symbols, since it is through symbols that individuals are socialized, thereby sharing the culture of the group and thus also understanding their roles in relation to the others. The overriding dialectical process involved in the development of the self, may also be observed in the context of symbols: viz, that society depends on the symbol for its continuation, but the human individual is also a product of the symbol. Implicitly therefore, the individual through the use of symbols comes to see self as an object, whilst in interaction with others. It may be said then, that not only does society make possible our ability to think, but it makes possible the self (Charon, 1979 : 64). The self then, is an object, social in origin and an object that undergoes change like all other objects : in interaction.

In the light of these comments, we refer to Mead's emphasis on the social nature of the self (Mead 1934 : 138-140). He explains how an individual can get outside of himself experientially, in such a way, so as to become an object to himself:

"... it is through the process of social conduct or activity in which the given person or individual is implicated ... The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group ... (he) becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or in his experience ... it is impossible to conceive of a self arising outside of social experience" (Mead, 1934 : 138).

One may ask, "How does all this relate to the study at hand?" In addressing the development of the self, which is indeed conceivable during primary socialization, within the pre-primary class and the home environments respectively, an attempt to understand how the individual experiences himself indirectly, from the particular standpoints of the pre-primary class teacher and the parents respectively, is being undertaken. It is proposed that this, contributes significantly to the development of the self. In effect therefore, the self is being defined and redefined from the standpoints of significant others in the course of interaction. In this process of definition and redefinition the components of the self ie. *I* and *me*, operate in terms of a dialectical process. Furthermore, it is suggested here that during the play stage (Mead's second stage in the process of development of self) of development, the process of defining and redefining the self, constitutes a social condition within which education occurs.

Peter Berger (1963 : 106) refers to this view of the self as radical in the sense that the self

"... is no longer a solid, given entity that moves from one situation to another. It is rather a process, continuously created and recreated in each social situation that one enters ... man is not also a social being, but he is social in every respect of his being that is open to empirical investigations".

It is therefore highlighted here that the educational process presents a necessary social condition, because man is social in every respect of his being.

On a more general level, the study proposes that socialization makes possible the fact that the individual is able to get outside of himself and look back at self objectively; ie. as an object, like all other objects in interaction. To this end, the study attempts to examine the ability of these 5-6 year old pre-schoolers to get outside of their selves and to take the perspectives of their significant others, viz. their parents and teachers. The self develops in stages, largely on the basis of taking the role of others. According to Mead (1934) there are three stages in the development of the self, viz. the preparatory-stage, the play-stage and the game-stage. To this sequence in the development of the self, Shibutani (Charon, 1979 : 65) has added a fourth stage, viz. the reference group-stage. But since the subjects in the present study, are between 5-6 years old, and are clearly in the play-stage of development, it is not necessary to discuss the other stages mentioned above.

4.3.3 Play-stage

The play-stage is preceded by the preparatory-stage, during which the child acts as the adults do, largely on the basis of imitating the others' acts toward other objects and also toward himself as an object. In this sense, the preparatory-stage only reflects imitation and therefore lacks meaning and symbolic understanding. At pre-school level, children have developed beyond the preparatory-stage, hence further discussion of this stage is not relevant to the study.

Of specific importance then, the play-stage, comes early in the individual's development - during the acquisition of language. The child, learning language is able to label and define objects with words that have shared meaning. The self undergoes a process of development as it is pointed out and labelled by significant others. Mead (1934) explains that during the play-stage the child assumes the perspectives of certain individuals - viz. 'significant others'; those individuals who take on importance to the individual; those whom the individual desires to impress, who might be those he respects, those he wants acceptance from, those he fears or those with whom he identifies. Significant others, are usually role models, who provide the patterns of behaviour and conduct on which he patterns himself (Elkin and Handel, 1984 : 50). For the child, role models are most likely parents, but can also be other relatives, television heroes or friends. In the present study, it is proposed that the parents and the pre-primary class teachers act as significant others to these 5-6 year olds. But as the child grows older, the significant other possibilities increase greatly, and can be a whole number of individuals, including Jesus, mom and wife, son, the boss, etc. (Berger and

Luckmann, 1967). Whoever our significant others are at any point in our lives are important, precisely because their views of social objects are important to us, including and especially, our view of our selves as social objects.

To the young child, significant others are responsible for the emergence of the self; the child comes to view self as an object because of significant others. Important to note is the fact that Mead (1934) calls this stage the play-stage, because the child assumes the perspective of only one significant other at a time. Implicitly then, individuals are incapable of seeing themselves from the perspective of many persons simultaneously. It is primarily for this reason that the role of parents and pre-school teachers are accorded importance; they significantly influence the child's interaction with others.

Further, during the play-stage, the child's view of the significant others, and his view of self is a segmented one. Justifiably then, the self is a multitude of social objects, each one defined in interaction with a single other. Moreover, play refers to the fact that group rules are unnecessary, that the child and a single other are necessary controls at any single point in time. The child needs to guide self, needs to see self, needs to judge self from the view of only one individual at a time, in order to be successful at play. It may be said then, that play is an individual affair, subject to the rules of single individuals. Mead's play-stage is a time when the child takes the roles of significant others - father, superman, mother, teacher - and acts in a world as if he were these individuals.

In taking the role of these significant others, the child acts toward objects in the world, as they act, and that includes acting toward self as they do. It may be said that this stage is the real beginning of the self as a social object. Therefore, in approaching an understanding of the importance of the play-stage during the development of the self, the relevance of the present study is emphasized.

The importance of significant others during the ongoing dialectic between the dominant *I* and the developing *me* components of self during the play-stage is noted in terms of the child's perceptions of social objects. In view of this fact, the possible existence of a class difference between home and pre-primary class is examined. Indeed, class differences project somewhat varied perceptions of social objects; moreover, whilst having a segmented view of self, the child during the play-stage would become exposed to widely varying social interpretations of self. The significance of the play-stage during the development of self cannot be ignored, because it is the basis upon which the *me* develops. Ultimately this affects how the individual sees society and the "generalized other". Mead's final stage of the development of the self, the game-stage is a period during which the *me* is more mature. The individual is now able to see himself in relation to all the others in the interaction situation.

The importance of the self, for social life may be identified by the following functions: communication, analysis of situations, self-direction, self-control, self-judgement and identification (Charon, 1979 : 71-79). However, this does not necessitate elaboration here,

because they are all processes that reflect the relationship between the *I* and a more developed *me*, in a dialectical process. This process does not feature prominently during the play-stage, which is of central importance in the present study. Having discussed the play-stage, in the process of development of the self, let us now give special attention to the ongoing dialectic between the components of the self, viz. the *I* and the *me*.

4.3.4 *I* and the *Me* components of self

During the play-stage, the *I* constitutes the dominant component of the self. Implicitly then, the *me* does exist, but is still undergoing refinement and development. The *I* is the individual as subject, the *me* constitutes the person as object. The *me* is the social self, the object that arises in interaction, and that one communicates with, directs, judges, identifies and analyses in interaction with others. Mead (1934 : 117) indicates that the person as actor, the live responding person who interacts with the self, and who interacts with others, is the person as *I*. To distinguish between the subjective *I* and the objective *me* it is useful to refer to Mead's (1934 : 175) explanation:

"The *I* is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others, the *me* is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes. The attitude of the others constitute the organized *me* and then one reacts toward that as an *I*".

During the play-stage then, the *I* component of the self, constitutes the pre-school child's response to the attitude of significant others, viz. teachers and parents. The developing *me* component at this stage

projects attitudes of the significant others. When the child develops beyond the play-stage, and enters the game stage, the *me* undergoes a process of development and finally emerges as an organized set of attitudes of others, which the individual assumes in his interaction.

Notably, for the current study, the \mathcal{I} component demands further attention, since it is this aspect that dominates during the play-stage. The \mathcal{I} component is the individual's active nature, which according to Meltzer (1972 : 17), gives propulsion to acts. In the same tradition Richard Travisano as cited by Meltzer (1972 : 11), calls the \mathcal{I} a 'social force', and McCall and Simmons (1966 : 54) describe the \mathcal{I} as the:

"active agent ... which does the thinking,
the knowing, the planning, the acting".

These comments tend to convey the idea that the \mathcal{I} is a dynamic, spontaneous, personal response, which emerges in interaction situations during the play-stage. Implicitly, the individual is not restrained in his actions, by the conceptualization of any organized set of attitudes of others in society. In a sense, this idea can be summed up with the following statement by Charon (1979 : 82):

" \mathcal{I} do; part of what I do is with others,
and part of what I do is with *me*,
including communication, judgement and
the like".

Another way of getting at the essence of the \mathcal{I} is to understand it as that part of the individual that is impulsive, spontaneous, or in other words, never fully socialized and controlled. The \mathcal{I} gives the

sense of freedom, of initiative, it may be said therefore that the situation is there for us to act, but exactly how we will act never gets into experience until after the action takes place (Mead, 1934 : 177-178). This idea emphasizes the fact that the *I* is not subjected to any socially created controls, on the basis of judgement expressed by others.

Importantly, Natanson (1973 : 17) indicates that the distinction between the *I* and the *me* is really only an analytical one, and therefore the two aspects of the self are not to be taken as separate parts but should rather be understood in terms of a complex inter-relationship. Implicitly therefore, the self can be seen as a product of the dialectical relationship between the *I* and the *me*. For Mead, the distinction between the *I* and the *me* is a methodological one; in actual life situations the self with its *I* and *me* components is an integral unit, that may be called the personality.

In short, the *I* should be understood as the source of human energy; it propels us, it may force one to act in ways that are contrary to our socialization. The *I* is the person in action. It is the person as subject, acting with others and with *me*. It's existence is meant to deny the possibility of passivity. Like the social self, the *I* becomes one source of freedom and creativity, for it denies the possibility of complete control.

4.3.5 Mind

To Mead (1934), the mind is the twin emergent of the self; they arise in interaction together. The mind may be understood as an

integration of Mead's concepts of self and symbol. Mind therefore, is the person in symbolic interaction with self. Mind is action; action that uses symbols and directs these symbols toward the self. By this process, society gives the human being the tools that make mind possible, viz. self and symbols.

Minded activity is a process which involves interaction with one's self. An in-depth analysis of mind lies outside the realm of the play stage of the development of the self; and is consequently not required for the purposes of the present study.

4.3.6 Taking the role of the other

This is the activity that children perform when they play mommy's role, or daddy's, or the policeman's. Children leave their own bodies behind, in a manner of speech, and imagine themselves in the shoes of others, playing at the roles of others, perceiving themselves and the world from the perspectives of others. As they imagine, so they act; and they act toward self and others as though they were someone else. In discussing the importance of significant others in the development of the self, Mead (1934) indicates that these others, who are so important to the child, constitute those whose roles the child takes in viewing self (Charon, 1979 : 97).

It is this ability to get outside himself or herself, and to imaginatively see the world in the roles of others, that allows the child to see self objectively, from out there. Within this context, the concept 'taking the role of the other', is of primary importance in the present study; since the subjects to be analysed are pre-

school children, whose selves are in the play-stage of development, and hence continuously involved in playing at the roles of others, who are important to them. Generally, it may be said that role-taking, refers to the process of taking the perspective of the other; seeing the world from the others' perspective and directing self accordingly. Self, is dependent on this process; the three stages in the development of the self, mentioned earlier, may be related to this process of role-taking. However, only the play-stage is of relevance to this study.

During the play-stage the child takes the role of significant others, seeing self, directing self, controlling self, judging self, identifying self and analysing self from the perspectives of important individuals. It is emphasized that during this stage, no organized perspective on the self has, as yet formed. It means therefore, that the child takes the role of one individual at a time. To this end, the current study attempts to examine the process of taking the role of the other, as it is assumed by a group of pre-schoolers, who are exposed to pre-school teachers and parents as role-models during their primary socialization.

Mead (1934) argues that role-taking is the process by which we come to know the other first, before we actually come to distinguish self (Charon, 1979 : 98). By this is meant that the child initially imitates the acts of others, and in an early pre-symbolic stage, assumes the action, but not yet the perspective of the other. From this simple beginning in imitation, it is argued, comes the earliest glimmerings of that object we call self, as the child directs imitative acts toward itself.

Play is a good example of role-taking, and is important in the present context since it contributes to one's understanding of the development of self. Through the medium of play, children are exposed to roles occupied by their significant others. In this way, they become initiated into the world of social roles - understanding the world from the significant others' point of view. Gradually, the child, in the process of play relates specific actions to specific experiences in the social environment. As this developmental process continues, the child comes to see himself as an object in interaction with others. Therefore, it may be said that role-taking during the play-stage is significant because, in exposing the child to the roles of other individuals, the child is in fact being initiated into the group and therefore, to society at large. Implicitly then, society features throughout the development of the self. To highlight this societal influence, let us now turn to Mead's (1934) explanation of the concept 'society'.

4.3.7 Society

Society simply stated, refers to all group life; that is, individuals in interaction doing the kinds of things discussed earlier: role-taking, communicating, interpreting each other, adjusting their acts to one another, directing and controlling self, sharing perspectives.

Society then, is defined first of all as individuals acting in relation to each other, taking each other into account. Society therefore, is an ever-present, ongoing dialectical phenomenon. As such, it does not demand any special attention over and above other concepts, because it exists in all interaction situations. Mead

(1934 : 378-379) explains that society is symbolic interaction in which individuals take each other into account, and communicate as they act. Hence, society is people communicating. It is through understanding each other's meaning, through taking the role of the other, through pointing out to self what one points out to others and what they in turn are pointing out to us, that people are able to come together, to form a collectivity and continue to act toward one another meaningfully, for any length of time. Generally, human society demands individuals who are able to take the role of the other, who possess selves and who use minds in their encounters with other human beings.

However, it is stressed here that both self and mind are central to understanding society because, "society makes man" and "man makes society" (Mead, 1934 : 263). Here again, we observe the ongoing dialectical process, that the individual enters into with society at large. This reciprocal influence process between society and the individual becomes possible through the mechanisms of role-taking, development of the self, mind activity, definition of the situation and interaction with others.

One may now ask, "What is the relevance of the concept society, then, for the present study?" In order to understand the social condition of education, one needs to understand that the educational process, and in this context, pre-primary schooling, is directly related to the conditions of society at large. Further, if one looks specifically at the pre-primary phase of education as constituting a social condition, one needs mainly to analyse the process of primary socialization. In

its analysis, the study thus far, has taken the development of the self, to be a key feature during primary socialization.

How then, does the development of the self, relate to the concept society? As has already been explained, society constitutes the individual's social environments. In this way, during the development of the self, the child's significant others, in influencing him, expose him to societal standards of behaviour. Gradually, by means of the *I* - *me* dialectic, the individual comes to experience society. It is in this broadest sense that the concept society, becomes relevant to the present study.

4.3.8 An overview of Mead's (1934) ideas that are utilized in the present study

The discussion so far, has concentrated on the concept self, as has been conceptualized by Mead (1934). Mead (1934) explained that the self undergoes three stages of development. We have seen that the individual's ability to become an object to himself, in his thinking, is directly related to his progression in the development of his self. For the present study, the play-stage of the development of the self has been emphasized, largely because the study is directed at 5-6 year old subjects. Significantly, it has been pointed out, that during this level of development, the *I* component of the self dominates during the individual's interaction with others. The *me* concept does exist, but is still undergoing development and refinement.

The *I* and the *me* components relate to each other, in the form of an ongoing, dialectical process. The *I* constitutes the individual as subject, and the *me* constitutes the person as object. The *me* is an

organized set of attitudes of others which the individual internalizes, and uses as a yardstick over his own actions. During the play-stage, the individual has not as yet developed an organized set of attitudes, i.e. the "generalized other"; but rather he is only during play, able to take on the roles of significant others, one at a time. Finally, it has been stated, that society is always present during interaction, and even at this early stage of development of the self, the individual experiences society, through the perceptions of his significant others.

