

A CASE STUDY OF INTEGRATED SCHOOLING
WITHIN A CO-EDUCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL
IN THE DURBAN AREA

by

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I, DAVID SEAGER, declare that

"A case study of integrated schooling within a co-educational high school in the Durban area"

is my own work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Seager".

DURBAN

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ABSTRACT

Issues relating to racial integration in white schools in South Africa during the period 1976-1992 are explored within the South African (historical, social, political) context. The introduction by the state of alternative school models, and in particular the 'Model B' option, is studied with specific reference to its implementation in one high school.

Using a generative research design, issues and concerns of participants are fleshed out, and form the basis of surveys and interview schedules administered to 103 students and 33 teachers within the school.

Major themes that emerge from student and teacher responses include positive and negative views on racial mixing, and views on curriculum change and development. A major finding of this study is that there is broad support for racial integration within a range of assimilationist rather than integrationist assumptions. Accounts of racial mixing also reveal the pervasive influence of institutionalised apartheid. A further finding of this study is that the experience of racial mixing in this single institution does not necessarily lead to a greater understanding and acceptance of racial and cultural diversity. However, while the introduction of the 'Model B' option can be regarded at best as mildly

reformist, it has provided a 'space' wherein racial tolerance and understanding can be enhanced, and has encouraged, to a limited extent, the breakdown of racial and cultural stereotypes.

An important conclusion of this study is that schools should be pro-active in providing special programmes that foster cross-cultural understanding, tolerance, and empathy. Recommendations are made concerning academic and social programmes that might promote meaningful integration in moving students away from assimilationist notions that are paternalistic, proprietary, and patronising.

While the findings of this case study cannot be generalised to include other schools, it is hoped that given similar circumstances shared by many schools, this study will assist these schools in addressing current issues relating to school integration.

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<u>LIST OF TABLES</u>	<u>Page</u>
Table 1 : Sample sizes of the four race groups	77
Table 2 : Sample of total population of white pupils	77
Table 3 : Sample of total population of African pupils	78
Table 4 : Pupil questionnaire	83
Table 5 : Teacher questionnaire	83
Table 6 : Home language	101
Table 7 : Ethnic background	102
Table 8 : Mothers' education level	103
Table 9 : Fathers' education level	103
Table 10 : Parents' occupations	103
Table 11 : Coping with school	105
Table 12 : Further studies	107
Table 13 : Post-matric occupations	108
Table 14 : Student concerns	109
Table 15 : Differences in black and white responses	110
Table 16 : Items relating directly to racial mixing	114
Table 17 : 'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school'.	114
Table 18 : 'Black pupils should adjust to the ways of white pupils in the school'.	124
Table 19 : 'The black pupils in this school behave better than the black pupils outside the school'.	129
Table 20 : 'I don't mind if more black pupils than white pupils attend this school'.	135

Table 21 :	'A marriage partner'.	137
Table 22 :	'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as ...'.	138
Table 23 :	'I am comfortable about mixing with members of other race groups in the following situations'.	139
Table 7.1:	From: Unit for Future Research 1982 Socio-Political Monitor Percentage South Africans accepting blacks in various situations	140
Table 24 :	Life at school - items	147
Table 25 :	'This school should have black teachers'.	148
Table 26 :	'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language at some stage'.	150
Table 27 :	'The discipline in this school is too strict'.	155
Table 28 :	'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views'.	157
Table 29 :	Items relating to political views	162
Table 30 :	'Black people in South Africa could be better off if they worked and tried harder'.	167
Table 31 :	'Most blacks are not really interested in politics (power struggles); they simply want a decent education, home and job'.	169
Table 32 :	'I feel confident about the future in South Africa'.	170
Table 33 :	'I support compulsory military service for boys'.	171
Table 34 :	'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution'.	171
Table 35 :	General information : teachers	173
Table 36 :	Teacher concerns	175

Table 37 :	'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school'.	176
Table 38 :	'It is of no concern to me if the black pupils outnumber the white pupils'.	187
Table 39 :	'The standard of education at this school is low'.	189
Table 40 :	'Cultural (ethnic) and racial differences are not important in considering a curriculum for this school'.	199
Table 41 :	'This school provides a relevant curriculum that caters for the future needs of its pupils'.	200
Table 42 :	'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as ...'.	207
Table 43 :	'I feel comfortable about mixing with members of other race groups in the following situations ...'.	208
Table 44 :	White students' views of racial mixing : negative themes	220
Table 45 :	White students' views of racial mixing : positive themes	222

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Tables	iv
Table of Contents	vii
 <u>CHAPTER ONE</u>	 1
1.1 <u>Introduction</u>	1
1.2 <u>An overview of racial integration within the state-school context (1976-1992)</u>	7
1.2.1 An historical and socio-political perspective	7
1.2.2 Government policy towards racial integration in schools, 1990-1992	15
1.2.3 Support for racial integration in schools	23
 <u>CHAPTER TWO</u>	
2. <u>Research design and methodology</u>	35
2.1 Introduction	35
2.2 Generative research design	36
2.3 The case study approach	43
2.4 Evaluative aspects of the study	47
 <u>CHAPTER THREE</u>	
3. <u>Conduct of the study</u>	50
3.1 Introduction	50
3.2 Negotiating access	51
3.3 Illuminating and generating issues and concerns	54

	<u>Page</u>	
3.3.1	Forms of observation used	54
3.3.2	Content analysis	64
3.4	Sampling	75
3.5	Structured questionnaire schedules	80
3.6	Structured interview schedules	87
3.7	Pre-testing	92
3.8	Reflection on some issues arising from the conduct of the study	93
 <u>CHAPTER FOUR</u>		
4.	<u>Description and analysis of the data</u>	100
A.	<u>Student Responses</u>	101
4.1	Biographical data	101
4.1.1	Home language and ethnic background	101
4.1.2	Level of parents' education, and parents' occupations	103
4.1.3	Distance from school	105
4.1.4	Coping with school	105
4.1.5	Further studies	107
4.1.6	Post-matric occupations	108
4.2	Student concerns	109
4.2.1	Table 14: Student Concerns	109
4.3	Racial mixing	113
4.3.1	Items related directly to racial mixing	114
4.3.2	'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school'.	114
4.3.3	'Black pupils should adjust to the ways of white pupils in the school'.	124

4.3.4	'This school should have black teachers'.	128
4.3.5	'This school helps me communicate better with other racial groups'.	128
4.3.6	'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups'.	129
4.3.7	'The black pupils in this school behave better than the black pupils outside the school'.	129
4.3.8	'Black people should be free to live where they like'.	135
4.3.9	'I don't mind if more black pupils than white pupils attend this school'.	135
4.4	Social distance	136
4.4.1	A marriage partner	137
4.4.2	'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as ...'.	138
4.4.3	'I am comfortable about mixing with members of other race groups in the following situations ...'.	139
4.4.4	Table 7.1: Unit for Future Research 1982 Socio-Political Monitor	140
4.5	Life at school	147
4.5.1	Items: Life at school	147
4.5.2	'This school should have black teachers'.	148
4.5.3	'The standard of education at this school is low'.	149
4.5.4	'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language'.	150
4.5.5	'Teachers at this school care about me as a person'.	151
4.5.6	'The discipline in this school is too strict'.	155

	<u>Page</u>
4.5.7	'I am happy at this school". 157
4.5.8	'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views'. 157
4.5.9	'Education is the key to my future'. 159
4.5.10	'This school helps me to have self-confidence'. 159
4.5.11	'The standard of education at this school is good'. 161
4.5.12	'The subjects offered at this school are going to help me in my future career'. 161
4.6	Broad political views 161
4.6.1	Items: Broad political views 162
4.6.2	'There should be social change in South Africa'. 162
4.6.3	'Violence will never bring about political improvements'. 164
4.6.4	'Agitators (political troublemakers) are behind the unrest in South Africa'. 165
4.6.5	'Black people in South Africa could be better off if they worked and tried harder'. 167
4.6.6	'Most blacks are not really interested in politics (power struggles); they simply want a decent education, home and job'. 169
4.6.7	'I feel confident about the future in South Africa'. 170
4.6.8	'I support compulsory military service for boys'. 171
4.6.9	'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution'. 171
B.	<u>Teacher responses to structured surveys and interviews</u> 173
4.7	General information 173

4.7.1	Gender, degrees, teaching experience, post categories, time spent at Newsa High	173
4.8	Concerns of teachers	174
4.8.1	Table: Teacher concerns	175
4.9	Racial mixing	176
4.9.1	'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school'.	176
4.9.2	'This school should have black teachers as well as black pupils'.	185
4.9.3	'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language at some stage'.	186
4.9.4	'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups'.	186
4.9.5	'In my professional capacity as an educator I have meaningful contact with fellow-professionals from other race groups'.	187
4.9.6	'It is of no concern to me if the black pupils outnumber the white pupils'.	187
4.9.7	'School policy and organisation in this school is conducive towards establishing a positive non-racial environment'.	188
4.9.8	'I think there should be social change in South Africa'.	188
4.10	Curriculum change	189
4.10.1	'The standard of education at this school is low'.	189
4.10.2	'Cultural (ethnic) and racial differences are not important in considering a curriculum for this school'.	199
4.10.3	'This school provides a relevant curriculum that caters for the future needs of its pupils'.	200
4.10.4	Concerns relating to specific subjects	204

	<u>Page</u>
4.11 Social distance and the broad political view of teachers	206
4.11.1 'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as ...'.	207
4.11.2 'I feel comfortable about mixing with members of other race groups in the following situations ...'.	208
4.11.3 Broad political views	208
 <u>CHAPTER FIVE</u>	
5. <u>Conclusions and Recommendations</u>	213
<u>Conclusions</u>	213
5.1 The new models of schooling as state responses to sustained social, economic, political and educational resistance by black groups in the period 1976-1992	213
5.2 The appropriateness of a generative research design in this case study approach	216
5.3 Gramsci's (1972) notions of hegemony, commonsense, and contradictory consciousness as appropriate ways of analysing and describing participant responses	217
5.4 Positive and negative themes that emerged from the study	219
5.5 Black responses to racial mixing at Newsa High	224
<u>Recommendations</u>	228
5.6 Promoting cross-cultural communication to achieve cultural relativism	228
5.7 Promoting racial mixing by democratising processes, structures, and systems in the school	232
5.8 The curriculum as a major vehicle for promoting cross-cultural understanding and tolerance	232
5.8.1 Combining a national, regional and local perspective	232

5.8.2	Possible approaches within subject areas	237
5.8.2.1	History	238
5.8.2.2	English	239
5.8.2.3	Maths	240
5.8.2.4	Science	240
5.8.3	Reviewing teaching and learning strategies	241
5.8.4	Developing programmes and projects	242
6.	Conclusion	245
	<u>List of References</u>	247

Appendices

Appendix A :	Letter to students, Newsa High
Appendix B :	Letter to teachers, Newsa High
Appendix C :	Letter to parents, Newsa High
Appendix D :	Student Interview Schedule
Appendix E :	Teacher Interview Schedule
Appendix F :	Student Survey
Appendix G :	Teacher Survey
Appendix H :	Histograms of Student Survey responses
Appendix I :	Histograms of Teacher Survey responses
Appendix J :	Interview Schedule for Zulu-speaking students

CHAPTER ONE1.1 Introduction

Issues relating to racial integration in white schools in South Africa have hardly been addressed in the literature. The open schools movement in South Africa began in 1976, when the Roman Catholic Church opened some of its white schools to black pupils. Christie (1990:1) warned that to speak of 'open schools' suggested a unity which did not exist in practice. Christie also noted that the published literature on issues in white schooling and private schools was far from comprehensive; revisionist scholarship had focussed primarily on 'analyses of black schooling in terms of social class reproduction, state policy, and resistance in education' (op.cit.:2).

With reference to the published literature on the open schools' movement among private schools, Christie noted the following three academic works that were general in their treatment of issues relating to racial integration in white schools (op.cit.). In an edited collection of articles on apartheid in Catholic schools, Flanagan (1982:547-563) provided some insight into open schools within the context of Catholic education. Randall's (1982) study of policy shifts and negotiations within the private school movement included a brief account of open schools in the 1970's. Cross' (1986) article on Catholic open schools in the Transvaal

warned against regarding open schools as 'laboratories of the future'.

Two more recent contributions to the open schools debate attempted to explore issues relating to racial integration more fully. Christie's (1990) work on open schools focussed on racial mixing in Catholic schools in South Africa. The study considered these schools as a movement for educational reform in South Africa in the 1970's and 1980's. The central question addressed in the study was the extent to which open schools challenged racial domination in South Africa. Monica Bot's (1990) work took an in-depth look at issues and problems relating to both segregation and integration in schooling. This study focussed on private schools, but some references were made to initiatives in government schools. A survey of South African literature with a focus on racial integration in white schools failed to locate comprehensive works on the subject. In a review of research dissertations and theses registered with the Human Sciences Research Council's Institute for Research Development, I noted that completed research on racial integration in schools in South Africa up to December 1992 dealt with specific aspects of racial integration such as, inter alia, the perceptions of black pupils at secondary schools (Mthembu, 1990), English as first language (Leibowitz, 1990), attitudes towards mixed sport (Peters, 1989), group friendships and social patterns in primary schools (Lits, 1989), and the establishment of identity and psycho-social adjustment in desegregated South African

schools (Fabian, 1988).

International debates focussing on, inter alia, multi-cultural education, desegregation, and performance differences among pupils at public and private schools, are not specifically addressed in this study. Despite the September, 1990 announcement by the government of alternative ('additional') models for white state schools that included options to desegregate these schools provided certain criteria were adhered to (see section 1.2.2) the black majority remained disenfranchised by a dominant, hegemonic (Gramsci, 1971) white ruling class minority.

A fundamental premise of this study is that state control of education during this period was maintained by a combination of consent and co-ercion (op.cit. in Christie, 1990); the education system in South Africa is a product of Nationalist ideology and therefore a "creature of political decisions, proposed, defined, debated, enacted and funded through political processes" (Simon, 1987:13). Set against this are current demands among both black and white groups for group rights and equal social, political and economic opportunities.

On 10 September 1990, the Minister of the Department of Education and Culture, Administration House of Assembly, Mr P.J. Clase, announced a new educational dispensation in the form of 'additional' models for the provision of white schooling. An

information document was issued and regional education departments under Clase's ministry were instructed to ensure that each family of a pupil attending a government school received a copy. This document, entitled Additional Models for the provision of schooling allowed for three 'models': 'Model A' schools would be those private schools established after the closure of state schools, 'Model B' schools would be those state schools wishing to change their admission policy; and 'Model C' schools would be state-aided ordinary schools (see section 1.2.2 for further discussion).

This study attempts to 'generate' (Burgess, 1982), 'illuminate' (Parlett and Hamilton, 1972), and evaluate issues arising in a case study of one white co-educational high school as a result of the implementation in that school of 'Model B' as one of the 'additional' models proposed by the Department of Education and Culture (op. cit.), with particular reference to issues relating to racial integration.

A basic premise of this study is that the attitudes of the participants in this school can only be understood and evaluated by locating these attitudes within the wider South African (social, political and economic) context. Popkewitz (1984) argues that while a social and political theory is implicit in case studies, he concludes that the relation of the actual 'case' to the wider (social, political, economic and historical) context is ignored, and defines this context as one in which "meanings, values and

actions are made credible and normal" (177). Popkewitz's argument suggests that educational evaluation must consider underlying assumptions, argue the substance of enquiry, give expression to contradictions, and provide for a focus on social values and a moral imperative that transcends interest-group politics. In essence, Popkewitz calls for an acknowledgement of the relationship between structure, history and decision-making; both the individual, and the individual within a particular social setting, must be considered.

Consequently, I have set out, firstly, to describe and evaluate the historical context of integration in schools in South Africa (section 1.2); the research methodology employed in this case study is discussed in section 2; an analysis of the data is made in section 3, and section 4 attempts to draw conclusions, and makes recommendations in the light of the findings. While the findings of this case study of one institution cannot be generalised to include other schools, I hope that teachers, parents, principals, education officials and those involved with curriculum development might discover that some of the issues illuminated in this study are also relevant to their particular context. However, in setting out to describe and evaluate issues relating to racial integration in one co-educational high school, a major purpose of this study is to provide an opportunity for all the participants in the study to read and evaluate it as a means to considering approaches, strategies, processes, and decision-making that will make a

practical contribution towards an effective and relevant educational ethos and policy for their particular school.

In 1992 most parent communities opted for the state-aided (Model C) school that offered them far greater autonomy and governance than in the past. Management communities were replaced by governing bodies that organised and administered the staffing, finances and maintenance of schools. With regard to racial mixing in 'Model C' schools, it would appear that the present (1994) status quo remains largely as it existed in 1991/92 in that the policies of these schools appears to be assimilationist, and racial mixing largely superficial. There are hardly any black teachers in these schools.

The election of a government of national unity in April 1994 has paved the way for major changes in education. The likelihood of much larger black student intakes requires educators to pay urgent attention to the academic, cultural and social aspects of the curriculum in a fully integrated, non-discriminatory educational system. I believe that the findings of this study have direct relevance within this present context.

1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF RACIAL INTEGRATION WITHIN THE STATE SCHOOL CONTEXT (1976 - 1992)

1.2.1 An historical and socio-political perspective

The student protests and uprisings of 16 June 1976 may be regarded as a significant start to what became a sustained resistance to apartheid education, and coincided with other movements demanding the end of apartheid structures in South Africa.

It is clear that the 1970s and 1980s were characterised by crisis government. The state underwent an organic crisis in which it attempted to reform and revise apartheid structures, allowing for, according to Christie, limited desegregation in education. Christie states that the form of the crisis was viewed by radical scholarship as a crisis of accumulation within the heart of racial capitalism. Its features included recession, falling rates of profits, high inflation, a fluctuating gold price, withdrawal of foreign capital, an increasing organic composition of capital and concomitant displacement of workers, and growing structural unemployment accompanied by shortages of skilled workers (1990:8).

I concur with this view, in that earlier attempts to limit the urbanisation of blacks were to no avail, and this urbanisation led to a more militant and assertive black working class. With the independence of Southern African countries such as Angola,

Mocambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia, international pressure on South Africa intensified. This external change in the balance of power coincided with increasing political demands within the country. Trade unions and union federations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and political organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), as well as student and community groups, established themselves in direct opposition to the state.

Radical scholarship was sceptical of attempts made by the state in the 1970's and early 1980's to introduce changes. I accept Christie's view (op.cit.) that these reforms were viewed as attempts to conserve authority, contain opposition, and increase profitability. Christie argues that reforms seemed to shift apartheid away from purely racial premises to a capitalist rationality. Reforms included fostering a black middle class, a new constitution providing for parliamentary representation in separate houses to Coloureds and Indians, the abolition of influx control and the pass laws, and the recognition of black trade unions.

Reforms emanating from various commissions appointed by the state, such as the Rabie Commission (law), the Riekert Commission (manpower), the Wiehahn Commission (labour), and the de Lange Commission (education) appeared to shift the state focus away from Verwoerdian-type apartheid. I accept Posel's view that the state

promoted reform as a means of countering 'the Marxist threat' by propounding the concepts of 'free enterprise' and a 'total strategy' (1987:419). While there was a degree of consultation with major corporations, resulting in the desegregation of central business districts, the establishment of free settlement residential areas, and the opening of certain amenities such as beaches and restaurants to all races, fundamental apartheid structures, including separate schooling, remained in place. The period after 1985 was characterised by intense police and military activity in order to enforce the partial state of emergency. Spending on defence increased dramatically. Bundy commented on the restructuring of the apartheid state under P.W. Botha:

South Africa's historical birthmark - what distinguishes it from other middle-ranking capitalist powers - is the non-incorporation of the majority of its working class into its social and political institutions. The historical development of racial capitalism has created a series of antagonistic social divides: between possessors and dispossessed, between employers and workers, between black and white. So acute are these antinomies, that merely to regulate and preserve existing social relations the state has no option but to resort to authoritarian weapons and practices. Coercion, not consensus, is the social cement of the state edifice. (1985:313)

It is my contention that reforms in education can be viewed in the light of Bundy's view. Reforms accompanying the introduction of the Education and Training Act of 1979 were limited, and were accompanied by attempts to smash student organisations. Thus, argues Christie (op.cit.), attempts to introduce compulsory

schooling, and to upgrade teachers were accompanied by age limit restrictions that were interpreted by students as a means of excluding activists from schools. Buckland (1982) argued that the three key education policy documents emanating in 1981 (the de Lange report, the Syncom report, and the Buthelezi report) must be viewed in the light of the state's restructuring of ideological discourses. Buckland was particularly critical of the technicism underlying the de Lange report, claiming that these technicist assumptions obscured the way the proposed modifications would serve the interests of the dominant paradigm (1982:26).

The 1976 Soweto uprisings led to a rejection of Bantu education in general. The school boycotts which began in 1980 in the Western Cape, and spread nationally, led in turn to an even higher degree of politicisation. The de Lange commission was seen largely by radical scholarship as a means of handling capital's concern with shortages of skilled labour. Despite this cynicism, it is an irony that ten years later a number of the commission's proposals were also some of the most significant areas of concern being debated. A single ministry of education, an advisory Council of Education, free and compulsory basic education regardless of colour, creed or gender, equal opportunities for all, and a blend of formal and non-formal education financed by both the state, and the private and public sector, are at the heart of the Education Renewal Strategy Discussion Document (1991).

While the government White Paper of 1983 accepted the principles enunciated by de Lange, and supported some recommendations, the government also reiterated its commitment to the principles of Christian National Education. A policy of separate education was entrenched in 1984 as a result of the National Policy for General Educational Affairs Act, which stipulated a department of 'general' affairs, the Department of National Education, and three 'own affairs' departments for the different population groups. This development was defended by the then Minister for Education and Culture, Mr P.J. Clase, on the grounds of self determination and cultural differences.

It is clear that the reforms proposed by the de Lange Commission failed to bear significant fruit in terms of racial desegregation. Instead, the policy of segregation was reinforced by the provision of 'own affairs' education. I thus accept Buckland's (op.cit.) argument that these changes were made to serve the interests of the dominant Nationalist government.

In 1984 a series of nation-wide boycotts and protests developed into an orchestrated campaign to boycott elections for the new tricameral parliament. Beginning with a school-related issue (irregularities in the marking of the 1983 Matric scripts, and the poor Matric results of black students), student protests soon became more overtly political. In 1985 a partial state of emergency was declared, and was extended into 1986. Students

called for 'Liberation before Education', and the crisis in schooling was intensified. The Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC), and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) were able to assist in organising a conditional return to school.

Wolpe's (1989) postulation of three theses that purport to reflect approaches to education adopted by proponents of 'People's Education' during the period (1986-1989) is compelling. The first thesis, according to Wolpe, was that education plays a fundamental role in the structuring of social differences. The second thesis regards education as an instrument of social reproduction, whereby the values of the dominant class are reinforced and racial structures are reproduced (the strategy of the boycott was one response to this approach). The third position rejects the notions of the first two, and holds that the relationship between education and the social system depended on the 'concrete conditions' (op.cit.:4) pertaining at the time. Wolpe defines these conditions as those social, economic and political conditions existing both within, and outside of, the educational sphere.

I am persuaded that NECC policy in 1991 reflected an acceptance of the third position postulated by Wolpe, and that this position suggested a multiple strategy whereby three elements were linked:

1. A vision of people's education enabling the disenfranchised to understand the inequalities inherent in the apartheid system,

and to prepare them for participation in a democratic, non-racial system.

2. While people's education could not be implemented before a new political dispensation was in place, nevertheless the process could, and should, begin immediately.
3. The acquisition of skills by the black people, and the professionalisation of teachers, is a necessary part of the national liberation struggle, and therefore must occur as soon as possible.

The release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, and the declared aims of the Nationalist government under President F.W. de Klerk in working towards the total dismantling of apartheid structures, and towards a government of national unity through a process of consultation and negotiation, were regarded by many commentators as a clear indication of a willingness both on the part of the government, and the radical black opposition movements, to work towards a compromise in terms of a future political and economic dispensation. The rejection of this view by both white (the Conservative Party, for one) and black (the Pan African Congress), political groupings, showed that deep-seated historical, political, social and economic conflicts between the various groups would not be easily resolved. The continuing violence, large-scale unemployment, the remains of the last vestiges of institutionalised

apartheid structures, and the unequal provision of educational opportunities, all militated against a quick solution to the problems created by the apartheid system, despite the signing of an historic peace accord between President F.W. de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Gatsha Buthelezi on Saturday, 14 September 1991.

I suggest that the link between these broad social and political developments, and racial integration in white South African government schools is clear. Gramsci's (op.cit.) argument that state power is maintained by a combination of consent and coercion, and his view of how hegemony is maintained, is compelling because it explains the use of racial categories in the South African (historical, political and social) context, and provides an explanation of a form of thinking maintained both by laws and by everyday practices. Applied to this study on racial integration it could not simply be assumed that bringing black and white pupils together in schools (in this case a 'Model B' school) would necessarily shift pupils, teachers and parents' views on race. In this regard Gramsci's notion of a 'contradictory consciousness' is compelling. The contradiction which people experience "does not permit of any action, any decision, or any choice, and produces a condition of moral and political passivity" (op.cit.:333). Christie (op.cit.) concludes that when people meet with situations which run contrary to the existing power relationships, their consciousness does not necessarily change and further suggests that even people who may not actively support racial divisions may be

unable to envisage alternatives. Consequently, the existing social patterns are adhered to.

Section 1.2.2 attempts to view government policy towards racial integration in the light of the historical, social, and political currents discussed in this section.

1.2.2 Government policy towards racial integration in schools,
 1990 - 1992

Reference has already been made to the introduction by the state of three 'additional' models for the provision of schooling in South Africa (section 1.1). The basis of the 'Model B' concept was that black pupils could be admitted in to white government schools provided a minimum of 72% of parents voted in favour and on condition that at least 80% of parents participated in the poll. The general principles enunciated in the document were particularly significant as they reflected the limits of the state's willingness to entertain an 'open' schools policy. The 'mission' of the Department of Education and Culture Administration : House of Assembly was the

provision of excellent and relevant education originating in the cultural milieu of a local community, that is, schooling which has a Christian and broad national character and which is provided to its target group through the medium of the mother tongue. (1992:1)

This 'mission' statement reflected an overriding concern by the state to preserve, in white government schools, the concept of an education 'Christian' and 'National' in character. Since 1967 these concepts were firmly rooted in the ideological discourse of the state. It is clear to me that the ethos of the dominant paradigm was reinforced. Further, there was evidence of a technicist approach towards managing change; education was 'provided' to the 'target group'. Progress appeared to be viewed as sequential, fixed as an ideal type, and was removed from a concept of adaptation to circumstances of what was conceived as the nature of things (Popkewitz, 1984).

It is my view that the criteria established ensured the preservation of the ideology of the state, and further that any changes would be, at best, mildly reformist. The following criteria were stipulated:

1. Mother tongue instruction to be the official medium of instruction, that is, Afrikaans or English (point 3.3).
2. The majority of pupils (51%) must be white (point 3.2).
3. The curriculum must reflect the culture of the target group, that is, must be Christian and national in character. However, the curriculum may include an introduction to a wider cultural world (point 3.4).

4. A policy of differentiated education must be offered that takes account of the aptitudes and abilities of individual pupils (point 3.5).
5. White pupils from the natural feeder area of the school must receive preference when admissions are considered (point 3.6).
6. Any change in the admissions policy of a school may not detract from the traditional values and ethos of the school (point 3.7).

It was emphasised in the document that the basic principle (that education shall be Christian and National), enunciated in the National Education Policy Act of 1967 (Act 39 of 1967), and the policy, announced in the Government notices of 16 May 1969 (Notice R809), and Notice R2020 of 12 November 1971, reinforcing the 1967 Policy Act, must be adhered to. It is also significant that the Minister reserved the right of veto, and could only be 'requested' to change the existing legal status of a school.

I challenged the implications of the 'Model B' concept of racial integration on the following grounds:

1. The insistence on Afrikaans or English as the medium of instruction (point 3.3) denied the reality of a large black pupil population who vastly outnumber white pupils, and who

speak a variety of languages.

2. The insistence that the majority of pupils had to be white, and that the curriculum had to reflect the culture of the 'target group' (presumably even where, as was possible, there was an almost equal number of black pupils) further reinforced the document's pre-occupation with the preservation of the cultural ethos of the dominant paradigm, excepting that the curriculum could include an 'introduction' to a 'wider' cultural world (point 3.4). This token acknowledgement of cultural differences was hardly even reformist, let alone providing for a transformation (as demanded by the NECC) of schooling in South Africa.
3. Point 3.6 (giving preferential treatment to white pupils from natural feeder schools), further entrenched the structural inequalities created by the policy of separate development. It is not made clear in the document whether white pupils who were not in the natural feeder area of the particular school would have preference over black pupils in the same situation.
4. Point 3.7 entrenched the cultural ethos of the Nationalist government as inviolate, if it is accepted that the ethos of white government schools was required to be 'Christian' and 'National' in character.

Further stipulations with particular reference to the 'Model B' school were that provision would not be made for additional facilities or funding, alternative arrangements would be made for pupils whose parents did not wish them to remain in the school, and that while teachers wishing to leave the 'Model B' school would be treated sympathetically, they could not, according to law, insist on being placed elsewhere.

The new proposals of 'additional' models of schooling for state schools could be viewed as a specific response to political, social, and economic pressures on a government that was unable to shrug off the legacy of Verwoerdian-style apartheid.

Consequently, this shift in state policy, as evidenced by the introduction of the alternative models of education, did not necessarily reflect a commitment to alternative values. Despite the fact that Mr Piet Clase was replaced by Mr Sam de Beer as Minister of the Department of Education and Culture, Administration : House of Assembly, statements made by Clase reflected the tensions that existed within the state:

An education policy is primarily based on proven educational norms, as well as practical considerations such as the communication of culture, the realities of the composition of the population, all relevant legislation, and demographic factors. (Cited in Bot, 1990:33)

In my view these 'proven norms' were synonymous with the state's

concept of culture as embodied in Christian National Education (CNE), and therefore were applied in terms of that concept, while the demographic composition of the population was largely the result of the policy of separate development. Further the nature of the 'relevant' legislation was not substantiated. The reference to 'all relevant legislation' further created the impression of a government committed to public goals, while in fact sectional interests were both served, and obscured.

I contend that the real factors that influenced new directions in state policy towards education had little to do with the acceptance of an alternative value system, and a great deal more to do with factors relating to social, economic and political pressures, among which the following were particularly significant:

1. Demographic changes resulted in a more intensive urbanisation of blacks. The establishment of Free Settlement Areas, and the decision not to prosecute in terms of the Group Areas Act, were partial responses to these geographic shifts in populations.
2. The rapid growth of black pupil numbers and the realisation that black education was both underprovided for and qualitatively inferior to the white education system, together with the decline in white pupil numbers, resulted in a policy of rationalisation that led to a decrease in the level of

subsidisation for white schools. This 'rationalisation' policy represented an attempt to apply a technical solution implemented through a centralised institutional authority and control. This policy failed to take account of educational issues relating to severe shortages of qualified teachers and the lack of adequate facilities in black education, because no provision was made for empty white schools to be used by other departments of education, or for 'surplus' white teachers to be utilised in black schools.

3. The question of white overprovision and black underprovision forced the government to re-think its policy on what to do with closed white schools. Mr Sam de Beer (Minister of the Department of Education and Training) instructed in 1991 that the department's officials were to streamline the transfer of empty white schools to his department. The National Education Crisis Committee undertook to assist in preventing confrontations or the illegal occupation of empty white schools (The Daily News, 23 August 1991).
4. The spectre of massive unemployment, together with the need for skilled workers, forced the state to consider urgently creative ways of developing curricula that would improve the levels of skills among white and black pupils. The economic reality of high wage levels, but low productivity, led to a serious decline in South Africa's ability to be economically

competitive. Linked to this was the low proportion of scientific and technologically-trained manpower in comparison to that of other middle economy countries (about 1/4). These demands for a skilled work force are directly relevant to this study of racial integration in a 'Model B' school. The white education system, with its focus on an academic curriculum, has been accused of irrelevancy. Sunter has stated that the fastest-growing category of employment in the world is that of small business, and that the content of education has to be relevant for a country's social and economic needs (1989:30). The proposals of the Walters Report, tabled in April 1990, and the proposals of the Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS) committee, were attempts to re-focus the academic and technical demands of the economy. However, as Miller (1991) pointed out, the way in which these committees were formed (with a lack of representation from different education departments) "seriously compromised the legitimacy of those appointed to evaluate a system of education that enjoys little support with the country's disenfranchised majority" (4). Both the African National Congress (ANC) and the NECC rejected the ERS document (stated by Nathu Mthembu, Secretary of the Durban Regional Branch of the NECC at a conference at Edgewood College of Education, Pinetown on 2 August 1991).

While the African National Congress supported in principle the need to teach technical skills in schools in order to generate a

stronger economy, it warned against the uncritical acceptance of a system that might provide more power for private capital, and thereby widen the gap between rich and poor. (Nzimande:1991)

In regard to shifts in state policy in education, it is my contention that the state was engaged in an attempt to retain the consent of the governed, by maintaining its power base through a combination of 'consent' and 'coercion' (Gramsci, op.cit.).

1.2.3 Support for racial integration in schools

Christie's (1990) study of racially mixed Catholic schools in South Africa pointed to a general acceptance among pupils of racial mixing. The majority of pupils surveyed and interviewed were positive about racial integration (79). However, Christie noted the following:

Although open schools were taking an explicit stand against racial segregation, they did not usually confront overtly political issues in their day-to-day practices ... What is striking is the sedimentation of fragmentary and even contradictory views ... so that challenging one part does not necessarily imply a dismantling of accompanying parts ... the opening of schools to all races does not itself necessarily end the dominance of racial thinking. (Excerpts from pp.79-80)

Christie's conclusions suggested that simply sharing the same facilities together would not necessarily break down years of racial prejudice generated by an apartheid ideology and the concept

of cultural and class supremacy. I am persuaded that Christie's findings provided a further justification for this study as an opportunity to locate the relevant issues within the social, political and historical context of the school studied.

With regard to the views of educationalists outside the specific school studied, I noted that several English-speaking teachers' organisations supported racial integration at school level. The Natal Teachers' Society, and the South African Teachers' Association called for a single system of education under one department, and for a devolution of decision-making to the local level of the community and school. These organisations further demanded that schools be able to determine their own admission criteria, without conditions imposed by the state. Thus, while the 'Model B' school was accepted as an interim measure preceding the opening of all schools without restrictions, these teachers' organisations severely criticised what they considered to be the state's preoccupation with preserving a narrow cultural ethos. The English-speaking parents' associations tended to support local autonomy by the community, although it is clear from reading letters in the press that there were divergent views.

Advantages cited by supporters of integration included greater racial tolerance, the acceptance of all groups as equals, improving the self-concepts of the black pupils, and preparing all pupils for the democratisation of all laws, policies and structures in a

future dispensation. I supported these standpoints and rejected the state's policy of imposing reforms without consulting and negotiating with all the groups involved in the process of education in South Africa. I further regarded the state's failure to consider demands for the formation of a single education department, and the opening of schools to all races, as an attempt to disguise political intentions by making the issues dealt with appear to be simply matters of administration. The state thus failed to deal with the demands of the majority of South Africans for a new educational dispensation that would provide a remedy for their cultural, economic and social impoverishment (Miller, op.cit.).

Despite the support for racial integration in white schools by the Natal Teachers' Society (NTS), a survey conducted by Bot and Schlemmer (1986) for the NTS indicated among its members a concern with the possible drop in standards of education resulting from mixing advantaged white students with educationally disadvantaged black students. 73% of the teachers surveyed in 1986 agreed or agreed strongly with the statement that "racial integration will almost certainly mean the lowering of present standards for white children" (7). The survey also found that the following issues were of particular concern; the percentages indicate the seriousness of the problem:

Differences in school readiness	90%
Age difference between black and white pupils	88%
Language problems	87%
High degree of politicisation of black pupils	86%
Difference in cultural background	80%
Difference in parental support and interest	60%

A further finding was that 33% of teachers recommended the acceptance of black pupils into white schools on merit, 22% suggested that age and locality were decisive while 10% favoured a quota system.

The authors concluded that

even teachers with what could be described as a high-change ideology ... are concerned that school integration would involve a lowering of standards and produce problems connected with the age differences in classes, the politicisation of black pupils, cultural differences and school readiness generally. Possibly as a consequence of these concerns, no more than half of this group would endorse an immediate integration of schools subject to practical controls, and less than a third would suggest that existing schools in white suburbs be made accessible to pupils from the townships ... The gradualism of the majority stems from what appears to be a keen factual awareness of a range of issues and problems which would complicate a wide spread process of school integration ... Where such problems are addressed or taken into account in the questions presented to teachers, six to seven out of ten are willing to endorse school integration. (21)

Bot and Schlemmer's report has been discussed at length because it is directly relevant to a focus within this study on social,

academic, and political issues arising from racial mixing in a 'Model B' school. Some of the issues raised were explored by myself in interviews with pupils, teachers, and parents.

I do not acknowledge the concerns raised in Bot and Schlemmer's study as reflecting a rejection of racial integration. Between 60-70% of respondents were willing to endorse integration provided the problems raised were taken into account in any integration programme. Further, while these findings were based on what teachers were expecting from racial integration in schools, it is hoped that this study will illuminate the opinions of teachers, pupils, and parents based on both expectations of, and experiences in, a racially mixed government high school. In 1990 Afrikaans schools were generally considered to oppose integration. There is no doubt that integration in some white state schools was regarded as sensitive, and as a potentially explosive issue. The Conservative Party (CP) came out openly against integration. In an article published in several newspapers simultaneously throughout South Africa in October 1990, as a response to the three alternative models offered, the Conservative Party made the following claims:

1. Education is a generic process and as such is culture-bound.
2. Non-racial education is a myth. Without the commanding symbols of nationalism, identity, history and heritage,

education is empty and meaningless.

3. Attempts overseas with multi-cultural education have been largely unsuccessful.
4. The proposal to open white schools to all races is just another step towards ethnic disarmament.
5. The inability of blacks to cope with white educational standards has been starkly illustrated in Zimbabwe and Swaziland.