Using these ideas as a theoretical basis, the present study is directed at understanding the development of the self, as it occurs during primary socialization, as constituting a social condition during which education occurs in a pre-primary class.

4.4 Establishing a link between the ideas of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967)

The key points that have been stated thus far are that during early childhood, the self undergoes a process of development. This process involves a dialectical relationship between the dominant *I* and the gradually emerging *me* components. It is indeed this process that necessarily creates the social condition within which education occurs at pre-school level.

In an attempt to relate these ideas to those posited by Berger and Luckmann, the discussion focuses on the work done by Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 149-157). First they attempt to explain this process of development of the self, and called it 'primary socialization'. Second, they stated that society existed as both objective and

subjective reality; an idea that is closely associated with Mead's *I* and *me* concepts. Third, they explain that society must be understood in terms of an ongoing dialectical process; which for them is composed of three moments: externalization, objectivation and internalization.

Clearly, the contribution made by Berger and Luckmann (1967) is useful for analysis in the present study, because it enhances one's understanding of the dialectical process taking place during the development of self. Let us now analyse the concept primary socialization, in terms of these three moments.

4.5 Berger and Luckmann's (1967) explanation of primary socialization

4.5.1 Introduction

At the outset, it needs to be stated that the individual is not born a member of society; rather he is born with a pre-disposition towards "sociality", and he becomes a member of society (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 : 149). Therefore, in the life of every individual there is a temporal sequence, during which he is inducted into participation in the societal dialectic. However, the three moments constituting this dialectic, are not to be thought of as occurring in any temporal sequence. Rather, society and each part of it, are simultaneously characterized by these three moments. For analytical purposes only, we shall begin our discussion with the process of internalization.

4.5.2 Internalization

To refer to the societal dialectic, Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 149) explain that internalization marks the initiation of this process.

Internalization refers to the immediate apprehension or interpretation of an objective event as expressing meaning, that is, as a manifestation of another's subjective processes, which thereby becomes subjectively meaningful to himself (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 : 149). Mead (1934) used the concept 'interpretation' to refer to this process of perception and understanding.

In this sense, internalization is the basis, first for an understanding of one's fellowmen, and second, for the apprehension of the world as a meaningful and social reality. This apprehension begins with the individual taking over the world in which others already live. To relate this idea to Mead's scheme, it may be explained that, during the play-stage, children begin to take on the roles of their significant others. It is through the significant other that the child begins to understand other human beings, and also the world as constituting a meaningful social reality. In this way, an ongoing mutual identification is established between the individual and the significant other.

It is through the process of socialization that an individual becomes a member of society. Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 150) define socialization as, the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it. Primary socialization, it is explained is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 : 150).

Immediately it is evident that primary socialization is the most

important, since all secondary socialization has to resemble that of primary socialization. Every individual is born into an objective social structure within which he encounters the significant others who are in charge of his socialization. However, even during this early stage of development, the individual is not a passive recipient; he actively participates in the socialization process. In the case of the present study, significant others are represented by the parents and the pre-primary class teachers. These significant others are imposed upon the child. Therefore, their definitions of the situation are posited for the child as objective reality. Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 150) assert that the significant others who mediate the objective world to the individual, modify it in the course of mediating it.

Of importance here, is the fact that the individual not only takes on the roles and attitudes of others, but in the same process takes on their world. The importance of primary socialization may be understood clearly, if we accept that it involves more than cognitive learning. Like Mead, Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 151) emphasize that primary socialization takes place under circumstances that are highly charged emotionally; and it is even suggested that without such emotional attachment to the significant others, the learning process would be difficult, if not impossible. The child identifies with the significant others in a variety of emotional ways. Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 151) explain that whatever these may be, internalization occurs only as identification occurs. The child takes on the significant others roles and attitudes, that is, he internalizes them and makes them his own. And by this identification

with significant others the child becomes capable of identifying himself, of acquiring a subjectively coherent and plausible identity. With reference to Mead's (1934) thought, the self is a reflected entity. Through reflexive activity of the self, the individual becomes what he is addressed as, by his significant others.

Indeed, this is not a one-sided mechanical process. It entails a dialectic between identification by others and self-identification, between objectively assigned and subjectively appropriated identity. This dialectic is present each moment the individual identifies with his significant others. This idea is closely aligned to the dynamic conception of the individual in the interaction process. Individuals are not passive recipients, who may be moulded by their significant others during primary socialization. It is through this dialectic between identification by others, and self-identification, that Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) explain how it is possible for the child during primary socialization, to be an active participant in social interaction. What is important in the present context, is that the child not only takes on the roles and attitudes of others, but in the same process, takes on their world. That is to say, that all identifications take place within horizons that imply a specific social world. Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 152) explain that subjective appropriation of identity and subjective appropriation of the social world are merely different aspects of the same process of internalization, mediated by the same significant others.

Primary socialization creates in the child's consciousness a progressive abstraction from the roles and attitudes of specific others to roles

and attitudes in general. Importantly, it is noted that during primary socialization the child has no choice in the selection of his significant others; his identification with them is quasi-automatic. For the same reason, his internalization of their particular reality is quasi-inevitable. The child does not internalize the world of his significant others as one of many possible worlds. He internalizes it as *the* world; the only existent and only conceivable world. It is for this reason that the world internalized in primary socialization is so much more firmly entrenched in consciousness than worlds internalized in secondary socialization.

The specific contents that are internalized in primary socialization vary, of course, from society to society. It is language that must be internalized above all, for it is the vehicle of the socialization process. With language and by means of it, various motivational and interpretative schemes are internalized as institutionally defined. These schemes provide the child with institutionalized programmes; both the immediately applicable and the anticipatory, differentiate ones identity from that of the others. Finally, there is internalization of at least the rudiments of the legitimating apparatus; the child learns why the programmes are what they are.

During primary socialization then, the individual's first world is constructed. Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 155) suggest that its peculiar quality of firmness is to be accounted for, at least in part, by the inevitability of the individual's relationship to his very first significant others. The world of childhood, in its luminous reality,

is thus conducive to confidence in the significant others and also in their definitions of the situation. Hence, the world of childhood is massively and indubitably real. It is explained further, that the world of childhood is so constituted, as to instil in the individual a nomic structure in which he may have confidence that 'everything is all right' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 : 156).

Primary socialization ends when the concept of the generalized other has been established in the consciousness of the individual. At this point he is an effective member of society and in subjective possession of a self and a world. But this internalization of society, identity and reality is not a matter of once and for all. Similarly, Mead's explanation of the development of the self, in relation to society and mind, is indeed never complete. It may be said therefore, that socialization is never total and never finished.

With this in mind, let us proceed with an analysis of the concept and how it features during primary socialization.

4.5.3 Externalization

Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 66) explain that after birth the human organism is not only in the outside world, but is interrelating with it in a number of complex ways. It may be said therefore, that the human organism is still developing biologically, while already standing in a relationship to its environment. That is to say, that the process of becoming man takes place in an interrelationship with an environment. In the light of this statement, it is significant to state that this environment is both a natural one and a social

one. Therefore, the developing human being not only interrelates with a particular natural environment, but with a specific cultural and social order, which is mediated to him by the significant others who are in charge of his socialization.

The formation of the self, then, must also be understood in relation to both the ongoing organismic development and the social process in which the natural and the human environment are mediated through the significant others. It goes without saying, that the self cannot be adequately understood apart from the particular social context in which it was shaped. This idea is closely linked to the question of how the social order itself arises. The most general answer to this question is that social order is a human product, or more precisely, an ongoing human production.

It is produced by man in the course of his ongoing externalization. Social order exists only as a product of human activity. Both in its genesis (social order is the result of past human activity) and its existence, in any instant of time, is a human product. Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 70) emphasize that the human being must ongoingly externalize itself in activity. They explain further, that the inherent instability of the human organism makes it imperative that man himself provides a stable environment for his conduct. This stability is created by means of institutionalization. However, institutionalization is preceded by processes of habitualization (ie. any action that is repeated frequently becomes cast into a pattern which can then be reproduced with an economy of effort) (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 : 70-71).

The institutional world then, is experienced as an objective reality. Upon entry into society, these institutions, or patterns of behaviour as historical and objective phenomena confront the individual as undeniable facts. The institutions are there, external to him, persistent in their reality, whether he likes it or not. Since institutions exist as external reality, the individual during primary socialization cannot understand them by introspection, or mind activity, as Mead (1934) referred to it. He must therefore, go out and learn about them.

Implicitly it is through an initial process of imitation (Mead's preparatory-stage), and later through taking the role of the other (ie. significant others during the play-stage) that the young child constantly externalizes his perceptions of society, as they are mediated to him by his significant others. But, this process of externalization, does not refer to actions that are controlled by societal standards. To come back to Mead's (1934) explanation, we refer here to the *I - me* dialectic. Externalization as it occurs during the play-stage of the development of the self, is governed predominantly by the activity of the impulsive *I* component. The *me* still in its early stages of development, does not feature strongly in the individual's externalization during primary socialization. Of the three moments discussed by Berger and Luckmann (1967), it may be stated that during primary socialization externalization dominates in the dialectical process that is necessarily created by these three moments.

In essence, through the influence of the significant others, the

individual internalizes specific behaviour patterns, and in the course of social activity he impulsively externalizes these behaviour patterns that he has been exposed to. Thus far, we acknowledge a fundamental relationship between internalization and externalization in a continuing dialectical process during primary socialization. As the individual externalizes himself, he constructs the world into which he is being externalized. In the process of externalization, he projects his own meanings into reality, thereby constructing his world (Berger and Luckmann, 1967 : 122).

Let us now consider the third moment, viz. objectivation, in an attempt to understand the ongoing dialectical process during primary socialization.

4.5.4 Objectivation

Berger and Luckmann (1967 : 79) define objectivation as, the process by which the externalized products of human activity attain the character of objectivity. It implies that the institutional world is objectivated human activity, and so is every single institution. Here it is important to emphasize that the relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains a dialectical one. That is, man and his social world interact with each other, thereby mutually influencing and changing each other. It may be said, that the product acts back upon the producer.

Externalization, objectivation and internalization are moments in a continuing dialectical process. It is already possible to see the fundamental relationship of these three moments in social reality.

Each of them corresponds to an essential characterization of the social world. Society is a human product, society is an objective reality, and man is a social product.

From this brief discussion of the concept objectivation, it evidently does not play a dominant role during primary socialization, merely because the individual has not as yet acquired an objective conception of society. The individual is mainly involved in an emotional relationship with his significant others. Consequently, through taking the role of the other, he acts in situations as they do. During primary socialization it appears that children imaginatively adopt the roles played by their significant others; implicitly they have not developed any objective view of society. However, the influence of society is constantly present, but during the play-stage they are exposed to it only in so far as the experiences made available to them, through the perceptions of their significant others.

To relate this concept to Mead's (1934) frame of reference, we may say that the child during the play-stage is continuously exposed to society, but the objective world, only really begins to take on meaning as the *me* concept undergoes development. It is because the *me* is not prominent during the play-stage that one cannot elaborate on the process of objectivation in the present context.

Nevertheless, objectivation does occur during primary socialization, as the *me* continues to develop in the course of the *I* - *me* dialectic. Within this context, we may speak of the primary socialization process as an ongoing dialectical process composed of internalization, externalization and objectivation.

4.5.5 An overview of Berger and Luckmann's (1967) ideas that are utilized in the present study

Clearly, Berger and Luckmann (1967) have shown that primary socialization entails a dialectic process involving internalization, externalization and objectivation. Of importance for the present study is their emphasis that externalization dominates the dialectical process during primary socialization. This idea largely strengthens Mead's (1934) notion of the dominating *I* component during the development of the self. Berger and Luckmann's (1967) contribution is especially noteworthy here, because it presents primary socialization as a dynamic basis upon which all future life develops.

4.6 Summary

The present Chapter, in the form of a theoretical presentation, is the basis upon which the current study is conceived. By that is meant, that the effectiveness of the social condition of education in an Indian pre-primary class, is dependent upon the development of the self during the process of primary socialization. Being a sociological study, the researcher has examined the theoretical formulations of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) concerning social development during early childhood.

The social condition of education within Mead's (1934) frame of reference refers to the development of the self. Mead (1934) explains that the development of the self during early childhood is a dynamic process whereby significant others mediate society to the child. This mediation involves self-activity which takes the form of the *I - me* dialectic.

In its larger context, this idea is elaborated by Berger and Luckmann (1967) within the scope of the primary socialization process. Here, pre-primary education is to be understood as constituting a social condition, in so far as it occurs during primary socialization, which is largely emotionally laden. Similar to Mead (1934), Berger and Luckmann (1967) assert that primary socialization is a dynamic dialectical process involving internalization, externalization and objectivation.

It may be concluded from these theoretical contributions that underlying the educational context of pre-primary education, is a more basic social condition. The importance of this social condition is realized in terms of the importance of the primary socialization process. The latter forms the foundation of all future life. In a sense, the potential adult is being formed during the development of the self.

Chapter Five

METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

5.1 Introduction

As a sociological analysis the present study rests on three inter-related activities: theory, research and substantive interest. It is acknowledged that theory cannot be judged independently of research activity. Research methods are of little use until they are seen in the light of theoretical perspectives. Similarly, substantive speciality is of little use or interest until it is firmly embedded within a theoretical framework, and grounded upon sound research strategies. The researcher believes that these separate elements of the sociological act must be united; as appears in the research act. By this process the researcher attempts to proceed from the realm of theory to substantive issues in the empirical social world.

By applying a set of theoretical propositions to all phases of the research act; theory, research and substantive interest can be combined. What is needed therefore is a common theoretical framework that can be consistently applied to all phases of the sociological act. In the current study the set of theoretical propositions are extracted from both Mead's symbolic interactionist framework and Berger and Luckmann's phenomenological scheme; and are systematically applied. Accordingly a theoretical framework has been constructed to seek an explanation of the effectiveness of the social condition of education in an Indian pre-primary class.

5.2 Principles underlying the research activity

Let us now consider some of the methodological considerations of this interpretative scope of sociology. According to Mead, central to the interactionists view of research activity is the method of *naturalistic behaviourism* (Denzin, 1978 : 8). This involves the studied commitment to actively enter the worlds of interacting individuals. It involves an attempt to develop theories about interaction that rest on behaviours, language, definitions and attitudes of those studied. Denzin (1978 : 8) explains that naturalistic behaviourism attempts to blend the symbolic conversations people have with themselves, with their observable behaviours and utterances. The basic unit of analysis for naturalistic behaviourism is the joint act or the occasions of interaction. By extension of this idea to the present study, primary socialization is understood in terms of experiences in which the child participates.

Further, Denzin (1978 : 9) states that if human behaviour is observable at two levels - the symbolic and the behavioural - then central to understanding such behaviour are the range and variety of symbols and symbolic meanings shared, communicated and manipulated by interacting selves in social interaction. Society contributes two essential elements that reflect directly on concrete interactions: the symbols communicated through the socialization process and the concrete behavioural setting in which behaviour occurs.

The *first* methodological principle is that symbols and interaction must be brought together before an investigation is complete (Denzin, 1978 : 11). This principle, the researcher believes is achieved by

utilizing non-participant observation and the interview schedule as data collection techniques. In this way, the symbols that are meaningful to the child's experiences within the home, are measured against his observable behaviour at the pre-primary class. Overall, the effectiveness of the social condition of education in the pre-primary class, may be analysed.

The *second* methodological principle suggests that because symbols, meanings and definitions are forged into self-definitions and attitudes, the reflective nature of selfhood must be captured (Denzin, 1978 : 10). That is, the investigator must indicate how shifting definitions of self are reflected in ongoing patterns of behaviour. In the present context this principle is understood in terms of the *I - me* dialectic suggested by Mead; and also the dialectic of the three moments of interaction as suggested by Berger and Luckmann. This is discussed further in Chapter Six.