The article (1990) concluded that parents should reject the 'phony' models, and vote for the status quo.

The notion of education as 'culture-bound' is rejected and the views of Cushner and Trifonovitch (1991) are accepted as a basic premise of this study. These researchers posit the existence of cultural universals that are found among all people, and form a foundation. At the next level (the shared-group level), people from a common heritage learn certain things in a similar manner. At the top of this hierarchy are individual strengths and interests. This acknowledgement of the diversity of people also recognises the objective and subjective components of culture (Triandis, 1972). While the objective components refer to visible, tangible artifacts such as food, clothing, and possessions, the

subjective components include attitudes, values, norms, and the roles people assume (op.cit.). It is at this subjective level, according to Cushner and Trifonovitch, that most intercultural misunderstandings occur. The authors further state that learning a culture is similar to learning a language, and occurs by observation, trial and error, and continuous reinforcement. This view clearly rejects the notion of culture as a generic process that excludes cross-cultural learning and interaction. The view that culture and language are learned affectively, not cognitively, reinforces the importance, in my view, of the need to open schools to all races from the pre-primary phase.

I further reject points 2 and 3 of the Conservative Party article, and argue that successful activities and strategies to break down cultural barriers exist; Slavin's (1979) co-operative learning research, Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie and Yong's (1986) culture-general training strategy, and Cushner's (1989) problem-solving strategies among high school students are examples.

Cushner and Trifonovitch propose that a goal in cross-cultural training is to help others to develop an 'ethnorelative' perspective (6). This implies that there are other equally valid ways of viewing the world.

I reject the premise (point 5 of the CP article), that the inability of blacks to cope with white educational standards

relates to 'generic' cultural differences, and suggest that blacks have been deprived of enjoying the same opportunities as whites, given the historical, social, political and economic context of education in South Africa.

Despite the strong rejection of school integration by a number of groups, it is evident that acceptance of open schools among whites increased over the years. Rapport's publication of surveys conducted by Bot and Schlemmer (1989) indicated that between 1981 and 1987 a higher degree of acceptance was evidenced among whites for either a partial or selective integration process, regardless of language or political persuasion. Further survey results indicated that while 57% of CP voters supported integration, 43% were willing to accept a form of integration either in private schools, Free Settlement Areas, or even in state schools (Bot, op.cit.:40). Thus, while it was evident that there were serious reservations towards racial integration in schools among 43% of Conservative Party voters, I view the statement of the then Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen that "as far as the white community is concerned (separate education) is the wish of the voters - very strongly so, and with great conviction" (1990:33) with some scepticism.

The initiatives of the state in offering three 'additional' models for schooling were viewed with scepticism by the African National Congress as part of a state policy of preserving the existing power

relationships; Nzimande (1991:1) argued that

What is clear though is the fact that under the guise of preservation of the different cultures the Government has ensured that whites dominate in all spheres of society. The relations of domination have been enhanced and promoted by education in this country.

With particular reference to the 'Model B' concept, and to the existence of private schools, including the 'Model A' concept of state schools that have been privatised by their communities, Nzimande accused these schools of being 'assimilationist' in the sense that the ethos of these schools remained white (op.cit.). Nzimande concluded that the Model 'B' concept of racial integration, while espousing equal opportunities and cultural diversity,

misses that one can allow some cultural diversity without changing the power relations that exist in society ... Given the structural inequality that exists in our society and its racial dimension, equal opportunity only means in practice equal opportunity with others in similar social positions. (2)

I acknowledge this concern with the social, political and historical context of schooling in South Africa. Nzimande called for the building of a national culture;

the ANC does not view culture as a static thing ... culture is created by human beings, so it is subject to constant change. It is dynamic in its very nature ... The people of South Africa can and should develop a new culture, one that is informed not by racial divisions,

but by national interests. (2)

I accept Nzimande's argument, provided that 'national' interest is not taken to mean the interests of the state as a political machine. Nzimande rejected the three models as 'the opening up' of schools, arguing that they were an attempt to save white schools threatened with closure, and called for a single non-racial education system as the best means of ensuring the creation of non-racial democratic structures. He argued for an admissions policy that was 'affirmative' of the pupils' potential rather than their past performances.

Nzimande's view that state policies reflected the enhancement and promotion of relations of domination under the guise of the preservation of the different cultures is compelling, as is his view that 'multi-cultural' education (incorporating the view that cultural diversity must be recognised and promoted) would not necessarily lead to the liberation of the oppressed blacks, or to a non-racial democratic South Africa. However, I regard the three models of school integration as having provided a 'space' wherein teachers, pupils and parents of all racial groups could begin to accept each other as fellow-South Africans. Nzimande's call for a single non-racial education system was, in my view, consistent with the need for a more equitable education between black and white pupils.

In a paper titled Open Schools : Reform or Transformation, Carrim and Sayed (1991) critically examined the opening of white schools to all pupils. While arguing that the proposals were inadequate, because they failed to remedy the educational inequalities of black pupils, the authors believed that the space offered by the proposals could be used creatively in the struggle for a single non-racial education system. The educational inequalities of black South Africans were highlighted, according to the authors, by high teacher-pupil ratios, low teacher qualifications, overcrowding, inadequate facilities, shortages of textbooks, irrelevant curricula, high failure and drop-out rates, and insufficient schools. The authors claimed that the three models did not

1. challenge the foundations of apartheid education
2. respond to the demand for a single education department
3. respond to the demand for a 'people's' education
4. respond to the backlogs caused by apartheid education
5. problematise the nature of white education itself. (22)

I endorse these criticisms, particularly the claim that the nature of white education was regarded as non-problematic.

I support the claim that the state's provision of 'additional' models reflected a reformist mode (the term 'additional' implicitly implies that the status quo, that is, segregated schooling, could be retained).

It is my hope that this study will 'illuminate' issues that will provide some insights, leading to action by the participants, that will promote a relevant educational policy and practice in the school studied.

CHAPTER TWO2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to generate issues and themes arising from the introduction of the 'Model B' concept of integrated schooling and thereby to illuminate attitudes and opinions towards school integration, in the hope that this would contribute to effective and appropriate decision-making within the institution by the participants, as well as by outside bodies and groups such as education officials, researchers, and curriculum planners. The purpose in illuminating issues generated within a single case study was to provide as complete and objective a picture as possible of issues arising from a study of the specific institution selected, given the constraints of time, money and resources.

This chapter provides a theoretical justification for the research design and methodology, focussing on three key aspects: the research design, justification for selecting a case study of a single institution, and a discussion of issues relating to the evaluative aspects of the study.

2.2 Generative research design

In this case study of a single institution it would be important to gain the views of as many participants as possible, using multiple sources of evidence that could be compared by means of triangulation (Denzin, 1970). This would hopefully strengthen the internal validity of the study, and counteract the inherent subjectivity of the case study approach.

I planned to utilise a strategy of multiple operationalism (Burgess, 1982) taking into account the particular social, historical and political contexts of education in South Africa (Simon, 1986). Traditional triangulation methods, (Denzin, op.cit.), whereby informal methods are used to enrich the data generated by the use of formal measuring instruments, was rejected in favour of a strategy that allowed the target population itself to generate research issues and themes.

The following theoretical model illustrates the broad design approach adopted in this study; details of the specific applications are discussed in section 2.3 of this chapter.

DIAGRAMMultiple Operationalism

Phase 1: Generating issues and themes from the target population

Content analysis
of documents

varieties of participant
observation

Phase 2: Fleshing out the issues and themes: non structured
(informal) interviewing

Phase 3: Illuminating issues using questionnaires and structured
interview schedules

Simon's (op.cit.) argument for an 'indigenous' model of research investigation suitable for the local South African context, was accepted as a basic premise of this study. The essence of the local contexts of education in South Africa is the effect of institutionalised apartheid in entrenching relations of domination and subjugations. This has led to an unequal provision of inferior education to black pupils, resulting in expressions of hostility, and leading to severe social, economic, and political dislocation and disruption. Since traditional triangulation presupposes concepts tested or explored that are predetermined by the researcher (op.cit.), it was necessary, in the light of the problematic nature of South African education institutions, to

transform the methods of traditional triangulation. The model illustrated in the diagram above provided for a more relevant and flexible method of generating issues important to participants in a particular context.

Accepting the premise that no single method of research is always superior (Denzin, op.cit.), I used both informal and formal techniques in the gathering and analysis of data. This use of both qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry ensured an integrated approach of whole-method analysis (Burgess, op.cit.). Comparisons were made between the qualitative and quantitative data. Statistical relationships were interpreted by reference to field observations and interviews. Further, the selection of questionnaire items was based on field observations and unstructured interviews.

Denzin (1970:36) presents a comprehensive list of problems inherent in the techniques of participant observation:

These include gaining entry into the group to be studied, establishing and maintaining membership after entry has been achieved, avoiding altering by one's presence the behaviour of the observed, maintaining objectivity in the face of new experiences, recording and analysing the data - which are largely qualitative - and overcoming the ethical aspects of observation.

Other concerns relate to researcher bias (any belief in a value free approach must be questioned), 'going native' (when the

researcher subjectively identifies with, and defends the values of those studied), and missing vital episodes (not being on hand when crucial episodes occur). In regard to ethical considerations, Denzin cites 'the unintended harm that might arise from such observations, not to mention the publicity and the uncertain quality of the field observations themselves' (op.cit:190). These concerns are taken up in section 3.5.8 of chapter 3.

Simon (1986:15) refers to the weaknesses inherent in questionnaires and structured interview schedules such as 'limitations of observable categories, the reification of human consciousness, limitations of time and place and problems of entry'. Turner's (1974:197) concern that

A science of society that fails to treat speech as both topic and resource is doomed to failure. ... and yet, although speech informs the daily world and is the sociologist's basic resource, its properties continue to go almost unexamined

was noted and led to a strong focus on the illumination of issues arising from interviews.

While bearing in mind the concerns expressed by Denzin et al regarding the problems of participant observation, I considered participant observation as essential in identifying relevant problems in the institution and utilised triangulation in order to ensure that as complete a picture as possible was obtained in the

early stages of research. Denzin's definition of participant observation served as a point of departure in this regard:

a field strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, respondent and informant interviewing, direct participation and observation and introspection (op.cit:186).

Simon's (op.cit.) view of content analysis as a hermeneutic research method which uses the technique of empathy, served as a further point of departure. Consequently, it was used to generate issues and themes, and not to test hypotheses. Content analysis is useful particularly as a means of disclosing differences in communication content, exposing propaganda techniques, and identifying the ethos or spirit of the institution. Issues relating to confidentiality are discussed in section 3.5.8 of chapter 3.

Informal interviewing, technically defined as non-standardised interviewing (Denzin, op.cit.), was used to 'flesh out' the issues emerging from observation and content analysis. The following operational definition of informal interviewing was used in this study: 'no prespecified set of questions is employed, nor are questions asked in a specific order' (op.cit:36). Issues were probed in natural settings such as the playground, staffroom, corridors, carpark, classrooms, and at social and sporting functions. Babbie, 1975 (cited in Simon, 1986) points to the need for a 'neutral' interviewer when probing issues, in the sense that

the probe should never suggest the answer:

The interviewer then, should be a neutral medium through which questions and answers are transmitted. If this is successfully accomplished, different interviewers would obtain exactly the same responses from a given respondent. (172)

The third stage of the generative research design involves the illumination of various issues generated by means of questionnaires, formal interviewing and experimentation. Both questionnaires and formal interviewing formed the basis for illuminating the issues generated in this study. Experimentation, whereby something new is introduced into a situation (the independent variable), and the results of this are measured (the dependent variable), was not used in this study, as it was not considered appropriate to the research problem. While it is accepted that experimentation may be said to provide the best solution to the problem of causality (since the independent variable in a proper experimental setting is said to be the cause of the effect) given the context of this study, it was impossible to control the influence of intervening variables or factors (Babbie, op.cit:63). Denzin (op.cit:215) argues that

The researcher can never be unequivocally assured that his analysis has isolated all the relevant causal factors ... Causal inference thus becomes a fact of social research ...

and goes on to say that the researcher must be able to demonstrate 'covariance, time order and lack of spuriousness' (215).

In considering an overall design for the questionnaire, I rejected the view of Backstrom and Hursh (1963) that the demographic data should be placed at the end of the questionnaire. The view of Simon (op.cit.) that demographic questions should not offend and should be placed first, was accepted as a basis for the questionnaire design. As Stacey (1970:81) claims, 'One question which offends at the beginning may lead to a refusal to answer the whole schedule'. Further points of departure accepted included the following:

Questions should be worded simply, in everyday language.

Questions should not be leading i.e. by suggesting that a particular alternative is the most favourable.

Questions should be singular - and not double-barrelled.

There should be a logical pattern or sequence.

A pre-test should be useful in revealing redundant questions, ambiguity, and bias.

The questionnaire applied in this case study utilised both

questions of fact, and questions of attitude. The view of Moser and Kalton (1973) that scaling, where possible, permits a more accurate measurement than do other methods when attitudes need to be identified, was accepted. In order to include a full range of responses, and bearing in mind the exploratory nature of this research study, open-ended questions were included in the design, despite the problems of coding (section 3.5.5 of chapter 3 deals with the construction and application of the questionnaires used).

The approach adopted for this study regarding formal interviewing, using structured interview schedules, was that of the researcher asking questions verbally (read from the prepared schedule), recording answers briefly, and using a tape recorder for all interviews. The application of this is discussed more fully in section 3.5.6 of chapter 3.

2.3 The case study approach

Bearing in mind the particular social, political and economic contexts of education in South Africa (see Chapter 1), I adopted a generative research process within a single case study. An adherence to a classical scientific paradigm of research was regarded as unsuitable and problematic when investigating problems in which human behaviour, action or intention play a large part (Stenhouse, 1982). I accepted Yin's (1983) view of case study as

an enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (23).

In order to cope with the demands of time, money and resources, I adopted a condensed field work approach (Walker, 1974) that attempted to portray (Stake, 1978) illuminate (Parlett and Hamilton, 1972) and evaluate racial mixing in a co-educational high school as a single unit of analysis. A practical advantage in adopting a condensed field work approach was that a research team was not required. Cronbach's (1975) view served as a point of departure:

Instead of making generalisations the ruling consideration in our research, I suggest that we reverse our priorities. An observer collecting data in one particular situation is in a position to appraise a practice or proposition in that setting, observing effects in context. (116)

Note was also taken of Macdonald's (1971) observation that

No two schools are sufficiently alike in their circumstances that prescriptions of curricular action can adequately supplant the judgement of people in them. Historical/evolutionary differences alone make the innovation gap a variable which has significance for decision-making. (166)

The observations of both Cronbach and Macdonald were persuasive in convincing me that each context is unique, and that 'it is the context which is often the key to understanding effects in

education' (Nisbet and Watt, 1982:9). Stenhouse's point that "the conditions of condensed field work radically alter case study and require us to rethink its rationale and validity" (op.cit.:264) was noted, and multiple sources of evidence were used. Despite the constraints of time, money and resources, I was able to include participant observation as a part of the generative research design, albeit in a limited form.

Note was also taken of Walker's (1983) warning that there may be distortion if too much emphasis is placed on what teachers say. The problem, argues Walker, is one of balance:

How much emphasis should be placed on the reports given by teachers as opposed to those given by pupils, by parents, by chief education officers, by civil servants ...? (161)

Walker goes on to explain the difficulty of 'balancing' the account:

It is not enough to reveal what happens in classrooms if you do not at the same time reveal what is happening in staff meetings, in the head's office, in the local education authority ... (162).

In deciding to study a single institution, I felt it was important to allow all the participants in the institution an opportunity of expressing their views (see Chapter 4). My decision to focus on a single institution was based on the assumption that

individuals operating in highly ideosyncratic situations themselves appreciate descriptions of individual instances in action because they can relate them to their own experience (Simon 1987:73).

The application of a generative research strategy using multiple sources of evidence that may be compared by means of triangulation (Denzin, 1970) was regarded as an adequate means of ensuring a reasonable degree of internal validity to counteract the inherent subjectivity of the case study approach. Simon's (op.cit.) view that case studies should be inconclusive accounts containing accurate reports of the divergent and convergent views of all the participants (67), was accepted as a basic premise of this study. I attempted to resolve the dilemma of, on the one hand, a commitment to inform the participants of all the issues generated in the study, and, on the other hand, an acknowledgement that "people own the facts of their lives" (Walker and Macdonald, 1975:3), by offering all the participants confidentiality. I noted Simon's (op.cit.) view that a democratic approach to generating issues by means of condensed field work is problematic; a democratic approach whereby negotiation with each participant was accepted as a point of departure might well require more time than was available, in order to ensure that all the checks and balances were built in. I also acknowledged that while I might have offered confidentiality by using fictitious names in the research report, it was impossible to protect the school from recognition by the people who work in it.

2.4 Evaluative aspects of the study

Central to this study of a 'Model B' school are the concepts of the 'instructional system' and the 'learning milieu' espoused by Parlett and Hamilton. This study illuminates an innovation (the decision by the school to admit black pupils under certain conditions) and how this may have influenced the thoughts and actions of participants in the school environment, and, whenever possible, outside this environment in the wider society. A further purpose of this study has been to recognise the interaction between the 'instructional system' and the 'learning milieu'; in effect this has been my focus of attention, since it is a basic premise of this study that

The introduction of an innovation sets off a chain of repercussions throughout the learning milieu. In turn these unintended consequences are likely to affect the innovation itself, changing its form and moderating its impact (Stenhouse, 1975:113).

Consequently this study has attempted to illuminate how a 'Model B' school operates, the views of the participants as to perceived advantages and disadvantages, whether the academic programme has been affected, what it is like to be a participant in the innovation, and what the main features of the innovation are. Crucial to this study is a view of education as a process; the implementation of an innovation results in changes taking place within the institution. These changes occur as a result of the

influence of social, psychological and material conditions on the process of teaching and learning in the school. Thus the school must be studied within its historical, social and economic context.

Walker's (op.cit.) contention that as researchers and evaluators "we enter the political arena because knowledge is often the basis on which power is legitimated" (36) was accepted as a premise of this study; an illuminative study must reflect the different values of the participants, as well as the range of interests served. In this regard the views of Popkewitz (1984) on the nature of evaluation as a political activity, were noted. Popkewitz argues that while a social and political theory is implicit in case studies, the relationships of subjective conditions of people to historical conditions are not explored. He concludes that the relation of the actual 'case' to the wider social context is ignored, and defines the wider social context as one in which "meanings, values and actions are made credible and normal" (177). I support this view and consequently have attempted to locate this study of a single educational institution within both the local contexts of school and community, as well as within the broader social, political and historical contexts of education in South Africa (see Chapter 1).

Parlett and Hamilton's (op.cit.) notion that different learning environments share many characteristics, and that both teachers and pupils encounter 'parallel' sets of problems, leads me to believe

that the findings of this study may be useful and relevant to other academic institutions and organisations. Thus while this study is confined to the evaluation of a single institution, and contains a full documentation of the issues generated in the institution, I believe that there is scope to expand this study from the small sample selected to a larger-scale enquiry (for example, through multi-site case studies) that may yield generally applicable trends.

CHAPTER THREE3. CONDUCT OF THE STUDY3.1 Introduction

A decision by the state to offer integrated schooling within the choice of three models, reflected a change in policy which created the possibility for a fundamental change in the nature of schooling.

I purposely selected a co-educational, urban, racially-mixed high school that served as wide a cross-section of social and economic groupings as possible. Grounds for selecting this purposive sample (Moser and Kalton, 1973) included the following:

- * Co-educational schools, when considering schools in all the various education departments, are more representative of schooling in general. Given a declining white enrolment, the possibility existed that single-sex schools would decrease over time, particularly with respect to former white Natal Education Department schools.
- * The validity and usefulness of the study would be strengthened by including a sample of pupils from both sexes, drawn from different social and economic backgrounds.

- * The school selected in the purposive sample had the largest black enrolment of all white public schools in Natal.

- * Prior to my selection of the school concerned, I was aware that the headmaster of the school selected was highly receptive to research on attitudes to racial mixing being conducted in his school. This attitude and co-operation would make access less problematic.

- * Research in racially-mixed Catholic high schools (Christie, 1990), pointed to gender differences in responses that were regarded as significant. I was interested in probing this.

- * An urban school was selected for practical reasons (proximity and accessibility) and because I believe that urban schools serve a wide cross-section of social and economic groups.

In order to promote anonymity and confidentiality, the school was renamed Newsa High School, and fictitious names were used throughout the study.

3.2 Negotiating access

Mr Solomon, the Headmaster, encouraged me to begin initial research in his school before the official sanction of the Natal Education Department (N.E.D.) was received. The Headmaster's positive

encouragement facilitated access to the people in the school. The N.E.D. stipulated that research could be conducted in Newsa High School provided "the voluntary co-operation of the principal and participating staff members is obtained", and that "the identity of the school and the individuals concerned is not revealed in any research report" (Letter from the N.E.D., 1991). I assured all the participants that anonymity and confidentiality would be maintained. As I intended to share my research findings with the participants, it would not be possible to maintain complete anonymity and confidentiality within the school among participants who would recognise each other's identities, (for example, as subject teachers) no matter how carefully disguised.

A final stipulation set by the N.E.D. was that parental consent must be obtained, via the Headmaster, for selected pupils to participate in the study.

In introducing me to his administrative staff, the Headmaster offered me full access to all school records, and stated to the staff, 'He's one of us', thereby promoting my personal credibility. This was repeated during my introduction to the teaching staff. The Headmaster further introduced me as a researcher from the university to the pupil body during a normal assembly and encouraged pupils to participate positively when asked to do so. The response of the various groups; administrative personnel, teachers, pupils, and cleaning staff appeared positive and

spontaneous. The Headmaster's deliberate promotion of the study had clear advantages for my research in establishing a positive environment, clear channels of communication, and promoting credibility. Mr Solomon had made it clear to me from the start that he would encourage the study since he was pleased that his school was in the forefront of admitting black pupils. He had also expressed great interest in learning of the responses of his teachers and pupils.

In negotiating access with the staff and pupils I assured them of anonymity and confidentiality, and that they would have access to the findings of the study. Staff were provided with copies of the research proposal and the research design was explained. My offer to stand in as a relief teacher for staff was met with approval. An intention to follow a democratic approach (Macdonald, 1974) to generating and illuminating issues was reinforced by using the daily Headmaster's briefing sessions with the staff to discuss aspects of the study. This led to spontaneous, positive interaction, with specific benefits to the research. For example, some staff indicated that the sample for the interviews (to which they had been given access), excluded certain pupils who had been known to exhibit strongly negative attitudes and behaviour towards racial mixing. Consequently, I included the names submitted in a purposive sample, in order to test the perceptions of staff members, and the attitudes of the pupils.

In negotiating access, I identified myself as a colleague who worked in a co-educational school that seemed to share many similar characteristics with Newsa High. I further stated in response to a direct question posed at a staff meeting, that I supported integration. Since I was already known to a number of staff members, the presentation of my credentials went more smoothly than it might otherwise have gone. While it was necessary to disclose my stand on the principle of racial mixing in schools (in order to be accepted as credible and genuine), as a researcher conducting interviews and administering questionnaires I attempted to adopt a "neutral" stance (Babbie, cited in Simon, 1986).

3.3 Illuminating and generating issues and concerns

In keeping with the concept of multiple operationalism used in this study (Chapter 2, section 2.2), issues and themes were generated by utilising a variety of research techniques such as hidden observation, informal interviewing, participant observation, document analysis, and introspection. Issues generated during this first phase of research were then tested in a more formal phase of structured interviews and the application of a structured questionnaire.

3.3.1 Forms of observation used

Since the pupils were aware of my presence as a research student

from the university, I was able to operate mainly as a participant observer, whereby I mingled freely and openly with various individuals and groups. Using this 'privileged status' (Crano and Brewer, 1973:137) I was able to gather and record information. Hidden observation (whereby I remained physically hidden while observing pupils), was used on a few occasions and proved useful in confirming or questioning incidents witnessed as a participant.

Gaining access and maintaining membership of various groups was facilitated by the willingness of staff and pupils to participate. Problems inherent in researching groups were carefully considered. I hoped to avoid altering the behaviour of the groups by attempting to listen rather than talk, and ensuring that my responses to direct questions were as neutral and non-committal as possible. The danger of researcher bias (Denzin, 1970:36) was clearly apparent; maintaining the highest degree of objectivity possible was vital, particularly in my interaction with pupils who might be easily influenced to respond in a particular way. As a 'middle class' observer, I made myself aware of the possibility of bias in interpreting behaviour practiced by pupils with different values and from different social backgrounds. Further, in the recording and analysis of data, there was a danger of bias in my note-making. I attempted to adopt a value-free approach by reproducing, as accurately and fully as possible, the actual words of the participants. I looked for recurring issues and themes and noted these. Notes were kept in the form of a daily diary. Although I

spent ten days in the school during this initial phase of generating issues and themes, I was also aware that vital episodes would be missed, and hoped that these would be highlighted in the more formal phase of structured interviews and questionnaires.

The following list indicates the nature of various activities participated in or observed, that generated issues and concerns probed in the study:

- * Teaching English to Std 6, 7, 8 and 9 classes.
- * Administering written comprehension exercises to these classes.
- * Participating daily in the relief timetable.
- * Attending media science lessons, including a group doing remedial work in English.
- * Wandering around the school during tea and lunch breaks, particularly around the tuck shop and playing fields, where pupils congregated in large numbers.
- * Conversing with teaching staff in the staff room and marking room, and with administrative staff during the odd tea or lunch break.
- * Visiting the non-teaching (cleaning) staff during their tea breaks, and engaging in conversation.
- * Completing (hidden) observation of a few physical education lessons, and of pupil movements during specific breaks. A vantage point in the committee room gave me privacy.

- * Attending a discoteque for school pupils, held in the school hall on a Friday evening.
- * Attending and participating in staff briefings (daily), and several staff meetings.
- * Observing standard meetings where pupil behaviour, and academic progress, were discussed.
- * Participating in school assemblies.
- * Watching week-day and Saturday sporting fixtures.
- * Holding informal conversations with pupils in several classes during 'batting' (assisting with the relief timetable).
- * Conversing with five students engaged in a six-week teaching practice.

Pupil concerns generated by the initial research included the following:

- * Racial mixing was most often spoken of as either desirable, or necessary, but also as difficult. Many pupils felt that the meaningful development of inter-personal relationships would take some time.
- * Fears were expressed by some pupils that whites would be discriminated against in the future - that blacks would be as cruel to whites as whites had been to blacks.
- * Most black pupils kept together in groups, and spoke Zulu only. This irritated a number of white pupils, some of whom felt that blacks swore at whites in Zulu.

- * There was strong support for Newsa High School as a successful 'Model B' school, by both pupils and staff.
- * Very little racial mixing occurred in the playground or around the sportsfield. There were a few exceptions.
- * Many pupils expressed a need to learn more about (especially, Zulu culture). Allied to this was a concern that there were insufficient opportunities for the different groups to mix out of school.
- * Mixed marriages were generally considered to be unacceptable, as was sexual contact between members of different groups.
- * Certain individuals claimed that some racial mixing took place out of school; in particular at certain Durban nightspots, and down near the local river.
- * Some pupils expressed a need for school-organised social gatherings and meetings to facilitate cross-cultural understanding.
- * A concern was expressed among some white pupils that black pupils were treated more leniently by teachers. A number of pupils said this was "unfair".
- * Some of those white pupils who claimed they welcomed racial mixing, also expressed concerns that the whites would be "swamped". Then there would be "trouble".
- * A frequent observation by white pupils with regard to the 'Model B' choice was that "things turned out a lot better than expected".
- * Some of the Prefects felt "uneasy" about disciplining black

pupils. Many confessed they did not know 'how'.

- * A fear expressed predominantly by girls was a lack of feeling secure out of school, in the streets, and on the beaches.
- * A recurring observation was that the black pupils in the school were "just like" the whites - their parents had similar jobs, drove similar cars, and lived in similar houses. However, the blacks "out there" - in the "townships", were often referred to as "uncivilised".
- * Several Zulu-speaking pupils approached me and asked me to speak to the Principal on their behalf. They wanted all the Zulu-speaking pupils to be forced to speak only English both inside and outside the classroom.
- * Competition in the classroom and on the sports-field was most often regarded by white pupils as healthy, and "good for the whites".
- * Several white males complained that the black females spoke too loudly, and shouted when speaking.
- * Black pupils were shy and did not have much to say during this first phase of research; however, they frequently referred to the "superior" teaching and facilities offered at the school.
- * In casual conversations with white pupils, certain black pupils denounced in strong terms the "township" blacks who had committed themselves to violence. Several black pupils were concerned that they would be targeted for attending a 'Model B' school.
- * Certain white males were proud of the fact that there was a

black male in the first fifteen rugby team.

- * It became clear that there was a degree of racial mixing outside school, and that in a number of cases parents were not informed.
- * Some pupils indicated that they had put pressure on their parents to accept the 'Model B' option.

The following observations were noted as the result of time spent with teachers and administration staff:

- * It was clear that the great majority of staff welcomed the opening of their school to other races and groups.
- * There was an over-riding concern among several teachers with maintaining "standards". Others questioned the "relevance" of present standards.
- * Teachers frequently referred in conversation to the "largely-irrelevant" Natal Senior Certificate exam in terms of the need to develop skills for the market-place. This comment was made frequently by staff.
- * An interesting observation made by more than one member of staff, and commented on by the financial secretary, was that many of the parents of black pupils were "more middle-class" than many of the white parents.
- * Certain members of staff were critical of what they regarded as a too narrow focus on the "exclusively Christian ethos" of the school. Other staff members, as well as the Headmaster,

insisted that pupils entering the school should accept the Christian ethos prescribed by the management committee. Further potential for conflict was noted when religious education was discussed; some staff felt that other religions and cultures should also be explored, in order to facilitate cross-cultural understanding and acceptance. Certain teachers were strongly against this.

- * One particular teacher felt strongly that programmes should be developed as part of the wider school curriculum that would facilitate better cross-cultural communication and understanding.
- * Many of the black pupils were struggling academically - a number would be unlikely to pass.
- * A number of black pupils evidently did not participate in any co-curricular activities.
- * Confrontations that may be fairly regarded as racially-based were few and far between. Some staff spoke of how easy "integration" had been - others claimed that racial mixing was still largely superficial.
- * A frequent observation was just how successful Newsa High School had been in taking in so many black pupils in comparison to many other schools, some of which were accused of "tokenism".
- * It became clear that many staff saw the black pupils being absorbed in to the dominant white culture - some teachers cautioned against admitting too many black pupils.

- * A number of staff, in particular the English teachers, spoke of the need to offer a remedial English programme to "bridge the gap".
- * The reduction of teaching posts and the retrenchment of staff (the so-called state policy of rationalisation) was resented strongly. A number of teachers expressed a willingness to teach in black schools. Concerns were expressed that as a result of the development of racially-mixed schools, more staff would be required, not fewer.
- * The "political climate" in the country was cited as a reason to feel apprehensive about the future. Many staff appeared anxious that rapid progress should be made towards a political settlement that ensured the abolition of all apartheid structures, and the emergence of a "non-racial" government.
- * Concerns were expressed about the need to promote social interaction among the different cultural and racial groups, both in and out of school, in order to facilitate racial mixing.
- * A few staff felt that a major reason for the acceptance of "so many" black pupils was an attempt to boost pupil numbers above 600, thereby improving the status of the school.
- * The cleaning staff, I observed, did not communicate much with the new black pupils, except to greet them. On a few occasions there was animated conversation about the results of the school soccer team.
- * Some teachers expressed a concern about how they should

accommodate the new pupils in terms of teaching methods, subject content, testing, and so on. Others felt that the teaching programme must be universally applied without special consideration given to group interests or needs.

- * Comments were passed as to how quickly the parents of new pupils had paid their fees, most often in cash, as compared to many of the white pupils.
- * Teachers confirmed comments made by a number of pupils that many parents had been persuaded by both their children, and the school to vote for 'Model B'.
- * It became clear that there was some racial mixing outside school; in nightclubs, on the beach, and at the Wheel shopping complex, but that parents were unaware of this. A number of pupils supported these observations. Two specific examples were cited of intimate relationships between the races and cultural groups: one referred to a white girl and black boy, the other to a white girl and coloured boy.

The issues and concerns that emerged during this initial phase of participant observation were noted and formed the basis of the structured interview schedule, and the structured questionnaire. Participant observation proved an invaluable phase of my research, ensuring that it was the target population that generated the necessary information, and not myself.

3.3.2 Content analysis

The critical analysis of documents, pupil files, reports, minutes of meetings, timetables, correspondence, letters, financial records, newspapers, and magazines was used also for the purpose of illuminating themes and issues. Again, my primary purpose was to probe for issues that could be derived from within the situational context; who is speaking, to whom, and under what circumstances. In this regard it was important to "take into account the purpose or objective which the specific communication is designed to achieve" (Simon, 1986:32). Full access to all school records and correspondence had been granted.

Specific documents and records that were carefully examined included: pupils' reports (behaviour, academic progress), letters to and from parents, counselling files, attendance registers, school rules, school fee payment records, academic progress schedules, lists of grade and subject changes, class lists, application forms for new pupils, H.O.D. discipline and counselling records, the school information booklet, and an admissions policy.

The examination of these records proved useful in identifying trends in communication content, and by revealing the 'spirit' in which the school both became, and functioned as, a 'Model B' institution. Of particular importance in this regard was the correspondence between the school and parent community.

Following the announcement on 10 September 1990 of the provision of three additional models for schooling, Mr Solomon had sent out a letter to the parents of Newsa High School, dated 19 September 1990, which clearly suggested that the school management council were committed to the 'Model B' option whereby the parents would determine their own admission policy in terms of the criteria laid down by the Minister (Chapter 1:3). The following excerpts were noted as important:

- a) The feeling is ... integration is inevitable ... if we decide to take in a limited number of pupils from the other races now ... in an orderly fashion, we will be able to control the process gradually and selectively.

(Clearly, this paragraph does not necessarily reflect an acceptance of the principle of integration, but rather of the "inevitability" of it.) The headmaster went on to say:

- b) If we wait until we have no choice ... we will not be able to control matters and we could well have to accept all and sundry.
- c) Selected good youngsters of other races could well be assets to (Newsa). A 'yes' vote would give your committee discretion; it does not open the flood gates.

- d) Strict conditions would be laid down ... with regard to ages of pupils admitted.
- e) An entrance examination would be instituted ... to maintain academic standards.
- f) All pupils admitted would have to pass a test to ensure their ability to learn in and use English.

(Sections b - f of the letter appeared to focus sharply on a concern with maintaining standards, and with controlling admission. These issues - of maintaining standards and of the possibility of state interference in determining admission criteria, were also expressed by some teachers and pupils. I explored these issues further when the structured interview schedule, and the structured questionnaire, were applied.) Mr Solomon continued to say that:

- g) Pupils from our own demarcated catchment area would get preference.
- h) According to the enclosed document from the Government, the majority of pupils would have to be white.

(These concerns with protecting white hegemony were taken up further as the research programme developed. The whole document was clearly focussed on reassuring white parents that the education of their children would be protected.)

- i) Clearly the only model that (Newsa) could countenance financially is Model B, and your committee asks you to seriously consider opting for Model B, and also recommends that we vote in favour of that option.

Interestingly, this letter did not make it clear that one of the options was to retain the status quo. The reference to finances was important since I had purposively selected Newsa High School as broadly representative of a working class and middle class community. The direct appeal to parents to support the 'Model B' option, reinforced elsewhere in the correspondence with parents, appeared in contradiction to a statement made by the headmaster that

While your school cannot recommend a "yes" vote, we encourage you to participate in this process ... (letter to parents, dated 8 November 1990).

In this letter to the parents, Mr Solomon reinforced the view of the management council that it was directly in the interest of Newsa to introduce the 'Model B' option. The headmaster stated that

... it is felt that to gradually introduce a non-racial situation now ... carefully controlled while we still have the initiative, is preferable to having it forced on us later when we no longer have that choice.

However, the headmaster went further than the management council

when, in the same letter, he emphasised the social and economic value of integration:

A non-racial South Africa is a fact, and the pupils of today and tomorrow will further their academic careers in racially mixed institutions and will live their lives and rub shoulders in the work-places in a non racial society. By adopting Model B now, we can play our part in preparing our young people for what lies ahead.

What emerged from this initial phase of research was the commitment of the headmaster to a non-racial dispensation that would provide equal educational opportunities. Mr Solomon's views were examined more closely in a structured interview as part of the second, more formal phase of the research study.

The results of the poll held at the school on 29 November 1990 clearly indicate the success of both management committee and school in promoting the 'Model B' option; of 670 votes cast, 637 voted for 'Model B', with 32 against. This represented a percentage poll of 90,42%, and a vote in favour of 'Model B' of 85,96%. Informal discussions with pupils and staff revealed that a concerted drive had been made by the school; parent meetings had been held, and a class competition organised to reward the class with the highest number (proportionally) of parents voting. Teachers (including the headmaster) had personally provided transport for parents unable otherwise to get to the school.

In a letter to Mr Clase, Minister of Education, House of Assembly,

the management council set out the criteria they were committed to; applicants must be "articulate in English", must pass a "written English test" (the standard to be the same as that for whites), an additional Maths test may be considered, and there should be "a reasonable prospect of fitting into the traditional and cultural ethos of the school" (letter to the Minister, dated 30 November 1990).

Clearly the focus on ensuring that black pupils were required to meet these preconditions reflected a policy of assimilation, rather than of integration: black pupils would be required to conform to the dominant white culture.

Mr Solomon followed up the management council's letter to the Minister with a letter to parents thanking them for their "support and encouragement". He stressed that pupils of other cultures and races would

not be second class citizens, but full members of the School Community, eligible to become members of the School Council, and the pupils could become prefects, and captains of sports teams if they earn these positions.

In an undated letter to prospective parents, written by the headmaster, the requirements for admission were reinforced, and extended: Age requirements were stipulated. There would be a one-hour entrance examination. Parents were required to sign an undertaking that they would abide by the school rules, and that

"the full enrolment, full year's fees and other charges, must be paid on admission unless a special arrangement is made with the Headmaster, and thereafter all school fees will be paid annually in advance".