To accomplish this task, it is necessary for the researcher to view human conduct from the point of view of those she is studying - viz. to take the role of the acting other. In doing this, Becker (1964 : 273) asserts that a distinction must be made between everyday conceptions of reality and scientific conceptions of reality.

Taking the role of the acting other, leads to the *third* methodological principle : The investigator must simultaneously link human symbols and conceptions of self and the social circles and relationships that furnish those symbols of conceptions (Denzin, 1978 : 12). Furthermore, failure to achieve this link leaves studies of human conduct at an

individual level, and consequently the impact of broader social structures on the subjects' conduct can only be indirectly inferred (Denzin 1978 : 12). In the present study this link is established in so far as the analysis seeks to locate the community along a continuum of social class categories. This contributes largely towards an understanding of the social condition within which the pre-school education prevails.

The *fourth* methodological principle derives from the statement that, any society provides its members with a variety of behaviour settings within which interaction can occur (Denzin, 1978 : 12). The implication therefore is that research methods must consider the 'situated aspects' of human conduct. That is, whenever sociologists engage in research activity, they must consider the dynamics of their specific observational settings (Denzin, 1978 : 12). It is acknowledged that situations vary widely in terms of the norms governing conduct within them; furthermore participants in any behavioural setting, both create and interpret the rules that influence institutionalized behaviour within that institution. In this regard, Denzin (1978 : 13) suggests that social selves are situated objects that reflect ongoing definitions of social situations. In the present study, this principle is given consideration in that the preschoolers' social experiences and behaviour patterns are assessed in both the situations of the home and the pre-primary class, by interviewing the parents and the teachers respectively. Moreover, in the current study, this principle has special significance in that it is closely linked to the hypothesis (situated aspects of human behaviour) which is based on the fundamental importance of the

social environment during primary socialization.

The *fifth* methodological principle is that research methods must be capable of reflecting both stable and processual behavioural forms (Denzin, 1978 : 13). The interpretative scope of sociology necessitates the fact that process or sequence be given primary emphasis in any scientific investigation. All social processes involve time and its passage. The sequences or phases that persons go through as they move from one stage to another must be covered and causally analysed before an investigation is completed. The present study, in giving central importance to the concepts development of the self and primary socialization, analyses process in the form of the *I - me* dialectic, and the dialectic of the three moments of interaction respectively. At large, the study asserts that the social condition of education in the pre-primary class materializes during the process of primary socialization, which constitutes a basic phase of all human social development.

The *sixth* methodological principle reflects directly on the role of methods in the entire sociological enterprise (Denzin, 1978 : 14). Notably, the very act of engaging in social research must be seen as a process of symbolic interaction. The research methods that are employed must become the major means of acting on the symbolic environment, and making those actions consensual in the broader community of sociologists. In this context, both concepts and research methodology act as empirical sensitizers of scientific observation. Concepts and methods open new realms of observation, but concomitantly close others. Two important consequences follow:

if each method leads to different features of empirical reality, then no single method can ever completely capture all the relevant features of that reality; consequently sociologists must attempt to employ multiple methods in the analyses of the same empirical events (Denzin, 1978 : 15). This is termed methodological triangulation. Furthermore, Denzin (1978 : 16) argues that methods do not do all the relevant work for the researcher; thus underlying the use of methods must be a sociological imagination. Further, Mills as quoted in Inkeles (1966 : 2) explains the ongoing cycle of social development in terms of the sociological imagination. Here Mills (1966 : 2) explains that to exercise a sociological imagination one requires information, the skill of reason and a quality of mind that will help one to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve a clear idea of what is going on in the world and within oneself.

In an attempt to apply this principle in the present study a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods has been utilized. Through utilizing the method of non-participant observation at the pre-primary class, the researcher has attempted to verify data obtained by means of the interview method. It is also for this reason that the researcher herself administered the interview schedule, rather than employing trained interviewers. By adopting this procedure in the data collection phase it was believed that a comprehensive and reliable body of knowledge may be obtained. Further, the interview schedule included a combination of both fixed alternative and open-ended questions, which was also utilized so as to obtain valid information. These aspects are dealt with in depth later in this Chapter.

The *seventh* and final methodological principle suggested by Denzin, (1978 : 16) indicates that from an interactionist perspective:

"... the proper use of concepts is at first sensitizing, and only later operational, further, the proper theory becomes formal : and last, the proper causal proposition becomes universal".

By sensitizing concepts Denzin (1978 : 16) refers to concepts that are not transformed immediately into operational definitions through an attitude scale or checklist. Operational definitions, he explains, defines how a concept will be observed. Denzin (1978 : 16) explains further that in adopting a sensitizing approach, the researcher will leave the concept non-operationalized until he enters the field and learns the processes representing it and the specific meanings attached to it. In the current study, a sensitizing approach towards understanding the primary socialization process has been followed. On the basis of a literature study and initial observation, the researcher gained some insight into the processes and experiences representing primary socialization and the meanings attached to it by the persons involved in the study. Once the meanings of the concept primary socialization had been established the researcher employed various research methods to measure its characteristics. In this instance, a combination of fixed alternative and open-ended questions were included in the interview schedule, as well as non-participant observation in the group being studied, were the strategies adopted in operationalizing the concept. Evidently, the sensitizing approach merely delays the point at which operationalization occurs. In summary, this principle asserts, that methods must be constructed so

that they contribute to formal theory, while at the same time permitting sensitizing concept analysis and the discovery and verification of universal interactive propositions.

In this study an attempt has been made to follow the seven principles discussed above, throughout the procedure and techniques employed in the presentation and gathering of data. Let us now concentrate on this latter aspect.

5.3 Procedure and techniques used in the gathering and presentation of data

It is noted that regardless of the phenomenon being studied, all research projects involve the same basic stages, namely:

- 1) formulation of a theoretical issue;
- 2) formulation of a research problem and stating the hypothesis;
- 3) selection of the appropriate type of study;
- 4) measurement of information items;
- 5) data collection;
- 6) data processing;
- 7) interpretation of reporting; and
- 8) integration of findings in theory or pragmatic use; (Bailey, 1982 : 5-11).

In this section an attempt is made to provide an account of the data collection phase of the present study. There are indeed many methods of data collection, ranging from literature studies, observing respondents, going over existing documents, through to asking respondents questions, using either a written form such as a questionnaire or an

interview. On the basis of a checklist for evaluating the use of alternative research methods offered by Simon (1978 : 106) the selection of appropriate research methods for use in the present study was made. The following techniques were utilized in the research procedure:

- 1) review of relevant literature;
- 2) consultation with authoritative sources of information;
- 3) non-participant observation;
- 4) pre-test of questionnaire;
- 5) the interview schedule (data collection instrument);
- 6) the choice of locale;
- 7) the sample;
- 8) data processing; and
- 9) computer programming and statistical techniques.

Let us now examine each of these in greater detail.

5.3.1 Review of relevant literature

Chapters Two and Three of the study represent the results of a literature survey, and to some extent consultation with authoritative sources of information. This imperative stage in the research process was undertaken in order that a valid and reliable method of data collection be formulated. Furthermore, establishing a link between theory and empirical research necessitates the undertaking of a literature survey. An attempt is made in Chapter Six to explain the findings of the present study in relation to the theoretical propositions outlined in Chapter Four.

5.3.2 Consultation with authoritative sources of information

The scarcity of sociologically based literature pertaining to pre-primary education for Indian children, necessitated this stage in the research process. This paucity of information is largely due to the fact that pre-primary education for Indians is still in its developmental stages (refer to Chapter Three) a factor which considerably influenced the researcher in investigating this phase of the educational process.

Consultation was entered into with various community-based organizations, who in some way or the other had attempted to promote the concept of pre-school education in the Indian community. These casual discussions were entered into with members of the Greenwood Park Women's Circle; the Desainagar Women's Circle, the La Mercy Women's Circle; the Sanathan Hindu Temple Society; the Tongaat Child Welfare Society; the Tongaat Child Welfare Pre-School Committee. These discussions revealed the community's need for the provision of pre-school education facilities, and also reflected community interest in this phase of education. However, none of these organizations exhibited a clear conceptualization of the importance of pre-school education in the social development of the child. Overall it was revealed that community initiative was still facing its early developmental stages, and therefore needed much support from authoritative sources.

The next phase of consultation involved visits to a few pre-primary education facilities. These included Noddy's Pre-School; Break-Village Pre-School; SADPPS; Fairy Glen Pre-Primary School; Get-Me-Ready Pre-Primary School. These visits were undertaken in order to

observe the social environment surrounding the pre-primary educational process. However, what emerged was a strong indication of the influence of class based experiences within the functioning of the pre-primary class. Children that attended the pre-schools situated in middle and upper-middle class areas appeared to be more enthusiastic to participate in activities suggested by the teacher. This was perhaps due to the fact that these activities were common in the field of their social experiences. In the pre-primary schools situated in lower and working class areas, the teacher played a more dominant role, demonstrating activities which the children then attempted. A striking feature of this situation, was indeed the lack of spontaneity, which is usually apparent in the behaviour of young children. This basic experiential difference among the various pre-primary schools was suggestive of the influence of social class during primary socialization.

The third category of consultation with authoritative sources involved communication with the official education authorities, viz. the House of Delegates: Department of Education and Culture. The results of this communication is discussed at length in Chapter Two.

It was on the basis of these consultations that the hypothesis was formulated and a relevant method of data collection was developed.

5.3.3 Methods of data collection

In keeping with the sixth principle underlying the research activity, (viz. sociologists must attempt to employ multiple methods in the analysis of the same empirical events) the researcher, in the present

study has attempted to utilize both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative analysis constituted the use of a questionnaire, which was administered by the researcher in the form of an interview schedule. The qualitative analysis involved a period of non-participant observation, undertaken by the researcher, at the SADPPS. These methods are explained more fully in the ensuing discussion.

5.3.4 The interview schedule

An objective survey using an interview schedule was utilized as the means of data collection. These schedules have a number of advantages. Blauner (1960 : 354) asserted that they are quite straightforward, and in general are easily understood by the respondents, and they are easy to administer. Further, Goode and Hatt (1952 : 184-190) suggest other advantages as well, namely, flexibility, a relatively better response rate as compared to a mailed questionnaire, the presence of the interviewer to observe non-verbal behaviour, the ability of the interviewer to control the environment, for instance by ensuring privacy during the interview. Other advantages include the interviewers control over question order, recording of spontaneous responses, and ensuring completeness of the questionnaire. At this point it is noteworthy to mention some of the disadvantages of the interview schedule method. It demands more skill than a questionnaire in its administration. Moreover, each individual respondent has to be questioned separately whereas questionnaires may be administered simultaneously to large numbers of people. Furthermore, questionnaires as compared to an interview schedule technique, exhibit standardized wording, standardized order of questions, standardized instructions for recording responses

and ensure some uniformity from one measurement situation to another. However, it has been suggested that from a psychological point of view, this uniformity may be more apparent than real (Seltiz, et al., 1959 : 239) especially because a question with standard wording may have diverse meanings for different people and may even be incomprehensible to some.

In the present study the interview schedule method was considered to be the most suitable since it was expected that the respondents being from a lower economic area, were possibly poorly educated and may therefore not be able to fill in a questionnaire independently. Furthermore, the researcher was interested in observing the social and material conditions of the home environment. Although visits to each home, were of a relatively short duration, it contributed significantly towards the development of a profile of the home conditions during primary socialization, since it provided a first-hand opportunity to observe the nature of social interaction in the home situation. The researcher's presence also helped to verify some of the biographical information provided. Still, in keeping with the sixth principle outlined by Denzin (1978 : 16), the implementation of the interview schedule method allowed the researcher to exercise a sociological imagination, regarding the nature of primary socialization experiences that are made available within these homes.

The interview schedule was employed as an instrument in obtaining a profile of parents and teachers involved in the socialization of a group of young children. It was decided to interview only the mother of the preschooler, firstly because the mother is possibly most

closely involved with the child during this phase of development, and secondly it appeared to be more likely that the mother, usually a housewife, would be available to participate in the interview. The teachers were interviewed in order to obtain a profile of the nature of socialization in the pre-primary class context, and also the social influences of the home upon the child's behaviour.

Since the interview schedule was directed at obtaining only a profile of the role of parents and teachers during primary socialization, and not at specifically measuring any attitude, the development of an elaborate rating scale was not necessary. Responses to all questions were in the form of fixed alternative categories, whilst allowing the respondent to furnish a response not catered for amongst the given alternatives, by including a category marked 'other', or 'undecided', or alternatively required some degree of elaboration on the part of the respondent.

A basic interview schedule was constructed at first, and later adapted for parents and teachers respectively. These adaptations concentrated largely on technical aspects (rather than content) such as terms of reference and the different environmental contexts.

The interview schedule was constructed so as to relate to the assumptions underlying the present study, which are fully discussed in Chapter One. Accordingly the interview schedule was developed in terms of four broad categories: parental involvement; development of the self; the socio-cultural environment; and a biographical section. In this way, an attempt is made to satisfy the third goal of the study, viz. to explain the effectiveness of the social condition

of education in the pre-primary class, with reference to the development of self, parental involvement and cultural transmission. Each of these categories contained in the interview schedule warrants some elaboration.

Firstly, parental involvement in the pre-primary educational process is afforded much emphasis in the present study, since primary socialization is perceived as an emotionally laden process involving parents as significant others. This influential position of parents in the course of early social development necessarily creates a social condition within which pre-primary education occurs. Eleven questions were included in the interview schedule to determine the nature of parental involvement at the SADPPS. Parents' perceptions of pre-primary education were included here, as an important indicator of their degree of involvement. Question one suggesting five definitions of pre-primary education was directed as obtaining this information. The second question was aimed at ascertaining the reasons for utilizing the SADPPS facility. In relation to question one, this question appeared to specify how one perceived the functions of the SADPPS. Questions three, four and five dealt with the frequency, reason and direction of communication between the home and the pre-primary class. Questions six, eight and ten are aimed at obtaining information concerning overt expression of interest in child's work, the importance and the influence of parents' involvement in the educational process. Question seven is utilized as a probe to determine the depth of parental involvement regarding actual knowledge about the child's educational experiences. Question nine was included as a check question against parents' reasons for sending their

children to the SADPPS. The final question contained within this category is directed at interpreting parents' views regarding initiatives made by the school to facilitate parental involvement.

The second category contained in the interview schedule is aimed at analysing the development of the self during primary socialization, as espoused by Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967). The three questions (viz. 12, 13, 14) that were included were based on the theoretical discussion of the concepts taking the role of the other, externalization, significant others, and the dialectical relationship between the *I* and *me* components of self.

The third category - the socio-cultural environment, attempts to analyse the socio-cultural relationship that prevails between the SADPPS and the home. Essentially the seven questions (15-21) contained here attempt to establish whether or not there is a link or a continuation of socio-cultural experiences between the home and the pre-primary class. The underlying criteria for the inclusion of this category relates towards the observation that social class differences could possibly influence the effectiveness of the social condition of education at the SADPPS.

The fourth category was included to obtain biographical information of the study population, thus providing an indication of their class position. The questions included in this section related to sex of the respondent, parents' ages, marital status, family size, home language, educational levels, occupation, family type, description and size of house, and income. All of these social class indices and

their influences during socialization are examined within the context of Chapter Two.

All questions contained in the interview schedule were accordingly adapted and administered to both parents and teachers. These interview schedules are attached to the study as Appendix A. Their discussion and analyses follow in Chapter Six.

The researcher acknowledges that the interview schedule does indeed reflect certain limitations. These limitations have emanated primarily from two sources: firstly, difficulty to operationalize the concepts pertaining to the primary socialization process, and secondly the inherent shortcomings of utilizing fixed - alternative categories to record information. However, it is hoped that these limitations are considered in relation to the scope of the present study, wherein the interview schedule was utilized for the purposes of obtaining a profile of the parents during the process of primary socialization. Therefore, it was not intended as an elaborate research instrument.

5.3.5 The pilot study

The full scale study was preceded by a pilot study in which the interview schedule was pre-tested for shortcomings.