The existence of two separate admission policies - one for 'whites', the other for 'Model B' pupils, appeared to contradict the headmaster's statement that the new pupils "would not be second class citizens". It also became clear that certain members of the management council had reservations about how the school was implementing 'Model B' at Newsa High. This was confirmed at a meeting held by the Superintendent of Education, at which the management council expressed concerns relating to the school's adherence to the laid-down admission criteria. Since Mr Solomon was on leave, the school was represented by Mr Smith, the Deputy Principal. The Superintendent proposed that Mr Solomon should "meet this delegation as a matter of urgency to dispel their fears". This letter from the Superintendent, dated 4 January 1991 stressed, among other things,

- 1) Under no circumstances must Model B be used as a mere vehicle to increase numbers.
- 2) Please ensure that all entrance tests are of an adequate standard.

- 3) Please ensure that any financial arrangements are strictly in accordance with accepted policy.

In conclusion, the Superintendent stated that

the main point to be kept in mind at all times is that you as principal must be convinced that the pupils you accept will be able to cope satisfactorily at the level admitted without any remedial action or lowering of standards to accommodate them. All other criteria of admission as presented to your parent body must also be adhered to.

The Superintendent's statement reflected a concern with preserving both standards and the existing ethos, and reinforced an assimilationist viewpoint that denied the principle of integration as a basic human right.

Issues and concerns raised as a result of this correspondence were explored further when the standardised interview schedules and questionnaires were applied. Questions raised by a study of these letters included the following:

- * Was the support by the Principal for the 'Model B' option an attempt to increase pupil numbers? If so, to what extent? For what purposes?

- * Were the admission requirements as stipulated by the management council overlooked by the school? If so, to what

extent, and why?

- * Was the policy of the school one of assimilation, or integration? How did the school intend to deal with cultural diversity, and religious differences?
- * What did the teachers, pupils, and parents understand by the term "maintaining educational standards"? Research during this exploratory phase had suggested conflicting views of what "standards" represented.
- * What were the views of teachers and pupils towards providing "remedial" teaching to 'Model B' pupils? Should this occur, and if so, how should this be done? If not - why not?

A further issue that arose from the correspondence centred on the apartheid system, and the need for positive social interaction:

Because of past prejudices and racial attitudes in this country, all pupils should come to school with a genuine and sincere desire to get on with and get to know and understand pupils from other races, and to accept them as friends (undated letter to parents from the principal).

The question of whether this statement enjoyed popular support, and of how the school might facilitate the socialisation of pupils, were explored further in the interviews.

A study of various school records also generated issues that formed the basis of items used in the structured questionnaire and interview phase of research. Issues included:

- * To what extent was the current school curriculum (as represented by the subjects offered), accepted by pupils and teachers as relevant? What was their definition of "relevant"?
- * Some 'Model B' pupils were reportedly experiencing academic difficulties. What was the extent of this, and was anything being done to address the problems?
- * Reports by teachers suggested differences in conceptual thinking between 'white' pupils and 'black' pupils. Was this so, to what extent, and was this subject-based? Was something being done by the respective subject heads to address these concerns?
- * A few pupils had been punished for allegedly racist behaviour. To what extent did racist behaviour occur, and what were the views of pupils and teachers?
- * School rules emphasised the Christian nature of the school. Religious education was offered in all classes. Would there be an accommodation for different cultural/religious groups?

Would the nature of religious education remain the same, or change? Should the school accommodate different cultures and religions in the curriculum?

- * A study of the school records showed that pupils lived in wide-ranging geographical and cultural localities. What possible effects did this have on school performance, social interaction in school, and outside school? What was the attitude in particular, of the black community to the black pupils who attended Newsa High? Did the distances and localities affect co-curricular involvement?

This initial, exploratory phase of documentary analysis and participant observation thus served to 'illuminate' and 'generate' issues and themes that were further tested in the more formal phases of research. A decision to pose specific questions arising from the documentary analysis clearly represented an extension of the original aims of the study to the extent that these questions led to further issues being generated.

Utilising an integrated approach of whole-method analysis (Ch. 2:5) comparisons were made between the various sets of data. Thus statistical relationships were to be interpreted by reference to field observations, informal interviews, and documentary analysis.

Phase 2 of the diagram on p.36 (a theoretical model showing the

process of multiple operationalism), requires the researcher to flesh out the issues and themes, by means of non-structured (informal) interviewing. As previously reported (Ch. 3, p.53) this phase was merged with the first phase in that informal interviews were either planned, or simply occurred accidentally, as issues and themes emerged. The process of using both informal and formal techniques in gathering data would ensure an integrated approach of whole method analysis (see Ch. 2, p.37), allowing comparisons to be made between qualitative and quantitative data, and permitting statistical relationships to be interpreted by reference to field observations and informal interviews.

3.4 Sampling

The selection of Newsa High School was purposive (Stoker, 1984) in order to study specific characteristics (Chapter 3, p.49). Within the school a random stratified sample, utilising class lists, was employed in order to include variables such as gender, race, and year of study. A primary purpose was to ensure that the sample chosen for the application of a structured questionnaire was as representative as possible of the total population of Newsa High School. The Std 10 group were excluded from the sample since they would be writing exams during the period of the research. They were, however, included in the informal phase of participant observation and informal interviewing.

Within Newsa High there were large differences in the distribution of pupils according to race (Stds 6-9): 463 white, 52 African, 5 Indian, and 5 Coloured pupils (totalling 524 pupils). Since a rigid application of proportionate stratified sampling to all race groups might have prevented me from including any Indian and Coloured pupils, and only a few African pupils, I decided to apply proportionate stratified sampling to the white population, while employing disproportionate stratified sampling to the other groups. A primary purpose was to avoid distortions in the size of the subsamples. The use of stratified random sampling allowed me to achieve two major objectives: to allow for variables such as gender, race, age and standard, selected on a random basis to overcome bias in selection. Proportionate stratified sampling was applied to the white pupils in order to ensure equal representation of, for example, boys and girls. Further, it allowed me to embody the different percentages of pupils within each standard, (for example, there were 89 Std 6's and 130 Std 9's: using a sample selection size of 13% across all age groups allowed me to include 12 Std 6's and 18 Std 9's).

Table 1 shows that a disproportionate stratified sample was employed with respect to the different racial groups. Table 2 reflects a proportionate stratified sample applied to the total population of white pupils, while Table 3 reflects a proportionate stratified sample with respect to African pupils. With regard to Indian and Coloured pupils a disproportionate sample of 60% of the

total population was utilised: 3 Indian and 3 Coloured pupils were selected.

Table 1: Sample sizes of the four race groups

Group	Total population	% sample selected	size of sample
White	464	13.7	64
African	61	50.8	31
Indian	5	60.0	3
Coloured	5	60.0	3
	535		101

Table 1 reflects a sample of 10% of the total population (Std 6-9). Clearly a sample size of, for example, 14% across all four groups would preclude any representation of Coloured and Indian pupils. A very large sample size, for example, 50% across all groups, would require an analysis of an extremely large research population (268 respondents) that would go beyond the scope and time constraints of this case study, and make the study unmanageable.

Table 2: Sample of total population of white pupils

Standard	No. of pupils	% sample	Boys	Girls	Total
6	89	13.4	6	6	12
7	101	13.8	7	7	14
8	144	13.8	10	10	20
9	130	13.8	9	9	18
TOTALS	464	13.7	32	32	64

Table 3: Sample of total population of African pupils

Standard	No. of pupils	% sample	Boys	Girls	Total
6	18	50	4	5	9
7	16	50	4	4	8
8	17	50	4	5	9
9	10	50	2	3	5
TOTALS	61	50	14	17	31

A justification for employing a disproportionate sample with respect to the African, Coloured and Indian pupils was the reality that they were all newcomers to the school. Consequently, their opinions and attitudes would be crucial in illuminating the views of all participants. Stratified sampling of the white and African groups ensured an even representation in the sample of gender and standards. The extremely small size of the total population of Indian and Coloured pupils made it impossible to draw a stratified sample across gender and standards. When the structured questionnaire was applied, 103 pupils responded - increasing the sample size by two pupils from the group of white pupils (these pupils simply arrived to complete the questionnaire, and were included in the survey).

With regard to the selection of a sample for the application of a structured interview schedule, a proportionate stratified sample was employed, excluding all pupils who were included in the sample for the structured questionnaire. The purpose of the structured

interview schedule was to confirm or deny issues and themes arising from questionnaire responses, and to allow for the emergence of different issues and concerns. While it was my intention to interview a 10% sample, constraints of time forced me to accept an 8% sample, i.e. 45 pupils. However, two group-based structured interview schedules were also applied; the first to ten black pupils, the second to a group of eight white pupils identified by teachers as having exhibited or expressed racial prejudices. These group samples were purposive, since my intention was to exclude pupils who had already participated. In effect, the sample size for the interviews was increased to 63 participants.

A total of 164 pupils (31% of the target population) participated in the formal phase of structured questionnaires and interview schedules. While the administration and analysis arising from such a large sample was onerous, I was keen to ensure, within the confines of this single case study, that a wide-ranging population participated actively, in order to improve the internal validity of the study.

The total population of teaching staff (34) were included in the structured teacher questionnaire and interview schedules. All teachers participated. Two further structured interview schedules were employed; one for the four administrative staff, and one for the cleaning staff. All these people participated.

The constraints of time and resources, and a specific focus on teachers and pupils, precluded an expansion of the study to include the parents. However, key informants such as the immediate past, and present Chairman of the management council were interviewed.

3.5 Structured questionnaire schedules

Issues generated by means of observation and documentary analysis, and fleshed out during informal interviews, formed the basis of a large pool of items that were considered for inclusion in separate teacher and pupil questionnaires.

Both the pupil questionnaire (Appendix F) and the teacher questionnaire (Appendix G) were accompanied by a personal letter to each respondent, the purpose of which was to assure the participants of complete confidentiality and anonymity, and to briefly set out the aims of the study. Respondents were thanked in anticipation of their participation, and were told that the school would receive a copy of the completed study.

In considering an overall design for the questionnaires, I decided to place demographic questions first (Section A : General Information) since they would be unlikely to offend respondents and would lead the respondent well into the questionnaire. Issues and themes illuminated by the participants in the generative phase of the research were explored in this section. Items in the pupil

questionnaire included parents' highest level of education, ethnic (cultural) background, parents' occupation, distance lived from school, how well pupils were coping with schoolwork, and future careers. The biographical items in the teacher questionnaire focussed on: nature of post held, teaching subjects, majors, duration of teaching experience and extra-mural activities.

In both the pupil and teacher questionnaires items relating to gender were included, in order to establish the influence of gender. In the pupil questionnaire 'race' was included as an item for the same reason.

In order to identify and establish the attitudes and opinions of the respondents towards racial mixing in school, I employed a five-point Likert scale in both questionnaires (Section B : Attitudes to common issues, Appendix F (Students) and Appendix G (Teachers)).

The view of Moser and Kalton was accepted:

a single belief is a poor indicator of a person's more general attitude ... To measure the latter more accurately, a sample of beliefs covering a range of aspects of the attitude needs to be obtained and the set of answers combined into some form of average ... to reduce the effects of ideosyncracies of particular respondents (1973:251).

Consequently, 28 items were selected for the pupil questionnaire, and 20 items for the teacher questionnaire, from the pool of items generated by the initial research. A number of items used by

Christie (1990) were included in the questionnaire, with her consent. With each item, respondents were asked to choose between five response categories: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree. I attempted to include a roughly equal number of positively and negatively-worded items:

Positively worded: 'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups.'

Negatively worded: 'The standard of education at this school is low.'

An attempt was made to avoid neutral items by choosing each item to differentiate between respondents with favourable and unfavourable attitudes. Attempts were made to avoid ambiguous items, vague items, double negatives, and complex items (Moser and Kalton, op.cit.).

Self-rating methods are more sensitive than simple yes/no answers, but they are also prone to errors such as central tendency (avoidance of extremes), leniency (respondents who dislike being critical), and severity (respondents who set high standards) (252).

Nevertheless, I felt that the measures taken above would minimise errors. As each Likert-scale item has a rating scale an advantage of using the scale would be the choice of analysing items individually or collectively.

Table 4 (pupil questionnaire) and Table 5 (teacher questionnaire) indicate the broad themes generated by observation, documentary analysis, and informal interviews, and the items that illuminate these themes:

Table 4: Pupil Questionnaire

Theme	Section of Q	Item
Racial mixing	B	1,2,4,7,8,9,11,27
Happy at school	B	12,13,14,15,17
Broad political views	B	10,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25
Curriculum	B	3,5,6,16,26,28
Social distance	C	1 - 6
Social distance	D	1 - 10

Table 5: Teacher Questionnaire

Theme	Section of Q	Item
Racial mixing	B	1,2,4,5,6,9,11,12
Happy at school	B	3,7,10
Broad political views	B	13,14,15,16,17,18
Curriculum	B	8,19,20
Social distance	C	1 - 6
Social distance	D	1 - 10

Section C and Section D (Social distance) of both the pupil and teacher questionnaires was based on the Bogardus social distance

scale (Bogardus, 1925), as developed by Moller and Schlemmer (1982) in their study of attitudes to beach integration in Durban:

'Social distance' was determined by the type of interaction in which a person was prepared to engage with other group members. It was assumed that the rank order of socially acceptable contact situations would go from the most intimate forms of contact to the more superficial ones (p.66).

Moller and Schlemmer developed ten rank-order items based on the Bogardus social distance scale. I employed a similar approach, attempting to include items sensitive to the South African context.

In my view the employment of a social distance scale was highly appropriate, given the focus of my study on racial integration in schools. During the phase of participant observation and informal interviews, participants frequently referred to the 'inevitability' of racial mixing. Did this suggest a positive acceptance, even promotion of racial mixing, or a form of resignation of the inevitable? Some respondents were positive about the rights of people of all cultures to interact socially on a personal level. Others were emphatic that 'oil and water don't mix'.

Bearing in mind Gramsci's (op.cit.) notion of a 'contradictory consciousness' (Chapter 1:13), I wanted to discern whether bringing black and white pupils together was likely or unlikely to shift attitudes, and to what extent, if at all. Further, I wanted to test Rose's view (cited in Moller and Schlemmer) that there is a

disjunction between attitudes and behaviour patterns in the field of race relations. Rose maintained that attitudes and behaviour can vary - they can have an independent existence in the same individual. Moller and Schlemmer proposed a more moderate view; persons may subscribe less favourable attitudes towards other groups, while exhibiting more accommodating behaviour in actual intergroup situations (p.56). Pettigrew (1956) concluded in his study of social distance that expectations of change towards a more open society may be relatively independent of strong desires for the status quo. Moller and Schlemmer (op.cit.) concluded that

if policy changes shift towards a more open society, individual members of society tend to accommodate these changes and shift accordingly (1982:57).

In the South African context of institutionalised apartheid, it can be argued that race relations patterns are deeply ingrained in all members of society, since they are traditional cultural patterns which are learned during childhood socialisation and are therefore relatively stable. In the light of this probability, it would be likely that respondents would offer socially desirable or socially acceptable responses rather than true reflections of spontaneous individual reactions. With this in mind, I decided to employ a structured interview schedule in order to encourage a more personal, rather than a group-based, response.

Arising from specific issues generated by a number of participants

in the early phase of research, Section E (Common issues generated by participants) - see Appendix F (Students) and G (Teachers)) of both the pupil, and teacher questionnaire attempted to investigate, by means of a rank ordering, which issues were of most concern. The issues raised by pupils and teachers were often similar, but also different. Consequently, the two groups were dealt with separately in this section. A number of these issues were included in the structured interview schedule; hopefully the personal discussions would reveal any shifts in the pattern of responses to the questionnaire.

Section F (issues of concern) of the teacher questionnaire required respondents to list, and comment on, issues that were of no concern to them at all. Section G (open-ended items) of the teacher questionnaire comprised several open-ended items that attempted to 'flesh out' (Simon, 1986) issues generated during the informal phase of research. Section F (open-ended items) of the pupil questionnaire was employed for the same purpose. The last item of both the pupil and teacher questionnaire invited the respondents to comment on any aspect of racial mixing.

I administered the questionnaires to a Std 6 and 7 sample, and then a Std 8 and 9 sample, on the same day, and in the same way. At meetings prior to the questionnaires being administered, pupils were reminded that they could withdraw at any time from the exercise. During the completion of the questionnaires, I was

required to explain the meanings of some words, for example, 'evolution' and 'revolution'. Respondents were taken through the questionnaire one section at a time. This enabled them to clarify concerns they had regarding language and following instructions.

The teacher questionnaires were completed over a period of three days. All 34 teachers participated in this exercise.

3.6 Structured interview schedules

The structured interview schedules (Appendix D (Students) and E (Teachers)), to be administered to 101 pupils, and 34 teachers, were compiled only after I had analysed the questionnaire responses, and in particular the open-ended sections. Throughout the study I had attempted to let the participants 'speak for themselves'; even at the formal phase of research I was looking for new issues and themes that might emerge. Arising from the phase of participant observation, and the questionnaire responses, several items were included in the pupil and teacher interview schedules in order to probe issues raised. For example, in the pupil questionnaire, questions were asked about the critical voting for Model B, the views of parents, influences on pupils, mixing out of school, attitudes of teachers; all issues and concerns identified throughout the initial phase of informal research. In the teacher interview schedule, I probed issues arising from the questionnaire responses such as concerns about the relevance of the

curriculum, religious education, subject-related concerns, and mixing socially out of school.

The individual pupil and teacher interviews were conducted by myself. Each respondent was invited to meet me in a small, comfortable room, with comfortable armchairs to sit on. I adopted the same procedures for each participant in which I reassured participants of confidentiality, offered to make the research findings available to the participants, and asked if I could use a tape-recorder. I explained that the use of a tape recorder would ensure that respondents were not misquoted, that time would be saved in the interview, and that I could listen more and write less. Participants were told that I would be making a few notes. Fictitious names were used throughout.

I was able to interview participants throughout the school day; the co-operation of management, staff, and pupils was excellent, and a feature of this study. Each interview lasted, on average, twenty minutes. Some were a good ten minutes longer, for the reason that a few pupils, and teachers, were clearly keen to have a full say, particularly once the items had been gone through. In all cases the involvement of the respondents was positive and serious, allowing me to capture a rich source of meaningful data. The twenty-five 90 min tapes were explored in the next phase of the research study, and stored for further reference. Detailed notes arising from a study of the tapes were made, including verbatim

records of many statements and observations that I considered important, and that are included in Chapter 3 of this study.

There were specific reasons why I opted for a combination of summary and verbatim recording using a tape recorder, rather than using a precoded response category (Tuckman, 1978) for each item. While precoding was probably more efficient, postcoding would permit greater coder reliability. Further, I wanted to employ a process of multiple operationalism (Burgess, op.cit.), within-method, and without-method triangulation (Denzin, op.cit.), in cross-checking (Nisbett, op.cit.) findings from one interview response with another, or checking interview responses against field notes, questionnaire responses, and documents.

The probe was used freely in order to 'tease out' issues and themes. I attempted to avoid asking leading questions, and kept the tone of my voice as neutral and non-committal as possible.

As a result of feedback received from participants during the generative phase of the research, three group interviews were held, for which structured interview schedules were drawn up. The first interview comprised a purposive sample of 11 Zulu-speaking pupils. The same pupil questionnaire was used but was translated into Zulu by a colleague of mine (Appendix J). A major purpose was to compensate for possible limitations regarding language difficulties in English. A further reason was that several black pupils had

expressed a desire to speak only English at school. Several pupils asked me to convey this request to the principal. I wanted to explore, in a group situation, the reasons for this request. Some Zulu-speaking pupils had been shy in the individual interviews. I hoped that a group interview would be less threatening, and that important issues might emerge. My colleague, Mr Phil Ntenza, was to conduct the interview, in my presence, in the same way I had done the others. Again, a tape-recorder was used. Mr Ntenza translated all answers into English as each respondent spoke. Consequently I was also able to make notes as the interview progressed. I also asked several questions, arising from pupil comments, that allowed me to explore concerns outside of the specified questions.

An important aspect of this particular interview was to ensure that participants were relaxed. To this end I chose a small venue that was carpeted, placing only a few chairs around the perimeter. A number of respondents, including myself, sat on the carpet, quite close together. Before the interview began, we chatted about the latest soccer results (I had done some homework here), and about some popular entertainers. A feature of this interview was the active participation of pupils who clearly felt more comfortable speaking their own language, and who, as a group, seemed far more confident.

A further group interview was conducted with the cleaning staff,

employing a structured interview schedule. Again, Mr Ntenza asked the questions, and translated the responses. A tape recorder was used. A major purpose of this interview was to explore how the respondents felt about the changes that had taken place in the school, and what the nature of their relationship with the black students was. An unanticipated incident was that the group asked me to represent to the principal a concern they had about their working hours. This is discussed briefly in this chapter, Section 3.5.8, p.93.

The third group interview was a meeting with five Technikon students who were completing their annual teaching practice. The discussion was not taped; instead, I took notes. A major purpose in setting up this interview was to explore the experiences of these students in the slightly different environment of racially-mixed pupils. Since the students were only in the school for five weeks, and because they were not fully involved in the life of the school, it would be difficult to obtain a comprehensive set of data. However, their perspectives as relative 'outsiders' could be useful in generating new issues and themes.

In addition to the interviews held with 45 pupils a further 13 pupils who, it was claimed by staff, harboured clearly racist attitudes, were interviewed individually.

Finally, separate interviews, using structured interview schedules, were held with Mr Solomon, the Principal, and with the immediate past, and current, Chairman of the Management Council. These interviews were also tape-recorded.

3.7 Pre-testing

Given the nature of the research design employed in this study whereby issues and themes were generated and illuminated by means of a process of multiple operationalism (Burgess, 1982) a pilot study whereby the entire research process, from sampling to reporting, is tested, was considered inappropriate. Further, the constraints of both time and resources did not allow for a complete 'rehearsal' of the study.

Pre-testing was employed with respect to the structured questionnaire and interview schedule in two ways. Firstly, a random sample of ten pupils was asked to read through the pupil questionnaire critically, and to report whether important issues and themes had been omitted. Secondly, they were asked to query the clarity of instructions, of items, and the meanings of words and phrases. The identical process was employed with regard to the interview schedules. As a result of these inputs, minor adjustments were made to the language. With regard to the items, these assessors felt that all the important issues were included.

Three teachers were formally asked to scrutinise the teacher questionnaire. I also invited all members of staff to comment on the contents of the teacher interview schedule. Staff were also provided with a copy of the pupil questionnaire and interview schedule, and asked to comment. Minor adjustments were made to all these documents as a result of staff input. Since I had a daily opportunity of communicating with staff at the morning briefing, interaction was facilitated and consequently feedback was swift. I reported my progress on an almost daily basis; this encouraged staff to participate by offering advice and making suggestions. Their participation frequently reassured me that I was tapping relevant issues and themes important to the school community. This in itself could be regarded as an informal pre-testing strategy that seemed to work very well. For example, some teachers felt that a number of white pupils who, according to them, had exhibited negative attitudes and behaviour towards other groups, had been omitted from the sample, and should be interviewed. This I did.

3.8 Reflection on some issues arising from the conduct of the study

Where I have chosen to comment on issues arising from the conduct of the study, within the previous sections, I shall not repeat these. The following concerns are worth noting:

- * Std 10 pupils could not be included in the formal part of the study, since they were writing exams. However, I was able to tap their views during 'batting' periods where I stood in for absent teachers. I encouraged pupils to write their thoughts down on paper, and included various issues and themes generated, as part of the formal research.

- * I was compelled, due to restrictions of time and resources, to adopt a 'condensed' field work approach (Walker, op.cit.). Consequently I was unable to capture all incidents, interventions and situations. It was also not possible to attend all extra-mural functions.

- * During the period I was interviewing individual pupils, two inspectors of education arrived in the school to conduct a routine inspection over a few days. Two pupils (part of the group of alleged 'racists' referred to me by staff), asked their teachers why the inspectors were going to interview them. This misunderstanding was, however, cleared up and both pupils participated spontaneously. Of more serious consequence was an incident where a female respondent confided to me that she had a coloured boyfriend. She knew her mother had contacted the school. While she had been told that I was doing academic research, she wondered whether in fact I was investigating her relationship with the coloured boy. The girl accepted my denial of this, and my promise that I would

keep her name confidential. She confided in me by sharing her concerns, and asking my advice. She did not want to speak to anyone else. I treated this as a counselling case, and saw her on two more occasions. I replaced her in the sample with another girl in the same standard.

- * A clear example of the problem of the perceived identity of the evaluator was the query from a lady technical assistant (non-teaching staff), who thought I might be 'from the ANC', and who would not speak to me until I had reassured her I was not. She eventually agreed to let me interview her, and shared a number of concerns with me.

These incidents alerted me to this problem of the perceived identity of the evaluator, and caused me to disclose, where necessary, my position in the school as a 'neutral and impartial researcher' - I believe I was largely able to fulfil this role, while acknowledging freely that complete objectivity was difficult.

- * Two lady respondents made it clear that they would feel more comfortable once the tape-recorder was switched off, although they insisted it be left on for the 'formal' part of the interview. Both had a great deal to say once the recorder was switched off. In both cases I contracted not to use the information directly in the research findings (disclosing

details of specific individuals in this case study would clearly allow other participants to identify the respondents). However, the information provided was useful in probing other respondents, without disclosing details, on the issues presented.

- * Some pupils were extremely articulate. Many were not. While pupils were certainly able to answer the questions, they were not always able to articulate clearly their thoughts and feelings, particularly when probed. Since they appeared keen to be involved, this difficulty was not related to a reluctance to speak. The nature of the research itself, that of racial mixing, presented some pupils with a situation where perhaps for the first time they were required to think through just how they did feel. Some pupils commented on this - for some of them it was a process of self-discovery.

- * I found it difficult (as did members of staff and pupils) to identify what could be construed as a racial incident, and what not.

- * Mr Phil Ntenza, a colleague who had assisted me in conducting interviews with black pupils, offered two observations. On the one hand, he wondered whether some pupils had not held back when asked to what extent they sympathised and identified with the township youth; on the other hand, he expressed

surprise that the participants had aired their views so openly when asked to comment on a range of issues.

* The group interview with the cleaning staff raised problems. The participants clearly looked to one or two spokespersons to express their views. One of the respondents was extremely voluble, particularly with regard to working hours for the cleaning staff. Despite the presence of Mr Ntenza, who conducted the interview in Zulu, it was difficult to successfully probe a number of issues raised in the phase of participant observation. What did come through clearly was that there was general approval for this initiative by the school, that there was very little communication between the cleaning staff and the new black pupils, and that very little had changed in terms of past relationships between pupils and cleaners. I undertook to convey the feelings of the group regarding working hours to the Deputy Principal, aware that I would probably be treading on a few toes.

* Section D (Social Distance) of the pupil questionnaire posed problems for a number of black pupils, who did not follow the instructions fully. While it was essential that each answer block contained a different number, since the question was concerned with a rank ordering of items from 1-10, a number of respondents repeated the same numbers. The same question in the teacher questionnaire (Section E, Social Distance) caused

three teachers to comment that all the items except the one relating to marriage, were equally acceptable. Where responses did not adhere to the instructions, these were excluded from the analysis. However, since this group were relatively small, the findings were unlikely to be skewed.

- * Some teachers regarded the stem of item 5 in Section B : Attitude survey, of the teacher questionnaire, 'my close circle of friends includes people of other race groups', as a statement of fact requiring a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer. The observation was made after pre-testing.

Immediately prior to handing out the questionnaires, I invited respondents to offer a 'yes' or 'no' answer, if they wished to. Several teachers took this option. The major purpose of the item was not affected, since I was still able to gauge the extent of racial mixing in social and personal situations.

- * One of the possible reasons for the extremely positive, even enthusiastic participation of teachers and pupils may have been an expectation that my study would confirm and validate the decision to introduce racial mixing in terms of the new admission criteria. This would provide a justification for, and even a reinforcement of, what the school was doing to promote its aims and interests. In response to several direct questions as to what my personal views about racial mixing

were, I had declared myself personally in favour of open schools. At the same time I attempted to present myself, in my role as researcher, as neutral and impartial. I was acutely aware of a danger here; respondents may focus on events that supported racial mixing, and play down events that questioned it. I was careful, therefore, to include in both the formal and informal aspects of my research, questions that would elicit as accurate a picture as possible of the thoughts, words, feelings and actions of all participants. I found that, among the participants who declared a strong support for the principle of integration in schools, there was also a readiness to question and challenge how this integration should take place, and what changes in the school were necessary in order to promote a genuine, meaningful integration in the school community.

CHAPTER FOUR4. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter sets out to describe and interpret information gleaned from the generative research methods used in Chapter 2. Noting Christie's (1988) use of a factor analysis, I grouped the items from the structured surveys in to the following themes: biographical information; general concerns of students; racial mixing and social distance; life at school; broad political views; and a further theme, 'curriculum concerns', based on teacher responses.

In Chapter 2, Table 4 and Table 5 (p.83) set out which survey items were placed in to which themes. The themes 'Happy at school', and 'Curriculum Concerns' taken from pupil responses, were collapsed into the theme, 'Life at school', since few students expressed views on the formal curriculum.

This chapter is formatted to deal separately with student and teacher responses. Tables are presented using percentages, and are based on histograms representing student and teacher responses to the structured surveys (see Appendix H and I). Verbal and written pupil and teacher responses are quoted verbatim where they inform the statistical data. Fictitious names are used throughout. Chapter 3 discusses the responses of 103 students and 33 teachers.

In the analysis and interpretation of student and teacher responses, references are made to Antonio Gramsci's (1971) theories of 'contradictory consciousness', 'hegemony', and 'commonsense', as discussed in Chapter 1, p.3. Further, Popkewitz's view (Ch.1, p.4) that the attitudes and actions of participants can only be understood and evaluated by locating them within the wider South African (social, political, and economic) context, is explored and debated. I am indebted to the work of Pam Christie (1988), who utilised Gramscian theory to interpret responses to racial mixing in private Catholic schools in South Africa, and whose permission I have to draw on her work.

A. STUDENT RESPONSES

4.1 Biographical data (student responses)

4.1.1 Home language and ethnic background

Table 6 : Home language

<u>Language</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Total</u> (no of cases)
English	8	67	75
Zulu	17	-	17
Xhosa	3	-	3
English/Afrikaans	-	5	5
English/Zulu	3	-	3
TOTAL	31	72	103

Table 7 : Ethnic background

Group	Black	White
Zulu	18	
Xhosa	6	
Hindi	3	
Coloured	1	
Muslim	2	
Swazi	1	
English		57
Afrikaans		1
English/Afrikaans		14
TOTAL (N = 103)	31	72

Clearly, the large majority of respondents speak English at home and are from English backgrounds. Students from English/Afrikaans backgrounds (14%), speak mostly English. What emerged from the research is that it was this group in particular who expressed serious concerns about racial mixing at school. This group also most frequently referred to their parents who did not want racial mixing to take place. (Most references in this regard were to fathers). An interesting observation is the number of black respondents (13,5%) who speak English at home. All black respondents placed high value on speaking English as an empowering agent.

4.1.2 Level of parents' education, and parents' occupationsTable 8 : Mothers' education level

<u>Level</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Total</u>
To Std 5	3	31	34
To Std 10	8	22	30
Diploma	9	1	10
Degree	7	5	12
None	-	-	-
Don't know	4	13	17

Table 9 : Fathers' education level

<u>Level</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Total</u>
To Std 5	4	26	30
To Std 10	6	19	25
Diploma	2	5	7
Degree	10	1	11
None	-	-	-
Don't know	7	23	30

Table 10 : Parents' occupations

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Total</u>
Professions	25	6	31
Clerical	8	29	37
Trades	8	37	45
Housewives	2	24	26
Managers	5	7	12
Own Business	5	2	7

Black parents were better educated, on the whole, than their white counterparts. This higher level of academic achievement among blacks compared closely with their occupations; 25 black professionals as opposed to 6 white professionals. It is fair to say that most black parents were from "middle-class" backgrounds, while most white parents were from "working class" backgrounds, with regard to type of work. The aspirations of black pupils was extremely high (see Table 12, p.107), and in many cases, unrealistic when compared with their current academic performance. Almost all black respondents aimed at entering the professions. Black respondents frequently referred to themselves as being "different" from the "township blacks", who "burned houses" and were "violent", despite the fact that most respondents lived in the townships. White students frequently referred to the black students as "civilised", "clean", "one of us", and "normal", as a rationale for why their views had changed. Some white students also referred to the expensive cars driven by some black parents. However, most black pupils were transported to and from school in taxis. Many of their parents were in the nursing and teaching professions; fairly high status occupations with relatively poor salaries. Many of the "working class" white parents earned higher salaries in lower status occupations. What is important are the extremely high aspirations of black parents and students who had been deprived of equal opportunities. There was a determination to rise above historical circumstances. Education was regarded as the key.

4.1.3 Distance from school

A majority of all students lived 5-10 kilometres away, while 50% of black respondents lived further than 15 kilometres away. Many black students experienced transport difficulties with regard to participation in some co-curricular activities. None of the black respondents lived closer than 5 kilometres to the school. White respondents did not appear to experience transport difficulties, although a number of them walked a distance of more than two kilometres to and from school.

4.1.4 Table 11 : Coping with school

<u>Aggregates</u>	<u>BF</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>WF</u>	<u>WM</u>	<u>Total Black</u>	<u>Total White</u>	<u>Total Pop.</u>
Below 40%	3	5	3	4	8	7	15
40 - 45%	3	2	7	4	5	11	16
46 - 55%	3	3	16	13	6	29	35
56 - 65%	8	3	6	8	11	14	25
66 - 74%		1	3	7	1	10	11
75%+				1		1	1
TOTALS	17	14	35	37	31	72	103

The sample presented in Table 11 was representative of the average aggregates obtained throughout the whole school, of 46-55%. Gender differences were insignificant across race, with white males performing marginally better overall than their female counterparts. Thirty percent of all students achieved aggregates of less than 46%. Since these aggregates were based on the results

of the first mark order, they may be slightly inflated, since it can be expected that a full examination would be more difficult. Nevertheless, these academic results are in the range of weak to average. A close scrutiny of the previous records of these respondents, and of the Natal Senior Certificate results (N.S.C.), over the past three years, reinforced my view that the school was not attracting top students. This view was confirmed by members of staff who identified two important factors in this regard; the socio-economic backgrounds of many students disadvantaged them, and, secondly, other high schools "poached" the top students. A scrutiny of I.Q. test results supported the general view of the staff that most students were weak to mediocre in terms of academic ability. I noted that a number of black respondents were highly unlikely to achieve the kinds of marks required in order to allow them to proceed to a university to study medicine, law, or read for a degree in education, even if a form of affirmative action were to be applied by these institutions.

4.1.5 Table 12 : Further studies

<u>Nature of Study</u>	<u>BF</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>WF</u>	<u>WM</u>	<u>Total Black</u>	<u>Total White</u>	<u>Total</u>
Commercial/ Technical	3		17	11	3	28	31
University	14	13	6	11	27	17	44
Straight into a job			1	6		7	7
Some other			2	4		6	6
I don't know		1	9	5	1	14	15
TOTALS	17	14	35	37	31	72	103

Table 12 reflects the overwhelming intention (87%) of black respondents to attend university, as opposed to 24% of white students. This gulf in the level of aspirations between black and white was marked in both informal and formal discussions and written responses. Gender differences were slight across race. Marginally more white males intended pursuing a university education than their female counterparts. In a new, non-racial dispensation the unrealistic expectations of many students will need to be addressed. Black students clearly rejected a technically-oriented career, in favour of the status professions, modelling their aspirations on typical white middle-class values.

4.1.6 Table 13 : Post-matric occupations

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>BF</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>WF</u>	<u>WM</u>	<u>Total Black</u>	<u>Total White</u>	<u>Grand Total</u>
Doctor	7	6	1	2	13	3	16
Accountant	2	2	3	2	4	5	9
Lawyer	1	2	3	1	3	4	7
Secretary			6			6	6
Technician				6		6	6
Conservation			2	2		4	4
Police			2	2		4	4
Acting	1		1	2	1	3	4
Army				3		3	3

Table 13 reinforces the different career priorities of most black and white students. Only the most popular occupations are listed. There was a strong correlation between black parents who were nurses, and their children who aimed to become doctors.

4.2 Student concerns4.2.1 Table 14 and 15 : Student concerns

1 = of most concern
 10 = of least concern

Table 14: Student Concerns

Item	Score		Rank		S	R	R	S	R	S	R	R	Black/White	
	BF	BF	BM	BM	BF+ BM	WF	WF	WM	WM	WF+ WM	Tot. Score	Tot. Rank		
Communicating	4.4	2	5.1	5	1	5.6	5	5.7	6	4	5.2	4		
Parents' accepting	5.2	4	8.6	10	7	6.3	9	5.6	5	6	6.4	10		
Friends rejecting	6.8	9	6.3	8	6	6.1	7	5.4	4	5	6.1	9		
Lowering standards	6	7	4.7	3	4	4.9	3	4.1	1	3	4.9	3		
Accepting other races	4.5	3	6.4	9	5	6.0	6	6.1	8	7	5.7	7		
Being accepted by other races	4	1	5.7	7	2	6.1	7	6.2	10	8	5.5	5		
Language difficulties	5.2	5	5.5	6	4	6.8	10	5.8	7	9	5.8	8		
Physical violence	6.1	8	4.2	2	3	3.9	2	4.1	1	1	4.5	1		
Numerical majority of another group	5.9	6	5.0	4	5	5.4	4	6.1	9	5	5.6	6		
Govt. not of my own	6.9	10	4.0	1	5	3.4	1	5.0	3	2	4.8	2		

BF = Black Female; BM = Black Male; S = Score; R = Rank; WF = White Female;
 WM = White Male

Extrapolated further, Table 15 serves to compare overall differences between black and white, with a final ranking of overall concerns.