The pilot study consisted of a total of nine interviews with parents and one interview with an ex-teacher of the SADPPS. With the assistance of the principal the researcher was able to obtain a list of names of children registered at the pre-primary class, during the previous year; their addresses were also furnished here. A purposive sample

was selected, representing three children from each of the areas surrounding the school; viz. Belvedere, Buffelsdale and Flamingo Heights. The ex-teacher that was interviewed in this pre-test, was previously employed at the SADPPS, but owing to the decrease in the 1986 enrolment numbers, she was retrenched. This sample of respondents resembled closely the actual respondents in the study.

The response rate during the pilot study was 100%. This successful application was partly due to the fact that respondents felt it was in the interest of the children attending the pre-primary class and its future entrants, thereby affecting the community at large. A good response rate in the large scale study thus seemed probable.

Respondents were willing and sometimes even enthusiastic in answering questions, and it was clear that they understood all the questions contained in the interview schedule.

During the pilot survey the method of data collection was also verified. It became apparent that interview schedules eliminated the risk of non-response, which would have possibly been considerably high, had mailed questionnaires been used.

Respondents manifested no difficulties pertaining to language usage, contained in the questionnaire. The fixed alternative categories contained within the questionnaire appeared to comprehensively cover the range of possible alternatives. Further, it also proved to be a useful technique to sometimes request an explanation or elaboration, since this reflected the respondents interpretation, or verified the validity of the response provided.

Each interview took approximately 20 minutes. This confirmed the researcher's decision not to employ interviewers in the full scale study, as it was a manageable task to complete 136 interviews by herself over a period of three weeks.

5.3.6 Non-participant observation

Bailey (1982 : 244) holds that all things being equal, observation of an occurrence has greater face validity, than a second hand account gathered either through interviewing or document study. Again we observe an application of Denzin's (1979) sixth principle underlying the research process, which is cited at the beginning of this Chapter.

The implementation of this phase in the research procedure constituted a qualitative analytical process. Usually qualitative methodologies refer to research procedures which produce descriptive data : people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour (Bogdan and Taylor, 1984 : 5). The approach directs itself at settings and the individuals within those settings holistically, that is, the subjects of the study are not reduced to an isolated variable, but are viewed instead as a part of a whole. In the context of the current study, the interaction between the pre-schoolers and the teachers, and also that amongst themselves were viewed as a whole. Therefore the observational setting was representative of a social condition, which was created by a group of young children and teachers coming together to interact within an educational process; but importantly, also bringing with them to this situation a range of social circumstances (experiences, norms and values) which are provided by the home.

Necessarily this implies that the children come into this educational context, with pre-conceptions of social reality. These ideas are largely those provided by significant others within the home environment, and to which these pre-schoolers respond impulsively and spontaneously (because it is indeed the only world they know). It is these very basic social skills which they possess, that creates a social condition in the educational context of the pre-primary class.

The literature study has shown that during the development of the self, which is based on social interaction, the social environment must be meaningful and relevant to the child's wider existence in society. The period of non-participant observation was aimed at analysing the familiarity and meaningfulness of activity within the pre-primary class, to the child's frame of reference. To accomplish this task the researcher identified specific areas for in-depth observation. These included the spontaneity with which the children responded to the teacher; the degree of active participation apparent in the group; who initiates activity, reference to the child's social encounters; reference to significant others within the home; and the nature of expressivity, focussing on language styles and degree of self confidence displayed by the child; identification of environmental structure (ie. formal or informal); and lastly, the emotional content of this setting.

Indeed, the researcher agrees that often it becomes difficult to establish any clear distinctions amongst the aspects mentioned above.

However, for the purpose of the present study the researcher attempted to derive only a rather generalized impression of the relationship between the social content of home based experiences and that provided by the pre-primary class situation. Moreover, this particular research method is utilized in conjunction with the interview schedule, and as such no attempt has been made to present such analysis as a comprehensive source of information. The analysis of the data obtained, using this method is utilized in conjunction with the interview schedule method and both are discussed in Chapter Six. It is dealt with by constructing sets of nominal categories, rather than by assigning numbers. The aspects mentioned above, concur with these nominal categories, since the chief job of data analysis in field studies consists basically of summarising field notes (Goode and Hatt, 1952 : 120; Seltiz et al., : 1959 : 204; Bailey, 1982 : 237-238).

The procedure that was adopted during this observational period entailed the researcher's presence at the pre-primary class from 7.45 am. until 12.45 pm.; but without actually participating in any activities that the group was engaged in. The researcher always remained in the background and pretended to be casually observing the situation. It was assumed that openly taking notes in the presence of the children would attract their attention, and thereby disrupt the ongoing activity. All notes were made during tea-breaks in the privacy of the principal's office, and further elaborated upon once the researcher returned home. The children were told that the researcher was a friend of the teacher just visiting the class. Teachers on the other hand, were told that the researcher was a sociologist undertaking a study in the field of sociology of education,

and as such was interested in observing the social interaction of young children. In this way, their anxiety of being examined in their work situation was dismissed. They were constantly reassured that the focus was entirely on the children. This procedure, it was believed overcame a possible difficulty of gaining entry into the natural situation. Thus, non-participant observation was carried out in the natural setting without any adjustments to the existing structure.

5.4 The choice of locale

The locality of the study was deliberately chosen by the researcher for the reasons discussed below. It was among the pre-primary centres that were initially visited and at the commencement of the present study it was the only known example for Indians that had some resemblance to a regular pre-primary school; viz. a purpose-built premises, a principal and more than one teacher employed; a group of children sub-divided into smaller working groups; registered with the House of Delegates : Department of Education and Culture and in receipt of a state subsidy. However, upon later investigation it was found that they enrolled only 5-6 year olds as applicable to pre-primary classes (and not 3-6 year olds); hence the reference to it being a pre-primary class.

Secondly, the influence of social class during primary socialization, constituted a significant area of the researcher's substantive interest. The vicinity surrounding the SADPPS was seemingly lower-class, since it was constituted entirely of sub-economic housing provided by the Tongaat Town Board. Within this socio-economic

environmental context, the researcher was interested in establishing the nature of the relationship between the home and the pre-primary class; since previous research has indicated that the educational process is usually based on middle-class values (Bernstein and Henderson, 1969 : 143).

Thirdly, the SADPPS was situated within a reasonable distance of access to the researcher. This aspect related favourably to the cost and time factors involved in the research procedure (viz. travelling distance).

To elaborate on the specific location of the SADPPS, it would suffice to say that it is situated in the township of Flamingo Heights, which borders the townships of Belvedere and Buffelsdale. All three areas are residential housing schemes provided by the Borough of Tongaat, for Indians.

5.5 The population

It was decided to interview the mothers of all the children registered at the SADPPS, since they totalled 136, which was indeed a manageable task within the scope of the present study. Similarly, it was decided to interview all four teachers and the principal. It appeared to be risky to work in terms of a representative sample, since it was possible to encounter refusals to answer and inability to reach respondents, which consequently, it was thought, would destroy the representativeness of the sample.

5.6 Data processing

This phase in the research process included the tasks of editing, coding, data capturing, computer programming and statistical techniques. Each of these stages require further explanation.

5.6.1 Editing

Of the total of 136 respondents, only five were impossible to reach, due to changes of addresses or alternatively family breakdown, causing a split in the family group. All five teachers responded to the questionnaire. Upon completion of the interviews all 131 interview schedules were checked for completeness. Thorough checking ensured that all questions were answered and that no information had been omitted. The researcher then undertook to detect glaring inaccuracies in the responses. No clear inconsistencies were apparent.

5.6.2 Coding

In order that data obtained be transferred onto data sheets it was necessary to establish a coding system. For purposes of the present study a system of coding based on the nominal scale was adequate. The codes were formulated and then transferred from the interview schedules onto data sheets.

5.6.3 Data capturing

The coded data was then transferred from the interview schedules onto data sheets. This was done by the researcher.

The first three columns on the data sheet were used for identification purposes. All interview schedules were identifiable by using numbers

ranging from 001 to 131. Column four was left blank. Table 5.1 provides a summary reflecting which columns were utilized to record responses to which questions. Following this procedure, a data typist was employed to do the data capturing. An IBM PC was utilized for this purpose. On completion of this process the researcher obtained a computer print-out reflecting a summary of the data obtained. The researcher checked this summary for correctness.

5.6.4 Computer programming and statistical techniques

A qualified computer programmer was then employed to formulate a programme so that the statistical analysis may be done. The SPSS X computer programme was implemented using the ICL mainframe computer. Following this process the researcher obtained a computer print-out indicating the frequency distribution and percentages of responses to each question in the interview schedule. Again, the researcher checked this print-out to identify any inaccuracies. None were identifiable.

Table 5.1Format utilized for data capturing process

CATEGORY	QUESTION NUMBER	COLUMNS UTILIZED
Parental Involvement	1	5 - 9
	2	10 - 12
	3	13
	4	14 - 15
	5	16
	6	17
	7	18
	8	19
	9	20 - 22
	10	23
	11	24
Development of self	12	25
	13	26
	14	27
Socio-Cultural Environment	15	28
	16	29
	17	30
	18	31
	19	32
	20	33
	21	34
Biographical	23	35
	24	36 - 37
	25	38
	26	39
	27	40
	28	41 - 42
	29	43 - 44
	30	45
	31	46
	32	47
	33	48
	34	49

5.7 Summary

In Chapter Five an attempt is made to provide insight into the principles underlying the research activity. These principles were largely based on the symbolic interactionist perspective as espoused by Denzin (1978). The procedure and techniques that were utilized in the present study included a survey of literature, consultation with authoritative sources of information, the implementation of an interview schedule and non-participant observation. Further, this Chapter provides a detailed discussion of the locale of the study and the population. The data processing phase of the study included the tasks of editing, coding, data capturing, the running of a computer programme and the implementation of statistical techniques. Chapter Six provides a discussion of the results obtained in the present study.

Chapter Six

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter attempts to provide a summary of the responses that were obtained throughout the data gathering phases of the research procedure. Evidently there are two categories of information that were obtained, stemming from the implementation of the methods of non-participant observation and the interview schedule. These methods have been employed in the present study so that information may be obtained relating to the process of development of the self, parental involvement, and the socio-cultural environment available to the child during primary socialization. The survey of literature that was undertaken reflects that the above-mentioned criteria are the factors that necessarily create the social condition within which pre-primary education occurs. For this reason, it seems logical to proceed with the analysis of data so that they correspond with the assumptions upon which the study has been formulated. It is also useful at this stage to define the population numerically, so that the discussion may proceed uninterrupted; the SADPPS enrolment comprised 136 children of which 131 mothers were interviewed and the five teachers employed at the SADPPS were also interviewed. It is further clarified here that statistical tests of significance were not utilized in the analysis and interpretation of data, since the present study took the form of a case-study, involving the entire population, rather than a sample. Therefore the analysis proceeds by providing frequency distributions, percentages and also attempts to triangulate the data in the form of a discussion. With these introductory statements

clarified we may now proceed with the analysis and interpretation of data.

6.2 Determining the social class of the population

To begin with, it is necessary to analyse the characteristics of the study population, as this serves as a frame of reference when analysing other key areas. Table 6.1 provides a summary of the characteristics of the parent population.

The data summarized in this table was obtained from the interview schedule. It deals mainly with biographical aspects such as age, marital status, number of children, type of family, size of household, occupational position, educational levels, and financial position of the family. It is believed that such a range of characteristics provides an adequate profile of the socio-economic and cultural orientation of the family.

Similarly Table 6.2 provides a summary of the characteristics of the teacher population of the SADPPS.

Table 6.1Characteristics of the parent population of SADPPS in 1986

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
<u>Age:</u>		
Father - 30	18	13,7
31 - 40	104	79,4
41 - 50	9	6,9
Mother - 30	82	62,6
31 - 40	48	36,7
41 - 50	1	0,8
<u>Marital status:</u>		
Married	127	96,9
Separated	3	2,3
Divorced	1	0,8
<u>Number of children:</u>		
2	32	24,4
3	72	55,0
4	23	17,6
5	4	3,1
<u>Type of family:</u>		
Nuclear	59	45,0
Extended	72	55,0
<u>Size of household:</u>		
3 roomed	8	6,1
4 roomed	89	67,9
5 roomed	34	25,6

Table 6.1 continued....

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
<u>Occupational position:</u>		
Father: administrative & minor supervisory	27	20,6
skilled manual	43	32,8
semi-skilled manual	21	16,0
unskilled	29	22,1
unemployed	11	8,4
Mother: administrative & minor supervisory	4	3,1
skilled manual	19	14,5
semi-skilled manual	17	13,0
unskilled manual	14	10,7
unemployed	77	58,8
<u>Education:</u>		
Father: primary school	47	35,9
high school	79	60,3
matriculated	3	2,3
diploma	2	1,5
Mother: primary school	70	53,4
high school	59	45,0
matriculated	1	0,8
post matric	1	0,8
<u>Financial assistance from welfare:</u>		
yes	43	32,8
no	88	67,2
<u>Family income per month:</u>		
- R300	2	1,5
R300 - R450	41	31,3
R451 - R600	57	43,5
R601 - R750	25	19,1
R751 - R900	5	3,8
R901 +	1	0,8

Table 6.2

Characteristics of the population of
teachers at the SADPPS in 1986

	Frequency distribution	Percentages
Spouse:		
31 - 40	2	40
41 - 50	3	60
Self:		
31 - 40	2	40
41 - 50	3	60
<u>Marital status</u>		
Married	5	100
<u>Number of children</u>		
2	1	20
3	3	60
4	1	20
<u>Type of family</u>		
Nuclear	5	100
<u>Size of household</u>		
4 roomed	1	20
5 roomed	4	80

Table 6.2 continued...

	Frequency distribution	Percentages
<u>Occupational position</u>		
Spouse:		
Administrative and minor supervisory	2	40
Self employed	1	20
Professional	2	40
<u>Educational</u>		
Spouse:		
High school	2	40
Matriculated	1	20
Diploma	2	40
Self:		
High school	4	80
Matriculated	1	20
Diploma	0	0
<u>Family income per month</u>		
R601 - R750	0	0
R751 - R900	1	20
R901 - R1 050	1	20
R1 051 - R1 300	1	20
R1 301 +	2	40

These characteristics of the population provide an indication of their social class background. Important social indices include material circumstances, educational levels, and occupational position. In the present study it has been found that the majority of the population receive a total family income less than R600,00 per month. In relation to this economic situation it is noted that 55% of the families are of the extended type thereby creating much strain upon the financial position of the family. This economic position suggests that the parent population is working class in nature.

Regarding the physical conditions of the home environment it is observed that 67,9% of the population live in four roomed houses. Noting also that 55% are extended families with 75,6% of the population having three or more children, it may be stated that living conditions appear to be rather congested with a limited amount of space being available to the individual, and especially to the growing child. It is observed that in the present study the extended family system predominated (55%). This is contrary to the research findings of Jithoo (1975) who reported on the fission of the Hindu family and Schoombee (1985) who found that it was only people over 40 years of age who favoured the extended family. In spite of these other findings, the study by Mason, et al (1986) showed that 42% of the respondents in their study indicated a preference for the extended family. Though several benefits may accrue from such living arrangements, in the context of the current study the researcher observes that such physical conditions of the home environment indeed cannot afford much space or privacy to the individual. Generally it is believed that such crowded home

environments are characteristic of the working class.

Another indication of the working class component involves family size, specifically the number of children that a couple have. Regarding the present population it is noted that 55% had three children; 17,6% had four children and 3,1% had five children. These figures when considered in relation to parents' age, suggests that family size is indeed substantial. Whilst the majority (62,6%) of the mothers are under thirty years old, the majority (79,4%) of the fathers' are between the ages 31 - 40 years. This suggests that a majority of the families are still experiencing a developmental or expanding phase in the life-cycle of the family. With the existing, substantial family size and the potential for further growth it appears that the population with its tendency towards larger family sizes may be interpreted as being of a working class sub-culture. Thus far, an analysis of the material circumstances of the home suggests that the parent population reflects working-class characteristics; namely, low income, crowded living conditions and large families.