Table 15 : Differences : black and white responses

<u>Item</u>	<u>Ranking Blacks</u>	<u>Ranking Whites</u>	<u>Total Ranking all groups</u>
Physical violence	3	1	1
Govt. not my own	5	2	2
Lowering standards	4	3	3
Communicating	1	4	4
Being accepted by other groups	2	8	5
Majority of other groups	5	5	6
Accepting others	5	7	7
Coping with another language	4	9	8
Friends rejecting me	6	5	9
Parental acceptance	7	6	10

Tables 14 and 15 comprise student concerns tested in Section E of the structured survey. These concerns had been generated by students in the phase of informal observation and interviewing. They were probed further in the structured interview schedule as well as in the structured questionnaire survey, in an attempt to apply the principle of multiple operationalism in searching for both comparisons and contradictions in the discourse and actions

of respondents. While a fuller analysis of student responses to these concerns is made in Section 3 of this chapter (Racial mixing and social distance), the following observations are worth noting here.

- * Black females were most concerned with being socially acceptable and accepting, and with communication skills. Black males were most concerned with political aspects such as having their own government, and violence. For both groups, standards of education were important. The dichotomy between black females and males was striking with regard to these concerns: violence (8:2) of much more concern to males, and social acceptance (9:3) of much more concern to females.

These gender differences may be partially understood in the light of the stereotyped social roles females and males are expected to fulfil, particularly during an intensive period of social and political upheaval. Schools will need to address this stereotyping in their life-skills programme.

- * White females and males were almost equally concerned with violence, having a government not their own, standards of education, and living with a black majority. Clearly, these concerns are political in nature, reflecting the fears of the dominant hegemonic white minority. Most white respondents acknowledged the inevitability of a future black government,

and of a black majority in their school, without knowing how to deal with this in terms of their fears and prejudices.

Many students of the white (88%) majority in the school were unable to relate to, and identify with, the fears and concerns of the black minority group. In this context the argument that by opening their schools to blacks, the students, staff and parents of Newsa High were challenging the existing hegemonic arrangements, can be challenged, even refuted. Gramsci (cited in Christie (1988) p.44) argues that when people experience circumstances that are contrary to their commonsense, they do not necessarily change their understanding. This, applied to Newsa High, suggests that opening the school to all races need not necessarily give pupils a better understanding of the consequences of apartheid, or of changing fundamental views and assumptions of the existing social and political system.

Gramsci's view is highly relevant here:

The active man-in-the-mass has a practical activity, but has no theoretical consciousness of his practical activity ... His theoretical consciousness can indeed be historically in opposition to his activity. One might almost say that he has two theoretical consciousnesses (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity ... and one ... which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed ... The contradictory state of consciousness (often) does not permit of any action, any decision or any choice, and produces a condition of moral and political passivity. (cited in Christie 1988, p.44)

If we accept that going beyond the limits of commonsense requires a process of struggle with contradictions, and if we acknowledge that, on his own, the individual is often mentally, emotionally and physically paralysed and does not engage in critical processes, we need to find a way of engaging individuals in these critical processes. In the context of the school, I believe that programmes must be planned and offered as an integral part of the curriculum, to allow students and staff to engage in these processes, to work through contradictions and fears together. My own research in Newsa High supported Gramsci's statement; there was very little actual engagement between black and white students, despite the fact that, for the majority, the basic goodwill was there in the form of a general acceptance that change was both desirable and necessary.

4.3 Racial mixing

Section B of the structured questionnaire survey comprised 28 Likert-scale items, of which the following relate directly to racial mixing:

4.3.1 Table 16 : Items related directly to racial mixing

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Stem</u>
1	'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school.'
2	'Black pupils should adjust to the ways of white pupils in this school.'
4	'This school helps me to communicate better with the other racial groups.'
7	'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups.'
8	'The black pupils in this school behave better than the black pupils outside the school.'
9	'Black people should be free to live where they like.'
11	'I feel personally concerned about the problems facing South Africa.'
27	'I don't mind if more black pupils than white pupils attend this school.'

In this section responses to these items are discussed with reference to written and verbal comments of students. All tables reflect percentages, not cases.

4.3.2 Table 17: Item 1: 'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school.'

<u>Students</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Black females	100		
Black males	100		
White females	62	24	14
White males	60	26	14

Black respondents held significantly firmer and more positive views in comparison to their white counterparts. There were no significant gender differences. A number of white respondents alluded to the inevitability of racial mixing; positive responses were sometimes qualified in one way or another. Few white students appeared wholly committed to racial mixing as a matter of principle. The following statements of students reflect some of these ambiguities and contradictions.

Julie (16), a white female, wrote that:

I think if every one is open-minded about the situation it could get better. However, I also think that people are just accepting it because they have to sooner or later. No matter what happens!

Peter (15), a white male, was more direct:

When we were still considering model 'B' the people had a positive feeling towards it, but now one year later the blacks throw litter and spread themselves/their mess with the greatest of ease. And the prefects are too scared to do anything about it because they might be accused of being racilists. And I don't think the teachers are too impressed with them either.

The generalisations made by Peter were not supported by a majority of white students, although his views reflected those of many others who stereotyped the behaviour of black students. A popular view among this group was the notion of black students as 'honorary' whites who should know and keep their place.

Barbara (16), expressed an acceptance of racial mixing, and a commitment to it:

I was looking forward to it, because I thought that it would be wonderful to share my classroom with people who deserve the right to an education, as much as I do - if not more. I was worried that I'd go through my school career and not have a chance to befriend them. Now I have. I still feel that way. I have discovered that they can work very hard and are good friends. They deserve the same standard of education as us.

Positive as Barbara's statement is, she qualified it by noting that black students "can work very hard" and "deserve the same standard of education as us", implying that they had earned this, rather than that they had a right to be educated. Like most students Barbara's views were based on personal experience within the paradigm of a dominant white hegemony, rather than on a critical appraisal based on democracy and human rights.

Wayne's (16) statement reflected his historical and subjective position within the dominant paradigm:

At first, the thought of opening our school to all races scared me, and then it horrified me. My family (my mother's side that is: they're Afrikaans) had always told me that multi-racial schools meant bomb scares on a daily basis, riots when lunch-time was cut short and the occasional 'necklacing' of a teacher. Biased and racialistic views if anything. When school started I noticed that none of the black pupils were brandishing weapons. My opinion has changed from being a bigot to accepting the integration, because I saw for myself that black people are different from whites in one way only.

Colleen (16) learned to adjust:

When I first heard about it, I didn't like it at all. But now that they are here I actually don't mind it that

much. My opinions and attitudes have changed. I didn't think that they would be so decent and clean ... now I don't actually mind them that much.

Colleen's acceptance was conditional, and based on superficial, personal views of decency and morality.

Brian (16), a white male, explained his own experience:

I thought that all blacks were bad people who would bring knives to school and threaten us. It turned out that everyone was very sociable except for the 1 out of 100. I have a friend, his father owns three taxis and a red Jetta, he is decent, clean and we respect each other. I felt that it would be a good thing and I still do.

Brian's views are not based on principle, but rather on culturally-derived materialistic values such as owning cars.

Chrissie (14) explained why she accepted all races as equals:

My parents divorced and my father married a coloured woman. I have two coloured step-sisters and a coloured stepbrother. This happened when I was young and I learned that no matter what some people may think, all people are equal. I thought that my family would act different, think different and I was wrong.

John (16) spoke of the way whites treated blacks on the streets:

I think that making the schools open to other races is a good idea as it helps us in learning to work and accept them, it also helps in a way that we try to accept and be kind to them as before on the streets we weren't. I think it will all lead to a better future.

Brent (15) explained his dilemma as a "racialist" in a racially-

mixed school:

In all honesty I consider myself a racist, always have been. However, being at a multi-racial school is making it more and more difficult for me to remain racialistic. I have come to realise that blacks are people with rights to a good education and that integration in all aspects of life is both necessary and inevitable.

Brent appears honest and sincere in his attempt to resolve competing contradictions by accepting that racial mixing is necessary as well as inevitable. However, these utilitarian values fall short of an acknowledgement and understanding of the universal rights of all people to equal treatment and access.

Andrew's (16) statement rejected the sympathy factor in favour of being honest. Andrew was one of the few students to reveal an engagement with critical thought processes that went beyond purely subjective experiences, to a confrontation of social and political issues:

In my opinion I believe that this whole 'black guilt' issue should be done away with. The 'black guilt' concept evokes pseudocompassion among whites, and is just a front. When this front falls away it only exposes more racialism. Pupils should be encouraged to be honest and not feel sympathy.

Andrew's strong statement suggests that unless students confront their prejudices and fears, there can be no conflict resolution. Within the school context, people will need to act as facilitators and mediators within a structured life-skills programme, if

students are to be empowered to confront their fears, and deal with them. This point is reinforced by the following comment.

Annette (17) expressed her concern that racial mixing happened so quickly, and that there was still discrimination. She also reinforced the majority view that mixing was 'inevitable' (Annette underlined her own words):

I think that introducing people of different races was inevitable and a very good thing except that they should have been introduced earlier and from class 1. It has been extremely difficult to just 'throw' these people in, for everyone. We are definitely not used to it and at this stage there is still a lot of discrimination.

Several students made overtly racialistic statements:

Brendon (15) wrote

I feel very strongly opposed to mixed schools and always will be ... also, they should have separate toilets, Blacks and Whites. They should not be subsidised for school fees because we are not.

Ricky (15) was more blunt:

The blacks are ignorant, they stink, they shouldn't have so many kids.

William expressed two major concerns he had with racial mixing:

The noise of black females ... racial groups have more and better than I am. I don't like to be put below blacks or any other racial group for that matter even though I like some of them.

Candice (15) expressed a fear of dying:

I really felt disgusted about the 'B' model and I was really scared because blacks frighten me and I didn't want them at my school. In a way I feel like I am going to die because I have this uneasy feeling that one of the blacks will rape or murder me.

Both Gregory (14) and Shirley (16) displayed a racist attitude.

Gregory complained that

Sometimes they think they own the place, which they don't. You give them a little bit, and they take a lot.

Shirley was concerned that

Some of the black males, they - I don't know how to say this - they act as if they are white males towards the white girls. They chaff, they do the same as the white guys, and I don't approve.

I do not believe that these concerns can be addressed simply by ensuring that schools are opened to all races. Students of all races and ethnic groups must engage in dialogue, must share their concerns, and this will not happen unless educators and parents make it happen. Schools need to be proactive with regard to implementing life-skills programmes.

Brenda (15) tried to explain how she thought black students felt about attending Newsa High:

It gives them more of a secure feeling, because in the

other schools they used to get burnt down all the time. So insecure, and now they know they're in a school where they are secure and won't get burnt down, and they can actually start learning and studying properly. Like this kid in my class - he got 100% for a Maths test, and I cried! It's just how they are, they feel more secure, they strive, and they want to do things. They've always wanted to, but they never had the chance, because schools were burnt down.

Sincere but patronising, Brenda's attitude was similar to a number of white respondents, reflecting a general support for racial mixing within a context of white dominance. Brenda did not seem to have considered critically why schools were burnt down. Her comment, like so many others, did not reflect a non-racist view; rather, it gave broad support to racial mixing. Many statements reflected personal rather than a political interpretations. This is understandable, and to be expected, given the age of these teenagers, and their lack of exposure to an open, democratic, non-racist society. A number of white respondents admitted that their views had changed as a result of actual mixing; some of them had made 'friends' with blacks - but these new perceptions did not transfer to blacks in general.

The racial discourse of many students is understandable in the light of a dominant hegemonic commonsense whereby an organic ideology of race is institutionalised in a range of laws and social practices (Christie 1988:126). In effect, most white respondents were clearly bound to the specific South African political, social, and economic context, and could see no other way of giving meaning

to their world except through a general maintenance of the existing order. In this sense, despite a general pride exhibited by respondents in their school as one of the very first state schools to open to blacks, it was clear that blacks would be required to adjust to the ways of the white students. If they did, they were much more acceptable and understandable to whites. The question of assimilation is discussed further in this chapter.

Black students, understandably, were overwhelmingly supportive of racial mixing. Their attendance at a 'Model B' school such as Newsa High would enable them to study seriously and without the kind of interruption and interference they experienced in their own schools. Most black respondents were positive about the racial mixing taking place. Beatrice (15) echoed how most blacks felt:

I was first afraid to come from a Black society and mix with whites, although I have mixed before, but not on an everyday basis. I feel more relaxed since we were accepted positively without a doubt. And this changed our feelings.

Lucretia (13) expressed similar feelings, and noted some of the problems faced in the townships:

Everything is different now because in black schools there was low knowledge, the language, friendship, sometimes we did not go to school because of stayaways, guns in that section and a lot of noise.

Theodora (14) a coloured girl, related a racial incident:

The first time I came to this school I didn't feel like I was welcomed in the school. This girl came up and said to her friend "What are these things doing in this school?" This white girl who said this was in Std 6.

Mamaloo (Pat), a 16 year-old Hindu, related another incident:

Just certain pupils in the school. They find it hard to accept other races. My friends have had experiences. Like they were sitting at the bus stop. This one guy went past and insulted them. It shocked them.

Very few incidents between white and black students were noted in the school records or in conversations. Teachers were aware of a few serious incidents that school management had dealt with. Some teachers felt that many minor incidents were not really examples of racism, but rather typical student differences. This debate is taken up later in this chapter. Most black students felt that racial mixing was going well. However, in the group interview of black students, several of them related 'minor' incidents that had clearly upset them.

Sosibo (13) a Xhosa male, felt strongly about taunts and teasing (his underlining):

Some white pupils do not treat the other races as expected. They make fun of indians calling them Kulis and make fun of indian accents or markets. For blacks it is natural to cut their hair and not so funny, but some white chaps make fun of it and they ask you if you were fighting with a lawnmower and I find that depressing and pathetic.

It became clear to me as the research progressed, that a majority of white respondents accepted the need for black students to attend their school, and made efforts to co-operate in this new experience, evincing, among some, a pride in their new black students, albeit in a patronising way.

4.3.3 Table 18: Item 2: 'Black pupils should adjust to the ways of white pupils in the school.'

<u>Students</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Black females	46	32	22
Black males	50	14	36
White females	64	10	26
White males	62	22	16

Black males agreed least, and white females agreed most on this issue, with an important percentage (26%) simultaneously disagreeing. These contrasting views may be explained by, on the one hand, a fear among many white females that black students, and in particular black males, would just "take over", and on the other hand, a desire to be more accepting socially. White females tended to express firmer views than their male counterparts about the need for real communication, and about the rights of black students. Interestingly, black females, also very concerned with effective communication and social acceptance, were most undecided (32%) and agreed least (46%).

It is important to note that a large majority of black students

supported the statement. In their discourse they acknowledged that as a minority group they should accept the existing order, particularly as they explained that they wished to learn English. They regarded English as an empowering language - to the extent that almost all of them wished to have the speaking of Zulu or Xhosa in the school banned by the headmaster.

The idea of "the majority rules" was accepted by a large number of white respondents, who also expressed concerns that a black majority would lead to a dominant black ethos. Interestingly, a few black respondents reiterated the same concerns - in particular, black females who were afraid of violence. Clearly, many black respondents were also the products of institutionalised apartheid. They aspired to middle-class white, western values as a means of empowerment economically and socially. In many cases their role models were their own parents who held "middle-class" jobs; many students wished to improve on this; for example, become doctors where their mothers were nurses. Many black respondents admitted to strong parental influence in this regard.

The dominant white view at Newsa High that black students should adjust is reinforced by the following statements:

Sharon (15) noted that

When we were still considering it, I wasn't too enthusiastic about it because I felt: how can people of such different cultures, morals and beliefs possibly get

on without there being major trouble. Now my feelings are much the same, except that they seem to be adjusting well enough.

Theresa (15) expressed this view more crudely:

Black pupils should think carefully about arguing with a white person in a white school. I think the whites have a privilege to first say in a white school. They should all be aware of this as I would respect it as if I were a black myself.

This inability or unwillingness to see or acknowledge that white students themselves needed to adjust and change, was a feature of the racial discourse of many white respondents.

Simon (16) expressed his view in racial terms:

The only thing that I don't like about it is that some of the black people think that they are too white and then they irritate me. By being too white I mean that they are too friendly and they do things they shouldn't do.

Mary (17), a prefect, focussed on the need for black students to aspire to the same perceived norms as the white students. Mary's statement was patronising:

In the case of our mixed school the non-whites are not at all a problem although they do tend to put forward the fact that they do not speak English very well as an excuse in their wrong doings. Most are very respectful and listen and are eager. They are very polite and it is clear they have the correct upbringing. I as a prefect feel very uneasy when I have to discipline a non-white because they tend to think that (we) I have looked for something to "bust" them with.

Mary's racial discourse is rich in examples of ambivalence, and contains contradictions such as 'the non-whites are not at all a problem although ...'. The use of terms such as "polite", "respectful", "listen", "correct upbringing" appears rooted in the system of apartheid, within which blacks are required to be subservient, and are expected to aspire to white values as prescribed by the dominant group. Mary's view appears to be entirely situation-bound and cannot envisage that black people may hold their own value system that comprise universally-held values that are not the prerogative of whites.

Nomaswazi's (15) statement implied that black and white students should accept each other as equals:

All white students know that it's their school which I know myself, but that doesn't have to show. The school was opened to other race groups so they should accept us. They should not call us critical names which some uncivilised white people still do.

A life-skills programme (Burgess, 1987; Gorman, 1989; Hultin, 1987) developed and administered by the school, must address the negative impact of institutionalised apartheid on black students, who must be encouraged to develop self-confidence and a pride in their own culture and belief system.

4.3.4 Item 3: 'This school should have black teachers.'

Black males (80%) were strongly in support of this, possibly searching for male role-models of their own race. White females agreed least (22%); many of them felt insecure around black males. White males were generally in favour (45% agreed, 20% were undecided). There was a general ambivalence among white respondents (52% were undecided) that reflected their apprehension. For most white respondents, racial mixing was acceptable provided they could remain in their comfort zone by retaining their privileged position and status. Many white respondents feared a numerical dominance by black students.

4.3.5 Item 4: 'This school helps me communicate better with other racial groups.'

An overwhelming number (94%) of black respondents agreed. White respondents were mostly positive, with females disagreeing more strongly than males - a surprising response in the light of female concerns with social acceptance. In reality there was little actual on-going communication between black and white students, with a few clear exceptions. This was reflected in the composition of social groups during breaks, where the different groups tended to keep to themselves. Contact was most often accidental (in passing) and consequently superficial. The highly positive response from black students may be largely subscribed to an

opportunity afforded them where they were taught in English by English-speaking teachers, and where opportunities arose for cross-cultural communication in English as the dominant language.

I observed that black respondents almost always tended to speak in their mother tongue, particularly in groups larger than three or four. I noted very infrequent inter-racial communication among Zulu, Xhosa and English-speaking students. The Indian and Coloured students, whose home language was English, were an exception to this.

4.3.6 Item 7: 'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups' is discussed in Section 4: (Social distance).

4.3.7 Table 19: Item 8: 'The black pupils in this school behave better than the black pupils outside the school.'

Students	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Black females	50	6	44
Black males	90	8	6
White females	84	8	8
White males	86	14	0

There was strong support for this statement across race and gender, with the exception of black females, among whom 44% disagreed. The research tended to support the view that black males who were pupils of Newsa High were aware of the political, even criminal actions of certain township blacks. Further, a number of black

students reported that they were sometimes forced (in fear of their lives) to participate in marches, and even raids. Thus their support of this statement is hardly surprising. Black male students commented that they were often victims of circumstances, as were many other young blacks, and that many of them did not wish to transgress the law or serve political ends. In interviews, a number of black female students claimed that they did not associate with "troublemakers" and that their friends were peaceful. Ironically, despite strong disagreement on this statement, many black females saw themselves as being "different" from the township blacks, who in many instances regarded them as "sell-outs" and "traitors". A possible explanation for the strong disagreement may lie in the determination of many black female students to be socially accepting, and to be socially acceptable. This group focussed on the importance of understanding through communication within ethnic groups, and across ethnic and racial lines.

White students frequently evaluated the statement on the basis that Newsa High black students must be more decent than the township blacks if they could afford to attend the school. Many white students presumed that merely by being associated with the school, these blacks were better behaved. Other students set great store by strict admission criteria that prevented certain blacks from getting in. Further questioning of white students revealed that very few of them were aware of, or had any real knowledge of what it was like to live in the townships. The racial discourse of many

white students was often protective and patronising of the new additions to the Newsa "family".

Gloria (16) a white female, said there were two kinds of blacks:
(her numbering)

- (1) The decent and respectable
- (2) The rebellious ones who behave like animals.

She went on to write that

I don't mind the blacks attending my school or living in my neighbourhood, because they would have to be decent to afford the same standard of living as I.

Gloria's following statement is a poignant example of the deep contradictions evident in the racial discourse of many white students:

One day while sitting at a bus stop waiting for the bus I was mugged by a black (who practically held a knife to my throat). Ever since that day I despised them ... I was really devastated. I was filled with anger and hate, because it was a black who mugged me and not a white (like, typical).

Gloria seems to condemn blacks as being criminal by nature, and implies that she would rather be mugged by a white person. Her anger and hate appears directed more at skin colour than at the wrongness of the action. Gloria's attitude is a direct product of the apartheid system.

Erica (16) was against the idea of racial mixing at first, but she began to accept it more as she got to know the black students, noting that

... the only thing is that the blacks (most) out of this school (streets, shops, station etc) are different to those attending this school.

Tim (16) contradicted himself when he said that

I was very open minded to the whole situation even though I did have my established views and opinions.

He qualified his statement by explaining that

Some people said no they will stink, they will be scruffy and violent. But I know that not just anyone would be allowed in. I knew that the ones who we will get are going to be wanting to learn as they have to come a far way, so they will be acceptable and respectable. Also they would have to pay school fees so they would probably be richer than most of us.

Rodney's (16) statement reinforced the idea that there are two kinds of black people:

I think blacks and other race groups should learn to behave e.g. most killing comes from blacks and if they want to be our equal they should learn to be more cultural ... don't get me wrong I do like blacks but mainly the decent and well-mannered people. I am not a racist but some must learn to behave as I said before.

Letitia (16) referred to the blacks on the street:

Personally, I dislike Blacks, especially the ones on the street, because they are so forward, it really bugs me. But the blacks attending our school aren't (sic) like that at all. They're decent, friendly (but not forward) and very eager to learn. So everything worked out just fine.

The dominant white student view that black people in Newsa High were different to other blacks, suggests that white students personalised their racial contacts, frequently ignoring the political and social significance of racial differences within a system of institutionalised apartheid. Consequently white students seldom expanded personal experiences into broader political statements. For Letitia, Erica, Tim and Gloria, racial classifications formed the basis of their evaluations of the conduct of black people. White respondents frequently subscribed to a racial code based on racial separation as normal and necessary, while expressing concerns that they (the white students) should be polite about it. The racial discourse of many white students was not simply the result of personal prejudice, but was rather grounded in a dominant discursive pattern based on the accepted principles of hegemonic racism. This led to the racial stereotyping so clearly evident in the statements of Gloria, Letitia, Erica, and Tim. Considering the age and maturity levels of the respondents, this stereotyping was to be expected.

Racial discourse, often protective of the new black students at Newsa High, failed to take in to account the wider social, economic and political context. Helen (14) wrote that

The Model B has changed my fears around, not all but most. The blacks themselves (those attending this school) have proved themselves. I accept them but not those who don't attend Newsa High School.

Gary (16) spoke about racial mixing out of school:

Well put it this way. In one way I think it's good, but it depends on the actual African himself. Its like the original from the townships and that you know, my friends, they showed me like, its class, you get the township African which you know, how can I say, they're not classed. I'm not trying to say I'm racialistic but - and then you get the more decent African - respectful, dressed well, stuff like that.

Desmond (18) supported the school's decision to admit "approved" black students, but stated that

My upbringing has not included socialising with other races. I don't believe when they say other races are exactly like whites except the different colour. I cannot see myself becoming too friendly with them as most not all are uncivilised.

Both Gary and Desmond stereotyped black people by implying that racial differences are organic, rather than the creature of political constructs. They were unable to take in to account political, social and economic circumstances that may have affected the daily lives of black people, or the state institutions that perpetuated the principle of organic racial differences.

4.3.8 Item 9: 'Black people should be free to live where they like.'

This item is discussed in Section 4 : Social Distance.

4.3.9 Table 20: Item 27: I don't mind if more black pupils than white pupils attend this school.

Students	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Black females	42	18	40
Black males	64	22	14
White females	15	20	55
White males	32	22	46

The responses of black females showed a high degree of ambivalence, perhaps reflecting the concerns a number of them expressed that a black majority in the school would lead to violence and strikes. Black females were also most concerned with learning English, and some of them stated that this could not happen if there was a black majority. Black males supported the statement strongly, as they had the question of black teachers in the school. White respondents largely rejected the statement, expressing fears of being overwhelmed. These respondents spoke of probable violence, cultural deprivation, and a lowering of academic standards, as specific concerns.

Bhekifa (13) went against the mainstream of black male support when he noted that

I am a black person. If the blacks are going to be much more than this we would have trouble. I know I am a black person.

Clarence (18) a Zulu male, was satisfied with the status quo; for similar reasons:

At present I am satisfied about my school as a racially-mixed school though there are more whites than other races. The fact that I am satisfied is that people of my race are cruel sometimes due to the fact that they believe they are oppressed.

4.4 Social Distance

For the purpose of this study social distance is defined as

The degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, between person and group, and between group and group. (Bogardus, 1959:5)

Section C of the structured student survey required respondents to consider six different social relationships ranging from intimate to casual.

4.4.1 Table 21: Item 1: 'a marriage partner'.

Student	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Black female	24	56	20
Black male	72	14	14
White female	2	14	84
White male	12	16	72

White respondents largely rejected mixed marriages, with white females showing a strong rejection. This response compares with comments made by these students that the advances of black males were distasteful to them. References were made to 'oil and water' not mixing, and to cultural differences. There was a marked degree of ambivalence among black females, while black males showed strong support. The hesitancy of black females may reflect social and cultural reinforcement of their upbringing within a male dominated society. It is also possible that they feared rejection more strongly than their male counterparts. Several black males expressed strong interest in pursuing relationships with white girls. The overall dichotomy between the group of white and black students is marked. White views appear largely the result of indoctrination through a process of acculturation within a hegemonic system of white domination in all spheres of life.

Responses to the other five items in Section C of the structured survey reflected strong, broad support for racial mixing in various situations (all groups and genders are included since differences were not important).

4.4.2 Table 22: 'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as

No.	Item	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
2	a close friend	73	20	7
3	neighbour in my street	79	6	15
4	visitor to my house	80	12	8
5	a fellow pupil	88	12	0
6	member of my sports/ social club	97	2	1

An interesting feature is the increased support (even if marginal) for mixing of a less intimate, personal nature. Item 5 'a fellow pupil' reflects strong support for the 'Model B' decision, even by students who expressed concerns. This strong majority support is understandable since the students had been actively involved in decision-making. They were also proud that their school, as one of the first state schools to admit black students, was a trailblazer. This loyalty and pride surfaced repeatedly in conversations, suggesting that the marketing of the 'Model B' proposals had been conducted efficiently by the principal and staff.

The following table shows the rank ordering, according to race, of ten items relating to personal contact in various situations, as presented in Section D of the structured questionnaire. Gender differences were insignificant. The table is rank ordered from most, to least acceptable:

4.4.3 Table 23: 'I am comfortable about mixing with members of other race groups in the following situations.'

<u>Rank Order</u>	<u>Black Score</u>	<u>Black Rank</u>	<u>White Score</u>	<u>White Rank</u>	<u>Total Score</u>	<u>Total Rank</u>
1. a pupil in my school	3.2	2	2.5	1	2.9	1
2. a neighbour in my street	2.8	1	4.6	5	3.7	2
3. to sit next to on train, in bus, aeroplane, car	4.4	4	4.1	2	4.3	4
4. sit in same restaurant, theatre, music house	4.0	3	4.5	4	4.3	4
5. circle of friends	5.8	6	4.4	3	5.1	5
6. on all beaches	5.2	5	5.7	6	5.5	6
7. in change rooms	5.8	6	6.1	8	6.0	7
8. personal friend	7.0	9	5.7	6	6.4	8
9. dance with	6.8	8	6.8	9	6.8	9
10. marriage partner	10.0	10	10.0	10	10.0	10

Clearly, items suggesting physical closeness were least acceptable. This can be ascribed largely to the indoctrination of people subject to the system of institutionalised apartheid. However, in measuring the strength of attitudes for and against forms of racial mixing, Table 23 revealed that only inter-racial marriages were widely rejected.

The following table, based on a survey conducted by Moller and Schlemmer in 1982, stands in strong contrast to my own findings, particularly with regard to accepting blacks in schools. Very low tolerance in 1982 has been replaced by an 88% acceptance (see Table 22). Expectations of change, feelings that change was inevitable, and the actual experience of having black pupils in the Model B school, were factors that contributed, I believe, to this shift in attitudes.

4.4.4 Table 7.1 : Unit for Futures Research 1982 Socio-Political Monitor

Percentage South Africans accepting blacks in various situations:
(Compiled from the Unit for Futures Research Socio-political Monitor April 1982)

Whites(N=2300)	%	Coloureds(N=400)	%	Indians(N=300)	%
profession	49	political party	72	personal friend	49
restaurant	38	train/bus	71	train/bus	48
political party	38	profession	70	restaurant	48
train/bus	38	restaurant	68	BEACH	47
club	28	BEACH	66	club	47
superior at work	27	school	64	school	46
personal friend	26	dance partner	61	profession	46
BEACH	22	superior at work	60	superior at work	46
school	19	neighbour	60	political party	45
neighbour	16	club	59	dance partner	44
dance partner	13	personal friend	53	neighbour	42
relative by marriage	5	relative by marriage	39	relative by marriage	35

In Table 7.1 we observe that whites exhibit very low tolerance for beach integration relative to other social situations and to the other groups in the survey which indicated social distance reactions.

(Taken from: Moller and Schlemmer, 1982:68)

Moller and Schlemmer (see Ch.2, p.83) had concluded in their 1982 study that individuals tend to accommodate policy changes that shift to a more open society, and confirmed Pettigrew's (1956) finding that expectations of change towards a more open society may be relatively independent of strong desires for the status quo. My own findings tended to support these conclusions. Within the South African context of institutionalised apartheid race relations patterns have become ingrained, learned during childhood socialisation, and are therefore relatively stable. However, there is also evidence in my study that these attitudes are not immutable (just as culture is learned and not inherited). While I believe that many respondents did offer socially desirable or acceptable responses, I also became convinced that others had experienced a genuine attitude shift through an internalisation of issues and concerns. In these cases students were able to identify with the social and economic contexts that drove the everyday lives of black students. Empathy was not based on sentiment, but on a shared experience. However, these cases appeared infrequently in the study.

Rose's (1956) conclusion that attitudes and behaviour can vary independently under certain circumstances did not fully explain the responses of students in this study who, while expressing negative attitudes towards blacks, showed more accommodating behaviour in actual intergroup situations. A motivating factor in the responses of several participants in my study was a resignation that changes would be wrought through official policy decisions, and as such were inevitable. A problematic of this study of racial mixing at school was whether the opinions expressed by respondents were reflections of spontaneous individual reactions or were socially desirable or socially acceptable responses. In my view, there was evidence of both. However, I came to the conclusion that socially acceptable responses (in the case of white respondents in particular) predominated.

Isram (15), like almost all black respondents, saw racial mixing as an opportunity. Sibosizwe (16) a Zulu female, referred to physical attraction:

I always wanted to be the friend of a white man, a friend of a Hindu ... whatever ... but to be stronger in a mixed relationship. To do the same things. To feel the same way - that's what influenced me really. This influence has made me consider myself on thinking besides schoolmate relationships within the school but also marriage or just girlfriends and boyfriends of different races (removing different race stuff). In fact I feel warm romantic feelings towards a different race person - it's not strange but very normal.

Shelley (16) tried to balance her view of inter-racial friendships:

The most important thing is that the worst non-whites are remembered. They tend to be unhygienic and they sleep on the beaches or swim in their underwear. Not all of them are like that and most I would like as a friend.

Like a number of white respondents, Shelley appears to assume that basically black people are 'just like that' by nature and inclination. She fails to identify and address the social, political and economic effects of institutionalised apartheid, and therefore does not establish the contexts in which black people live in each day.

Arnold (15) preferred to rely on personal, lived experience rather than media reports:

Well, you always get two sides to a story. You know, you hear on the news what blacks do and then you meet people who are very nice, so I suppose that the people who are very nice have more effect on one.

Arnold's view was shared by many white respondents who wanted to "keep an open mind". There was a strong desire on the part of many white students to accept their black peers, but this was filtered by years of social and historical engineering. Some form of human rights education (Dreyfuss, 1987; Ferguson N.D.; Heater, 1984; Starkey, 1991) is essential if the apartheid past is to be dismantled and demystified. A deregulation of the institutions of apartheid, must be accompanied simultaneously by programmes within schools (Humana, 1992; McQuoid-Mason, 1991; Shiman, 1993).

Belinda (14) set severe social, academic and political limits on racial mixing:

I don't mind blacks in our school but too many isn't all right and a black headmaster is going too far. And when the black boys go after a white girl that really irritates me. And if S.A. is ruled by blacks then I will really be annoyed.

Betty (16) was concerned about mixed marriages:

I don't think whites and blacks should get married, because it won't be them that suffer it will be the children, blacks should marry blacks and whites should marry whites.

Janice (13) commented that black boys were "getting too forward with white girls".

Greg (16) noted that some whites were taking a long time to get used to the idea that black males could approach white females:

She knows he's a nice guy but can't say to him "look, its the colour difference". Still, some whites are taking longer to accept it.

Bambi (16) a Zulu female, referred to the importance of friendship:

The students should make as well as accept friendship from different races. The only way you can get success in a school is when there's FRIENDSHIP as the start and the rest later. Also, the white guys (in my standard) they are very shy (or is it worse than that) to ask different race girls to go out with them - there's nothing wrong with it.

Mike (15) confided his feelings about a specific relationship:

No one really knows that I have this girl in my class who wrote this student survey. Me being white makes me to only love white girls. I do love white girls but colour means nothing. She looks almost white and is very respectable. She is also very clean and has manners. My parents would not allow me to bring home blacks as they say the house will be robbed.

This dilemma of peer group reinforcement against intimate inter-racial relationships was touched on by Dirk (15):

The blacks think we love them so much that we may even go on a date with one of them, and we are not ready for it yet.

Cobus (15) referred to the influence of family and friends on racial attitudes. His statement reflects the contradiction between what he was told and what he personally experienced through shared circumstances - a contradictory consciousness that led him to resolve two competing paradigms:

Family and friends made me to decide not to really choose them in our schools. A member of the C.P. and AWB made me disagree and hate blacks but it was really me who chose to be friends and maybe a lover to them. I really looked at the way they were living and saw my way. These ways seemed to be the same. Most of the time they starve - I do too. They are pressured by violence. I am because my parents beat each other up. Drugs and drink is common between me and racial people.

While racial mixing outside school was rejected by most white

respondents, there were clear examples of mixing in nightclubs, on the beach, at the movies, in shopping complexes and in parks. A few white respondents had visited a township at night.

Charles (17) claimed that

We do go to clubs. I've got some black friends - and we do go to clubs and that so its not so bad.

White respondents who admitted to having friends (as opposed to sexual partners), among black students often qualified their statements.

Emma's (16) view was similar to others:

Here at school there's a couple of people who associate with other races, but usually during breaks, they go their way, and we go our way. And there are a couple - you know - the nice ones - you know - that we can get on with. I feel that a lot more of them should get into school sports and clubs because a lot of them when they've finished school they go straight home. You know, maybe because they're a bit shy. I've got some Indian friends - you know - the good ones - which I get on well with.

Although a majority of white respondents claimed to accept racial mixing with blacks on the grounds that Newsa High blacks were "just like us", they "paid fees", were "clean" and "hard-working", this seldom led to spontaneous racial mixing.

It became clear during my observations of the students during

breaks, that both groups were shy of one another. In my view, the grouping together of these groups formally in classes, and co-curricular participation, is insufficient and ineffectual in promoting genuine and lasting cross-cultural and inter-racial understanding. A real respect and tolerance will, in my view, only come about through meaningful dialogue and interaction between students within a life-skills programme that addresses directly the many issues raised by this research.

4.5 Life at school

The following items in Section B of the structured student questionnaire relate directly to life at school.

4.5.1 Table 24:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Stem</u>
3	'This school should have black teachers.'
5	'The standard of education at this school is low.'
6	'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language at some stage.'
12	'Teachers at this school care about me as a person.'
13	'The discipline in this school is too strict.'
14	'I am happy at this school.'
15	'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views.'
16	'Education is the key to my future.'
17	'This school helps me to have self-confidence.'
26	'The standard of education at this school is good.'
28	'The subjects offered at this school are going to help me in my future career.'

4.5.2 Table 25: Item 2: 'This school should have black teachers.'

Students	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Black females	48	30	22
Black males	80	6	14
White females	22	33	45
White males	44	19	37

The concerns of many black females regarding the learning of English, and fears of lower standards, are reflected in their relatively weak support of this statement. This same group were also concerned that a greater number of blacks in the school might lead to violence.

Black males were strongly in favour of black teachers, possibly because this would increase the status and credibility of the students, and perhaps because they wanted role-models of their own race. White respondents were clearly apprehensive; the females in particular showed a strong concern that there would be violence. These fears were expressed during informal discussions, and reinforced by other responses to the structured survey.

Lilian (16) a white female argued that

... the school musn't bring too many blacks into the school or else they will start taking over, and then I don't think that it could be very successful because the whites will all leave. They must also be very choosy or picky about who they take.

Margaret (15) also referred in general to the possibility of black domination in the school:

I am just concerned for the situation of the 'B' model in the future. Because there are more blacks than whites and they might take over later on in life - which I am very concerned about.

Ross (16) showed a concern about standards falling, although he expressed his support for "equal education":

Then my feelings were mixed. I was glad that equal education was being introduced. But then I wondered just how equal it would really be. I also wondered what problems would arise i.e. rules, regulations, guilt and prejudice. Now I see that some problems have faded away for the better (I believe) and others, however small, have come up. The school is not a model of ideology but a practical reality, therefore different people have different beliefs. I feel confident about equal education now. I still fear that the levels of education will drop.

4.5.3 Item 5: 'The standard of education at this school is low.'

These responses must be viewed together with those of Item 26: 'The standard of education at this school is good.' There was strong agreement across both race and gender that the education offered by the school was good.

4.5.4 Table 26: Item 6: 'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language at some stage.'

<u>Student</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Black females	36	30	34
Black males	50	22	28
White females	46	6	48
White males	28	16	56

Student responses reflected, in general, a great deal of ambivalence. The usefulness of learning an African language in order to promote more effective communication and inter-racial understanding was countered, among whites, by a fear of numerical and cultural domination. Black females felt it was important to learn an African language, but not at the expense of learning English. There was strong support among both black and white students for a process of assimilation at Newsa High: many black students felt this would empower them academically, as reflected in the following comments:

Sipho (14) argued that

I would like the 'B' model to stop speaking Zulu language in front of pupils and teachers. If teachers happen to hear the 'B' model speaking this language, they should be punished.

Thandi (14) agreed:

I think that the problems in this school are that some of the African people speak Zulu all the time and nothing is

being done about it. I want to improve my English, but they are disturbing me. It should be stricter than this.

Tammy (16) reflected the views of some white respondents:

Some of them speak their own language between them which does irritate some people because if they come to a white school they must speak English just like everyone else.

A commonly-held view among white respondents was that Newsa High was a "white" school and it was a privilege for blacks to attend on white terms.

4.5.5 Item 12: 'Teachers at this school care about me as a person.'

Black respondents strongly agreed (90%). This was confirmed in statements when they claimed that teachers went out of their way to assist them. White respondents also referred to teachers assisting blacks, in many instances criticising the staff for favouring the new students. Teachers felt that they were not paying particular attention to black students, but that the individual circumstance of each student, black or white, was taken in to account when students were chastised.

White respondents agreed with the statement more cautiously (59%), while 19% disagreed. In interviews with white students, some of them accused teachers of allowing black students to get away with

not doing homework, and that some teachers openly made excuses for blacks. A few white respondents claimed that some teachers stated to their classes that they would rather teach blacks who were keen to learn, than whites, who were not. A further complaint was that black students were given more time to complete work. However, several white respondents accepted that, as new students to the school, and because they were not English-speaking, black students needed extra help, and time to adjust. Teachers denied favouring black students, but indicated that they expected white students who knew the system, to be more responsible and accountable.

Glenda (16) referred to the "racist" attitudes of some teachers:

Some of the teachers have tended to become a little racist themselves. Not against the blacks, but for them. I think this is to only make them feel comfortable, important and at home. It will take time, but soon this won't be needed. They will adjust by themselves.

Clearly, some white students felt resentful, even jealous, of the attention given to the new students. When asked if new white students were also given time to adjust, many white students said yes - but that new black students must abide by the same rules.

Jeffrey (16) referred to unequal treatment:

I believe the greatest problem in this school with regard to racial mixing is the special treatment which the black students receive. The teachers, perhaps without realising it, are more lenient on punishing black pupils than punishing whites. I suppose one could call it favouritism.

This view was reinforced by Cheryl (14) whose statement contained a contradiction:

The teachers are very fair. They treat everyone the same but when they don't want to do their homework, they get a warning, but we get punished. They get away with certain things, but we can't.

Macqobo (14), a Zulu male, observed that

Some teachers don't care about children. If teachers and children can like blacks that can be better because here in this school I think all blacks like whites that's why we came to white schools and we need more education.

Crosby (13) a Xhosa male, remarked that

Teachers must remember that some black pupils are still shy and are battling with the language so I think the teachers should ask them if they understand what's going on.

Clearly, teachers were required to meet a wide range of expectations. Viren (16) a Hindu male felt that

The teachers should have a more friendly attitude towards the pupils.

My own impression was that teacher-student relationships were generally very sound. There was a great deal of positive interaction, and examples of mutual respect and liking. In general, staff and students showed a pride in their school, an

'esprit de corps' that permeated many different activities. Among teachers, I noted a real sense of caring about their pupils. Teachers frequently empathised with the social and economic disadvantages of both white and black students.

A few white respondents claimed that some teachers did not know how to deal with black students - these teachers "backed off" on punishment because they were afraid blacks would "take it the wrong way". Others felt that teachers were over-reacting to the presence of the new students.

Dolla (15) expressed this concern:

Some of the teachers are teaching normally, but some of the others, I don't know they are backing off on punishment and that I think maybe they're afraid if they do it that the blacks will take it the wrong way. That they will tell their parents. Just now it interferes with all the children and the black children don't want to listen and anything.

Dolla's explanation for what she claimed to see was not supported to any extent in the research, and should probably be viewed in the light of her own personal fears. A number of white students expressed fears that disagreements with black students might lead to retaliation after school by both the students and their parents. These fears of physical violence were often expressed by some white females.

Glenda (16) a white female, related an incident that occurred in her class. She was discussing the attitudes of teachers to black students, and commenting that the black students felt uncomfortable when they were singled out even when intentions were good. The following is a transcript from a tape recording:

A white teacher was talking about black children, and a black girl stood up and said why can't he talk about white children or coloured children or indian children, why must he always talk about black children. The teacher said that this was an example, and that black children were an example.

According to Glenda, the black student felt embarrassed and indignant that blacks should be singled out for praise, and she argued that black students wanted the same treatment as whites. My own impression was that Glenda felt that some teachers were being patronising without realising it. She also resented comparisons between whites (sometimes painted as lazy, unmotivated, and poorly behaved) and blacks, painted as model students.

4.5.6 Table 27: Item 13: 'The discipline in this school is too strict.'

Students	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Black females	24	24	52
Black males	72	0	28
White females	38	14	48
White males	33	24	43

Black males agreed strongly. They rejected corporal punishment

meted out by the school, and this may have been uppermost in their thoughts, particularly since some of their group had received canings. White respondents, with no important gender differences, reflected a degree of ambivalence. Many senior students in Std 9 and 10 criticised the staff for not being strict enough. A number of these respondents wanted firmer discipline. Black females, not threatened by corporal punishment, also emphasised that they wanted to learn in a disciplined atmosphere. Both white males, and black females, were fairly undecided.

Shane (16) felt that management were too lenient:

I think that the level of laws/rules etc of the school on behalf of the Heads of Departments etc have decreased as before when I was in Std 6 to 8 the rules etc were a lot more strict and if you did things wrong the boys etc would be jacked but now all of those things have seemed to fall away. Also teachers seem to be more lenient towards the other race groups.

Caning as a punishment was, in terms of the school records, seldom meted out, and was carefully recorded. In the light of a general rejection among black students of corporal punishment, a community-service centred punishment might be more accepted and effective. Clearly, all open schools will need to deal with this controversy, also in the light of a rejection of corporal punishment by some traditionally "whites only" schools.

4.5.7 Item 14: 'I am happy at this school.'

There was strong support for this statement across gender and race. I ascribed the 0.8% disagreement among black males to indian muslim respondents, who in their conversations with me were clearly uncomfortable in the school. They spoke of the schools they had come from as "better", and said they were at Newsa High to please their parents, who were concerned about disruptions in Indian schools. The 11% disagreement among white females may have been the result of their fear of physical violence. Clearly, black and white students were largely happy at Newsa High.

4.5.8 Table 28: Item 15: 'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views.'

<u>Students</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Black females	47	18	35
Black males	50	29	21
White females	71	6	23
White males	54	24	22

There was general agreement on this issue. Black females were ambivalent, while white females most strongly supported the statement. I found that white females were generally more articulate, and communicated more freely and openly, than their male counterparts. Observations of lessons tended to reinforce a greater willingness on the part of females to speak out. In general, black students were shy and hesitant; some were embarrassed by their poor English. Others commented that in black

schools there was little or no class discussion. They were not used to participating in class. Interestingly, black males were reasonably confident (50%) but also undecided (29%). The bulk of their conversations centred on sport such as soccer and athletics, and on music. There was almost no discussion on social and political aspects. Clearly, subject teaching in classrooms did not cater for the inclusion of these topics. With regard to black and white student communication, there was also little or no sharing of mutual fears and concerns.

Billy (15) referred to

The lack of understanding each other. The bottled up feelings that people have.

Scott (16) commented that

The majority of Africans are too scared to speak up and when they do they think that the whites are all the same and keep to themselves. And the whites think they're too good and that the Africans are dirty.

Janine (14) revealed that

We can't talk about the township problems in front of them because they might get offended.

If students need to grapple with issues that concern them, there is a need for special life-skills programmes that facilitate cross-cultural communication and dialogue (Abi-Nader, 1990; Hilner-Smythe, 1994; Schroenn, 1993). Students also need to be

encouraged to share views in more informal situations such as the playground, and during social activities.

4.5.9 Item 16: 'Education is the key to my future.'

There was overwhelming support for this statement among both groups. Black respondents, in particular, stressed that this was why they were at Newsa High - to get a good education so they could obtain good jobs.

4.5.10 Item 17: 'This school helps me to have self-confidence.'

Support for this statement was strong across both groups. Black respondents felt most positive, and white males least positive. There was a high level of uncertainty spread equally across white females and males (48%).

Precious (17) a black female, related one problem:

People don't want to be helped by blacks (I don't know why, but I don't understand it - and I don't want to, otherwise I'll do the same as them). Anyway, people should learn and know that it doesn't matter where you come from or what you are - what you let yourself be, and what you allow people to be to you is most important.

Rather than feel threatened by new situations and different people, Precious is pleading that we should not adopt poses, but should rather just be ourselves, and allow others to interact with us.

Precious seems to be asking to be accepted as a black person, not as any other kind of person.

Cirrea (16) a black male, was the butt of teasing:

You tend to feel uncomfortable at first. They always ask you for your lunch. Some of them keep picking on you. I am a generally thin person and I get mocked for the size of my legs.

Orlando (13) expressed growing confidence in himself:

I did not realise that I can be so good in drama. I also realised I had a good sense of humour because mixing with other races telling each other's customs and some sound funny even when they are not funny at all.

Thembi (16) saw her enrolment at Newsa High as an opportunity to achieve her potential. She shows pride in the fact that her marks are as good as some other (white) pupils:

When I heard of what's been said, I felt good because I knew that now was the time to show and do what I've wanted to do - to show other races that we are equal and do whatever I had to do (no matter how hard) to show its possible. My attitude has changed in a sense that its become stronger because I realised that at this school very few people had ever been in the same class and got the same marks as other race pupils.

Tanda (16) a black male, felt that some white students could be kinder:

If the pupils (some) could be friendlier. I'm not saying

treat you like a king but show some kindness it would be much better. I know that at most of the schools there are those children who are just bullies but if they could be polite and talk nicely about other race groups.

Kobus (18) a white male, commented on how some whites may feel threatened by blacks:

Maybe when a black achieves something and gets a prize the whites may be strongly against that black person because he/she could not achieve that prize or position.

4.5.11 Item 26: 'The standard of education at this school is good.'

This statement was strongly supported by both groups, with white respondents showing some uncertainty (24%). 16% of black males disagreed - possibly those Indian and Coloured students who claimed that their previous schools were better.

4.5.12 Item 28: 'The subjects offered at this school are going to help me in my future career.'

There was broad support (79%) for this statement. 28% of white males were undecided. 21% of black males disagreed.

4.6 Broad political views

The following items from Section B of the structured student

questionnaire relate directly to political views.

4.6.1 Table 29

<u>Item</u>	<u>Stem</u>
10	'There should be social change in South Africa.'
18	'Violence will never bring about political improvements.'
19	'Agitators (political troublemakers) are behind the unrest in South Africa.'
20	'Peace, law and order are more important than political rights.'
21	'Most blacks are not really interested in politics (power-struggles); they simply want a decent education, home and job.'
22	'Black people in South Africa could be better off if they worked and tried harder.'
23	'I feel confident about the future in South Africa.'
24	'I support compulsory military service for boys.'
25	'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution.'

4.6.2 Item 10: There should be social change in South Africa:

Sixty percent of white respondents agreed with the statement. A feature of these responses was the uncertainty of white students (33%). White respondents interpreted 'change' as meaning that blacks should be given "equal" opportunities. A number of them referred to changes that had already taken place, such as the admission of black students to Newsa High. Social change was also interpreted as "inevitable" mixing that would take place in society (the work place, neighbours, sharing social facilities). There were clear limits for many white students as to how far 'change' should go; there should be no numerical domination of whites by blacks in schools, inter-racial marriages were rejected, and concerns were expressed about the possibility of a black government

(although a political factor, this was seen as having social consequences; "the shoe would be on the other foot", and there would be social "prejudice" against whites). White females were more undecided and disagreed more than their male counterparts. This is of interest since white females showed greater empathy than males when discussing the social and economic plight of black students. They also stressed the need for more effective communication, and the need to learn an African language. They spoke more often than their white counterparts about inter-racial understanding. They spoke out more frequently about racial insults, accusing white males of being petty and racist.

White females as a group were more apprehensive than their male counterparts about possible intimidation and violence as a result of social changes.

Black respondents were strongly in favour of social change (89%) with no disagreement.

Rachid (16) a Muslim male, expressed this view:

At a time when I was a younger man incidents concerning white prejudice occurred, like being sent off whites only beaches or facilities, the mistreatment of black and indian society's being placed in outer regions from central Durban ... people should have their own choice on their living places.

Maureen (15) referred to an incident that made her feel that all blacks were bad:

When I was four years old, a black man attacked me in a lift ... I really am scared about being in a multiracial school with black boys ... most black men are hooligans.

Louise (16) spoke of her fear of violence:

The burning of the schools in the townships and the violence made me think/worry for a while that they would do the same to us. But you can't judge a book by its cover. My parents influenced me a lot, in that my dad worked alot with black people. But my attitude does differ from his. It was just the idea of change that frightened me a bit, and the newspaper, T.V. reports on violence. But since they've been in our school, my ideas have changed.

Casey (16) referred to an incident that caused her to think about the rights of Africans:

When I was walking in the street one night and a white man was shouting at an African saying "I'm the AWB. You're the ANC, I'm gonna kill you." And the poor guy was just going to town like I was! I thought it was very much unfair to the African because he has as much right as anyone else to walk in the street at night without being belittled and mentally abused.

4.6.3 Item 18: Violence will never bring about political improvements.

Black and white female respondents agreed most (86% and 87% respectively). White males agreed least (59%), and were the most undecided (24%). Disagreement among black (16%) and white (14%)

males reflects the greater preoccupation of males with violence as a solution to political differences. There was no disagreement among black females, while white females registered a 2% disagreement.

Laura (15) spoke of the effect of the violence on her:

My parents have had a big influence on me, but above all seeing the blacks destroy schools we built and killing in massacres. This situation has influenced me a lot because we give them money from our own pocket for those schools and they burn them down. Also I see no reason for them to go on massacres and kill white people.

Trapped within the dominant white hegemonic paradigm, Laura is unable to place the actions she describes within a wider historical, social and economic perspective.

Mondi (13) presented another view:

In my neighbourhood a whole army of soldiers treated the other fellows (blacks) in the most shocking way. From then on I thought there must be some way to make peace with other races, but definitely violence will not solve the trick.

4.6.4 Item 19: 'Agitators (political troublemakers) are behind the unrest in South Africa.'

White respondents (68%) agreed more strongly than their black counterparts (52%). White males (71%) agreed most strongly. A significant factor was the uncertainty among black students (50%).

Molly (19) was influenced by the media coverage:

I think the biggest influence on what I felt about racial integration is by watching the 'news'. Because they always showing us the blacks burning down schools and starting fights.

A number of white respondents cited the media (usually T.V.), as influencing them to believe that black people were out to cause trouble.

Sheila (15) blamed the African National Congress (ANC):

Violence in this country is a result of the ANC being let out of prison. The ANC are just causing trouble for this country and want to get into the government by using force and ultimatums etc. I don't think these type of people should run a country.

Thoroughly indoctrinated through the institutionalisation of apartheid, Sheila was unable to critically analyse the role of the state in the violence. She was blinded by an 'all or nothing' perspective. Carl (16) said that he had more of a balanced view now:

The colour of skin influenced me the most. Every crime being committed, always seems to be a black or coloured person but speaking to the black race itself has influenced me. Thinking about the crimes built up an anger and a hatred for the other races. Speaking to them and seeing the reason for the unrest has influenced my thoughts.

4.6.5 Table 30: Item 22: 'Black people in South Africa could be better off if they worked and tried harder.'

Students	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Black females	27	23	30
Black males	84	8	8
White females	84	8	8
White males	60	30	10

Black males agreed strongly (84%). Comments ranged from a rejection of violence as an alternative, to a pride in being accepted at Newsa High. These respondents also spoke with pride about their parents who generally held 'middle class' positions. Black females tended to empathise more with those 'township blacks' who were doing the best they could in difficult circumstances.

Like their white counterparts, many black respondents viewed life from a purely personal perspective based on their own particular circumstances. These students also appeared to be trapped in their middle class web, unable to provide a social and political context as a rationale for much of the poverty and unemployment they acknowledged existed.

A large number of black respondents referred to 'township blacks' as "them" - just as many white respondents referred to blacks in general as "they" and "them".

White respondents tended to identify 'politics' as synonymous with

'criminals', 'hooligans', and 'troublemakers', thus blacks involved in politics were regarded as criminals. There was little or no concept of individual or collective human rights that were universal. Black respondents (usually female) said that politics should be kept out of education, and referred to township blacks as the "political ones". These township youth were frequently associated by black Newsa High students with poverty, broken families, and intimidation that fostered a web of violent confrontations. Several black respondents had themselves become the victims of this spiral; they had been threatened, some were forced to march, and they had to avoid being recognised as black students attending a white school. To most township blacks, 'Model B' schools were not 'open', or 'racially-mixed'; they were white attempts to maintain the status quo for as long as possible. These perceptions were provided by a number of black respondents. Perhaps not surprisingly, in the light of their own economic circumstances most of the black students at Newsa High identified firmly with white, middle-class 'capitalist' values. This emerged clearly in interview and written responses. White respondents frequently made reference to the new black students who were "civilised", "like us"; paid their fees, had better family cars, spoke "cultured" English, and so on.

4.6.6 Table 31: Item 21: 'Most blacks are not really interested in politics (power struggles); they simply want a decent education, home and job.'

Students	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Black females	54	42	4
Black males	50	50	0
White females	56	26	8
White males	71	19	10

White males were most positive about this statement, while black males were most undecided. An interesting feature of these responses is that white respondents were more positive than blacks, but also disagreed more strongly. Clearly, whites were heavily influenced by the presence of black students in their school - these students were supposedly not interested in politics, and this idea was transferred by whites to the general population. Black respondents, living in the middle of the intimidation and violence, were not so sure. Their views here are fairly consistent with the way they referred to large numbers of "township blacks" as "troublemakers". Black males, closer to the intimidation than their female counterparts, were most undecided.

Dudu (15) regarded education as a means of empowerment:

Before I thought that I'd never be able to mix with white people. But when I grew bigger I realised that they have good education and I need it. I know that no one can rob you of your learning. Once I get the education I won't need them again.

Cornelia (14) spoke of how she had been influenced by the activities of black people:

... the way they act, the way they fight, the way they are trying to take S.A. way from us. If they had to carry on here the way they do in the townships, then S.A. would come to an end. Why can't they just stay in their own lands and leave us in S.A. the way it was before Mandela came.

Cornelia's one-dimensional view represents a typical example of those people who had been thoroughly indoctrinated by the impact of apartheid. She was unable to contextualise current social, political and economic events against a backdrop of years of deprivation locked in to a paradigm of white hegemony, Cornelia was unable to perceive of any reality other than the status quo.

4.6.7 Table 32: Item 23: 'I feel confident about the future in South Africa.'

<u>Students</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Black females	42	52	6
Black males	58	22	20
White females	33	29	38
White males	30	32	38

The mood among white respondents was largely pessimistic, with a high percentage undecided. Black females expressed the greatest uncertainty, possibly because they were closer to the violence, and aware of its possible consequences for their futures.

4.6.8 Table 33: Item 24: 'I support compulsory military service for boys.'

Students	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Black females	6	36	48
Black males	12	29	59
White females	48	20	32
White males	46	24	30

White respondents, already a part of the present system of compulsory military service, agreed most, but there was also a high level of ambivalence. Black respondents, and particularly males, disagreed most. Black responses were characterised by a high level of uncertainty. Military service was clearly linked by black students to the state system of political hegemony, and as such was unacceptable. Several black students argued that they would still reject compulsory military service in a new democratic dispensation. These students believed that people should volunteer.

4.6.9 Table 34: Item 25: 'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution.'

Students	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Black females	42	35	23
Black males	65	14	21
White females	40	32	28
White males	20	52	28

The overall mood here was pessimistic. Black males were in broad

agreement, while a majority of white males were uncertain. Many comments were generalisations made from personal encounters; others reflected specific influences of the media. Some students showed ignorance of the facts.

Fiona (13) referred to

Winnie Mandela killing her son, and practically getting away with it. Fighting among the blacks.

Gigi (14) a black female, felt threatened and depressed:

Big boys, those boys who don't school - those boys who leave school in Std 4 - they like to march and the other problem with that is when we go to the township we have to take off these ties so that we can wear black and white.

Nigel's (16) statement provided an example of a 'contradictory consciousness'. He declared himself a non-racist, but then qualified this statement severely. He also related an incident that led him to feel that change would only occur through violence:

(i) I'm not a racialist person - I don't hate a person because of his colour. It's just that when Nelson Mandela says something it must be obeyed. He is still saying that everyone must keep their sanctions in this country. I don't know why.

(ii) I caught a bus before. It's a green line bus, and I was with my friends, and you know we got on to the bus and we were actually threatened. Well, they said "you must support the ANC, you must do this, you must do that, otherwise we kill all the white people". They actually said that. So that's why if they joined this govt and took over because over the years of what we've done to them.

Zerich (15) was encouraged by her uncle, a prominent local black politician, to fight for her rights:

My uncle who is a very strong politician repeatedly told me that education is freedom and that I should be an independent person, and that I should fight for my rights. Because he told me exactly what I thought. No pain no gain. First the pain then the gain.

Zerich was speaking here of the difficulties she faced in overcoming all kinds of problems (social, language, political) in obtaining an education. Achieving her goal would empower her, she said.

B. TEACHER RESPONSES TO STRUCTURED SURVEYS AND INTERVIEWS

4.7 General information

4.7.1 Table 35: General Information : teachers

<u>Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Teaching experience</u> (average in years)	11	10	Av:10,5
<u>Gender</u> (numbers)	19	14	33
<u>Degrees</u>	9	8	17
<u>Professional</u> (Diplomas)	10	6	16
<u>Post categories:</u> Teacher:	11	11	22
Senior Teacher:	3	0	3
Management:	5	3	8
<u>Temporary teachers</u>	4	5	9
<u>Permanent teachers</u>	15	9	24
<u>Duration of stay</u> at Newsa (average years)	4,3	2,4	3,7

Table 35 reflects a well-qualified, experienced staff. The teachers were all involved in a range of co-curricular activities. During my stay I found the staff to be positive about their teaching at Newsa High. Many of them expressed concerns about the possibility of retrenchment (very much an issue at that time), but this did not seem to impact on their commitment to their students. There was an even mix of younger and older teachers to provide a healthy balance between youth and experience.

4.8 Concerns of teachers

Respondents were asked to rank order ten concerns that had emerged from the generative phase of the research. Table 33 presents the rankings of male and female teachers on these issues.

4.8.1 Table 36: Teacher concerns (Section E of the structured survey)

Note: 1 represents 'of most concern'
10 represents 'of least concern'

Items Total Rank Order	Female		Male		Total Score	Total Rank
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank		
1. <u>Language problem in communicating at school</u>	3,1	1	3,92	2	3,5	1
6. <u>Relevance of curriculum re pupils' academic needs</u>	4,3	3	3,80	1	4,05	2
10. <u>Teaching extremely large classes</u>	4,1	2	4,0	3	4,05	2
7. <u>Relevance of curriculum re pupils' social needs</u>	4,6	4	4,92	5	4,76	4
2. <u>Lowering of academic standards</u>	5,3	7	4,69	4	4,99	5
9. <u>Curriculum relevance in preparing for political change</u>	5,1	5	5,5	6	5,3	6
8. <u>Effectiveness of present teaching methods in a racially-mixed school</u>	5,2	6	5,9	7	5,55	7
5. <u>Working for a dept. other than my own</u>	6,4	8	7,1	8	6,75	8
4. <u>Teaching a majority of black pupils</u>	8,0	9	7,1	9	7,55	9
3. <u>Reluctance to teach in a racially-mixed school</u>	8,2	10	7,8	10	8,0	10

The possibility of language difficulties both for teachers and students was of serious concern. Curriculum concerns predominated, and are explored further in this chapter (see 3-20). Political concerns were not a priority (items 5, 4, 3). The pattern of these rankings is consistent with written and verbal statements. These issues raised by the teachers are explored in more detail in the following sections.

4.9 Racial mixing

Responses are discussed with reference to cases, not percentages. Where it is considered useful, tables are presented, based on cases according to gender (the sample population comprised 19 female, and 14 male teachers).

Items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11 and 12 of Section B (structured teacher survey) relate directly to the theme of racial mixing.

4.9.1 Table 37: Item 1: 'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school.'

<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Female	17	2	0
Male	11	0	3

The concerns of certain teachers were articulated during interviews. There was strong support among most staff for the changes that had taken place. Several respondents expressed a

pride in their school being one of the first N.E.D. schools to accept 'Model B'. These respondents noted that Newsa High had accepted proportionally the highest number of black students than any other N.E.D. school in Natal. Others went further and claimed that several other schools were paying "lip-service" to the opening of schools to all races.

Newsa High principal, Mr Solomon, commented on his reasons for supporting the change:

Firstly, I'm not a racist in any form and I've always felt that the whole situation in S.A. is unnatural and unjust, and at the first opportunity I took advantage of that by opening up the school. I had better rationalise that a bit - I didn't have the authority on my own to do it - obviously the parents and the Advisory Committee did - I just supported it. The second reason was that I believed it was good for the school with the new S.A. coming up. I believe that it was good for our white kids at an early stage to mix with non-whites so they could experience a natural mixing. Thirdly, I felt it would be good for the school from the point of view that we could attract, hopefully, some top quality non-white youngsters, bring them into the school which would present a focal point for an academic challenge to our kids.

When asked why (or why not) teachers had supported the principle of integration in the form of 'Model B', reasons given ranged from an acknowledgement of basic principles such as equity and justice, to views such as the necessity of social, economic and political integration. Others felt that racial mixing was expedient, as it was inevitable. Respondents also referred to the necessity of one education department in the form of a single Ministry of Education.

No outright rejection of the 'Model B' option on the basis of racial exclusiveness was expressed.

Mr Solomon explained the rationale that lay behind the majority decision of the parents to support the changes:

I would say that most of the parents voted not because they saw it as an option between opening and not opening but because they saw it as an option between opening now under a controlled situation and opening later under an uncontrolled situation. Having some initiative in the selection process of the pupils coming in that was a point which we discussed fairly fully with the parents.

Mr Millar provided the following rationalisation for the introduction of 'Model B':

Firstly integration was an inevitable step and being introduced to it through the proposed models seemed to be a palatable way of being introduced to the process. It also made possible a controlled progression whereby an increasingly large core of black pupils could be built up who would be able to act as models for new black pupils to emulate (having hopefully risen to the academic standards of white education) rather than a massive influx of black pupils with a low level of education who would drag down the general level.

He went on to argue that racial mixing at Newsa High had been successful:

From our own school's point of view the introduction of black pupils seems to have worked very well. Whilst it is true that a few, very minor racial incidents involving particular individuals have taken place and that some of the black pupils are really struggling to come to terms with the educational standards, the integration process

has been very successful: many black pupils have attained good academic results and have been recognised by their white peers as worthy of respect, even admiration in some cases.

Mr Solomon felt that the different ethnic and race groups had identified well with each other:

I've been listening to the white kids speak - how they talk with almost a (patronising is the wrong word) - almost a proprietary interest in some of the non whites in their class - they're almost proud of the kids having them there, and proud of - in fact when they start doing well academically they comment very favourably. There's a strong feeling of identification with each other and a perceived interest in wanting the others to be seen to be getting on well and to fitting in well. There is so much of a pervasive positive attitude right throughout the school on this. There are the odd exceptions.

Mrs Camerer was surprised that 'Model B' was working so well in a politically conservative area:

You know this is a very conservative area and if you had said that this school was going to become one of the biggest racially-mixed schools well, people wouldn't have believed you, so it is very surprising that we have got the highest number in Natal.

Factors cited by Mr Knox as reasons for an easy transition to accepting a relatively large number of black students included a street law programme (Newsa was one of the first five schools in South Africa that participated), multi-racial camps that pupils participated in, accepting black H.D.E. students for teaching practice when this was first allowed, and an observation that many

blacks entering the school had come from private schools where they were already assimilated in to the dominant white ethos.

Mr Elliott saw 'Model B' as an interim measure, and not a solution to backlogs in black education. He noted that schools were not flooded with applicants when the option was made available.

Ms Jerome referred to the effect 'Model B' had on her conscience:

My conscience feels a little better as I don't feel like I'm supporting an overtly racist system, although it is still overtly racist. Put it this way, I can live with myself a little more easily. Perhaps this is also a rationalising on my part, but I feel now that at least something has been done and that I am reaching at least a few people who have been deprived. It's not enough but it's better than before.

Mr Baldwin cited the problems relating to "mass education" as of great concern to him, in that

Blacks need to be westernised. A first-world country can not be run by a third world mentality.

This monocultural view (Turner, 1994) clearly not only failed to take into account the political, social and economic contexts of institutionalised apartheid, but it also rejected the concept of multi-culturalism, thereby denying that African cultures had anything to contribute to education. Mr Baldwin's view was racist in its generalisation of blacks as having a third world mentality that was inferior to western culture.

Mr Connery's view of advantages to racial mixing were shared by most respondents:

I think it paves the way for mixing in society. We are a multi-racial society although politics has had a divisive effect on people. It makes people see that people of other races are the same as they are, driven by the same ideas, ambitions, motives, and so on, and we share a common humanity.

Mrs Randle's statement reflected difficulties experienced by some teachers who found adaptation problematic:

I tell you what, the kids cope with racism far better than we do. They are far less sensitive about it. You know, the kind of "us" and "them" approach - "we're not being racist but they" ... those kinds of things. To be non-racist, you musn't even be aware of it. You can't say, "I'm not racist but ...". While I think there must be some kind of positive discrimination in terms of background too many times I've heard staff say "but".

A problem experienced by some teachers was how to deal in class with explicit comments related to racial mixing. Ms Shriver expressed the following difficulty:

I feel very uncomfortable when there is anything racial being mentioned. I don't always know how they think, and I would hate to give offence. That worries me intensely.

Mrs Camerer referred to an incident in class:

I mean take your Indians and the caste system. How many kids know about them. It's a very, very rigid one.

I had a Standard Ten in my one standard ten class - an

African - he was there, but he seems to have pulled out, and one of my lads said to me 'Why do Africans burn down the schools?' And I said to him, 'Well, there you are, ask him'. He didn't have a reply. But it's quite interesting. You could use that situation.

Mrs Camerer's comment implies that there is a need for students and teachers to engage in open dialogue in order to promote greater cross-cultural understanding and tolerance. However, this kind of facilitation must be handled sensitively.

Mrs Watkins commented on the contradictory feelings and behaviour of some white students:

It is strange how children don't see colour at all. They would hate them to go away, and yet they still make racist statements every now and then, without thinking. Our society is schizophrenic. Racism is the result of conditioning.

Like many of the student respondents, several teachers commented on how the Newsa High black students were "different" from those outside the school. This was one comment:

As a matter of fact my husband told his staff that I'm teaching at a school where there are black pupils and they said, "Watch it, in one month's time they will walk with bottles of beer in the school and they kill the kids." And nothing happened. (Mrs Camerer)

Mrs Kemp spoke of disadvantages she attached to racial mixing, and qualified her acceptance of Model B:

Provided behaviour is kept under control, provided standards are not lowered, provided classes are not swamped. I do see tremendous problems related to language and culture. Socialisation could be a problem. There are a lot of blacks who don't like whites, and vice-versa. I don't think that the school can deal with these social tensions. I think it's far broader than the school. You can tell a person something but they have got to accept it, haven't they. Because at the moment black and white always see each other as black and white, and they will always be black and white. You can't change attitudes overnight.

Mr Vermaak identified himself as a patriotic Afrikaner who had been convicted (sic) through his commitment as a Christian to accept racial mixing. He spoke with feeling of those people who hated the blacks:

I think that the need of this country to educate black people is so great, and we are going too slow and that many classrooms (whether it be in English or Afrikaans speaking schools - I'm a patriot of my Afrikanerdom but they lack in that area) are going too slow, because classrooms are standing empty at schools that I taught in last year. Many classrooms are standing empty - many classrooms have five people, and friends of mine that teach in the black townships are teaching 50 kids at a time. I think they should open all schools.

People hate the blacks - well I know many people who do, I grew up on a farm to hate the black people, and if I didn't have a revelation of that then I would have still hated them and it would be a big problem. Jeez, I don't want to break the Afrikaans people, I don't want to break them down, because I love them, but they do have a problem there.

Mr Gomes commented on problems related to classroom teaching:

When we first got the Africans in the class you were very prejudiced towards them, more positive than negative, because if they didn't do their homework you would

overlook it, I suppose, feeling a bit sorry for them, but I tell you what, they take advantage of it. If there's any information you gave a teacher that's teaching a mixed group for the first time it is you must treat them equally. You must come down as hard on them as you do the Europeans in your class.

Mrs Shaw related a classroom incident that led to racial insults:

A white kid was asked a question and he got it wrong. A coloured boy was sitting next to him and he said to him, "You think like a kaffir", and the white boy said, "You're just a hotnot", and the coloured boy said to the white boy, "Yes, I am but at least I'm getting the answers right."

Teachers frequently provided examples where racial mixing was positive, and where students were learning to accept each other. Particular references were made to various sports, such as rugby, soccer, netball and volleyball. Of special pride to teachers and pupils was the appearance in the 1st XV of a black wing player, and how his special status was helping to "break down a racial isolationist viewpoint". Further examples of racial co-operation and harmony were provided, such as in the drum majorette squad, and among cast members of a school production.

Mr Millar referred to barriers crumbling in the classroom through a process of self-realisation:

Racial mixing in schools serves to break down the stereotypes of pupils with respect to the academic ability of other racial groups. The white kids tend to sit back and think, "I'm white, the black kids can't do it because they are dumb"; you get people who have a

very restricted view of other racial groups and they tend to stereotype other groups as compared to the group they know. I find that, especially here, our non-white pupils are spread right across the range. There are kids at the top of the class, there are kids at the bottom of the class, and there are kids in the middle. White kids have got to sit there and say, "not all black people are dumb", and some black kids can say, "not all white kids know what's happening. Some of them are as poor and inarticulate in English as I am."

Ms Lorenzo argued that, with regard to latecomers to school:

You can't treat people who come from Umlazi and people who come from just down the road the same when they come late to school - you have to differentiate. At the same time the dilemma is that you have to treat everybody the same.

A number of white students saw differentiation as a form of unfair, unequal treatment, and were critical of those teachers who were perceived to make special allowances for black students. As reported earlier, however, there were also those students who identified with the teachers' actions. There was also some uncertainty among certain teachers as to whether special allowances should be made for black students. This is an issue both teachers and students may need to address, since most teachers claimed that all students received exactly the same treatment.

4.9.2 Item 2: 'This school should have black teachers as well as black pupils.'

There was strong agreement (28) with only two teachers disagreeing. Three were undecided. Some respondents felt that until there were

a number of black teachers, the school would continue to be assimilationist in its ethos and practice.

4.9.3 Item 4: 'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language at some stage.'

24 teachers were in favour, 5 undecided, while 4 disagreed. A strong argument cited by both students and teachers in favour of this item was the need for effective communication with a black majority in the market place. Respondents also cited social advantages in learning to understand black people by learning their language.

4.9.4 Item 5: 'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups.'

Several respondents were critical of the stem of Item 5, preferring to answer 'yes' or 'no'. These teachers did not want 'Disagree' to be interpreted as a negative (as opposed to a 'no') response.

'Yes' = 9

'No' = 12

12 did not respond

4.9.5 Item 6: 'In my professional capacity as an educator, I have meaningful contact with fellow professionals from other race groups.'

The pattern here was similar to Item 5: 13 agreed, 3 were undecided, and 17 disagreed. Most respondents believed the school would benefit by having black teachers, especially to teach languages. Respondents accepted the need for a single Ministry of Education, and linked this with new opportunities to mix professionally with black colleagues.

4.9.6 Table 38: Item 9: 'It is of no concern to me if the black pupils outnumber the white pupils.'

<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Female	9	7	3
Male	8	3	3

The pattern in Table 35 can be compared to student responses in that females were generally more undecided than males. Where female students appeared more concerned with safety and security, female teachers cited a fall in standards, and the need to adopt different teaching strategies, as their main concerns.

Mrs Barlow expressed these concerns:

It will be difficult for a lot of us (for a lot of white teachers and pupils as well) because I think we have to

change the level of our teaching - a lot of people have spoken about a drop in standards but I don't think we should think about it in that manner at all. Rather I think we should think about how to make adaptations. I think we're going to have to be open to experimentation. I don't think we can come to any conclusions now about how it should happen.

4.9.7 Item 11: 'School policy and organisation in this school is conducive towards establishing a positive non-racial environment.'

Most teachers supported this statement strongly (27). 3 were undecided, and 3 disagreed.

4.9.8 Item 12: 'I think there should be social change in South Africa.'

Support for this statement was overwhelming (27), while 3 teachers were undecided, and 3 disagreed. A feature of my interviews with staff was their concern that students of all races and groups be socialised together. Exposure to each other's customs and cultures was regarded by most teachers as a prerequisite for effective communication and harmonious race relationships, both at school, and as a preparation for working and leisure activities. Several respondents felt that the school could do more to foster greater inter-racial understanding.