Let us now examine education level as an indicator of class affiliation. Whilst all parents had some formal education, it is noted that the majority of the population had not matriculated (96,2% males and 98,5% females). It is also observed that more fathers (60,3%) than mothers (45%) received a high school education. This may be interpreted as a cultural aspect amongst Indians, since cultural tradition assumes the house-wife role as being the ideal for women. Regarding tertiary education, levels for both parents are significantly low.

Only 1,5% of the fathers and 0,8% of the mothers had obtained a diploma. Indeed, these low levels of post matric education corresponds with the small percentage of parents employed in administrative and supervisory positions (20,6% of the fathers and 3,1% of the mothers). On a wider societal context literature suggests that one of the characteristic features of a working class culture, is their low educational levels. Therefore, in the present study, these low educational levels may be representative of a working class culture.

The third social index to be discussed is occupation. In the present study, whilst almost all (91,6%) of the fathers were employed, only 41,2% of the mothers were employed. However, of those fathers that were employed, the majority (71%) held skilled manual, semi-skilled manual or unskilled manual positions. Similarly, of those mothers that were employed the majority (64,9%) held similar positions in their jobs. Indeed the positions of skilled manual, semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual have been classified as working class occupational categories (Haralambos, 1980 : 48). To justify the use of occupational classifications of social class, the researcher refers to Frank Parkin's (Haralambos, 1980 : 48) claim that the backbone of the class structure, and the entire reward system in western society is the occupational structure.

In terms of the social indices, reflecting material circumstances, education and occupation, the population in the present study may be interpreted as being characteristically working class in nature. In the present study, the concept working-class is used in a generic sense, although the majority of the population belong to the lower

working class group. These specific distinctions are not analysed in the present study since the main task was to develop an understanding of the wider socio-cultural circumstances surrounding the process of primary socialization, and not to provide a detailed analysis of the finer economic distinction of the population. In isolation this finding does not have any substantial relevance, but when the development of the self, parental involvement and the socio-cultural relationship between the pre-primary class and the home is analysed, class affiliation creates an overriding influence. It is for this reason that the researcher has chosen to analyse these biographical details initially; thereby also facilitating constant reference to these important aspects.

Similarly a profile of the teachers was formulated on the basis of the information gathered by means of the interview schedule. To systematically analyse their social class background it is useful to refer to the material circumstances, educational levels and occupational position of their families. A summary of these characteristics is provided in Table 6.2.

Regarding the material circumstances of the teachers it was found that the majority lived in five roomed houses which they owned. All teachers were married and possessed nuclear-type families. Regarding their educational qualifications it was observed that all of the teachers as well as their spouses had received a high school education. Of specific importance to the current study, is that whilst one teacher (20%) had matriculated, the remaining four (80%) had received a high school education. It is evident that none of the teachers had

any formal academic or professional qualifications suited to their occupation as pre-primary school teachers. However, it was ascertained through discussions held with the teachers, that all of them attended in-service training courses provided by TREE. Such courses are indeed useful in developing skills and providing background information on the nature of the pre-primary educational process. This aspect has been discussed earlier, in Chapter One. Teachers spouses were employed in the following categories: Administrative and minor supervisory (40%); self-employed (20%) and professional (40%). Teachers' family incomes ranged from R751,00 to that exceeding R1 301,00. From this very skeletal framework it is suggested that teachers are identified as belonging to the lower middle class category, in terms of material, educational and economic criteria. Although it is only a superficial analyses, it is useful in the analysis of the socio-cultural environment that is available in the pre-primary class.

Having established the general class background of the study population, it is now possible to begin with the analysis of data pertaining to the assumptions of the study. These include the following areas: development of the self, parental involvement and the socio-cultural environment.

6.3 Development of the self

The process of development of the self, as espoused by Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967), occurs during primary socialization. Since pre-primary education proceeds during this process of early social development, it is viewed as creating a social condition

within which education occurs. Following from these ideas, the study has been guided by the assumption that:

"Interaction during primary socialization is largely directed by the dominance of the \mathcal{I} component of self and the process of externalization".

In order to test this assumption in the present study the researcher utilized two methods of data gathering, viz. non-participant observation and the interview schedule. An attempt is made here to discuss the data obtained through each of these techniques respectively.

Regarding the process of development of the self, the survey of literature undertaken shows that pre-school children are in the play-stage of development, during which time their behaviour is governed by spontaneity and impulsiveness. The period of non-participant observation that was undertaken by the researcher at the SADPPS was directed at providing a general idea of the nature of interaction during primary socialization.

In an attempt to analyse the first assumption the researcher identified four questions that needed to be addressed. These are:

- 1) How does the \mathcal{I} component feature during interaction?
- 2) How do the children express their perceptions of others in the course of interaction?
- 3) Are their cultural and social environments reflected during interaction?
- 4) Does the development of self create a social condition of education at the SADPPS?

Before addressing these various aspects it is necessary to briefly comment on the nature of the observational settings and the duration. The researcher undertook her observation in three different settings, namely in class groups, the playground and in the homes whilst administering the interview schedule to parents. The entire observational period was spread over three weeks. On an average the researcher spent 60 minutes per day on a rotational basis, observing interaction in each of the four class groups, and 30 minutes per day on the playground. During the interview situation with parents, the researcher spent approximately 20 minutes in each home thereby facilitating some degree of observation in this setting as well. Table 6.3 summarizes the above discussion.

Table 6.3

Observational settings and duration

SETTING	NO.	DURATION
class groups	4	60 mins. per day
playground	131	30 mins. per day
homes	131	20 mins. per interview

In addressing the first question the researcher notes that interaction implies the exchange of meaning in two directions. In the discussion that follows, the teachers' interactions with children, their actions and reactions, as well as the actions and reactions of the children are analysed. Regarding interaction between teacher and children it was observed that the children were generally uninhibited by any

socially created controls, such as self-consciousness which is created by the internalization of institutionalized patterns of behaviour. This observation suggests to the researcher that the process of externalization was a more dominant feature than that of internalization and objectivation during interaction. Accordingly it appears that the *I* component features more dominantly, whilst the *me* component is undergoing refinement.

At the SADPPS it was further observed that children and adults are frequently involved in different activities. The construction of time and space reflect this separation. Time is set aside each day to attend to adult responsibilities in an area of the classroom that is separate from that occupied by children. During observation it was evident that the teachers' valued close peer interaction and support among children themselves, as opposed to encouraging individual activity. Teachers definitely maintained a distinction between themselves and the children. In the course of implementing the pre-primary programme it became clear that interaction increasingly became one-directional as the teacher began to focus on school-readiness tasks. It is thus suggested that the childrens' level of social development did not facilitate understanding and interpretation of the skills that the school-readiness programme attempted to instil in the children. Inevitably this began to influence the nature of interaction between teacher and children in the pre-primary class. It is observed therefore, that the teachers' emphasis on school-readiness created a negative element in the interaction process and unavoidably influenced the social condition of education in the class. When focussing on school-readiness activities the children became

disruptive since they experienced an inability to direct their attention towards a specific task for a long period of time. In the present context it is thus suggested that a pre-occupation with school-readiness appears to distort the social condition of education during primary socialization, in so far as it persuades the dominant component to correspond with institutionalized patterns of behaviour.

In addressing the second question concerning the childrens' perceptions of others, the researcher confined her observation to the process of role-taking and identification of the prevailing authority structure at the SADPPS. It was observed that the pre-primary programme provided ample opportunity for play, during which time the process of role-taking was apparent. Usually through the enactment of experiences occurring in the home, the children were exposed to the roles occupied by their parents. The researcher thus states that the children reflect their perceptions of their significant others predominantly through the process of externalization, whilst internalization and objectivation are less pronounced during this phase of social development. While taking the role of significant others, it was observed that children were able to take on only a singular role at a time, that is, the child adopted the role of father, mother or self at any particular point during the process of play. Apart from playing at the roles of parents, children often assumed the role of teacher. Justifiably, they regarded both parents and teachers as significant others, that is, people who have some influence over them. This identification of parents and teachers as constituting significant others has also drawn support in the empirical component of the study, and is discussed in the latter part of this Chapter.

Adult authority at the SADPPS is underscored in several ways. The children are expected to call the teachers either by their last names (eg. Mrs Naidoo) or else to refer to them as "Ma'am". Further, the teacher distances herself from the children, physically and symbolically during "group time" or when projects are done. Language focuses during group time on social knowledge that can be transmitted verbally from adult to children. Typically and throughout the day adults tell children explicitly what is expected of them.

At SADPPS the teachers appear to recreate and extend the same authority structure of which they are a part, thus socializing children into the reality that they themselves experience rather than providing the opportunity for children to construct their own social reality. The children must always do what teacher expects of them. In particular, the researcher observed that one of the teachers' perceived the notion of play as just "baby-sitting", and was concerned that the children after a year of being in her group "wouldn't know anything." This teacher repeatedly interpreted situations in which children had freedom of choice as situations that were "out of control."

In other instances it was observed that a second teacher spent much time in teacher-space, venturing into the children's area during free play to briefly decrease the noise level or to inhibit certain kinds of play. This teacher made frequent and explicit statements of rules and expected compliance. She, as well as the other teachers, addressed the children as aggregates (ie. "Boys and girls," "Boys ...") rather than referring to them by their names. The statements which followed often took the form of directives and attempted to

make it clear that the children will do as teacher expects or suffer the consequences, though in fact consequences seldom followed. Thus it was noted that obedience was often expected of the group as a whole. The most common breakdown of the total group was not into individuals, but rather into groups according to sex. Whenever children were singled out as individuals, it was usually because they had done something "wrong" or inappropriate. Occasionally, a child would hit another, however the most common occasion for reprimanding was when children talked when quiet is expected. Teachers' often made statements such as ", you'll be sorry if I have to come over there" and, ", don't let me hear another word from you."

At the SADPPS children are regularly expected to be quiet for as much as one and one and a half hours during the morning. Occasionally, quiet during their lunch-break is also expected. Regarding this second issue, concerning the childrens' perceptions of others, it may be stated that the over-emphasis of the authority of the teacher in the class creates a negative influence on the nature of social relationships operating in the SADPPS. Inevitably, this distorts the social condition of education during the primary socialization process.

The third issue guiding the researcher's observation involved the influence of the child's socio-cultural environment during interaction. The most important area of analysis here was identified as the transmission of social knowledge from adults to children, which implied social class differences as well. The knowledge the children

are expected to know is learned in situations in which the group attends to what the teacher says. Throughout the period of observation, and upon further investigation it was ascertained that throughout the year, group instruction revolved around three main activities: recall of address, recognition of names, and familiarity with month, date and year. Teachers questions were formulated as questions that required only one correct answer, rather than as problems with multiple solutions. The most distinguishing feature of these exercises was that when a question was asked, it was asked of every child in the group. Thus, individuation is itself uniform. One, two or three questions took up the entire group time. Since the questions were the same and the answers different, the children were not likely to benefit from the repetition. Such repetition indicated to the researcher that during group instruction there was an attempt to teach the correct answer. Conformity was expected in terms of quiet, body posture and response. Thus group consensus was more highly valued than individual expression. When concepts were introduced by the teacher, children's alternative interpretations were either discouraged or considered "wrong". Indeed, such a dogmatic approach on the part of the teacher only serves to stifle the creativity, individuality and enthusiasm that is dominant during primary socialization.

Regarding language usage, the researcher observed that the children frequently used generalized terms of which the concepts "thing" and "there" struck the researcher as being most commonly used in the course of childrens' responses. Interestingly it was observed that children were not always encouraged to adopt more specialized or

differentiated vocabularies. Also, when taking the roles of parents during play or when relating experiences that occurred in the home, children typically resorted to the usage of a sub-standard variation of the English language, or alternatively resorted to the use of colloquialisms. On the other hand, whilst interacting with teachers, or when attempting to answer a question asked by a teacher, children made an effort to use standard English. When this occurred it was usually identified by the teacher and the child was praised accordingly. This occurrence suggests to the researcher that different language styles were adopted in the home and the SADPPS respectively. This finding is also verified in the empirical component of the study and discussed further, later in this Chapter. Language is an important means of ensuring conformity. Statements that were made to the children at the SADPPS were generally direct and devoid of options. These observations are consonant with the teachers' beliefs that the children have to do what they are told. There was in the language usage, a noticeable absence of the following type of remarks: "Would you like ...", "Please", or "I'd like you to ..." so it may be said that just as the children are restricted temporally and spatially, the intention is clearly to convey to children that they must stay within the limits defined by the teachers.

Another observation relating to the socio-cultural environment related to an apparent difference between the kinds of experiences children were exposed to in the home and the pre-primary class respectively. From the children's responses to the teacher it became clear that the majority of them were not given the opportunity to draw or paint at home. In general, it appeared that the majority of the children were

given no encouragement to physically explore their surroundings, in the home situation. It was also suggested in their behaviour, or by actually stating the fact that very few of them possessed books or toys of their own. It was also revealed that almost none of their parents had ever read a story to them.

However, the most noticeable consequence of their socio-cultural environments related to the children's ambivalence regarding values that governed their interaction at the pre-primary school. At various points during the period of observation it emerged that parents were suggesting the opposite of what the teacher was trying to accomplish. This placed children in an ambivalent position, but they invariably acted according to the teachers' views whilst at school. These ideas are examined further during the analysis of the interview schedule.

The fourth question, relating to the social conditions of education during primary socialization, attempted to analyse whether or not the process of development of the self created a social condition within which education occurs in the pre-primary class. Indeed, the researcher believes that a social condition prevails in so far as the development of the self is perceived as a process of social development, during which the individual undergoes a preparation for life. Despite the obvious emphasis on preparation of the children for entry into primary school, SADPPS operates in terms of a wider social condition. This social condition emerges as a consequence of individuals coming together during interaction situations; and also because they impose upon these situations their specific socio-cultural and environmental experiences. We cannot conceive of such a situation as being merely

a social context, mainly because interpretation and response of individuals are guided and influenced by their particular circumstances, that is, they become the very fabric of what is going on. In other words, the development of the self is seen as a social condition, since the individual is undergoing a process of development so that he may eventually be able to see himself as an object in the social world. In the pre-primary class situation, the young unrestrained, impulsive child is placed in a group context, which fosters the development of a societal, or objective orientation. It is from this point of view then, that the researcher sees the SADPPS as offering a social condition within which education proceeds. However, it was observed that the teachers' emphasis on preparation for school observably distorted the environmental context to one that was unrelated to the stage of social development that the child was experiencing. Instead of providing a stimulating, culturally relevant environment in which the self can develop a sense of objective reality, through the medium of play, it was observed that teachers emphasized the importance of school-readiness, without actually understanding the relationship between the *I* and *me* components of self. The researcher believes that the child can barely approach school-readiness, without first grasping the *me* component, or becoming an object to himself. It is argued therefore that the social condition of education in the SADPPS can be made more effective if the emphasis is placed on social development, as opposed to intellectual development. It means therefore, that an attempt must be made to offer the young child a readiness-for-life as opposed to a readiness-for-school. Readiness-for-school will proceed naturally, once the child understands the objective social world.

Interaction in the SADPPS is characterized by the directness with which children are addressed. What is expected of them is clear: children are to follow instructions, to listen and to "work". Non-conformity is perceived as deviance. Talking among children is frequently reprimanded, since many of the activities require listening and total group attention. Likewise, play that detracts attention from the group orientation is discouraged. The most common infraction of rules is talking when quiet is expected. Children at SADPPS tend to play with other children, to "work" with adults during formalized group times. They are expected to be quiet during these times, except when called on to give a specific response. Common experience reinforced day after day appears to encourage children to respond as their peers do, and to attend to the directives of the teachers.

By means of this period of non-participant observation, which is utilized in conjunction with information obtained by means of the interview schedule method the researcher believes that the first methodological principle is fulfilled (Denzin, 1978 : 11). That is, symbols relevant in the child's socialization at home (namely, children's perceptions of parents) is brought together with interaction in the pre-primary class, in the analysis of the present study.

In the interview schedule, three questions were included on the development of the self. These questions were numbered 12, 13 and 14 and dealt with the process of externalization, the role of significant others, and the dominance of the *I* component of self, respectively. Regarding question 12 which dealt with the process of imitation or taking the role of the other, the literature study revealed that

during the play-stage, children constantly take the role of the other and act towards self as the other would. All parents responded positively to this question, thus illustrating the importance of role-taking during the play stage of development. It is through this social process, that children begin to develop a social identity of self. In other words, they gradually begin to see self as an object, by placing themselves in the role of the other. Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) explained that this is a significant stage in the developmental process since the individual's definition of self is influenced and guided by other's perceptions. Indeed, this is a social process and needs to be analysed as a social condition in so far as it prevails in the pre-primary class environment. An important point here is that an attempt is made to apply the second methodological principle as is suggested by Denzin (1978 : 10). Through the process of taking the role of the other the researcher indicates how shifting definitions of self are reflected in ongoing patterns of behaviour. However, it must be remembered that at this stage the individual has not developed a comprehensive definition of self, since he is only able to take on the role of a singular other, at any particular point in time. This is mainly because the *me* component is still undergoing refinement, in the course of the developmental process.

Question 13, directed at ascertaining which individuals the child usually imitates, obtained the following results:

Table 6.4**Identification of significant others**

Question 13: Who does the child usually imitate or pretend to be?

	<u>YES</u>		<u>NO</u>		<u>UNDECIDED</u>	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Parents	129	38,1	2	1,4	0	0
Teachers	130	38,3	1	0,7	0	0
Peers	37	10,9	64	43,5	29	22,1
Others	43	12,7	80	54,4	7	5,3
Totals	<u>339</u>		<u>147</u>		<u>36</u>	

This question was aimed at identifying who the children's significant others were. From the results obtained it is clear that they see both teachers (38,3%) and parents (38,1%) as people who are influential in their lives. Again, this finding finds support in the literature study. Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) explain that during primary socialization it is usually those individuals who are closest to the child, who influence his perceptions and meanings of social action. Underlying this finding is the implication that there is a relationship between the home and the pre-primary class, since these environments are representative of their respective significant others, who are responsible for the individual's identification of symbols and conceptions of self. By this process of taking the role of the significant other the researcher is able to simultaneously link human symbols and conceptions of self and the social circles and relationships that furnish those symbols and conceptions (Denzin, 1978 : 12). Thus,

the third methodological principle has been fulfilled in the present study. Moreover, the impact of the broader social structure upon the individuals' conduct during primary socialization is directly observed.

In response to question 14 concerning parents' general perceptions of their child's behaviour, it was found that 122 (93,1%) parents characterized their children's behaviour as being impulsive, as compared to 9 (6,8%) who felt that their children's behaviour was restrained. Again, this finding is supported in the literature study. It indicates that behaviour during primary socialization is largely governed by impulse and is therefore uncontrolled and spontaneous.

Evidently, the questions governing the researcher's observation are closely linked to questions 12, 13 and 14 of the interview schedule. Both sets of questions attempted to analyse the development of the self during primary socialization. In depth analysis suggests that in the context of the present study, primary socialization is largely directed by the dominance of the \mathcal{J} component of self, and the process of externalization. Underlying the technique of methodological triangulation which was utilized in examining the first assumption of the current study, rests the sixth methodological principle suggested by Denzin (1978 : 15). Denzin (1978 : 15) explains that in addition to using multiple methods in the research process, the researcher must employ a sociological imagination. In obtaining data through observation and the interview schedule methods, the researcher in the present study, has rendered interpretations in terms of the theories

of Mead (1934) and Berger and Luckmann (1967). In this way, the researcher has exercised a sociological imagination, in understanding the effectiveness of the social condition of education in the pre-primary class. Furthermore, the researcher attempted to associate certain behaviour patterns to the concepts being analysed. Indeed, such an exercise lends itself to an in-depth, illustrative method of obtaining information. Overall, it may be stated that data emanating from both the methods of observation and the interview schedule tend to support the first assumption, and also to suggest that since the development of the self is a social process, it creates a social condition of education in the SADPPS. However, the effectiveness of this social condition can be substantial in terms of the individual's socialization, if certain changes were implemented. These are suggested in Chapter Seven in the form of recommendations.

6.4 Parental involvement

Parental involvement is perceived as a factor that contributes to the social condition of education during primary socialization for two important reasons. Firstly, primary socialization is an emotionally laden phase of social development, and parents feature prominently as being influential during this period. Secondly, pre-primary education constitutes an informal educational setting, and as such, it is practically the only phase of education during which parents can be brought virtually unconditionally into the child's experience as contributors. It is these factors that allows one to perceive parental involvement as creating a social condition of education at the SADPPS.

This area of the present study has been based on the assumption that, parent involvement during pre-primary education is related to material circumstances of the family. So, in terms of the current findings relating to the working class characteristics of the parent population, the researcher attempts to interpret their involvement in the pre-primary educational process. Eleven questions relating to this area were included in the interview schedule for parents. These questions were also put to the teachers as well, in order to determine the accuracy of parents' responses. In order to present a systematic discussion, the researcher will attempt an analysis of each question, by referring to the views of both parents and teachers.

The first question was aimed at obtaining parents' and teachers' perceptions of pre-primary education, as this is directly related to the social condition of education at SADPPS. Five definitions of pre-primary education were provided and subjects were required to indicate their agreement or disagreement with these views. The following tables summarize parents and teachers perceptions of pre-primary education.

Table 6.5

Parents' perceptions of pre-primary education

DEFINITION	AGREE	DISAGREE	UNDECIDED
(a)	18	105	8
(b)	122	5	4
(c)	38	68	25
(d)	14	92	25
(e)	30	86	15

Table 6.6Teachers' perceptions of pre-primary education

DEFINITION	AGREE	DISAGREE	UNDECIDED
(a)	5	0	0
(b)	5	0	0
(c)	5	0	0
(d)	5	0	0
(e)	5	0	0

KeyDefinitions provided in interview schedule

- (a) A pre-primary school or nursery school functions as an educational centre to complement the informal education provided by the home.
- (b) It is a programme that allows for new ideas.
- (c) It allows for honest expression of feelings between children themselves.
- (d) Children are encouraged to put forward their own ideas and thoughts in the playroom.
- (e) It is a structured environment in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults.

It is clear from these findings that there is a marked difference between parents' and teachers' perceptions of pre-primary education. Whilst parents are generally uninformed regarding role and functions of a pre-primary school, teachers appear to be informed. This lack of understanding generally placed parents in a disadvantageous position,

and perhaps offers partial explanation concerning their low levels of involvement.

The second question attempted to obtain parents' main reasons for utilizing the SADPPS facility. Since most respondents provided a maximum of just three reasons, the researcher attempted to identify the three most important reasons for utilizing the SADPPS facilities. The most important reason given by parents was to prepare their child for primary school (93,9% listed this as their most important reason.) The second most important reason provided by parents was that 'it provided an opportunity to learn good language, behaviour and manners' (73,3% cited this as the second most important reason.) The third most popular reason was that the school was situated near home (40,5% listed this as the third most important reason.) Correspondingly, the teachers identified these respective reasons as being the parents' most important reasons for utilizing the SADPPS facility. It is observed that parents present a different interpretation of the concept 'social', as compared to that proposed in the study. Whilst parents define the 'social' in terms of rigidity; the researcher interprets the social in terms of 'process'. This fundamental difference of interpretation justifies the reasons provided by parents as being their most important ones for utilizing the SADPPS facility.

In analysing parents' responses to items one and two of the interview schedule concerning their perceptions of pre-primary education and their reasons for utilizing the SADPPS facility respectively, it is apparent that parents did not possess a well defined understanding

of the functions of pre-primary education in terms of the goals of pre-primary education so as to facilitate the child's social development at large. Understandably therefore, their main reasons for sending their children to the pre-primary class were unrelated to the goals and functions of pre-primary education. However, their enthusiasm to prepare their children to succeed in primary school, and also to learn 'good' language and behaviour, may be interpreted as typically representing aspirations of working class communities. For instance, Farmer (White, 1977 : 33) stresses that respectability, cleanliness, tidiness and punctuality are typically working class attributes.

Regarding teachers' responses to items one and two, interestingly it is observed that whilst they themselves reflect an awareness of the goals and functions of pre-primary education (perhaps a consequence of their in-service training), they simultaneously reflect an accurate perception of parents' expectations of the pre-primary class. This finding indicates that teachers have identified the fact that parents possess a poor understanding of the concept of pre-primary education. This is therefore identified as a problem area, and will be examined further in suggesting recommendations for improvement.

Items four, five and six of the interview schedule were directed at analysing the nature of communications between the home and pre-primary class. According to parents responses it was indicated that contact with the school was more often (70,2%) initiated by the parents themselves, rather than the pre-primary class (29,7%), but

it tended to be rather infrequent. The most important reasons for entering into communication with the pre-primary class was firstly, the payment of school-fees (67,2%), and secondly to enquire about the child's performance (64,1%). Teachers' views corresponded with the dominant view of parents, on these issues.

Generally, such responses are indicative of a low level of parental involvement in the pre-primary educational process. Their role may be interpreted as being mainly one bound by duty, rather than interest and active participation. The role of parents typically resembles that found during the more formalized phases of education, where parents take on a position of guardians or providers as opposed to educators. Perhaps, this lack of communication between home and pre-primary class, may be interpreted as a consequence of social class difference. It is probable that these working class parents, see themselves as being incompetent, in so far as making a positive contribution to the child's educational experience is concerned. This may also be interpreted in relation to their most important reason for utilizing the SADPPS facility; perhaps parents regard the teachers as trained specialists who are best equipped to educate the child, hence the lack of communication with the pre-primary class. This sort of interpretation finds support in the parents' lack of understanding regarding the concept of pre-primary education.

Items six and seven of the interview schedule concerning respectively parents' expression of interest in the child's performance at school, and their familiarity with the teaching techniques utilized appear to be related to each other in a complementary sort of way. Item

seven serves as a check against the response given to item six. In terms of the examples provided by parents to question six, it was evident that the majority (61,1%) did not express an interest in the child's performance. Of the 30,5% of parents who responded positively to the questions it was gauged that they showed an interest by discussing what the child had done in school, allowing children to recite the nursery rhymes that were taught and by providing writing material to the child. Eight per cent were undecided on this question. Notably, even those parents that showed some interest in the child's educational process, always took the cue from what was done in school. Parents therefore actually do very little to extend children's understanding, beyond what was being accomplished by the teacher. Again, perhaps this may be interpreted in terms of the parents perceptions of pre-primary education and also their expectations of the SADPPS. In responding to this question, only two of the five teachers felt that parents expressed any interest in the child's performance. According to the teachers, parents assessed the child's performance in terms of good behaviour, ability to speak standard English and general preparation for class i. Interestingly, this observation corresponds with the parents' primary expectation of the pre-primary educational process.

Question seven required in-depth probing, in order to obtain an accurate response from parents regarding their familiarity with the teaching techniques that were utilized at the SADPPS. From the elaboration provided by the majority of the parents (83,2%), it was clear that they had no idea of the actual teaching techniques that were being implemented at the SADPPS. Indeed this is identified as a

major problem area, concerning the developmental process of the child. It creates an inability on the part of the parents to extend upon what is available in the school setting, or even to enhance the child's understanding of his experiences at pre-school. Again it is pointed out, that this lack of understanding relates to the low levels of communication between home and pre-primary class. Parents evidently had a vague idea of what was done in the pre-primary class, but it was obvious that they did not understand how these methods contributed to the educational process. Further elaboration will be rendered on this point, when dealing with the recommendations. It was found that only 9,9% of the parents actually understood the techniques that were encompassed by the SADPPS programme. Six per cent of the parents were undecided on this matter. When this question was put to the teachers, there was an unambiguous negative response. The teachers felt strongly that parents were ignorant of the methods that they utilized in teaching the children.

In response to item eight, 82,4% of the parents believed that it was not necessary for them to become involved in their child's pre-primary educational process. Only 13% felt a need to become involved, whilst 4,6% remained undecided. Clearly, this sort of attitude explains the generally low level of parental involvement. These results become meaningful when one attempts to interpret them in terms of the parents' perceptions of pre-primary education as well as their expectations of the SADPPS. Since they do not understand the goals of pre-primary education in terms of social development, their resistance to becoming involved in this experience can be expected. The teachers' response to this question created much doubt regarding

their understanding of the concept 'pre-primary education'. Whilst all of them believed that it was necessary for parents to become involved in the educational process, they specified that this involvement should be defined within certain limits. Upon probing it was gauged that teachers encouraged parental involvement within the home environment, but discouraged the presence of parents during the educational process at the pre-primary class. Indeed, the researcher identifies this as creating a problem in terms of the social conditions of education at the pre-primary class, and therefore deserves further analysis in the formulation of recommendations.

Regarding the ninth item of the interview schedule concerning the influence of parents' attitudes towards education on the child's experiences at school, it was found that the majority of the parents (71%) believed that their child's experiences were not influenced by parental attitudes. Contrary to this finding, the literature study revealed that children during primary socialization take on the roles of their significant others, and thereby act towards self as others would in the prevailing social world. It implies therefore that parental attitudes would significantly influence the child's experiences. Perhaps, by responding in this manner, parents were attempting to deny the negative influences that their attitudes may have on their children. Moreover, they obviously did not understand their impact on the child during primary socialization. Twenty percent of the parents responded positively, whilst nine percent were undecided on this matter. All the teachers agreed that parents' attitudes influence the child's experiences at school.

Question 10 of the interview schedule required respondents to list the most important ways in which the child had benefitted from attending the SADPPS. None of the respondents provided more than three areas of benefit. Overwhelmingly, 82%, the parents cited school-readiness as opposed to a readiness-for-life (incorporated in alternatives 5, 6, 7) as the most important benefit enjoyed. Forty five percent of the parents believed that the ability to speak standard English was the second most important benefit, whilst 49% stated that learning cleanliness, respectability and tidiness constituted the third most important area of benefit to the child. Interestingly it is observed that the first two spheres of benefit correspond with the parents' primary expectations of the pre-primary class. Teachers also agreed that the respective areas identified by parents incorporated the children's most significant benefits.

From the responses obtained to item 11, parents and teachers unanimously agreed that the school does not place excessive demands on parents' time and effort. This is indeed a positive indication which needs to be exploited to the benefit of the child. It will be dealt with further, in making recommendations towards improvement of the social condition of education at the SADPPS.

It may therefore be concluded, on the basis of responses obtained to questions 1 - 11 of the interview schedule that parental involvement in the pre-primary educational process is generally very low at the SADPPS. Indeed this has a negative effect on the social condition of education, during primary socialization. In order to facilitate meaningful social development parents need to be brought into the

child's educational experience, since they are significant and influential in the child's social world. However, this lack of parental involvement in the present study may be interpreted as a consequence of the poor material circumstances of the family. Parents' levels of education are generally low, their occupations are mainly manually orientated, they have large families and live under crowded conditions with an ever threatening financial burden hanging over their heads. Indeed parents placed in such a situation usually experience a feeling of inadequacy in relation to the prevailing educational structures. The school therefore is perceived as a social equalizer, and parents become preoccupied with the need for their children to be successful in school. Perhaps it is such a feeling of inadequacy that has affected this low level of parental involvement in the present study.