4.10 Curriculum Concerns

Items 3, 7, 8, 10, 19 and 20 of the structured teacher survey relate directly to the formal and informal curriculum, and whether respondents were happy in their work environment. Issues raised by respondents during the structured interviews included school ethos, assimilation, curriculum relevance, subject related concerns, discipline, social programmes, and political views.

4.10.1 Table 39: Item 3: 'The standard of education at this school is low.'

<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Female	5	2	12
Male	4	1	9

A majority of respondents felt that the teaching was of a good standard, and that staff were, on the whole, strongly committed. Several respondents referred to the social and economic background of students, as a reason for mediocre (even weak) Natal Senior Certificate results. Many respondents challenged the relevance of the present curriculum (see 3.10.3) to the students at Newsa High, and suggested that students lacked motivation as a result. This in turn affected academic performance.

Mr Latimer referred to some of these concerns:

The exemption rate is below 15-18%. Some lads go to University (2%), and some to Technikon - but the bulk of

them go to the army, do a trade. They come back and get a simple job with no further educational demands placed on them.

Mr Vermaak spoke of a drop in standards as a result of the admission of blacks:

In my one Std 7 class, for example, I have ten blacks, but there are also quite a few whites who are extremely weak, so in that class I've dropped my standards. I'm teaching at a much lower level than I would like to, but I can't only blame the blacks, because there are some whites there who are very weak.

Mr Williams referred to social disadvantages:

The lads, many of them are kids who come from problem homes with problem parents. This affects their motivation and their attitude towards studies. A lot of the time is spent pushing and shoving reluctant kids, and fighting parents on all sorts of little issues instead of being supported by them. From that point it's a difficult and hard station and very tiring, and I know that I'm tired as a result of that. As far as the staff is concerned, I think the staff is a tremendous staff. We get on very well.

In another interview, Mr Larkan referred to the interests and value systems of many families:

I think that perhaps their interests and their value systems are different. We don't share common values. We're trying to make all the children appear the same, the thing is, they're not all the same. You know, we often force kids to be something other than what they really are. Do they actually want what we have to offer, and I think by way of contrast black pupils in this school seem to be on a better wavelength. They share the values of the teachers in this school. I think they work harder, they seem to be more ambitious, the parents value

what the school has to offer. They appear to be (alright, it's early days) highly supportive - very much in favour of what Newsa High School is and what it offers their children. But I don't think that the bulk of our white parents - they see themselves in opposition to the values of the school.

The headmaster, Mr Solomon, provided a rationale for a perceived difference in the work-ethic of white and black students:

You know, I think there is something that needs to be mentioned here, that the blacks here are probably at this moment in time, more 'yuppie' in their whole family orientation, firstly, for many of them, the family unit is very identifiable - father, mother, and kids (nuclear). The whites wouldn't be transported to school - pure financial cost would be killing to them. Every one of the kids here - most of the kids here - have parents who are articulate, they've got upwardly mobile positions in society, they're middle class type of people. Yes, they rock up here in their Mercedes and BMW's sometimes, whereas our own kids come along in their Nissans ...

Mrs Watkins compared the work-ethic of black and white students:

I find that the non-white pupils have better work ethic than the majority of white pupils and do not think that the academics will be lowered.

Mr Knox spoke of some consequences of a conflict between the value systems of the home, and those of the school:

One of the problems is the pupils we draw. We draw pupils who are non-academic from homes where parents aren't sure about the value of education. Because of that we have a high absentee rate, we have a low rate of fee-payers, and we have poor performance in exams. For instance, last year we had 17 matric failures, and this is endemic through the school - a lack of awareness of

the value of academic education. The problem is that we're trying to force kids with different interests, different abilities, through the same education channel.

Referring to the ethos of the school, Ms Clemens felt that this was determined to a large extent by school management and that changes were necessary:

I think the ethos of the school will be very difficult to change simply from the point of view that the people instituting that ethos are mainly the Principal, to start with, the HOD's, then the teachers and to a large extent, we're instituting what we are and I feel the only way its going to change is when teachers from other schools, from other race groups come in and start teaching at Newsa H.S.

Information gleaned on the personal backgrounds of black families supported the view that they were 'middle class' economically, and that both parents and children had high aspirations. Most black parents held down 'middle class' jobs (see Ch.3, Table 10: Parents' Occupations, p.104).

With regard to the ethos of the school, all respondents (both students and teachers) noted that black students were being assimilated in to a dominant white, 'middle-class' culture based on Christian principles. Some teachers were critical of what they regarded as a narrow Christian view espoused by other members of staff. The headmaster, Mr Solomon, identified strongly with the dominant ethos and claimed to be playing a major role in reinforcing it:

Christianity is the most intolerant of all religions. It doesn't allow for any other religion at all, and I tend to be one of those intolerant Christians, so I see the other religions as being anti-Christian and anti-Christ and therefore I think that as a Headmaster I've got no racial prejudice but I've got a built in prejudice against the Muslims and Hindu religions - their religious beliefs. So I suppose I would be happy if they all converted to Christianity. That's not what you would normally expect a Headmaster to say - you see, the Blacks are easy, they're all Christians anyway - or most of them but when you come to the Indians there's a difference.

Mr Gouws also identified strongly with the application of a Christian ethos:

I think kids have to be taught about Jesus Christ at an early age as being the way, the truth, and the life. I can't see any other religion next to Christianity in the school.

Mr Andrews was more measured in his view:

Yes, well, that's quite a thorny one, because by its own definition our education is supposed to be a Christian and National one. I'm obviously in favour of the Christian aspect of education but by the same token I can see the advantages of other cultural influences. How its going to develop I really don't know. At the moment we see ourselves in a transitional period. We are imposing if you like, the Christian ethos on our pupils. If numbers or proportions start changing then I'm sure there is going to be a lot of pressure on us to change.

Mr Andrews went on to suggest that 'moral education' should be offered rather than Bible Education, and that all the religions should be included in this. Mrs James reinforced a need for religious tolerance:

I do think that one has to be aware of the fact that because one is a Christian in oneself you are not the only religion around, and every person is entitled to their religion. You're in no position to say you're right, and I'm wrong.

In response to an interview question as to whether he would allow Indian students to exercise their religion in the school (especially where their numbers increased to say 20%+), Mr Solomon said he would have to be tolerant:

I think I would have to if only because I should imagine the regulations would require me to be tolerant of that, I would be tolerant of that. I would have to make provision for them just the same way I have to make provision for the Jehovah's Witnesses within the school.

Mrs Magnus felt strongly about a need to consider all religions and cultures:

I have problems with Bible Education - I have a bit of a problem with the R.E. matter because the new thing is supposed to be Bible Studies, so it eliminates all discussion of what could be very interesting, very profitable topics. I mean these people are living here amongst us - we should know about them. I think we should have a lot of outside people who come to talk to our students. We have very few outsiders who come in.

The headmaster explained that the admission criteria set were intended to preserve and protect the existing ethos through a process of assimilation ...

The intake is limited to 30% of blacks in each standard - by doing that we'll obviate the possibility of a bulge

going through the whole school whereby we might have a class with 70% blacks. The 30% is also a cautionary thing in that the MC felt at this stage particularly that we didn't want to prejudice the ethos of the school and change it dramatically from a cultural point of view. In fact it was to remain culturally what it always has been and therefore it would be more a process of assimilating the black students into our culture rather than the joining up of various cultures.

Mr Solomon conceded, however, that this situation could change in the next few years:

We're probably going to find at Newsa that it may well be more than just assimilation. Because we have the slack to take up in the school, other schools are already full, Newsa has got the slack, and it could end up being a truly non-racial situation.

Mrs Randles explained how she would like to see schools developing:

My idea is the term they use in learning disabled where you actually mainstream everyone. It's not that you just affirm other cultures it's that you have them co-existing.

Contrasting views were expressed about how black students were coping within this process of assimilation. Mrs Cameron expressed a concern:

I didn't think there could be pupils weaker than the whites I already have but there are - I can't believe it, and I don't know how to start dealing with those problems.

In contrast, Mr Burgess believed that there was a

contamination of the work ethics of some of our pupils, where some of the black kids were very conscientious when they came in, some of the white kids were not, and some of the black kids are now copying the white kids, adopting a lackadaisical attitude.

Mr Larkan spoke of policy with regards to assimilation, referring to instructions from the Superintendent of Education:

We have had instructions not to make any changes to adapt to the coming of the black kids. It's laid down policy anyway. Schools who choose to become Model B schools may not choose their curricula, and when we had our election and after the election, we had a long discussion about what was now going to be happening, and he was quite clear about the fact that we must not change our methods. It was like an instruction really - we understood it as that. You cannot make changes to accommodate the black kids. I think that you can't avoid making changes. If you are teaching a class in which there are a lot of black kids who are struggling you have to make changes. It is happening without it becoming actual policy. We are having to make adaptations in view of weaknesses. Some weaknesses are specific to the black kids background - language, expression.

The headmaster's personal view with regard to accommodating cultural differences was that

the more you draw attention to cultural differences the more harm you do. But people, generally, if they're just left to get on with each other people tend to get on with each other and relate to people of the same kind, and I'm not talking racially now, I'm talking about personality-wise and so on - already in the classrooms they're mixing quite freely and there is some quite irreverent joking and teasing going on across the religious barrier.

Mr Millar claimed that there was a policy that allowed for a

differentiated approach to school discipline:

I'm in charge of the Prefects, and we spelled out a policy that said that we would not treat them the same as the white kids. We would allow them to find their own feet. We would be prepared to explain rules to them more, and be prepared to adopt a much softer line.

Ms Lorenzo felt that there should be social programmes to encourage effective socialisation and accommodation. She also referred to a lack of social training (with reference to the white students):

I think that this school has so many complications in any case, that the curriculum should be totally different from an academic school. Well children here aren't always sure when they go out to eat which knife or fork they should be using. Their manners aren't what they should be. Their social training is so lacking. So much of this kind of learning is incidental. When children do something they need to be told that's not the way to do it and they need to be taught so much. I don't think the children talk very much in their families, if they do talk, it probably ends up in a clout. We should encourage children to begin to discourse about one another more. Unfortunately, anything the whites learn about the blacks is a little bit condescending.

Mrs Black felt that there was a lack of general discipline, such as greeting teachers:

I believe you can get along in life without academics but I don't believe you can get along in life without manners, courtesy. You know they spend afternoon after afternoon in detention and it becomes a big joke for them. I think they should get more hidings - they're scared to get a hiding.

More specifically, Mr Macleod felt that there was too little discipline in the school. He also commented on how black students were treated differently at times:

There are certain things in this school that I don't like. I don't like the fact that there seems to be very little discipline - you discipline a child and they flaunt it - I've never come across that before in my whole teaching life. This year I've had 3 incidences of it. For example, when you tell them to stay in and they just don't stay in. You send them to the HOD and they just don't bother to go to the HOD. I don't know what it is. I don't know if its gradual deterioration of the base of the pyramid that is going to cause the pyramid to fall. I mean the problem is some of the black pupils are getting away with things because they have problems (transport).

A number of teachers suggested that there should be specific programmes aimed at socialising students. These teachers also believed that there should be cultural programmes enabling students to learn about each other. Ms Shriver, while acknowledging that there were courses and seminars for staff to which their attention had been drawn, felt that there were insufficient staff development programmes in the school on open schools.

Mr Solomon referred to an initiative he had encouraged when black students first entered the school:

On an ad hoc tone I did a couple of things to help the thing along. And the two things were that on the first day we opened the school I got the Prefects to organise those pupils who wanted to go along to the newcomers and shake hands and say welcome. The other thing I did on a few occasions in the first term was to call some

youngsters across to say "look that little bunch of blacks there sitting together chatting - go and just break in to their group and just say Hi, we've come to chat to you". And that was always received with enthusiasm and they always went along and did it, and it worked out very well.

He recognised that there was very little integration between the various groups:

There's fraying at the edges, but there's still little groups of Zulus that go together and talk in Zulu to each other.

Mrs Kemp did not favour the idea of social programmes that would address issues such as cultural differences, claiming that

then you are actually making people more conscious of it than actually letting it slowly emerge.

Table 40, Item 20 reflected that a majority of teachers believed that cultural and racial differences were significant when considering a curriculum.

4.10.2 Item 20: Cultural (ethnic) and racial differences are not important in considering a curriculum for this school.

Teachers	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Female	5	2	12
Male	7	0	8

While male teachers most frequently referred to a 'natural'

integration that would take place during social, sporting and cultural activities, female teachers most frequently emphasised a need for open dialogue between different groups to encourage cross-cultural understanding and empathy. A number of these teachers believed that this could only be achieved through structured programmes organised by the school as a part of a broader curriculum.

4.10.3 Table 41: Item 8: This school provides a relevant curriculum that caters for the future needs of its pupils

<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Female	6	6	7
Male	5	1	8

Staff were clearly divided on this issue with a majority tending to feel that the present curriculum did not prepare students adequately for their futures.

Mr Solomon the headmaster, confessed that he had always had reservations about the curriculum. However, he tended to favour a curriculum that provided a 'general' education:

This is a whole new ball game and should be the topic of a new thesis as well, because: does a youngster of 12/13 years old know what they are going to do when they leave school? Therefore isn't it perhaps best to give them a general education if they're academically orientated - exercising their mind gives a broad general knowledge, ability to reason, and then when they leave school let them decide.

Mr van der Walt argued in favour of vocational training:

The aspect that concerns me is that there are too many people who are concerned about obtaining an Academic Education. There is not enough provision made for those who are not capable of an Academic pass. Education - especially in the senior secondary stages of schooling should be vocational.

This view was reflected in the comments of several teachers. Mr Shaw expressed a concern with

the material - syllabus and subjects - being taught, and its method of examination/evaluation. Industry and commerce are in the process of rejecting the "matric" standards - as evidenced in their greatly enhanced training elements and their regular complaints at seminars as to the inability of school leavers to cope with the levels of expected competency.

This concern was shared by Mr Vermaak who said his greatest concern was

For me, one of the greatest areas of change is the education system and the curriculum. We need to re-look and say, 'well, what is our purpose'? I don't think present education teaching up to matric is catering to the needs of the majority of pupils. Pupils become too locked in to an over-academic knowledge-related education as opposed to what I would call an education for life that provides relevant knowledge, stock and values that a young person actually needs.

This view was supported by Mr Camerer who noted that

One thing I deal with is the large number of pupils who don't want to be at school, who don't enjoy it, who don't believe in it and who find the content irrelevant to them

and irrelevant in many cases to what they're wanting to do in the future.

Mr Knox called for a more relevant education for life:

The relevance and content of the present curriculum and the need for some radical changes. Education needs to be more life-related. Knowledge, skills, values, attitudes etc that are needed to become whole people who are educated for life now and in eternity is urgently required. Hence there is a need for a new education. For me personally it would be founded on the Christian faith and grounded in the realities of life in today's world.

Some teachers complained about academic standards. This was of most concern to Mrs Davies:

Too many pupils are "pushed" through to a higher standard or given extra marks in order to pass. The pupils realise this and therefore know they can sit back and still pass! Matriculants are obviously not as "educated" as we think they are!!

Mr Elliott also felt strongly on this issue:

Academic standards. Already too sloppy in schools before integration. Lower grade should be for learning problem pupils only - not automatic (as at present) for bad results. Pupil should pass or fail on his merits with no dillyfrittering or "pushing" through.

Mr Baldwin claimed that the

High school system is not producing competent, literate people who are able to go out into the world and make decisions.

Mrs Phillips was not concerned about academic standards per se, stating that

Academic standards are very subjective and seem to come about as a result of predominant beliefs about what education should be which are often inappropriate.

Ms Aitken felt that too much was expected of some students:

I think if you had to categorise pupils more accurately, and say, you know, we're not expecting you to get a matric exemption, we're not expecting you to do HG. This is what we require of you. And it might make the teachers happier too. We're expecting more of them than they actually come up with. Not that they are ungrateful.

Mrs Napier was critical of the expectations of white students, and felt that racially-mixed schools should start at pre-primary level:

I think it should start earlier down, but its a case now of better late than never. Especially the view that many white children have in this school. They think they're going to walk out into a protected job.

Mr Shaw was critical of the emphasis on co-curricular activities:

Far too much teaching time and far too much energy is taken up by teachers in areas where they are not specifically qualified or committed e.g. sports coaching and endless admin. We should be doing the job for which we were trained i.e. teaching.

Several subject-related concerns were expressed in response to a question posed during the structured interviews: What do you think

could be done in your own area of subject specialisation in order to teach the subject effectively to racially-mixed classes or groups? (Question 8)

4.10.4 The following section examines various concerns or suggestions with regard to specific subjects. Comments are taken from structured interviews.

Afrikaans

With bigger classes personal attention is impossible and that will naturally lead to the lowering of academical standards. Communicating in Afrikaans (the subject which I am teaching) is not easy, but will improve if Afrikaans will keep the same preference in South Africa. Hopefully Afrikaans as the second language will not be abolished; otherwise I foresee problems.

The black pupils display an almost total lack of vocab. Its disadvantaging the 50 percenters. Advantage to have setting groups in the languages in Std 6 and 7.

English

I find strangenesses here, where at my previous school our English Dept worked close together, we really worked as a team, and here everyone is working on their own. I've also found a very high religious pressure that puts a strain on things.

Provide a curriculum relevant to the needs of the pupils. Std 7 - Shakespeare - not able to relate to that - having no functional relevance in their lives.

Art

Content of Art: More S.A. indigenous art should be studied. New books are available. S.A. Art is available in galleries.

Blacks are accustomed to rote learning. Difficult to look at images and respond and to write what they feel and see, because they are so used to rote learning - churning it out.

Business Economics

We are not educating kids towards a goal. Our whole education system is too narrow. We need to look more in to educating them for life. We are too academic at the moment. Our syllabuses are so narrow - they concentrate on the school. We need to look at what to expect out of school. You know, how to handle your money, the nature of the relation between the boss and the employee, and I think all the subjects need to look at it.

Many of the black students (and the white pupils too) have problems in relating to the business environment. Difficult using examples when pupils don't have a clue as to what I am talking about. More practical work e.g. having a model, e.g. Production cycle - model, but time.

Industrial Arts

In the Industrial arts class the black students are doing better than the white students in the practical aspects of I.A. They take more pride in their work.

Maths

Teaching styles very different in D.E.T. schools. Spatial, conceptual development only comes about through interaction and talking.

Biology

Terminology, understanding questions. They learn hard but give paragraphs on something answering another question. More practical work is essential.

Technical Drawing

Blacks have a problem with a three-dimensional concept - a major problem in T.D.

History

Role-play very necessary. So is group work/assignments.

Science

Science syllabus - relevant to industrial needs of S.A.

Mr Gouws commented on pressures faced by subject teachers:

There was so much pressure being put on the teacher. Motivation was going to be suffering seriously. It already has in fact. The numbers are going to be up. The ways you get across your material is going to have to change, its no longer going to be a case of teaching in a close inter-personal relationship - it will turn more into an almost lecture-type of situation - that's the way I see it.

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine these subject-related issues in greater detail, except to make the point that urgent revision is being given to teaching methodologies and curriculum content, given the advent of racially-mixed schools. Questions regarding the relevance of the present curriculum preceded racial mixing, however, and are being addressed in the light of accusations of irrelevance (Multi-Cultural/Anti-Racist Education, 1994).

4.11 Social distance, and the broad political views of teachers

Section C and D of the structured teacher survey examined how comfortable teachers felt in various relationships with other race groups. The structured interview schedule further examined these issues, and the responses of teachers are included in this section, particularly where they illuminate broad political views.

4.11.1 Table 39 (Section C) reflects that teachers generally felt comfortable about racial mixing in all situations except in a marriage relationship:

I am prepared to consider a person of another race as ...

<u>Item</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Member Sports Club	Female	19	0	0
	Male	13	1	0
Colleague at school	Female	18	1	0
	Male	13	1	0
Visitor in my home	Female	18	1	0
	Male	13	1	0
Neighbour in my street	Female	18	0	1
	Male	12	1	1
A close friend	Female	18	0	1
	Male	12	1	1
A marriage partner	Female	2	3	14
	Male	2	2	10

Section D of the structured survey asked respondents to rank order ten statements, with 1 = most acceptable, and 10 = least acceptable. Table 43 reflects that teachers were prepared to share public facilities, and were least prepared to share more personal physical relationships leading towards intimacy and marriage. Gender differences were not important.

4.11.2 Table 43: I feel comfortable about mixing with members of other race groups in the following situations:

<u>Items</u> (in order of ranking from <u>most</u> to <u>least</u> acceptable)	Ranking Female	Male
as a colleague in my school	1	1
to sit in the same restaurant, theatre, or movie house	3	2
to sit next to on trains, buses, aeroplanes, in cars	3	2
as a neighbour in my street	4	5
as a member of my circle of friends	6	4
as a personal friend	7	6
in change rooms, toilets and showers	8	8
to dance with at a party	9	9
as a marriage partner	10	10

4.11.3 Broad Political Views

Several respondents expressed serious concerns about the state's intention to 'rationalise' by employing staff cuts. Ms Schriver commented on

The lack of focus on education and the inability of the various Departments of Education to work together to formulate an acceptable curriculum for racially integrated schools. Furthermore, the apparent inability of the government to see the sense in rationalising and utilising the facilities available for all race groups.

These concerns were raised by Mr Millar, who referred to 'rationalisation' as

the irrational dismantling of educational infrastructures and institutions which will be difficult to re-establish at a time when every possible resource is desperately needed.

Some respondents felt strongly that politics should be kept out of education. Mr Knox was scathing about political interference in the curriculum.

Politics is for the professionally unemployed. Life is politically saturated - cannot turn anywhere without encountering its divisive presence. Politics has division and self-exaltation as its focus. To aim for the good of the country is one thing but to exalt individuals and group/party perspectives, ad nauseum, is anathema. Woe the day it is a part of the curriculum.

Mr Connery anticipated a black majority government:

In a future political structure in South Africa in which the government and therefore education will be black dominated by black political parties it would be far better to concern oneself with matters academic than political. A positive attitude will have to be an essential. Worrying about irreversible matters like the racial composition of the schools and education authorities is not going to change the situation.

Mr Elliott referred to several concerns relating to the financing of education:

What worries me is the financing of education. I think we're going through a revolutionary period really in education and I don't know how its all going to resolve itself. There's a lot of negativism in the staffroom, a lot of people are unsure about the future. They don't know if they are going to have a job, they feel they are falling behind as far as salaries are concerned. Educationally more money should be pumped in to schools.

Schools should be opening, instead of that schools and training colleges are closing. I think we're going about things the wrong way completely. In effect, what we're busy with now is the legacy of 48 years of Nationalist rule.

Ms Jerome felt fearful about the future:

I can't see where we're going. I don't know where we're going to end up. I suppose it's a fear. I have no vision of the future. You know the kind of thing you think about when you think "what kind of thing do I think is good, where do I think we should be going", and I don't have an answer. I mean, that in itself is a concern.

The fear and uncertainty expressed by Ms Jerome was shared by many student and teacher respondents, who said they accepted the inevitability of change, but were uncertain of how it would come about. These feelings of helplessness, of feeling paralysed, and consequently not doing anything, could be explained in terms of Gramscian theory. Gramsci posited that people do not necessarily have a clear theoretical understanding of their actions or beliefs. This lack of a "clear theoretical consciousness" may produce "a condition of moral and political passivity" (cited in Christie, 1988, p.130). In effect, the opening up of state schools should lead to a new theoretical understanding that challenges existing hegemonic thinking. However, this may not occur. Instead the opening up of schools may lead to the experience of contradictory thoughts in the fact of which people are unable to act, decide or choose. Thus a critical understanding of the social world may not be achieved merely through various forms of designation. Instead,

contradictions and issues may need to be openly addressed through dialogue, debate, and interaction between groups. This point is taken up in Chapter 5 : Conclusions and Recommendations.

This chapter has concentrated on student and teacher views on issues of racial mixing at Newsa High School.

In Chapter One (p.14) I argued that it could not simply be assumed that racial mixing would shift student and teacher views on race, and that, in the face of imposed relationships, people may feel powerless to change their consciousness, let alone become active in challenging hegemonic thinking. In this context many people may be unable to consider alternatives to previously imposed social patterns.

Aware that a condensed field work approach (Walter, 1974) within a case study of a single institution might undermine the internal validity of the study, I utilised a generative research strategy using multiple sources of evidence that could be compared by means of triangulation (Denzin, 1970). In Chapter Two I argued that this should counteract the inherent subjectivity of the case study approach and ensure a reasonable degree of internal validity.

The findings in Chapter Three support the contention made in Chapter One (p.4-6 and p.14) that racial mixing at Newsa High as a Model B school would not necessarily lead to a greater

understanding of the effects of the apartheid system in South Africa. Both interview and questionnaire responses tended to support the finding that most students were in favour of racial mixing at Newsa High. However, there were important differences within this broad approach. Further, students were frequently unable to confront racial issues within the broad social, economic and political context of South African society.

Chapter Three reflects a general endorsement of the questionnaire findings by the interview findings, and that the use of various research methods allowed me to capture a wide range of views and concerns.

In the light of these findings, Chapter Five serves to recommend ways in which the participants at Newsa High can move away from an assimilationist policy towards one that promotes integration and greater cross-cultural understanding and tolerance.

CHAPTER FIVE5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONSCONCLUSIONS5.1 The new models of schooling as state responses to sustained social, economic, political and educational resistance by black groups in the period 1976-1992

In Chapter One I argued that state policies in respect of new models for schooling (including 'Model B') were reformist and intended to maintain state control of education by protecting the numerical and cultural domination of white students in these schools. I supported Christie's (1988) claim that state hegemony was maintained by a combination of consent and coercion (Gramsci, 1971).

This study has tended to support these claims, and to confirm that this limited opening up of white schools to black students has not necessarily brought about a more analytical approach to, or a greater understanding of, the South African social, economic, and political context by white students. There is clear evidence that racial integration at Newsa High was largely assimilationist, superficial, and limited. Thus the opening up of the school to all races was not, on its own, sufficient to change fundamental

attitudes. The policy of assimilation was clearly compatible and coherent with the reform policy of the time (see Ch.1).

Chapter One attempted to argue that historical developments between 1976 and 1992 forced the state to effect reforms in education that smacked of crisis government, characterised by recession, falling profits, high inflation, a fluctuating gold price, the withdrawal of foreign capital, displacement of workers, growing unemployment, and shortages of skilled workers. This was seen against a backdrop of a mounting, sustained resistance to apartheid education.

Viewed in this light, I attempted to argue that educational reforms were intended to conserve authority, contain opposition, and increase profitability. This included fostering a black middle class, a new tricameral constitution, the abolition of influx control and the pass laws, and the recognition of black trade unions. A claim was made that despite the desegregation of central business districts, the opening of certain amenities to all races, and the introduction of new models of schooling, racial integration remained largely cosmetic.

The findings of this study show that the claims of radical scholarship (that the new school models did not fundamentally address the question of racial inequalities in schools) were justified.

This study has revealed that racial mixing within a 'Model B' school has allowed a 'space' wherein students and parents of different ethnic and racial groups can begin to understand and accept each other as fellow South Africans. Despite severe limitations imposed by the state on racial mixing in 'Model B' schools, an important finding of this study is that personal contact between racial and ethnic groups has led, in a number of cases, to attitudinal and behavioural shifts, leading to new understandings. However, a major finding of this study is that expectations of change, and a perceived inevitability of change, is at the heart of a great deal of the racial discourse of white students.

In my view, the findings of this study suggest that the introduction of the 'Model C' (state-aided) school may fail to address racial inequalities and inequities in education. While the findings of this study cannot be generalised to include other institutions, it is true to say that 'Model C' schools, and the now defunct 'Model B' are two sides of the same coin, based on policies of assimilation rather than integration. However, the present (1994) reconstruction, development, and renewal plan of the new government may lead to fundamental changes in the structure of the 'Model C' schools. In spite of this, given the historical background of apartheid education described in Chapter One, legislation alone may not transform the hearts and minds of those South Africans who remain locked in to a dominant hegemonic

paradigm of white racial supremacy. An important conclusion of this study is that schools must be proactive in offering special programmes focussed on human rights, democratisation, and cross-cultural understanding (see Ch.3). A further conclusion is that the curricula of schools need to be urgently revised in order to address the inequalities of the past, and to ensure that the education offered is relevant and appropriate to present and future social, economic and cultural needs.

5.2 The appropriateness of a generative research design in this case study approach

Given the specific South African social, economic and political context described in Chapter One, I attempted to apply an indigenous (Simon, 1986) model of research utilising a strategy of multiple operationalism (Burgess, 1982). Chapter Two described a generative design that allowed the participants in this case study to generate issues and concerns themselves. A further purpose was to compare these responses by means of content analysis, participant observant, non-structured interviewing, and the application of structured questionnaires and interview schedules.

Given the problematic nature of educational institutions in South Africa (within the bounds of institutionalised apartheid), I opted to utilise various methods of enquiry in order to capture the fullest possible range of opinions and attitudes, and in order to

compare the data to improve internal validity. I considered it essential in this case study of a single institution that the views of as many of the participants as possible were received, in order to ensure that important issues were illuminated (Parlett and Hamilton, 1972).

An important conclusion is that the use of a range of research methods allowed for important and relevant issues to be generated, thereby countering the inherent subjectivity of the case study approach. Comparisons made between various sets of data revealed a consistency with regard to essential issues and concerns raised by the participants.

Finally, the decision to focus on a single institution (apart from important factors such as the availability of time, money, and resources), was based on an assumption that the participants could relate descriptions of individual instances in action to their own experiences (Simon, 1987:73) and could consider for themselves how issues raised might be addressed in their school.

5.3 Gramsci's (1972) notions of hegemony, commonsense, and contradictory consciousness as appropriate ways of analysing and describing participant responses

In Chapter One I suggested that Gramsci's three notions (as reported in Christie, 1988) would serve as a useful means of

describing responses to racial mixing in schools given the specific South African context. Here I must conclude that a significant number of responses conformed to these notions: there is clear evidence of the pervasive influence of hegemonic thinking. Many respondents could only envisage racial mixing in schools within the framework of existing white state power and supremacy. There was a pattern of 'common' thinking (commonsense) that emerged, linked directly to the South African social, political, and economic context. This thinking was not necessarily logical or rational. It was frequently contradictory, or ambiguous. Respondents frequently appeared 'locked in' to the existing social arrangements - they could not envisage alternatives, despite an acknowledgement that 'change' was inevitable. In this sense many responses reflected a struggle with contradictions - a contradictory consciousness that did not often lead to a critical understanding of contexts.

Many of the issues raised by participants were difficulties arising from the conditioning of institutionalised apartheid, rather than cross-cultural difficulties per se. This conditioning made racial mixing both in and out of school problematic. A major factor in this regard were the apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act, that while lifted, had left a legacy of institutionalised racism.

A significant conclusion of this study is that the views of participants will not necessarily shift as a result of racial

mixing in Newsa High School, since education can never be regarded as a neutral enterprise (Apple, 1990; Giroux, 1981). Thus it may be argued that this limited opening up of a school has not fundamentally challenged racial hegemony. The notion of 'open schools' in this context is a narrow one, with restraints supported by admission criteria and state laws against a possible numerical and cultural domination by blacks. While some evidence emerged of respondents challenging long-held assumptions, there was little transfer from specific school situations to wider social contexts. Paternalism, patronisation, and proprietorship emerged as frequent responses to racial mixing at Newsa High.

5.4 Positive and negative themes that emerged from the study

Drawing on the work of Tomlinson (1990), I identified several themes that reflected the various responses of participants in this study.

Table 44: White students' views of racial mixing : negative themes

<u>Exclusionary</u>	South Africa is a 'white country'. The whites got here first. 'White' S.A. is first world - black S.A. is third world (uncivilised). Blacks are aliens in this country - to be tolerated. Inter-marriage is taboo.
<u>Ethnocentric</u>	White culture is superior. Black culture is primitive, strange, noisy and smelly.
<u>Scapegoating</u>	Blacks will take over jobs, houses, the beach, shops (etc). They are responsible for violence and crime. Their presence will lead to deteriorating living and education standards.
<u>Racial strife</u>	Blacks are militant and confrontationist, responsible for riots, crime, violence.

White females, like their black counterparts, frequently expressed fears of violence. White respondents regarded the Newsa High blacks as 'different' to the township blacks, who were 'uncivilised'. Racial mixing was limited by strong peer group pressures both in and out of school. There were strong fears among white students of a black majority in the school.

Black males were strongly in favour of a black majority, believing that this would empower them and make them feel more at ease in the school. Conversely, many black females felt that a black majority would lead to violence in the school. Their priority was to obtain an education without political interference. Respondents said that a black majority would lead to lower standards of behaviour and academic performance. Participants were clearly not able to

envisage any system other than an assimilationist one. There was little evidence of a concept of individual and group rights that treated black students equally and equitably.

White students frequently expressed support for providing equal opportunities for blacks. However, as Nzimande has pointed out (Ch. 1, p.31 of this study), equal opportunity means in practice equal opportunities with others in similar social positions. In this regard, Nzimande argued for an admissions policy that was affirmative of potential rather than past performances. A major conclusion of this study is that an equitable, single, non-discriminatory education system is essential if all South African students are to enjoy and experience equal opportunities.

Student and teacher participants frequently expressed concerns that they did not know how to approach black students - how to deal with everyday situations. There was a great deal of hesitancy. Teachers were confused as to whether black students should be treated differently, or the same. White students accused some teachers of favouring blacks. Clearly, these concerns need to be addressed through whole-school programmes (Turner, 1994).

Table 45: White students views of racial mixing : positive themes

<u>Acceptance</u>	Blacks have been here a long time. They are essentially no different from us. They have the same basic needs.
<u>Sympathy</u>	Blacks have problems. Poor housing, education, large families, poverty, disease, racial discrimination.
<u>Respect</u>	Respect for black music, culture, black sportsmen and women.
<u>Unfairness</u>	Racial insults such as name-calling, physical intimidation of blacks by whites. A difference between some of 'us' whites and the 'real racists' such as A.W.B.

Respondents at Newsa High were largely in favour of the 'Model B' concept despite the fact that acceptance of blacks was often conditional. They expressed pride and regarded their school as a 'trailblazer'. Seen against the background of years of institutionalised apartheid, their reactions can be understood. The 'Model B' system provided, for the first time in the lives of these students, an opportunity of mixing openly (as openly as anyone dared) with different ethnic and race groups. Some teachers reported relief, and some the lifting of burdened consciences, at the introduction of racial mixing. These respondents said it was not enough, but it was a start.

Black students welcomed 'Model B' as an opportunity to gain an education. Black males were strongly in favour of black teachers at Newsa High (perhaps to act as role models). Several teachers called for the hiring of black teachers as this would hasten

genuine integration. These respondents also felt that they would learn the culture of black people more rapidly, and that this would improve the effectiveness of their teaching. There was clear evidence that black and white females focussed more strongly than their male counterparts on communication as a means of improving race relations. They tended to exhibit greater empathy in personal situations.

Fearful of a black majority, white students need to be involved in group forums that allow them to express their concerns, and that include open dialogue with black students, who are also apprehensive about conditions in their lives.

A serious difficulty highlighted in this study is that of bringing about knowledge and understanding when the curriculum does not address this. A number of teachers challenged the academic and social relevance of the present curriculum. Staff were divided on whether attention should be paid to cross-cultural communication; there was a feeling among some that students would find their own way. In contrast, several staff argued for special social programmes, and for classroom strategies that fostered inter-racial understanding and acceptance. A dichotomy of views was expressed on the question of bible education, and the strong application of a Christian ethos. There was general support for a Christian ethos that was broadly applied. Some respondents called for more staff development programmes that addressed racial mixing and curriculum

innovation.

In the light of the findings of this study, my own conclusion is that genuine racial integration will not necessarily happen naturally, or even in time. What is required is a paradigm shift that allows for multi-cultural influences in the school, and that allows for programmes that will address the racial schisms of the past.

5.5 Black responses to racial mixing at Newsa High

With regard to the responses of black students to racial mixing at Newsa High, the work of Beard and Gaganakis (1991), who utilised Parkins (1979) 'social closure' thesis, serves as an appropriate means of interpreting some black student responses.

Essentially, exclusionary practices close off social, educational and economic opportunities to certain groups of outsiders. The advent of 'Model B' type schools allowed some inclusion into the dominant white group, but this study of racial mixing at Newsa High found this inclusion to be limited, and limiting. I applied the two modes of closure, namely 'usurpation' and 'exclusion' as a useful means of attempting to explain a range of student responses.

There is clear evidence in this study that the actions of black students were usurpatory to the extent that they claimed the

resources and benefits of the dominant group. In the case of Newsa High, the dominant order permitted a limited range of usurpatory activities, reinforcing a major finding of this study that racial integration was largely assimilationist. A further finding is that usurpatory activities were individualistic. These activities were characterised by responses that success depended on the individual, and that it was 'everyone for himself'. Black students expressed great faith in competitiveness and individual achievement through 'hard work'. Few responses suggested a collectivist mode of thinking. Little real concern was expressed for 'township' blacks. Middle class, white values were espoused as empowering black people. There was little notion of helping others along the way. Black student responses indicated support for a conformist mode, and a close identification with the aims and goals of Newsa High. Key beliefs and practices that emerged included a deference to the authority of the school and an acceptance of school knowledge as legitimate. In this respect the black students in the school did not appear to represent the views of the 'outside' black majority - in fact the tone of their responses was elitist and strongly middle-class. In turn, many white students found these blacks more acceptable because they (the blacks) espoused middle-class values. Ironically, a number of black respondents appeared to enjoy superior material circumstances to many whites.

Parkins' (op.cit.) notion of 'exclusion' was applied to black students who, by attending Newsa High, excluded themselves from

their own home communities; most often this led to a social dislocation. Features of this exclusivity included admission tests and interviews, and threats from peers who accused black students of being 'traitors', 'sell outs', and 'arrogant'. Black students were called 'white' by their black peers; this implied both a rejection of the special, exclusive access to white privileges, as well as a racial insult.