However, especially in dealing with pre-primary education parental involvement is seen as the key to the success of the programme in facilitating early social development of the child. This area is further explored in the recommendations. Analysis of the data obtained indicates that poor material circumstances prevail in the home, and also that parental involvement is indeed limited. Although, no complex relationship between these two factors have been explored, it is suggested that an explanation may be obtained in terms of the way in which pre-primary education is perceived from a working class culture. In the present study, parents view pre-primary education primarily as a preparation for class i. From such a perspective it is argued that teachers are seen as trained personnel who are equipped to provide skills required for the attainment of school-readiness.

Parents therefore, do not fully understand the process of pre-primary education as consisting of a social condition facilitating social development. Such an interpretation, explains their lack of involvement in the educational process. In the current study it is therefore suggested that the lack of parent involvement may be interpreted as a consequence of the material circumstances of the family.

Let us now examine the third aspect of the social condition of education, namely the socio-cultural environment.

6.5 Socio-cultural environment

The literature study undertaken has shown that children develop socially through the process of taking the role of the other and externalization, amongst other processes. It is suggested therefore that children in the course of interaction are both products and producers of their socio-cultural environment. The systematic and repeated expression of values by adults are gradually learned and internalized by the child. Such a rich learning environment encourages the child through taking the role of the other, to internalize values and in turn objectivate them in interaction situations. The limits of the social environment are set by the extent of the parents' own experiences. In situations where the value patterns and cultural experiences of parents closely match what is institutionalized by society, children will find it easy to associate their family life norms with the demands of wider social interaction. Transition from the immediate family setting to secondary group situations will in such cases generally mean no more than minor adjustments of behaviour, and will therefore be free of anxiety.

On the other hand, where family and societal norms contrast, as illustrated for example in some of the classic studies of the relationship between values of home and school (Stenhouse, 1971 : 3), the child may well be faced with perplexing problems of choosing which set of values to follow in such circumstances. The consequent inconsistency of experience, explains White (1977 : 20), will inhibit the building of further socializing experiences and social development will be thus relatively retarded. Such a model is not simply a question of parents from certain cultural backgrounds being illustrated as insufficiently skilled in wider social graces to be able to create an adequate learning environment for their children, but it demonstrates also that there is a need for the educational system to offer the child a programme that is relevant and meaningful to the child's social circumstances.

It is with these ideas in mind that the researcher attempts, in the present study, to analyse the nature of the socio-cultural environment during primary socialization. Thus the following assumption has been formulated:

"Pre-primary education, in providing a readiness-for-life, requires a cultural link between the home and the school".

Items 15 to 21 were included in the interview schedule in order to analyse this assumption.

In response to item 15, concerning feelings of anxiety experienced by the child in adjusting his behaviour whilst at the SADPPS, the majority

(64,1%) of parents responded positively, whilst 30,5% responded negatively to the question. A small percentage (5,4%) of the parents' remained undecided on this issue. Similarly, a majority of the teachers (four out of five) stated that the children displayed some degree of anxiety. This finding is also supported by the researcher's observation at the pre-primary class, which is discussed earlier, within the context of development of the self. What can we understand about the socio-cultural environment, from this pattern of responses. Evidently, children at the SADPPS express anxiety in the course of interaction whilst at the pre-primary class. To the researcher, this suggests that the anxiety may be brought on by an unfamiliar environment. It is further suggested that the transition from home to pre-primary class requires more than minor adjustments of behaviour therefore, creating an atmosphere of anxiety. Evidently, the working-class family situation does not afford experiences similar to those available in the pre-primary class, and a situation of unfamiliarity results in feelings of anxiety. In the explanations provided by respondents, a common line of thought was identifiable. This related to the children's feelings of inadequacy regarding teachers' expectations during group discussions. It was generally found that the children were apprehensive regarding their contributions to the group discussion.

In response to item 16, there was an overwhelming (94,7%) negative response from parents. Only 3,8% of the parent population stated that their children expressed some form of similarity in the type of experiences encountered within the home of the pre-primary class. In total, only 1,5% of the parents remained undecided. A similar view

emerged from the responses of teachers, since all indicated that there was no similarity of experiences occurring in the home and pre-primary class. Item 21 was included as a check against responses obtained to question 16. Both questions were directed at determining the degree to which children confronted common experiences in the home and pre-primary class. The table below shows the consistency of responses that were obtained.

Table 6.7

**Similarity of experiences encountered within
the home and the pre-primary class**

	YES		NO		UNDECIDED	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
16. Does your child express any similarities in the nature of experiences encountered within the home and pre-primary class respectively?	5	3,8	124	94,7	2	1,5
21. Are your child's social experiences at SADPPS so different that they become discontinued within your home environment?	119	90,8	9	6,9	3	2,3

Such a clear indication that home - pre-primary class experiences remained distinctly different appears to suggest that there is no link, or continuation of socially based experiences during the pre-primary educational process. Indeed, this has serious implications for social development. It would imply that there is no consistent social

environment being made available to the child, in order to facilitate the development of an objective view of self. It is also implied that entirely different experiences are made available to the child in both situations, therefore suggesting the existence of totally different cultural contexts. Moreover, the survey of literature has shown that children bring into the educational setting a host of experiences, which facilitate interpretation of the 'here and now' situation. It is this process essentially that allows one to conceive of the educational process as constituting a social condition. However, in the current study it would appear that home-based experiences do not contribute significantly to the interpretation of experiences occurring in the pre-primary class. It is also interpreted that the educational process at the SADPPS does not facilitate an understanding of activities occurring in the home.

Again, in the responses obtained to question 17 regarding the similarity between the value systems of the home and the school, it was apparent that the relationship between home and pre-primary class was not based upon a common set of values. A majority (83,6%) of the parents indicated that the value systems were different, whilst only 11,4% believed that similar values prevailed. Of the parent population only 5,3% were undecided regarding this aspect. The teachers were unanimous that the value systems of the pre-primary class and the home were different.

Item 20 of the interview schedule was included as a check question against the responses obtained to item 17. The overall responses to these items were fairly consistent.

Table 6.8Parents' responses to questions 17 and 20

	YES		NO		UNDECIDED	
	%		%		%	
17. Is the value system of the school similar to your own?	11,4	15	83,2	109	5,3	7
20. Does your child's manifestation of teachers' values conflict with the values held by your family?	10,6	14	81,6	107	7,6	10

The above table shows the consistency obtained in the responses of parents, concerning differences in the value systems operating in the pre-primary class and the home environments. This consistency was also evident in the teachers' response, as all the teachers stated that the children's manifestation of parents values conflict with those proposed by the school.

In interpreting this difference of values, it seems useful to refer to Bernstein's (1970) suggestion that the context in which children learn is usually a middle class one, and to this end education may be seen as a middle class phenomenon, based on middle class values. On the basis of this notion a difference of values may be expected, in the case of working class circumstances. Literature reveals that the working class sub-culture is clearly different from that of the middle class [White (1977); Elkin and Handel (1984)]. The prevalence

of such a class differential has a significant impact during primary socialization; aims and activities of parents, the techniques of family socialization adopted, the expectations for and of the child, and the specific training pattern to which he is subject are all likely to vary from that suggested in the pre-primary class. More important is the fact that the child, beginning to formulate an objective view of self, is confronted by widely varying and possibly opposing definitions of self. Externalization will therefore reflect the experiences of totally different social worlds, and this makes the process of internalization problematic to the individual. The overall effect is that social development becomes retarded.

In response to item 18 concerning the relevance of the programme most of the parents (90,1%) felt that the programme could be made more meaningful to the child's home-based experiences. A small percentage of the parent population (4,9%) responded negatively, whilst 5,1% were undecided. Interestingly it was observed that teachers responses were divergent; thus making it difficult to identify a dominant pattern of responses. They were equally divided in believing that the programme could or could not be made more meaningful to the child's experiences within the home. Analysing the responses to question 18 in relation to those responses obtained to questions 15, 16, 17, it could be expected that parents would suggest the need for a more relevant programme. According to the teachers views the children commonly experience anxiety in adjusting their behaviour while at the SADPPS; they do not encounter similar experiences between the home and pre-primary class environments, and the value systems operating in these respective environments are

different. In these circumstances it would not seem unusual for parents to suggest that the pre-school programme could be more meaningfully constructed so as to relate to the child's home-based experiences. One may also interpret this view of parents as an expression of interest and a willingness to become more involved in the education process. The views projected by the teachers are inconclusive since they presented equally positive and negative views on this matter, whilst one teacher remained undecided. One needs to exercise caution in interpreting such responses. However the researcher notes the importance of acknowledging the prevalence of a cultural bias in favour of a middle class standard, when analysing teachers' responses. Perhaps a bias towards the mainstream culture have led teachers to believe that the working class culture is 'deprived', 'inadequate' or 'below standard' and therefore needed a programme to uplift the prevailing cultural standards. However, it is difficult to make any conclusive statement in this regard.

Responses to question 19 undeniably reflect the prevalence of a language difference between the home and pre-primary class environments. A majority of the parents (78,6%) as well as all the teachers agreed that there is a difference in the language that is available to the child in the respective environments. However, 18,3% of the parent population felt that this was not the case, and 3,1% of them remained undecided.

In this regard Bernstein (Cosin, et al, 1977 : 66) has pointed out that language usage must be seen in terms of the substratum of cultural meanings, which he explains are initially responsible for

the language usage. Accordingly, in the current study, if a social class difference exists between the home and the pre-primary class, a difference in language usage can be expected, since each sub-culture presents its own set of meanings. Justifiably, the data obtained illustrates the language available to the pre-schooler is different in these different situations.

In the context of the present study, language is seen as an essential element in the process of socialization and reflects, in the most communicable form, the individual's perception and structuring of his environmental experiences. In this regard, Bossio (1971) noted that poor home conditions and family instability coincided with a restricted language development, to the detriment of the child in school and later in the outside world. This implies that the home socialization of the working class child inevitably hinders him by restricting the use which he can make of subsequent socializing experiences. Bernstein (1971), on the other hand, suggested a model of two ideal typical language structures, one restricted in conceptual range and the other elaborate, correlating with the working class on the one hand and the middle class on the other. He explains further that the difference between the language usage of the two social classes lies in the context from which the language springs, and resultant perceptions and conceptualizations which are consequently qualitatively different. Language acquisition in terms of this model produces two discrete processes of socialization. The code of the working class deals with meanings which are context specific, its users employ emotive terminology and concrete symbolism, the content being generally descriptive and with limited phraseology. In so far

as this ideal type of language socialization really operates it is poor preparation for schooling. Middle class language on the other hand is the language of education. Indeed, these two modes of language socialization differ in the quality of life presented and, in this sense, the working class is viewed as being deprived. However, in recent years the notion of deprivation has been contested; and Bernstein (Keddie, 1973 : 18) argues now that the working classes are not linguistically deprived. The crux of the issue in the current study, relates to a problem which can be understood as a confrontation between the pre-primary class' universalistic orders of meaning and the particularistic ones of the child's presenting culture. In terms of the assumption directing this aspect of the analysis it is stated that there is a slight distortion in the continuation of culturally based experiences, between the home and the pre-primary class.

From the analyses of data obtained according to the categories of development of the self, parental involvement and the socio-cultural environment it is possible to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the primary socialization process and the effectiveness of the social condition of education at the SADPPS.

6.6 Summary

This Chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of data that the researcher rendered. The discussion focusses on four important aspects, namely, the social class component, the development of the self, the degree of parental involvement, and the nature of the socio-cultural environment.

Chapter Seven provides a more detailed summary and an elaboration of the conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Seven

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

In this Chapter the researcher provides an overview of the current study, presents the conclusions that were drawn and also suggests recommendations in an attempt to solve those problematic aspects that appear to effect the social condition of education at the SADPPS. Further, the researcher constantly attempts to focus on the assumptions and the goals of the study, especially when suggesting the recommendations.

7.2 Overall summary of background chapters

The present study has attempted to analyse the influence of the social and cultural milieu on children's social development. To this end the study has concentrated on the process of social development, during the pre-primary educational stage.

In providing a wider framework for analysis the researcher has provided a brief account of the relationship between primary socialization, pre-primary education and home-background with reference to the social structure of the Indian community of South Africa. From this discussion the presence of a class structure amongst Indians is evident. The strong working class component within this structure has been emphasized, with reference to their occupational categories and educational levels. It has also been observed that the socialization process of Indians are largely influenced by these social indices, as well as cultural factors.

Furthermore, Chapter Three has illustrated the early developmental stage that characterizes the present position of pre-primary education for Indians in this country. It is argued here, that provision is grossly inadequate, both on the part of the state and private enterprise. It is suggested that in concentrating on providing a one year school-readiness programme to facilitate success in primary school, the Departmental effort appears to be misdirected. Coupled with this inadequate provision it is observed that the quality of existing services are considerably lacking. The researcher argues therefore, that the whole concept of pre-primary education (aims, provision, functioning and quality) needs to be urgently addressed.

In addressing the issue of pre-primary education as constituting a social condition, it was necessary to provide some theoretical orientation against which the social components may be interpreted. Therefore, in Chapter Four the researcher provides a theoretical perspective; wherein the social condition of education is defined in terms of primary socialization, as espoused by Mead and Berger and Luckmann. This discussion provides a framework against which the development of the self, parental involvement and the socio-cultural environment are identified as crucial aspects in the process of social development during primary socialization. The study therefore, interprets these three aspects as constituting a social condition of pre-primary education.

Chapter Five maps out the methodological orientation that has governed the present study. The researcher clarifies the various procedures and techniques that were utilized in the gathering and presentation of

data. The main methods of data gathering included a survey of literature, non-participant observation and the interview schedule method. Moreover, Chapter Five provides an indepth discussion of the locale and the population of the study. It is further observed that probability random sampling was not utilized, since the current study took the form of a case-study. Consequently, it was not necessary to employ inferential statistics in the analyses of data.

The analyses and interpretation of data is presented in Chapter Six. The parent population has been interpreted as being of a working class status. This social class component has an overriding influence on the prevailing social condition of education at the SADPPS. The process of the development of the self has been demonstrated as focussing on the dominance of the \mathcal{I} component and the process of externalization. Indeed, this creates a particular social condition, which is directly related to the nature of the pre-primary programme.

Parental involvement contributes significantly to the social condition in the pre-primary class since children are still experiencing an emotionally laden phase of development. However, in the present study it was apparent that parental involvement was poor.

Finally, the socio-cultural environment also created a particular social condition in the pre-primary class, since learning proceeds within a specific environmental context, thus creating a relationship between the home and pre-primary class environment. However, in the present study, there was no link between these environmental experiences because of the prevailing social class differences.

In view of these problem areas regarding the social condition of education at the SADPPS, the researcher states her conclusions and suggests recommendations as the discussion proceeds in this Chapter.

7.3 Conclusions

To clarify, and stipulate the conclusions that were drawn the researcher finds it useful to refer to the three aspects that create the social condition of education in the pre-primary class, viz. the development of the self, parental involvement and the socio-cultural environment.

7.3.1 Development of the self

1. Since the *I* component of self and the process of externalization dominate during interactions at the SADPPS, it is concluded that the children are experiencing the play-stage of development in the course of primary socialization.
2. It is concluded that although there are traces of the presence of the *me* component of self, it is clearly undergoing refinement since the pre-schoolers are not fully able to see themselves as objects in the course of social interaction, hence the processes of internalization and objectivation are also undergoing refinement, all within the wider context of the ongoing cycle of social development.
3. To the extent that the SADPPS programme does not cater for the dominance of the *I* and the development of the *me* components, during this phase of education it negates the effectiveness of the social condition of education in the pre-primary class.

4. In focussing on a preparation for school, as opposed to a preparation for life during primary socialization the SADPPS programme reduces the effectiveness of the social condition of education in the pre-primary class.

These were the four conclusions that the researcher arrived at regarding the development of self and the social condition of education.

It may be stated therefore that the pre-schoolers are clearly experiencing the play-stage of social development, whilst the *me* component of self is undergoing further development. However the SADPPS programme does not adequately acknowledge the nature of the ongoing dialectic during this particular phase of development, thereby creating a negative influence on the social condition of education in the pre-primary class. Moreover, the researcher also notes that the SADPPS programme concentrates on providing a readiness-for-school as opposed to a readiness-for-life.