Black students reported different strategies used to conceal their school identities; uniforms and ties were removed when in the townships, students were absent from school during strikes and boycotts, they participated in marches when compelled to, and they avoided speaking English. Out of school, these students mixed mostly with fellow black students from similar schools (Model B or Private).

The pressures created by this ambiguous situation were clearly greater outside the school. A major conclusion that may be drawn from these observations is that

class and racial/ethnic identities can be held simultaneously and activated according to situational exigencies (Beard and Gaganakis, 1991:117).

Importantly, this implies that the situation of these black students is transitory and evolutionary - this challenges a notion of culture as static and organically-bound. The views of Cushner and Trifonovitch (1991) cited in this study (Ch. 1, p.27) are

reinforced: they reject a notion of education as 'culture-bound'.

The findings of this study therefore challenge those assumptions of educational nationalism that assert only one possible view of South African culture, by suggesting that the past is constantly re-interpreted, and that the current values of the dominant social group are given credibility and legitimacy through power, and not as a result of the inherent superiority of a particular culture.

This observation reinforces a need for schools to address the whole question of cultural exclusiveness.

In Chapter One (p.5) I argued that while the findings of this case study of a single institution could not be generalised to include other schools, I hoped that educationalists in other institutions would find the study useful in addressing issues relevant to their own contexts. Given the pervasive nature and impact of institutionalised apartheid practices on educational institutions, and the specific South African political, social, and economic context, I am persuaded that the findings of this study, and in particular the recommendations, may be relevant and appropriate for a range of educational groups, bodies and institutions to consider as a means of promoting racial mixing in schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS5.6 Promoting cross-cultural communication to achieve cultural relativism

A major conclusion of this study is that both pupils and teachers need to learn and experience the cultures of other groups, through group-based discussions and programmes. (Ch.5, section 4, pp.219-224)

The purpose of this is to reduce cultural collisions, challenge the inherent superiority belief of an ethnocentric focus, and reduce expectations based on ignorance or insufficient knowledge (Turner:1994). Through reciprocal learning, students can come to respect and tolerate different cultures by learning to value diversity. It is also important that students share mutual expectations - they need to know what other groups expect of them. This increases cross-cultural communication and understanding.

A further purpose is to allow accommodation instead of promoting assimilation. Turner (op.cit.) argues that reciprocal accommodation challenges conformity through a clarification of each others' roles, and the negotiation of expected outcomes. Differences should be acknowledged and supported.

Learning accommodating behaviour is a new experience for white

students who traditionally represent white hegemony. Differences in values, styles of working, and communication patterns must be understood (Banks and Lynch (eds), 1986). An interesting finding of this study of racial mixing at Newsa High was the confirmation that all races and ethnic groups share common, 'core' values. What is significant, however, and what was observed in the study, is that these values are often expressed differently. A lack of understanding of these expressions frequently leads to assumptions based on ignorance. In the past, culture has been used as a means of legitimating state policies - the so-called 'inherent superiority' belief. Group-based discussions are necessary if stereotyping and prejudice is to be broken down.

Turner (op.cit.) warns against focussing on the exotic elements of diverse cultures within the school situation. I support this view in that cultural differences must focus on the practical aspects of cross-cultural communication. An understanding of exotic elements is interesting and informative, but is not fundamental to the major purpose of improving cross-cultural understanding and should not divert from it.

Informal class-based discussions can address mutual misunderstandings, and may be preferable to formal programmes and meetings. Students should have opportunities to share views in natural school settings and preferably within small groups. White Newsa High students and teachers identified several concerns they

had difficulty in identifying with or understanding in relation to Zulu culture.

- * Lowering the eyes and looking at the ground or out of the window when speaking to an adult.
- * Extreme shyness, including 'mumbling' softly when asked to speak.
- * Never asking any questions in class. This included always seeming to agree with the teacher.
- * Sitting down before being invited to - both in class, and in offices.
- * Loud talking outside classrooms, in corridors, and in the playground.
- * Being late for school.

In 1992 I developed a Human Rights programme in order to explore issues arising from the empirical case study at Newsa High. The programme was introduced in my own school in order to address these issues. It became apparent that certain issues pertaining to racial mixing at Newsa High were also issues in my own school.

The programme was well received by students and has helped to engender more accommodating behaviour and greater co-operativeness. Student responses suggest that the programme has helped to break down some racial and cultural stereotyping. In its third year now, the programme has been developed along the following lines:

An entire standard arrives in a large venue, and are divided carefully in to groups of ten to twelve students. A topic is introduced, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights charter. Case studies (actual and imagined) frequently provide a basis for discussion. Students are asked to read various case studies and to respond to specific questions. A group spokesperson reports back. Group discussions are followed by whole-standard discussions. Cultural differences are sometimes highlighted quite naturally, and opportunities arise to address these. Students have commented favourably on the programme, which is student-based. As the facilitator, I do not become involved in discussions unless invited. Sometimes I play 'devil's advocate' by asking provocative questions. Student responses have been surprisingly mature and level-headed, and there has been a positive spin-off in other teachers' classrooms, in the socialisation of students, and in the

student management of the Student Council (S.C.). The quality of input has improved, and the confidence of students has grown.

I recommend this approach as one means of addressing cultural and human rights issues within a democratic, cross-cultural programme.

5.7 Promoting racial mixing by democratising processes, structures, and systems in the school

I recommend a whole-school approach to democratic leadership that includes management, staff, pupils and parents. This provides a climate in the school conducive to open communication (Matthews, 1994; Schroenn, 1994). It suggests some flattening of traditional authority structures, but does not imply a weakening of effective organisation and administration. Widespread leadership opportunities need to be provided to students, and will facilitate improved cross-cultural understanding. Given these opportunities, students have often surprised me with the initiative and sense of responsibility they have shown.

5.8 The curriculum as a major vehicle for promoting cross-cultural understanding and tolerance

5.8.1 Combining a national, regional and local perspective

A rigid application of the principles of Christian National

Education (C.N.E.) over several decades led to the perpetuation of a white hegemonic approach to the planning and implementation of all curricula (Buckland, 1982; Hartshorne, 1988). Curriculum practices have had a major influence on teaching practices and human relationships across race and culture. The imposition of institutionalised apartheid supported and fed a monocultural view of education. In the new South Africa, we need to re-define what it means to live in the broad South African society. More particularly, we need to plan and implement curricula in schools that promote racial tolerance. The new curricula must reflect the multi-ethnic, racial and cultural diversities of our country. Further, claims made by Newsa High teachers that the present curriculum lacks relevancy and does not prepare students for the world of work or leisure, suggests that a re-evaluation of content and methodology is necessary. In this regard I hold a firm view that a skills-based approach that encourages the acquisition of relevant work, life, and study skills will promote racial harmony in South Africa. Consequently, the following practical recommendations on curriculum renewal are intended to offer examples of what may be done at Newsa High, provided there are necessary changes to curriculum planning and implementation at the national, regional and local level (Morris, 1985). The traditional South African curriculum is still largely based on British colonial systems, and teaching (at high schools particularly) has been driven by an imposed system of assessment and accreditation that is frequently described as irrelevant in the modern world context

(Hargreaves, 1989).

At a national and regional level, direct support for multi-racial education in schools can be provided through regulations that allow local communities to reflect national, regional, and local interests. A degree of centralised curriculum control is inevitable - even desirable, given the need to challenge the racial hegemony of the past. Essentially, the new curriculum will need to be a compromise between an inherited selection of interests and an emphasis on new interests in a new dispensation (Jansen, 1988). The state must allow (in fact must insist on) schools questioning the dominant ideas and values inherent in the present system in state-aided schools. The origins of these values must be questioned, and consequently an historical dimension to contemporary curriculum study is essential. Tomlinson (1990:73) argues that the moral and patriotic elements in history teaching must be traced and discussed.

In my view, the state must ensure that an acceptable national core-value system is introduced in order to ensure that the curriculum is made more relevant to a multi-ethnic society. However, regions and local districts must have reasonable autonomy to implement the curriculum based on nationally-acceptable values. Methodology should be left largely to individual schools.

Values and practices that should be acceptable to all interest

groups include tolerance, fair play, equal rights, and democratic values reinforcing equal citizenship and equal respect. Any curriculum should allow for personal moral values, a tolerance of different religious beliefs, racial tolerance, and the opportunity to question and argue rationally (Tomlinson, op.cit.). Applied to schools this depends on prior information and knowledge, and hence reinforces the point already made that a function of the state must be to ensure that past interpretations are challenged and re-examined. The challenge will be to equip students with the skills of critical appraisal, and to avoid imposing a new educational paradigm that promotes the singular interests of the new dominant group by simply replacing one hegemonic system with another.

The role of the state should include, inter-alia, direct input into the following areas:

- * Accreditation can allow for cultural differences by encouraging a focus on a process approach towards teaching and testing skills rather than mere content, and allowing for regional and local cultural variations (Stenhouse, 1975:Ch.7).

- * Multiracial education should not simply deal with cultural symbols, but should discuss institutionalised racism and personal prejudice. School-based courses should be offered to ensure this is not superficial or token (Turner, op.cit.).

- * The state should promote school-based curriculum development initiatives that allow local schools to engage in curriculum development and renewal (Knight, 1985).

- * Regional (and later local) education departments must be satisfactorily funded and resourced to ensure they are up-to-date regarding the latest educational developments, methodologies, and so on.

- * The state should ensure a multi-faith approach to religious education.

- * While racial discrimination cannot be permitted by the state, I believe that a firm, but low-keyed approach should be adopted in very conservative, homogenous communities where the state is likely to experience strong opposition from the community.

- * Through the passive acceptance of an imposed curriculum content, the curriculum can soon become unalterable and accepted as fact. To counter this, the content of text books, as well as the ways in which certain values are transferred into texts and perpetuated as facts, must be examined through a textual analysis of the discourses of these texts (Codd, 1985).

- * A notion of curriculum permeation (Tomlinson, 1990:87) that allows for the incorporation of multi-cultural and global approaches in subjects, should be pursued at national, regional, and local levels.

- * It may not be necessary to re-create the content of subjects in order to achieve the abovementioned aims: rather, 'a re-orientation of attitudes and practices conditioning the selection of curriculum materials and subject matter' (Tomlinson, op.cit.) is required, since it is these attitudes and practices that underlie the teaching process.

5.8.2 Possible approaches within subject areas

Teacher respondents at Newsa High frequently expressed concerns regarding how to make their subject teaching more relevant; firstly, to vocational aspects of education, and, secondly, towards preparing for more intensive racial mixing at the school (Chapter 3:203-206). This next section suggests various approaches within some subjects that may assist in meeting these needs. In general, subject revisions that focus on the historical dimension, content, methodology, values and aims of subjects are necessary if multi-cultural issues are to be addressed. In her work on multicultural education in white-dominated schools, Tomlinson (op.cit.) suggests various approaches that may be useful. These can be adapted to the South African context.

5.8.2.1 History

Reference has already been made to the significance of this subject within a new curriculum. History as a tool of nationalist ideology, serving to reinforce institutionalised apartheid, must not be replaced by teaching and texts reinforcing black nationalism, but should serve to liberate students from passive, uncritical acceptance of content and methods. An approach that may work is to combine a cultural heritage view with a cultural analysis approach (Lawton, 1983; Magendzo, 1984; Tomlinson, 1990). The new South African history curriculum must be both national and international. The rich variety of racial, ethnic and cultural groups should be reflected in the material used (Gupta et al, 1988). Students need access to sources that provide accurate information regarding racial and cross-cultural similarities and differences (Verma and Bagley, 1975). A major objective of the new history teaching should be to avoid stereotyping. Each cultural group should stand on its own, and must not be evaluated in terms of a 'dominant' culture. Specific values that must be challenged include 'nationalism, militarism, and beliefs in superior moral and Christian benevolence' (Tomlinson, op.cit.:77).

In the South African (social, political, economic) context, national heroes can be identified and drawn from the various racial and ethnic groups. A further area of concern is that the current poor attitudes to 'working class' people can be challenged - this

applies to white and black students. It is an irony that despite strong commercial and industrial economic demands for skilled workers, most young South Africans aim for professional careers, and for university and technikon education and training. The roots of these attitudes are to be found in the systems and structures of apartheid that legally enforced rigid, race-based class divisions (Kallaway, 1984).

5.8.2.2 English

Multi-lingualism should be regarded as an asset rather than a liability (Edwards, 1983; Turner, op.cit.). A 'bilingual' approach to languages can be adopted in different regions where the dominant languages should be offered. English is acceptable to almost all South Africans as a language of empowerment, and has universal credibility. What is required are innovations in teaching English that include studies of indigenous literature, media studies, dance and drama (Ashworth, 1994). Teachers in training should focus on comparing multi-cultural and multi-racial texts with monocultural ones. Other areas of study that may improve race relations and foster greater mutual understanding and tolerance include studies of dialects/regional variations, world language studies, origins of writing, and evolution and development of English, connections between language, class, gender and race and the influence of the mass media on attitudes to language (Jessop, 1994; Tomlinson, op.cit.). Teaching strategies such as

group-based learning, team-teaching, report-backs, and language across the curriculum teaching should promote the above aims (Marland, 1977).

5.8.2.3 Maths

Hemming (1984) argues that cultural differences can enrich the curriculum, and that the language of maths is universal. In this regard ideas of cultural exclusiveness can be reduced by acknowledging contributions to the field from eastern cultures. Of practical benefit is the idea of adopting cross-curriculum approaches that link Maths with other subjects such as History, Geography, Languages and Art.

5.8.2.4 Science

Richmond's (1981) observations on the qualities of a good scientist—curiosity, compassion and competence stress the need for effective and empathetic communication skills that can only come from cross-cultural and cross-national respect and understanding. Open discussions in science and biology can challenge stereotyped notions, and in particular that science teaching is by its nature universal, neutral and objective. Science teaching in South Africa has been dominated by a Eurocentric focus; the international contributions of black scientists has been ignored; this should be addressed in the revised syllabus. Students must be shown that

scientific progress is not the prerogative of one cultural group.

5.8.3 Reviewing teaching and learning strategies

The content of subjects should be used as a vehicle to train students in the skills of the subject. These specific skills must be identified and agreed upon by subject teachers. Clearly, there are universal skills that can be taught across all subjects. Teaching and learning should be regarded as a process that is actively engaged in by teacher and student (Petty, 1993; Stenhouse, 1975). A revision of syllabi must include determining at what level specific skills should be taught. Thinking skills, study skills and life skills are essential components of any curriculum (Frost, 1994; Milner-Smythe, 1994). Teacher training should include a component that focuses on general skills that apply to several subjects - there was evidence at Newsa High that certain subject teachers held strong ideas about the separate identities of their subjects which were exclusive. A further finding was that teachers found difficulty in dealing with the application of cross-curricular themes. Essential skills that should promote racial mixing include communication (verbal and written); evaluation (detecting bias, and the difference between fact and opinion); synthesis (the ability to summarise, organise, analyse and reconstruct); comprehension (critical analysis); empathy and extrapolation (analysing, predicting, inferring) (Frost, op.cit.).

Consideration should also be given to identifying concepts and then teaching these specifically, rather than expecting students to unconsciously assimilate them (Turner, op.cit.). This approach is particularly relevant in a multi-cultural classroom. Students prefer concrete examples rather than generalisations. Class discussions should promote the learning and understanding of concepts specific to certain subjects. Other skills relevant to the multi-cultural classroom include problem-solving, relational, and information-finding skills. Of crucial importance will be an understanding and acceptance among teachers (trainee and qualified) that the way in which curriculum materials are used is significantly more important than the content (Stenhouse, op.cit.).

5.8.4 Developing programmes and projects

The purpose of this section is to list ways in which teaching and learning may be made more relevant, not only in terms of promoting a multicultural focus in schools, but also in order to better prepare students for the adult world of work and leisure. This study reflects a majority view among teachers at Newsa High that the suitability of both the present curriculum content, as well as teaching methods applied in classrooms, need to be urgently reviewed to make teaching and learning more effective.

The following list of programmes and projects serves to suggest some practical ways in which curriculum changes may be effected

within the school, with a view to promoting effective learning within a non-racial dispensation:

- * School-based curriculum development of materials, packs, videos (Knight, op.cit.; Skilbeck, 1984).
- * Collaborative teaching and learning on different levels; between students, teachers and schools, including co-operative learning in classrooms (Berelowitz and Dawes, 1992; Davidson and O'Leary, 1990; Ellis, 1986; Slabbert, 1992; Slavin, 1981).
- * An evaluation of the suitability of existing materials.
- * Team-teaching, including demonstration lessons involving outside groups.
- * Action research by sub-committees investigating different aspects of the curriculum (Kemmis, 1982).
- * Staff development programmes initiated by the teachers themselves (Block, 1993; Covey, 1994; Covey and Merrill, 1994; Drucker, 1970; Purkey and Schmidt, 1990; Purkey, 1990).
- * Developing in-service training courses and seminars on a local

level, by interested teachers who are experienced and innovative.

- * Modules with a specific focus on cultural components relating to various subject areas. Life, study skills modules.
- * Civic Responsibility programmes with a focus on life-skills.
- * Counselling lessons including components with a focus on cross-cultural understanding, and encouraging empathy.
- * Democratising school structures including providing leadership opportunities for students (student council, student representation on school management, academic, co-curricular and cultural leadership, prefects, monitors, community-centred leadership, and so on).
- * Twinning and networking programmes with other schools, including student and teacher exchanges (The Network Committee (Natal-KwaZulu Region) Report, 1994).
- * Programmes with a focus on developing sound cross-cultural understandings can focus on the following:
 - Studying the art and culture of other groups
 - Drama and theatre presentations including mime, dance,

music, poetry, and plays in the form of workshops.

- Media studies; films, videos, photography.
- Narrative-based teaching in English-focussing on oral tradition and storytelling. Focus on black heroes as well (Pfister, 1994).
- Mapping exercises in geography.
- Religious instruction that allows for a multi-faith approach and that focuses on morality and ethics that are universal, and not on dogma (Gamley, 1994).
- Topic work; assignments, projects.
- Special displays of art, drama and assignment work.

6. Conclusion

Chapter 5 has served to draw conclusions arising from the responses to issues generated by respondents at Newsa High School with regard to racial mixing. These issues have centred on social relationships and the teaching and learning structures and systems within the school. This chapter has also served to recommend ways in which the students and teachers of Newsa High might address some of the issues raised.

A number of issues raised may well also be concerns in other schools. I hope that this case study will be of benefit to other schools in addressing concerns arising from racial integration (albeit limited) in these schools.

A major finding of this study is that integration will not occur naturally by simply letting it happen; or if it does occur by this means, it is likely to be superficial and limited. What is required are whole-school programmes that address a need for greater mutual understanding and tolerance that combat years of reinforcing white racial and cultural hegemony. Given rapid strides towards equal (and equitable) educational opportunities, these programmes should prepare students to live in a democratic, non-racial, and multi-cultural society.

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12 Stanhope Crescent
WESTVILLE
3630

25 April 1991

Dear Student

I am at present researching racial mixing in your school as a 'B' model school. Your school chose this model of integration and I have permission from your Principal, and from the Natal Education Department, to enter your school and do research.

Your co-operation in both answering a questionnaire, and in agreeing to an interview, will ensure that this study is meaningful. In fact, without your willing and open co-operation, there can be no research, and this study will be worthless.

Please be assured that anything you say, or write down, will be treated in the strictest confidence. You have the right to complete privacy. Your name, and the name of your school, will not be mentioned in the research report. You should feel free to be open and frank. I am relying on this.

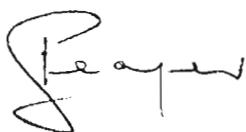
I hope to make this research report available to your school once it has been accepted by the University of Natal. Perhaps it may be useful to your school. Perhaps you may even want to look at it.

I must say I feel very comfortable and 'at home' as I move around your school - perhaps because I attended a similar kind of school when a student. The teachers and pupils are friendly and approachable.

Thank you in anticipation of your willingness to participate in what I regard as an important and relevant study, that I hope will benefit teachers and pupils in many schools.

My best wishes to you for a happy and successful school education.

Yours faithfully



D.H. SEAGER

M. Ed Student, University of Natal.

12 Stanhope Crescent
WESTVILLE
3630

25 April 1991

Dear Colleagues,

As you know I am researching your school as a 'B' model school, in part completion of a Master of Education degree in Curriculum Studies, at Natal University. The provisional title of my dissertation reads as follows:-

A case study of integrated schooling within a co-educational high school in the Durban area.

I appreciate the permission granted to me by both your Principal, and the Natal Education Department, for this study. In order to give you a better idea of what I hope to achieve, I have left a copy of my research proposal in your staffroom.

Because this is a case study of a specific institution, I must utilise as many research methods as possible in reaching as many pupils and teachers as possible. These details are in the research proposal.

Your willingness to co-operate in completing a questionnaire, and in agreeing to an interview, will be sincerely appreciated. Without your frank and open comments, this research will be meaningless.

Please be assured of complete confidentiality. Names of participants are not required; neither will the name of your school be made known in the research report. Anonymity is therefore guaranteed.

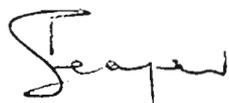
I am convinced of the need for a study of racial mixing in schools, and of its relevance in assisting educationists both in the schools, and at regional and national levels, to make informed decisions on the nature and content of curricula, and on a number of crucial practical, social, and academic issues facing us at the 'chalkface' of education.

Please feel free to chat to me at any time, or to contact me at home on 824625 (all hours). Your contribution will be invaluable in generating crucial issues to be considered.

I intend to make a copy of this study available to the school.

Thank you in anticipation of your co-operation and support.

Yours faithfully



D.H. SEAGER

M. Ed Student, University of Natal.

TEL: 9032374 (W) 7-30 — 2-30 p.m.
824625 (H) ALL HOURS.

12 Stanhope Crescent
WESTVILLE
3630
22 June 1991

Dear Parents

I am a Master's student in the Education department of the University of Natal, and have been given permission to conduct research in your school, both by the Natal Education Department, and by your Principal.

In the course of my research into your school as a 'Model B' school, I am required to ensure that parents have the opportunity of requesting that their son or daughter does not participate. Should you have any concerns, please contact the Principal, and he will let me know.

During a period of unstructured observation in your school I found both teachers and pupils to be friendly and approachable. Your Chairman, Mr Meyer, has agreed to an interview, but I will not be interviewing parents in general. All the teachers have agreed to be interviewed, and are most co-operative.

A major purpose of this case study of your school is to examine the relevance of the curriculum, and to make recommendations. You are probably already aware that many parents and educationalists are concerned that the present curriculum in schools does not meet the future educational needs of the students.

Your co-operation in permitting me to interview your child at school, on a purely voluntary basis, will be sincerely appreciated. All respondents will be treated confidentially. The names of pupils, as well as the name of the school, will not be mentioned in the research report. This is one of the conditions laid down by the Natal Education Department, and by the Principal. Any transgression of this would invalidate my research. In short, I would not be allowed to present my study.

A copy of my research will be made available to the school. Hopefully it might assist the teachers in decision-making on curriculum matters.

Thanking you sincerely in anticipation of your co-operation and support.

Yours faithfully



D.H. SEAGER

Research student

Introduction to students:

'Good morning/afternoon _____.' (first name of student)

'Please take a seat, and make yourself comfortable. You may know who I am: my name is Dave Seager. As your Principal told the school, I'm here to discover what the pupils and teachers think and feel about this school as a racially-mixed institution. I also hope to find out something about how your school runs its daily programme. I hope that my research report will provide an opportunity for both this school, and other educational organisations, to make decisions that will be in the best interests of the education of young people such as yourself. I intend making my research report available to the school. Perhaps you may wish to look at it.

I appreciate your willingness to allow me the opportunity of asking you a few questions. Please feel free to say exactly what you like, to question me if you don't understand the question. The only answers I'm looking for are the ones you want to give. Please feel free to speak your mind.

Unless you object, I would like to record our conversation on this tape-recorder.' (show the participant a small hand-held recorder, that will be placed on a table, slightly to one side.)

'Using this recorder will achieve two goals: firstly, you can be sure that what you say cannot be misquoted by me. Secondly, time will be saved. I won't need to make too many notes as we proceed, although I will make a few.

Are you happy about this?' (smile re-assuringly.)

'Lastly, I want to assure you that the name of this school, and your name, is not required, and will be kept confidential. I am going to make up suitable names; that is, use fictitious names. Okay?'

'Shall we begin?' (Pause. Wait for affirmation.)

Question One:

What did you think when you first heard that your school was going to vote on Model B? You know, before there was much discussion? PROBE:

Question Two:

What did your parents think when they were contacted by the school? What did they think? PROBE: Mother and Father's views.

Question Three:

Who, or what, would you say has had the most influence on how you feel and think about racial mixing? PROBE: individuals, circumstances, events.

Question Four:

How were you influenced? In what way?

Question Five:

What do you think now (today) about racial mixing here in this particular school? PROBE: issues, events.

Question Six:

What do you think about racial mixing outside of school; you know, socially in homes, personal relationships, in clubs, theatres, restaurants, on the beach, and so on? PROBE: issues, concerns.

Question Seven:

As a young person in a racially-mixed school, what would you say is of most concern to you? The answer you give may apply to either school, or outside of school, or both.

Question Eight:

Are you aware of any changes to school rules, to school policy (you know, daily routine and organisation), that have come about as a result of your school being racially-mixed? PROBE: formal and informal changes.

Question Nine:

What would you like to see happening at your school that is not already happening, when you consider racial mixing in the school?

Question Ten:

What does your closest friend think about this school as a racially-mixed school?

Question Eleven:

Is this particular friend a student at this school?

Question Twelve:

Do you have any friends outside of your own race group, who you mix with socially here at school; that is, during the school day?

Question Thirteen:

Do you have any friends outside of your own race group, who you mix with socially outside of school?

Question Fourteen:

(If the participant does mix socially i.e. Question 13)

How do you mix socially? Describe your relationship to the person, and what you do together.

Question Fifteen:

What has been the greatest benefit to you of the school's decision to accept racial mixing? You know, a plus factor, a positive result to you personally?

Question Sixteen:

What has been the greatest disadvantage to you, you know, a negative factor, of this change?

Question Seventeen:

Without mentioning any names, what do you think teachers in this school feel about racial mixing in the school?

Question Eighteen:

What irritates you most about members, or even an individual member, of another race group? You know, something you have experienced that you find annoying?

Question Nineteen:

What have you personally experienced that you like about members, or even an individual member, of another race group?

Finally, the last question. You have been very patient!

Question Twenty:

Perhaps you would like to ask me a question, or say something that you haven't yet had a chance to say? Is there anything on your mind? Please take your time.

Pause...

Well, I guess that's it then! Thank you for your time. You have been very helpful.

I'm going to be around for a while. Should something come to mind, or should something happen that you think will interest me, or be of help in this study, please get hold of me. Your contribution would be very useful. If you want to see me confidentially, then you can leave your name and class with the secretary at reception. Just say you need to speak to me. Then I will contact you without making it obvious.

Thank you!

(Stand up, usher student to the door.)

I hope you have a successful year. Good luck with your studies. Bye!

Interview ends.

Teacher Interview Schedule: NEWSA HIGH SCHOOL

Question One:

What, in your opinion, are the advantages of racial mixing at high school?

Question Two:

What, in your opinion, are the disadvantages of racial mixing at high school?

Question Three:

Please express any other personal views you may hold in relation to racial integration in schools.

Question Four:

Considering all aspects of the school curriculum, such as academic, social, physical, and religious, do you think curriculum changes are necessary when schools become racially-mixed? Please motivate your answer.

PROBE: assimilation versus multi-cultural focus.

Question Five:

What are your greatest concerns about the changes taking place in education in South Africa at the present time?

Question Six:

Are you aware of any incidents that have occurred in your school between members of different race groups?

Question Seven:

Without mentioning any names, please comment on how happy you are working in this school. Please say why.

Question Eight:

What do you think could be done within your own area of subject specialisation in order to teach the subject effectively to racially-mixed classes or groups?

Question Nine:

Are you prepared, in principle, to teach in African, Coloured, or Indian schools?

Question Ten:

Is there anything else you would like to comment on with regard to this school as a racially-mixed school?

Thank you for your participation in this survey. It is sincerely appreciated.

D.H. SEAGER
Researcher

Student Survey: NEWSA HIGH SCHOOLIntroduction:

1. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, as explained to you during our briefing session. Please feel free to return to your classroom should you not wish to participate.
2. All information received will be treated in the strictest confidence. Your name is not required. Your identity cannot be revealed in the research report. The name of your school will also be kept confidential.
3. You are encouraged to be open and frank. Without your honest opinion, this study will be meaningless. Please be true to your own feelings.
4. Please take your time. This is not a test; there are no right or wrong answers when it comes to expressing your opinions.
5. Please write neatly and legibly. Kindly read each instruction carefully before responding.

SECTION A: General Information

Note: Where required, please tick the appropriate (suitable) block.

1. Present school standard: Please write: _____

2. Age: in years and months, as at the end of May 1991. Please use numbers.

YRS.	
------	--

MTHS.	
-------	--

3. Gender (Sex): Please tick (✓) the appropriate block.

M	
---	--

F	
---	--

4. Home language: The language you most often speak at home.

a) English:

b) Afrikaans:

c) Zulu:

d) Other language:

Please say what other language: _____

5. Ethnic (cultural) background:

To which of the following do you feel you belong? You may feel it is necessary for you to tick more than one.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) <u>Zulu:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | g) <u>Tamil:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) <u>Afrikaans:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | h) <u>Hindu:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) <u>English:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | i) <u>Portuguese:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) <u>Xhosa:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | j) <u>Italian:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) <u>Sotho:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | k) <u>Coloured:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) <u>Tswana:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | l) <u>Muslim:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | m) <u>Another group:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Please say what other group: _____

6. Parents' highest level of education: please tick (✓) only one box.

(i) MOTHER:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| a) <u>completed Primary School to Std 5:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) <u>completed High School to Std. 10 (Matric):</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) <u>completed a diploma at a college:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) <u>completed a degree at a university:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) <u>did not have any school education:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) <u>I don't know:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) <u>Any other academic qualifications apart from the above?</u> | |

Please say: _____

(ii) FATHER:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| a) <u>completed Primary School to Std. 5:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) <u>completed High School to Std. 10 (Matric):</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) <u>completed a diploma at a college:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) <u>completed a degree at a university:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) <u>did not have any school education:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) <u>I don't know:</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) <u>Any other academic qualifications apart from the above?</u> | |

Please say: _____

7. Parents' occupation: what they do for a living:

Please write this down for a) and c):

a) Mother's occupation: _____

b) Don't know mother's occupation: tick (✓) if appropriate

c) Father's occupation: _____

d) Don't know father's occupation: tick (✓) if appropriate

8. Approximately (more or less) how far from the school do you live?

Please tick (✓) only one block.

a) less than two kilometres:

b) two to four kilometres:

c) five to ten kilometres:

d) eleven to fifteen kilometres:

e) more than fifteen kilometres:

f) I don't know:

9. How well are you coping (managing) this year with your school work generally?

Consider your aggregate (the average of all the exam subjects you take):

a) I am failing: (below 40% aggregate)

b) I am just passing: (40 - 45% aggregate)

c) My marks are average: (46 - 55% aggregate)

d) I am passing well: (56 - 65% aggregate)

e) My marks are very good: (66 - 74% aggregate)

f) My marks are excellent: (75% + aggregate)

g) I don't know:

10. Further studies after leaving school:

a) I intend studying at a technical college:

b) I intend studying at a university:

c) I want to go straight in to a job without any further studying:

d) Some other kind of study:

Please say: _____

e) I don't know:

11. a) What kind of work would you eventually like to do after leaving school?

b) Why this kind of work?

c) I have no idea of what kind of work I want to do:

Please tick if relevant.

SECTION B:

Instructions:

- (i) Consider each statement carefully, and in each case tick (✓) the box that best expresses your own opinion.
- (ii) Only one box may be ticked in response to each statement.
- (iii) 'Black' refers to all Coloured, Indian, and African people.

1. 'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

2. 'Black pupils should adjust to the ways of white pupils in this school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

3. 'This school should have black teachers.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

4. 'This school helps me to communicate better with the other racial groups.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

5. 'The standard of education at this school is low.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

6. 'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language at some stage.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

7. 'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

8. 'The black pupils in this school behave better than the black pupils outside the school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

9. 'Black people should be free to live where they like.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

10. 'There should be social change in South Africa.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

11. 'I feel personally concerned about the social problems facing South Africa.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

12. 'Teachers at this school care about me as a person.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

13. 'The discipline in this school is too strict.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

14. 'I am happy at this school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

15. 'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

16. 'Education is the key to my future.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

17. 'This school helps me to have self-confidence.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

18. 'Violence will never bring about political improvements.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

19. 'Agitators (political troublemakers) are behind the unrest in South Africa.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

20. 'Peace, law and order, are more important than political rights.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

21. 'Most blacks are not really interested in politics (power struggles); they simply want a decent education, home and job.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

22. 'Black people in South Africa could be better off if they worked and tried harder.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

23. 'I feel confident about the future in South Africa.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

24. 'I support compulsory military service for boys.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

25. 'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

26. 'The standard of education at this school is good.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

27. 'I don't mind if more black pupils than white pupils attend this school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

28. 'The subjects offered at this school are going to help me in my future career.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

SECTION E:

Read the following statements, then rank them in your order of preference,
with 1 = most acceptable
and 10 = least acceptable.

Therefore each block should be given a different number, 1 - 10.

'I am prepared to mix with a member of another race group
in the following situations':

- | | <u>Rank order.</u>
(numbers 1-10) |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. as a marriage partner or relative by marriage: | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. as a personal friend: | <input type="text"/> |
| 3. as a fellow-member of my circle of friends: | <input type="text"/> |
| 4. to dance with at a party: | <input type="text"/> |
| 5. as a neighbour in my street: | <input type="text"/> |
| 6. to sit next to on a train, bus, aeroplane, or in a car: | <input type="text"/> |
| 7. to sit in the same restaurant, theatre, or movie house: | <input type="text"/> |
| 8. on all beaches: | <input type="text"/> |
| 9. in change rooms and showers: | <input type="text"/> |
| 10. as a pupil in my school: | <input type="text"/> |

SECTION F:

The following situations are ones you may be concerned about.
They are in no particular order.

Read them carefully, then rank them in order of importance to you,
with 1 = of most concern
and 10 = of least concern.

Rank order.
(numbers 1-10)

1. Understanding, and being understood by, (communicating with) members of other race groups.
2. My parents accepting members of other race groups.
3. My friends rejecting me if I am friendly with members of other race groups.
4. The lowering of educational standards as a result of racial mixing at school.
5. Accepting members of other race groups socially as equals.
6. Being accepted by members of other race groups.
7. Coping with a language other than my own home language.
8. The use of physical violence as a means of forcing change.
9. Being in a school where most pupils (the majority) are of another race group.
10. Accepting a government run by a race group other than my own.

4. In your opinion, what could be done in your school to make it a successful racially-mixed school?

5. In your opinion, what are some of the problems in your school related to racial mixing?

6. You may wish to take this opportunity of expressing an opinion on any aspect of racial integration. Please feel free to comment.

This is the end of the student survey.
Thank you for your participation. It is sincerely appreciated.

Teacher Survey: NEWSA HIGH SCHOOLIntroduction:

1. While your participation in this study is considered extremely important, and will be greatly appreciated, it is entirely voluntary and you are entitled to ignore this questionnaire if you so wish.
2. All information received will be treated confidentially. Anonymity is guaranteed; Your name, and the name of your school, will not appear in the research report. Fictitious names will be used throughout.
3. Permission will be sought where direct quotations are used in the final research report.
4. Your open and frank views are essential to the success of this study, and will be appreciated.

SECTION A: General Information

Please tick, or enter your answers in the appropriate spaces.

1. Teaching experience in years:
2. Gender:

Female	
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Male	
------	--
3. Qualifications:

	<u>Where obtained:</u>
a) Academic: <input style="width: 150px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input style="width: 150px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
b) Professional: <input style="width: 150px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<input style="width: 150px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
4. Teaching post at this school:

a) Teacher:	<input style="width: 150px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
b) Senior Teacher:	<input style="width: 150px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
c) Head of Department/Deputy Principal/Principal:	<input style="width: 150px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>

5. Nature of Post:

a) Temporary:

--

b) Permanent:

--

6. Teaching Subjects:

Periods per week:

a)

--

a)

--

b)

--

b)

--

c)

--

c)

--

7. Subjects majored in:

No of years' study:

a)

--

a)

--

b)

--

b)

--

c)

--

c)

--

8. Duration of teaching experience at this school:

Years

--

Months

--

9. Extra-mural activities you are competent to offer:

a)

--

b)

--

c)

--

d)

--

e)

--

10. Extra-mural activities you are involved in this year (1991):

Activity:

Nature of involvement:
(example: coach, organiser,
administrative assistant)

a)

--

a)

--

b)

--

b)

--

c)

--

c)

--

d)

--

d)

--

e)

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e)

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f)

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f)

--

SECTION B:

- (i) Consider each statement carefully, and in each case tick the box that best expresses your opinion. Please tick only ONE box in each case.
- (ii) 'Black' refers to all Coloured, Indian, and African people.

1. 'It is important to me that this is a racially-mixed school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

2. 'This school should have black teachers as well as black pupils.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

3. 'The standard of education at this school is low.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

4. 'It should be compulsory for all pupils in this school to learn an African language at some stage.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

5. 'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

6. 'In my professional capacity as an educator, I have meaningful contact with fellow-professionals from other race groups.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

7. 'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

8. 'This school provides a relevant curriculum that caters for the future needs of its pupils.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

9. 'It is of no concern to me if the black pupils at this school outnumber the white pupils.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

10. 'Teachers at this school care about the pupils as individuals.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

11. 'School policy and organisation in this school is conducive towards establishing a positive non-racial environment.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

12. 'I think there should be social change in South Africa.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

13. 'Violence will never bring about political change.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

14. 'Peace, law and order are more important than political rights.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

15. 'Agitators are behind the unrest in South Africa.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

16. 'Black people in South Africa could be better off if they worked and tried harder.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

17. 'I feel confident about the future in South Africa.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

18. 'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

19. 'I feel confident about teaching effectively in a racially-mixed institution.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

20. 'Cultural (ethnic) and racial differences are not important in considering a curriculum for this school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

SECTION C:

Consider the following statements carefully and in each case tick the box that best expresses how you feel. Please tick only ONE box in each case.