7.3.2 Parental involvement

The following general conclusions were made regarding this aspect and the existence of a social condition of education.

1. Parents held a poorly defined concept of pre-primary education.
2. Parents perceived the function of the SADPPS purely in terms of furnishing school-readiness.

3. Parents maintain a poor level of communication with the SADPPS.
4. Parent-teacher communication is defined primarily in terms of payment of school fees, and secondarily in terms of interest in child's conduct at pre-school.
5. Parents do not believe that their attitudes toward education influence the child's experiences. Therefore it is generally found that they do not express an interest in the child's activities at the SADPPS.
6. Parents do not believe that there is a need to become involved in the pre-primary educational process. Hence they are unfamiliar with the nature of the SADPPS programme.
7. Parents do not feel that the SADPPS demands any substantial degree of involvement on their part.

In the light of conclusions one to seven, it is thus concluded that the lack of parental involvement in the educational process occurring during primary socialization negatively affects the social condition of education, since parents occupy the role of significant others and are crucial to the process of social development.

Overall the researcher's conclusions regarding parental involvement indicate that this aspect leaves much room for improvement and is therefore identified as an area of social need. Recommendations are suggested accordingly.

7.3.3 Socio-cultural environment

The following conclusions are derived from the analysis of data pertaining to this aspect.

1. The cultural environments provided by the home and the SADPPS differ from each other.
2. Since the home is characteristically working class in nature, and the SADPPS is based on a middle class value system, value conflicts result.
3. The socio-class difference creates a difference in socio-cultural experiences that are available to the child in the respective environments, thereby negatively influencing social development.
4. Language structures that are available to the child in the respective environments differ significantly.

In terms of conclusions one to four it is further concluded that:

- (i) there is no link or continuation of experiences as the child moves between home and pre-primary class;
- (ii) the social condition of education in the pre-primary class manifests a high degree of value conflict, thereby negatively influencing the process of social development.

In examining the conclusions emanating from these various areas of analyses the overriding conclusion that is formulated is that the social condition of education in the SADPPS has a negative effect on

social development during the primary socialization of a group of Indian children.

On the basis of this conclusion the researcher identifies certain problem areas, and suggests recommendations accordingly.

7.4 Recommendations

Again, the researcher finds it useful to suggest recommendations so that they correspond with the categories of analyses undertaken thus far.

7.4.1 Development of self in preparation for life

1. Regarding the process of the development of the self it is recommended that pre-primary education be constituted as a phase of education, to correspond with the primary socialization phase of social development. In doing this, adequate attention would be given to the development of the components of self, and to the dialectical processes involved in the process of social interaction.
2. It is therefore recommended that the provision of pre-primary education be directed at the development of pre-primary schools, catering for 3-6 year olds, as opposed to the current provision of pre-primary classes catering for 5-6 year olds.
3. Pre-primary education should be considered in terms of a phase of social development, thus providing a readiness-for-life which will ultimately cater for school-readiness.

The researcher believes that an effective social condition of education will result, if the pre-primary programme acknowledges the processes involved in the development of the self.

7.4.2 Involving the parents

Regarding the second area of analyses, namely parental involvement, the following recommendations are rendered.

- 1) A more concerted effort should be made by the SADPPS to stimulate and encourage parental involvement during the educational process, since it is crucial to the pre-primary educational process because parents take on the position of significant others during primary socialization. Moreover, it constitutes an emotionally laden phase of development during which parents can make a positive contribution.
- 2) It is argued that by encouraging parental involvement, the parents can be brought within the educational experience of the pre-school child. Further, if this is done, parents would begin to feel confident, in relation to both the child and the pre-primary class.
- 3) It is noted that parents can only be brought within the child's educational experience if the contents of the pre-school programme is drawn increasingly from the child's experiences in the family and the community. The suggestion therefore is that such parental involvement in the process of pre-primary education, will inevitably focus on offering the child a preparation for life.
- 4) It is further suggested that such a degree of parental involvement

would create a social condition within which pre-primary education may proceed.

From the above-mentioned recommendations it is clear that much needs to be done to first capture the interests of parents and then to actually get them involved in the educational process. However, much of this initiative also lies within the scope of the SADPPS to modify its programme so as to become more meaningful to the social and cultural circumstances of the family.

7.4.3 Socio-cultural milieu during primary socialization

Regarding the third area of analyses, namely the socio-cultural environment, the following recommendations are suggested.

- 1) In order to facilitate meaningful social development, the pre-primary programme must be constructed so as to relate to the social and cultural circumstances of the home.
- 2) The educational process therefore must refrain from promoting a middle class bias. To accomplish this, it is necessary to acknowledge that society is made up of different cultures, which can indeed exist side by side, without implying inferior-superior relations.
- 3) The formulation of a culturally relevant pre-primary school programme will facilitate a link between home and school, thereby creating an effective social condition of education.

These recommendations indicate the need to institute a socially

meaningful and culturally relevant pre-primary programme, so as to facilitate a link between the home and school and on a wider context to facilitate meaningful social development.

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that although the researcher has adopted a segmented view in stating her conclusions and recommendations, it is emphasized that the three areas mentioned are equally significant in creating the social condition of education. Therefore, any distinctions that have emerged in the course of analyses are done mainly for analytical purposes, as they cannot be isolated or separated from each other in the real situation. This idea also appears to justify the researcher's preference to use the concept 'social condition', as opposed to 'social context'. Moreover, the effectiveness of the social condition of education relates to the manner in which the identified three components relate to each other.

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APPENDIX A
Interview schedule

88 Genazzano Road
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November 1986

The Shrimathi Anandben Desai Pre-Primary School

Dear Parents

I am a lecturer in the sociology department at the University of Durban-Westville. Presently, I am undertaking a Masters degree in the field of sociology of education. The title of my thesis is: **"The effectiveness of the social condition of education in an Indian pre-primary class"**.

It is in this regard that I am interested in your - the parents' views on the social conditions within which education occurs at the SADPPS. As a sociologist, I am particularly interested in analysing the conditions within which social development during early childhood education occurs, rather than analysing the educational aspects of the school programme and how it stimulates the intellectual development of the children.

I take this opportunity to remind you that all information will be **strictly confidential** and you will remain totally anonymous. Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated and will contribute largely towards the growth of pre-school education in professional stature and educational excellence.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours



S SINGH

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARENTSPARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

1. Parents' perceptions of pre-primary education:
Do you agree with the following definitions?
- a) "A pre-primary school or nursery school functions as an educational centre to complement the informal education provided by the home."
- b) "It is a programme that allows for new ideas."
- c) "It allows for honest expression of feelings between children themselves."
- d) "Children are encouraged to put forward their own ideas and thoughts in the playroom."
- e) "It is a structured environment in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults."

Q	YES (3)	NO (2)	UNDECIDED (1)
a			
b			
c			
d			
e			

2. Please enumerate in order of importance your reasons for utilizing the SADPPS facility

Please note: Not all need be enumerated.

1	to give my child the opportunity to move amongst others of his own age	
2	to prepare my child for primary school	
3	to give myself (non-working mother) time to pursue own activities	
4	my child wanted to attend	
5	both parents working	
6	nowhere to play at home	
7	friends send their children	
8	because school is situated near my home	
9	opportunity to learn good language, behaviour and manners	
10	other: please specify	

3. How often do you, as parents, maintain contact with the school? (ie. speak to a teacher, visit the school, participate in voluntary assistance)

everyday		4
at least once a week		3
less often than once a week but more often than once a month		2
less often than once a month		1

4. Please enumerate in order of importance your reasons for such communication.

discuss financial matters		1
discuss home environment		2
discuss child's performance		3
discuss parent participation		4
other: please specify		0

5. Who initiates contact with the school?

self		2
undecided		1

6. Do you express to your child any interest in his performance at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, provide examples: _____

7. Are you familiar with any of the teaching techniques encompassed by the SADPPS programme?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, please elaborate: _____

8. Do you think it is really necessary for you to involve yourselves in your child's education at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, why? _____

9. Do you agree that parents' attitudes towards education influences the child's experiences at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

10. Please enumerate in order of importance the ways in which your child has benefitted from attending the SADPPS.

Please note: Not all need be enumerated.

1	school-readiness	
2	learning to speak good English	
3	learning cleanliness, respectability and tidiness	
4	understanding activities within the home	
5	learning the skills to acquire knowledge	
6	learning to share and co-operate with others	
7	gaining confidence and independence	

11. Do you feel that the school places excessive demands on parents' time and effort?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

DEVELOPMENT OF SELF

12. Does your child imitate others, or pretend to be someone else whilst playing?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

13. Who does your child most often imitate, or pretend to be?

parents		3
teachers		2
peers		1
others: please specify		0

14. In general terms, how would you characterize the behaviour of your pre-school child?

impulsive		2
restrained		1
other: please specify		0

SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

15. Does your child experience any anxiety in adjusting his behaviour whilst at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, please explain: _____

16. Does your child express any similarities in the nature of experiences encountered within the home and the pre-school respectively?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, provide examples: _____

17. Is the value system of the school similar to your own?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

18. Do you think that the SADPPS programme could be more meaningful and relevant to your child's experiences at home?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

19. Do you think that there is a significant difference between the language available in the home and the pre-school environments respectively?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

20. Does your child's manifestation of the teachers' values conflict with the values held by the family?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, provide examples _____

21. Are your child's social experiences at the SADPPS so different that they become discontinued within the home environment?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Sex

Male		1
Female		2

2. Age

	Father	Mother	
Under 30			1
31 - 40			2
41 - 50			3
51 - 60			4
60 +			

3. Marital status

Married	1
Separated	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4
Other	0

4. Number of children

5. Home language

English	3
Vernacular	2
English & Vernacular	1
Other	0

6. Educational qualifications

	Father	Mother	
Primary school			1
High school			2
Completed matric			3
Post matriculation			4
Degree			5
Other			0

7. Employment

	YES	NO	UNDECIDED
	3	2	1
Father			
Mother			

8. Occupation

	ADMIN	SKILLED M	SEMI-SKILLED M	UNSKILLED
	1	2	3	4
Father				
Mother				

9. Type of family

Nuclear

	2
	1

Extended

10. Size of house

3 roomed

	1
	2
	3
	4
	0

4 roomed

5 roomed

6 roomed

Other

11. Presently, is your family receiving any grant or financial assistance from a welfare organization?

Yes

	3
	2
	1

No

Undecided

12. Please indicate your total family income per month.

Under R300	1
R301 - R450	2
R451 - R600	3
R601 - R750	4
R751 - R900	5
R901 - R1 050	6
R1 051 +	7

88 Genazzano Road
Seatides
TONGAAT BEACH
4405

November 1986

The Shrimathi Anandben Desai Pre-Primary School

Dear Teachers

I am a lecturer in the sociology department at the University of Durban-Westville. Presently, I am undertaking a Masters degree in the field of sociology of education. The title of my thesis is: **"The effectiveness of the social condition of education in an Indian pre-primary class"**.

It is in this regard that I am interested in your - the teachers views on the social conditions within which education occurs at the SADPPS. As a sociologist, I am particularly interested in analysing the conditions within which social development during early childhood education occurs, rather than analysing the educational aspects of the school programme and how it stimulates the intellectual development of the children.

I take this opportunity to remind you that all information will be **strictly confidential** and you will remain totally anonymous. Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated and will contribute largely towards the growth of pre-school education in professional stature and educational excellence.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours



S SINGH

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERSPARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

1. Teachers perceptions of pre-primary education:

Do you agree with the following definitions?

- a) "A pre-primary school or nursery school functions as an educational centre to complement the informal education provided by the home."
- b) "It is a programme that allows for new ideas."
- c) "It allows for honest expression of feelings between children themselves."
- d) "Children are encouraged to put forward their own ideas and thoughts in the playroom."
- e) "It is a structured environment in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults."

Q	YES (3)	NO (2)	UNDECIDED (1)
a			
b			
c			
d			
e			

2. Please enumerate in order of importance parents reasons for utilizing the SADPPS facility

Please note: Not all need be enumerated.

1	to give my child the opportunity to move amongst others of his own age	
2	to prepare my child for primary school	
3	to give myself (non-working mother) time to pursue own activities	
4	my child wanted to attend	
5	both parents working	
6	nowhere to play at home	
7	friends send their children	
8	because school is situated near my home	
9	opportunity to learn good language, behaviour and manners	
10	other: please specify	

3. How often do parents maintain contact with the school?
(ie.speak to a teacher, visit the school, participate in voluntary assistance)

everyday		4
at least once a week		3
less often than once a week but more often than once a month		2
less often than once a month		1

4. Please enumerate in order of importance parents reasons for such communication.

discuss financial matters		1
discuss home environment		2
discuss child's performance		3
discuss parent participation		4
other: please specify		0

5. Who initiates contact with the school?

self		2
undecided		1

6. Do parents express to their children any interest in their performance at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, provide examples: _____

7. Are parents familiar with any of the teaching techniques encompassed by the SADPPS programme?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, please elaborate: _____

8. Do you think it is really necessary for parents to involve themselves in their children's education at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, why? _____

9. Do you agree that parents' attitudes towards education influences the child's experiences at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

10. Please enumerate in order of importance the ways in which children generally have benefitted from attending the SADPPS.

Please note: Not all need be enumerated.

1	school-readiness	
2	learning to speak good English	
3	learning cleanliness, respectability and tidiness	
4	understanding activities within the home	
5	learning the skills to acquire knowledge	
6	learning to share and co-operate with others	
7	gaining confidence and independence	

11. Do you feel that the school places excessive demands on parents' time and effort?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

DEVELOPMENT OF SELF

12. Do the children imitate others, or pretend to be someone else whilst playing?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

13. Who do the children most often imitate, or pretend to be?

parents		3
teachers		2
peers		1
others: please specify		0

14. In general terms, how would you characterize the behaviour of these preschoolers?

impulsive		2
restrained		1
other: please specify		0

SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

15. Do the children experience any anxiety in adjusting their behaviour whilst at pre-school?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, please explain: _____

16. Do the children express any similarities in the nature of experiences encountered within the home and the pre-school respectively?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, provide examples: _____

17. Is the value system of the school similar to the value system of parents?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

18. Do you think that the SADPPS programme could be more meaningful and relevant to the children's experiences at home?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

19. Do you think that there is a significant difference between the language available in the home and the pre-school environments respectively?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

20. Do the children's manifestation of the teachers' values conflict with the values held by the family?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

If yes, provide examples _____

21. Are the children's social experiences at the SADPPS so different that they become discontinued within the home environment?

yes		3
no		2
undecided		1

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Sex

Male		1
Female		2

2. Age

Under 30

31 - 40

41 - 50

51 - 60

Husband	Self	
		1
		2
		3
		4

3. Marital status

Married	1
Separated	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4
Other	0

4. Number of children

5. Home language

English	3
Vernacular	2
English & Vernacular	1
Other	0

6. Educational qualifications

Primary school
High school
Completed matric
Post matriculation
Degree
Other

Husband	Self	
		1
		2
		3
		4
		5
		0

7. Employment

	YES	NO	UNDECIDED
	3	2	1
Husband			
Self..			

8. Occupation

	ADMIN	SKILLED M	SEMI-SKILLED M	UNSKILLED
	1	2	3	4
Husband				
Self				

9. Type of family

Nuclear

	2
	1

Extended

10. Size of house

3 roomed

	1
	2
	3
	4
	0

4 roomed

5 roomed

6 roomed

Other

11. Presently, is your family receiving any grant or financial assistance from a welfare organization?

Yes

	3
	2
	1

No

Undecided

12. Please indicate your total family income per month.

Under R300	1
R301 - R450	2
R451 - R600	3
R601 - R750	4
R751 - R900	5
R901 - R1 050	6
R1 051 +	7