'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as

1. a marriage partner.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

2. a close friend.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

3. a neighbour in my street.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

4. a visitor in my home.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

5. a colleague at this school.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

6. a member of my sports and social club.'

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

SECTION D:

Please read through the following statements first,
than rank them in order of acceptability to you,

with 1 = most acceptable

and 10 = least acceptable.

Each block should therefore contain a different number, 1 - 10.

'I feel comfortable about mixing with members of other race groups
in the following situations':

1. as a marriage partner:

2. as a personal friend:

3. as a member of my circle of friends:

4. to dance with at a party:

5. as a neighbour in my street:

6. to sit next to on a train, bus, aeroplane, or in a car:

7. to sit in the same restaurant, theatre, or movie house:

8. on all beaches:

9. in change rooms, toilets and showers:

10. as a colleague in my school:

SECTION E:

The following issues or situations are ones you may be concerned about as aspects of teaching and learning in your school.

Please read them through first, then rank them in order of concern to you, with 1 = of most concern and 10 = of least concern. Each block must therefore contain a different number, 1 - 10.

1. A language problem in communicating with pupils of other race groups.
2. The lowering of academic standards.
3. A reluctance to teach in a racially-mixed school.
4. Teaching in a school where the majority of pupils are of a race other than my own.
5. Working in an education department run by a race group other than my own.
6. The relevance of the present curriculum in catering for the academic needs of pupils.
7. The relevance of the present curriculum in catering for the social needs of pupils.
8. The effectiveness of current teaching methods in racially-mixed schools.
9. The relevance of the curriculum in preparing pupils for political change.
10. Teaching extremely large classes of pupils (say more than 40 pupils in a class or group).

SECTION G: Open-ended questions

1. When the government first offered the three alternative models of integration, did you support the change in principle? Please say why.

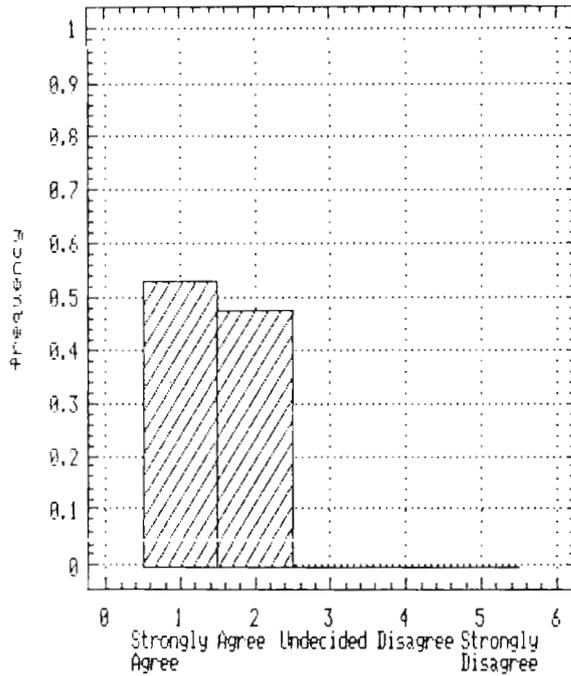
2. Has your point of view changed since that time? Please say why.

3. Who, or what, has had the biggest influence on your attitude towards racially-mixed schools? Please say why this is so.

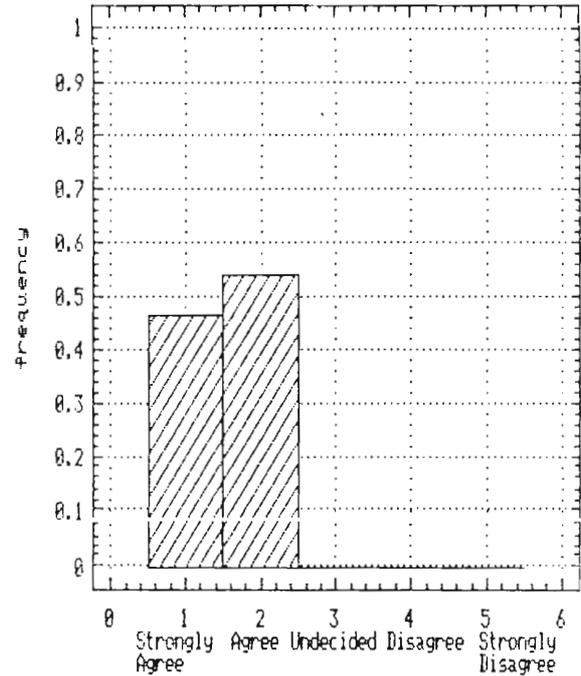
'It is important to me that this is a racially mixed school'

'It is important to me that this is a racially mixed school'

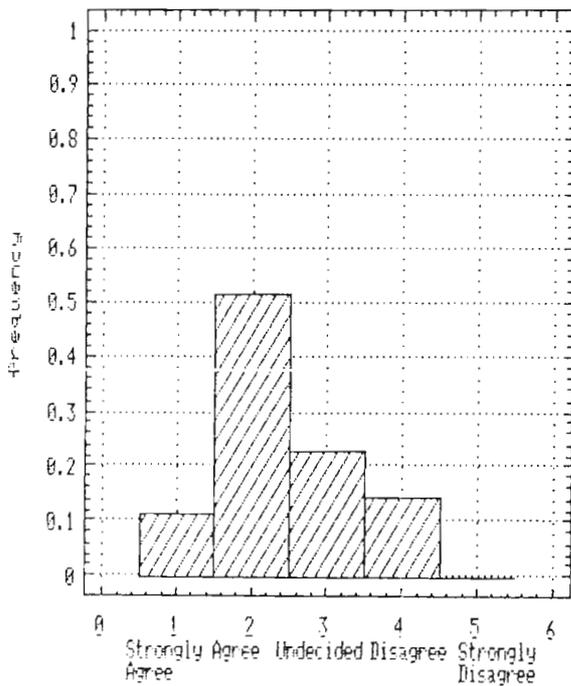
BLACK FEMALES



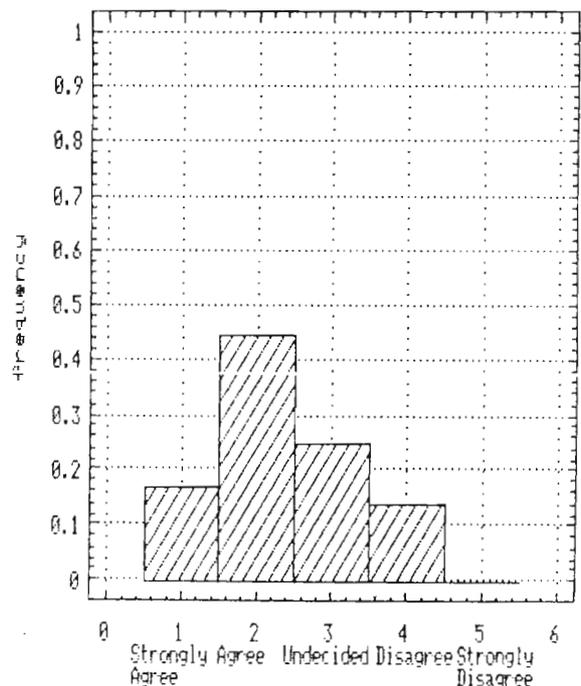
BLACK MALES



WHITE FEMALES

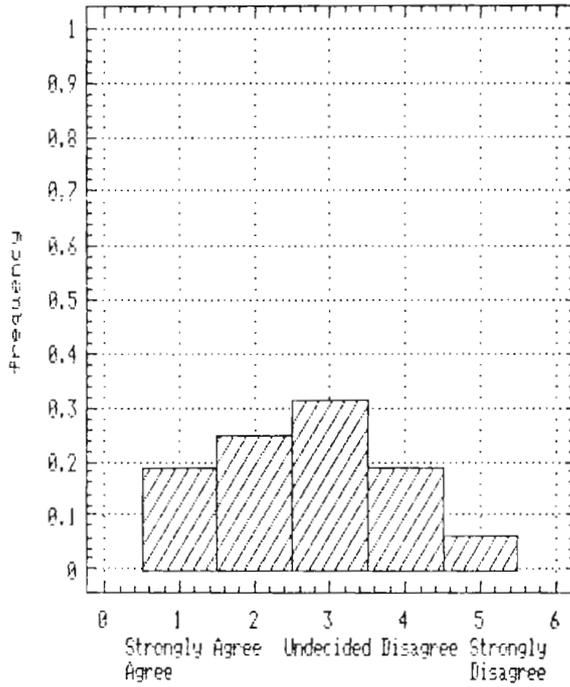


WHITE MALES



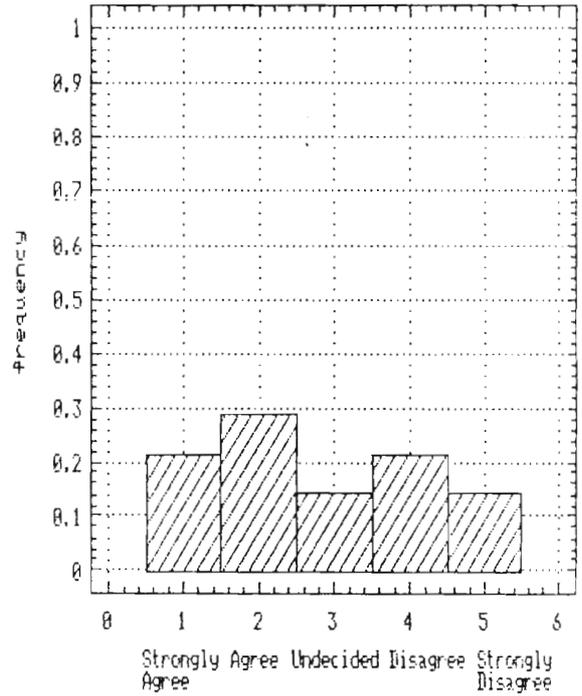
'Black pupils should adjust to ways of white pupils'

BLACK FEMALES

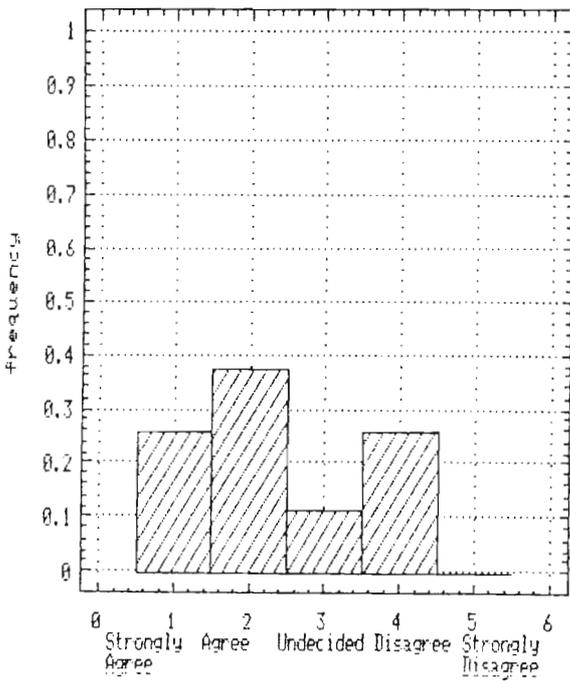


'Black pupils should adjust to the ways of white pupils'

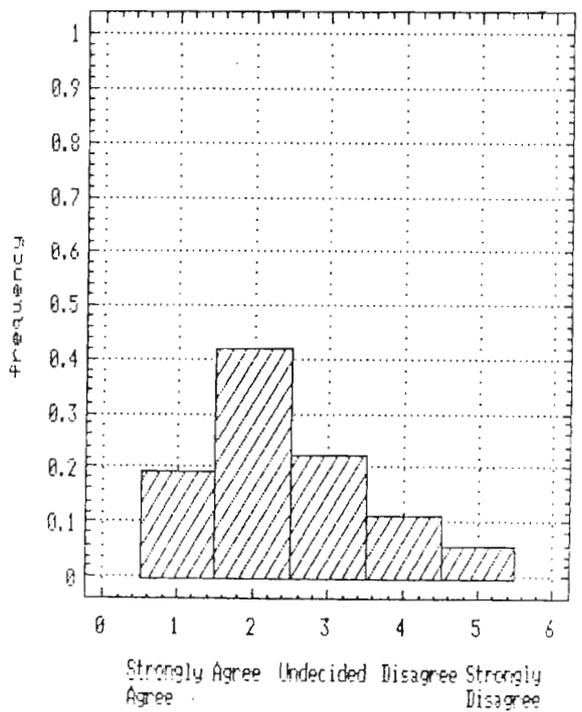
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WHITE FEMALES

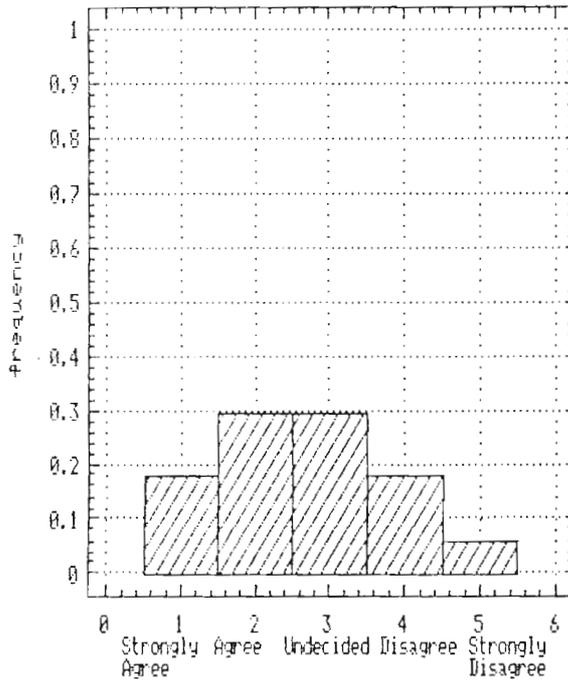


WHITE MALES



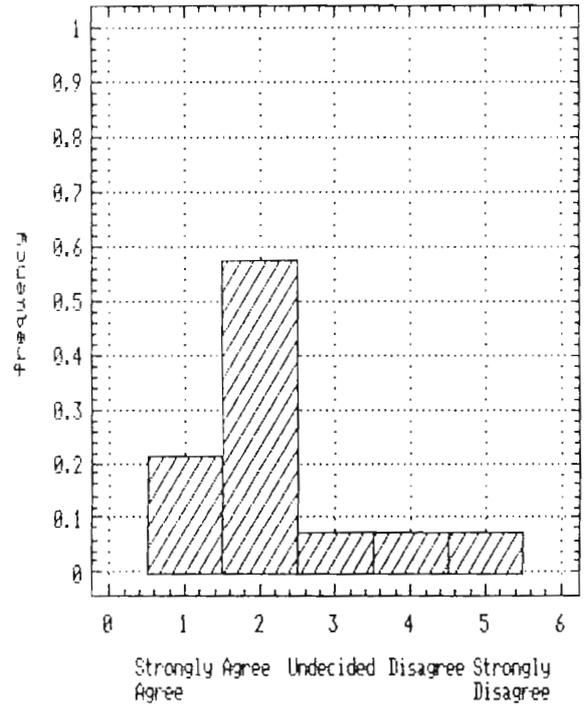
'This school should have black teachers'

BLACK FEMALES

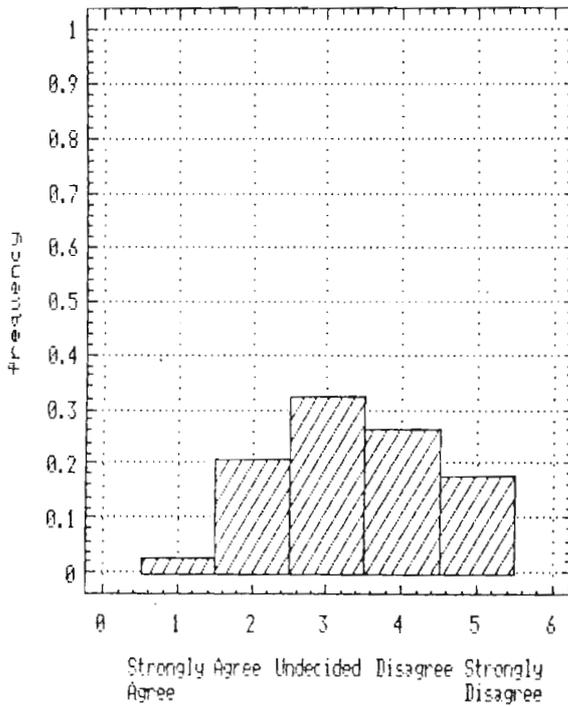


'This school should have black teachers'

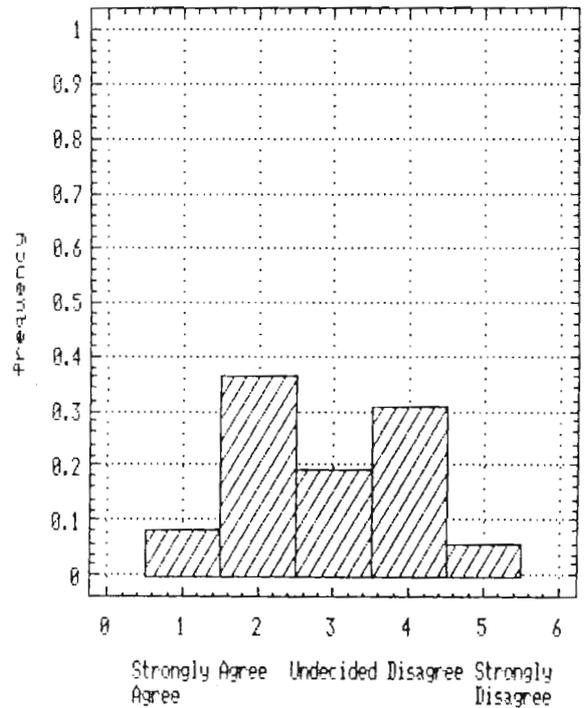
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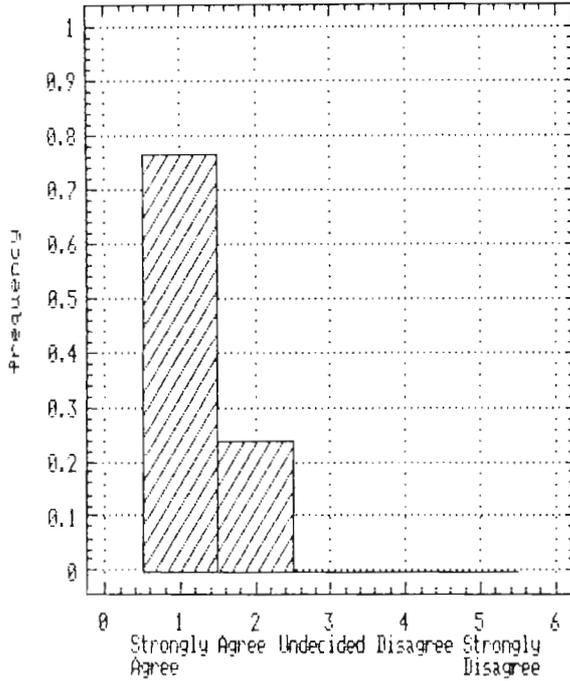
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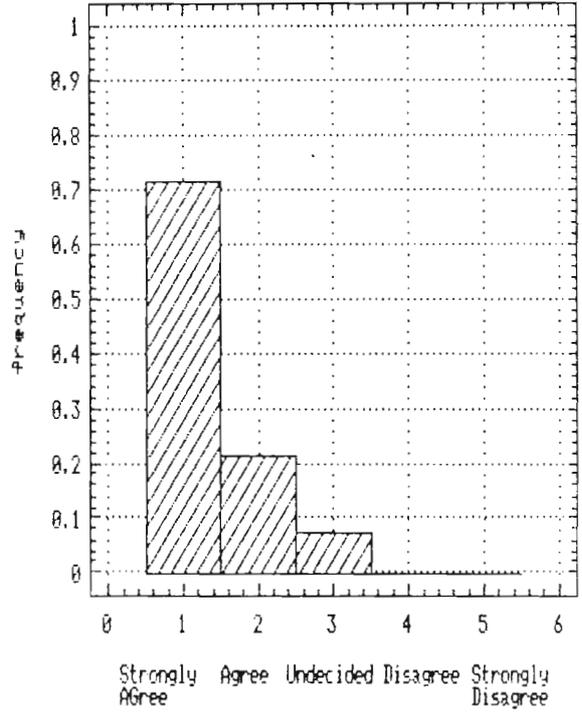
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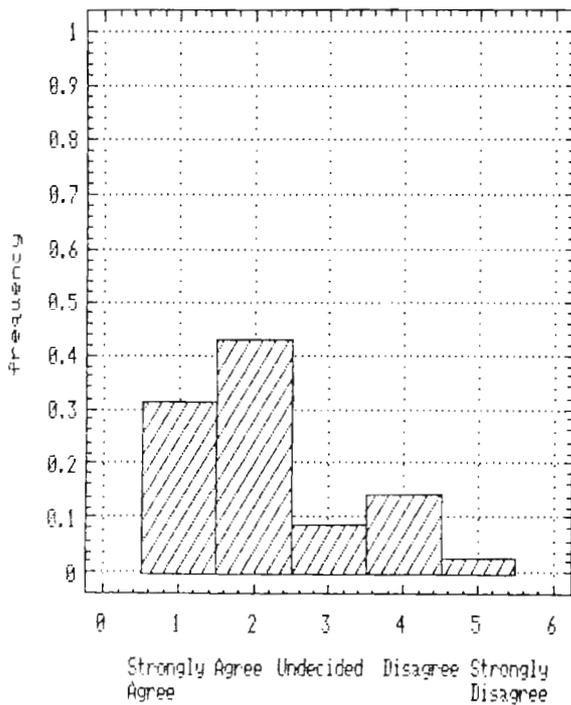
'This school helps me communicate better
with other racial groups'
BLACK FEMALES



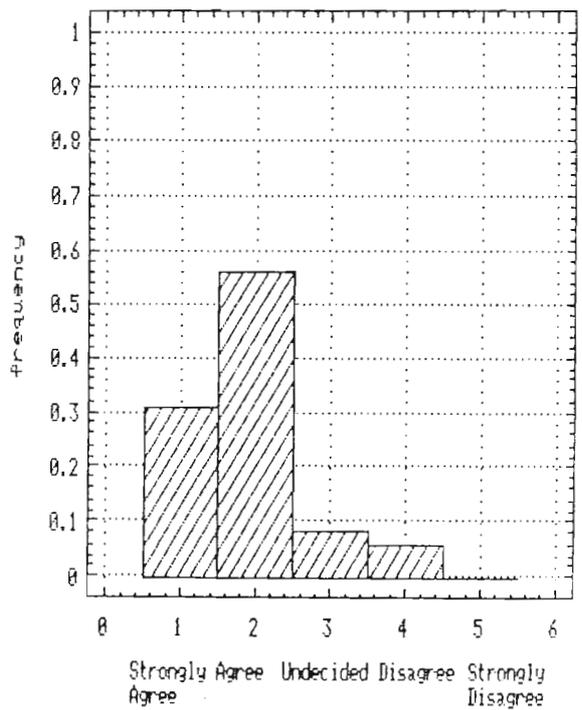
'This school helps me communicate better
with other racial groups'
BLACK MALES



WHITE FEMALES

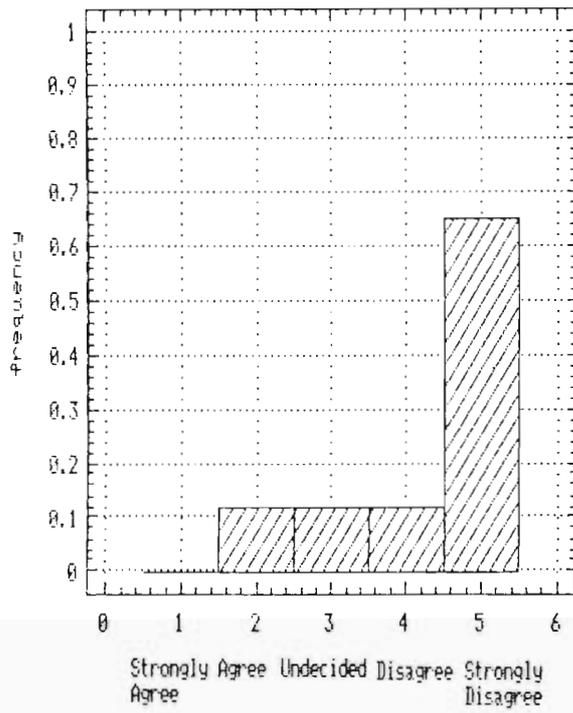


WHITE MALES



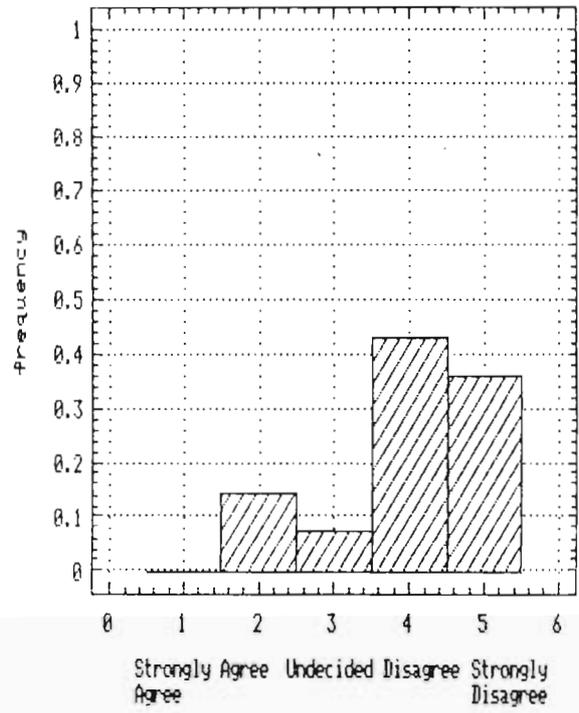
'The standard of education at this school is low'

BLACK FEMALES

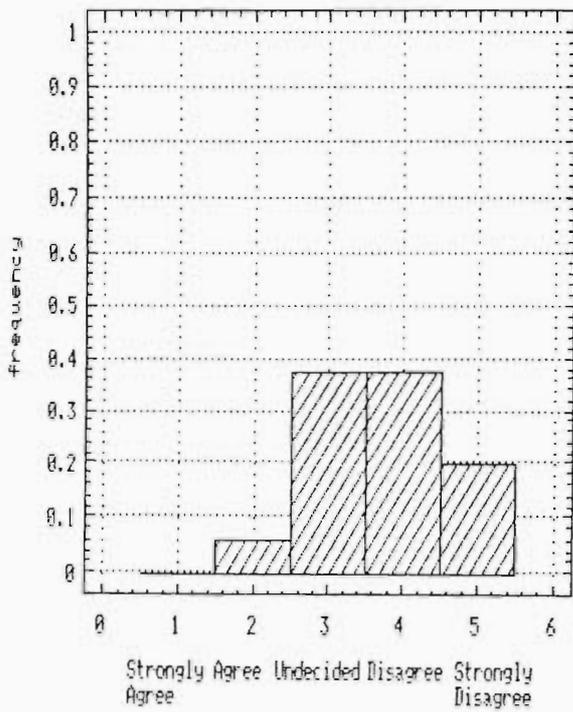


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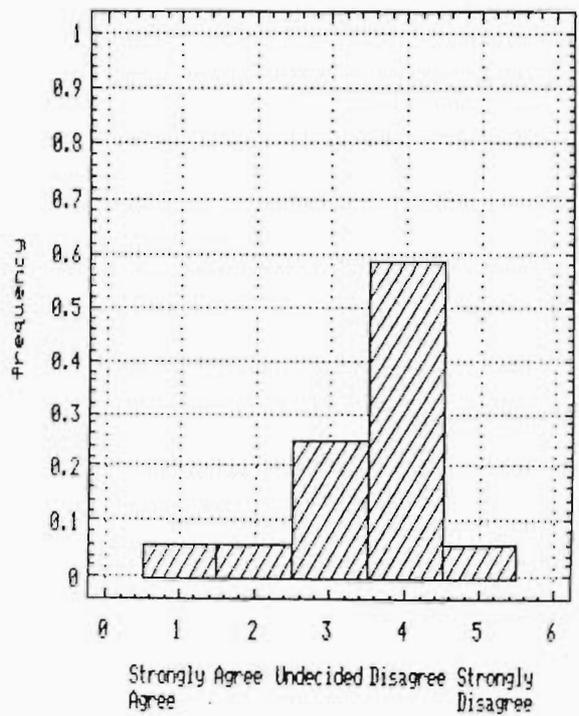
BLACK MALES



WHITE FEMALES

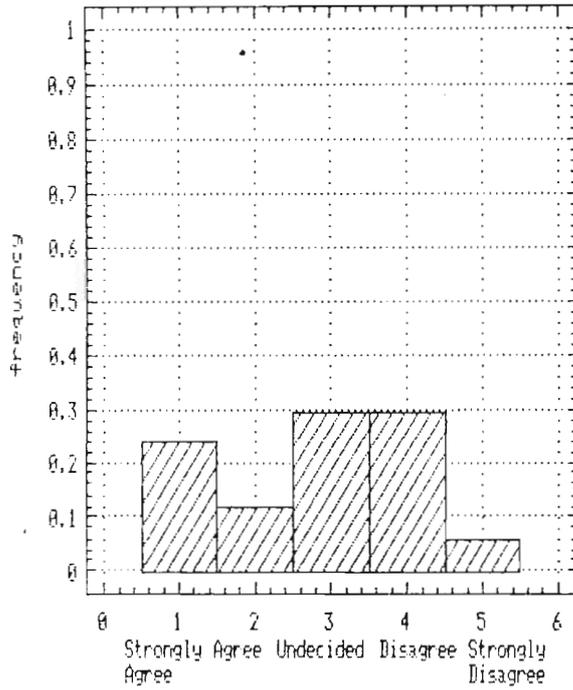


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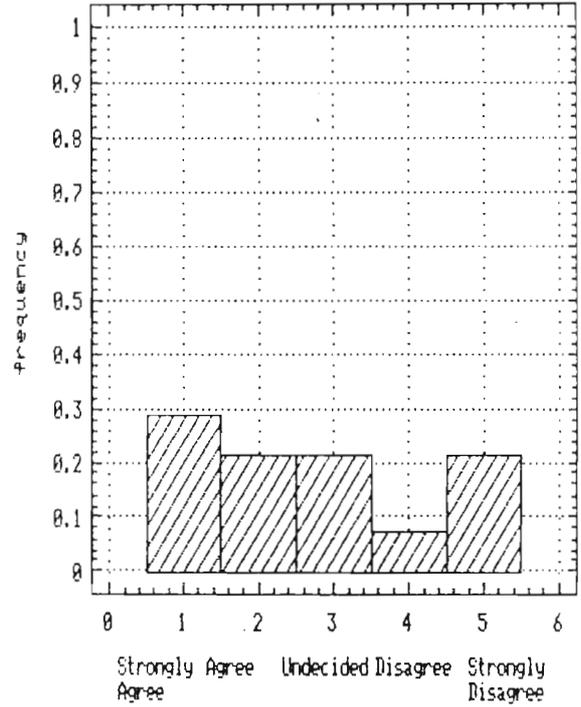
'It should be compulsory for all pupils to learn an African language at some stage'

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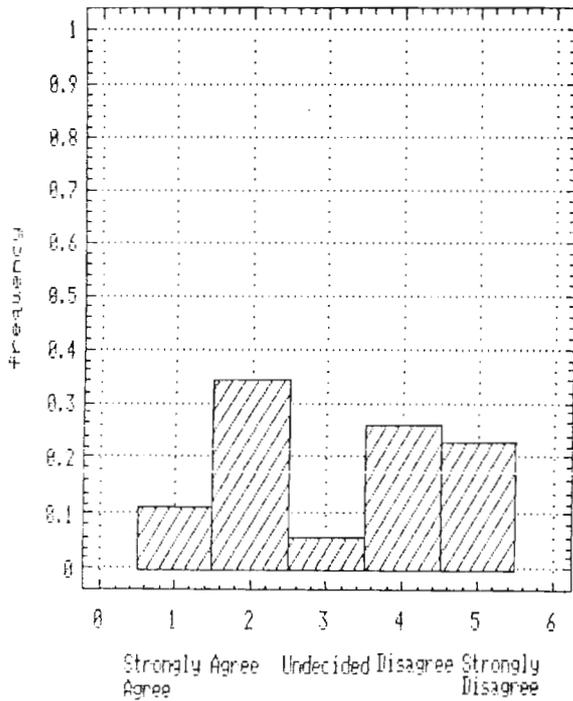


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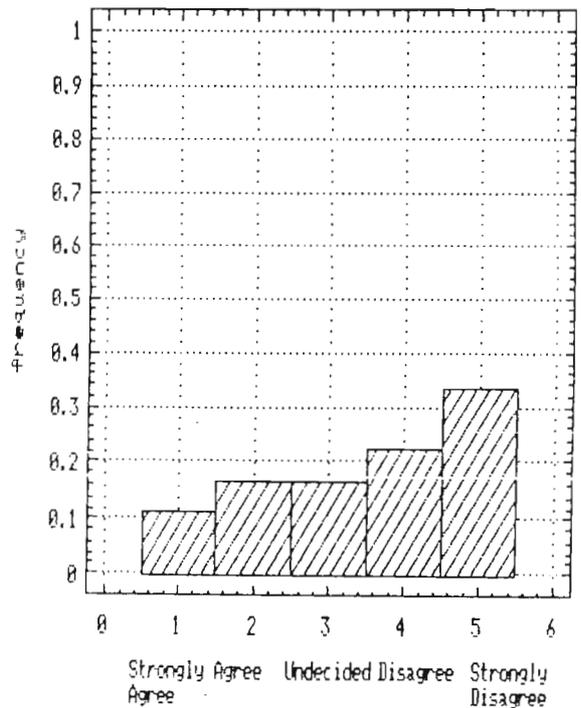
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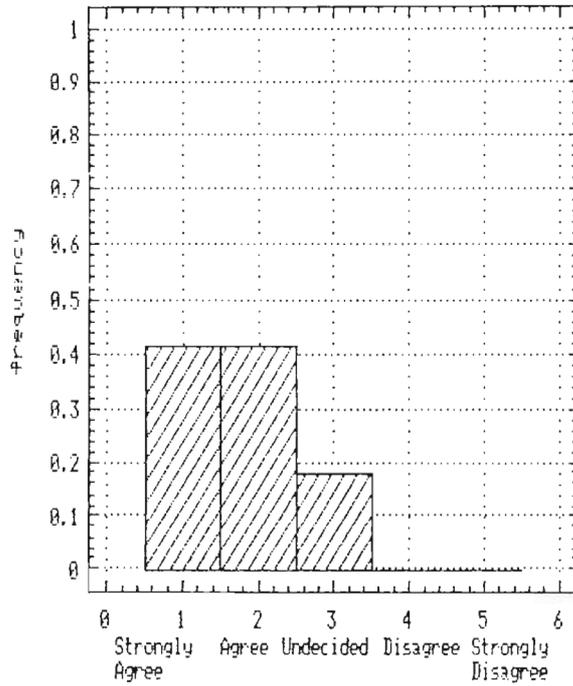
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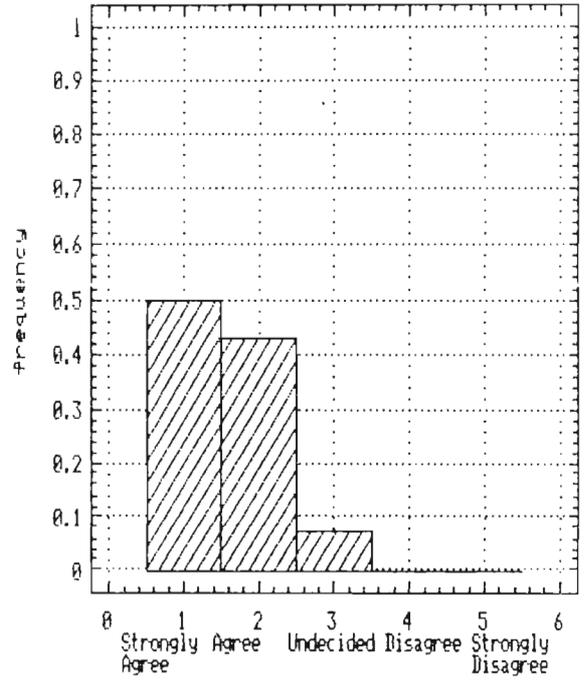
'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups'

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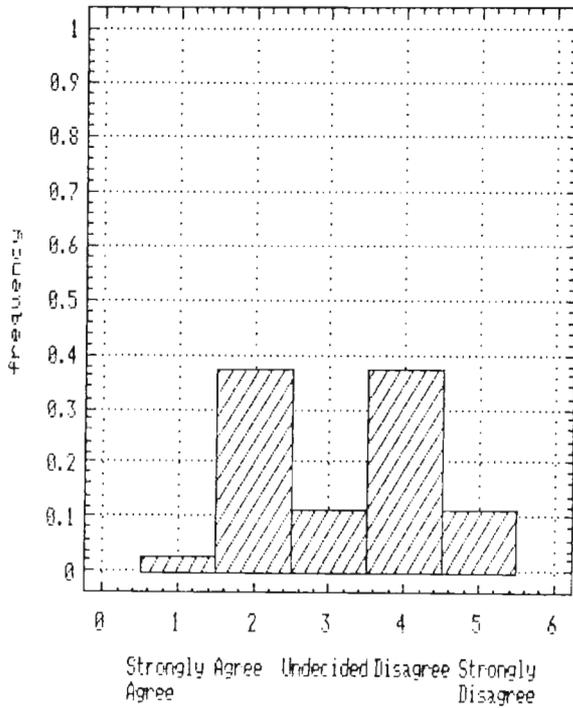
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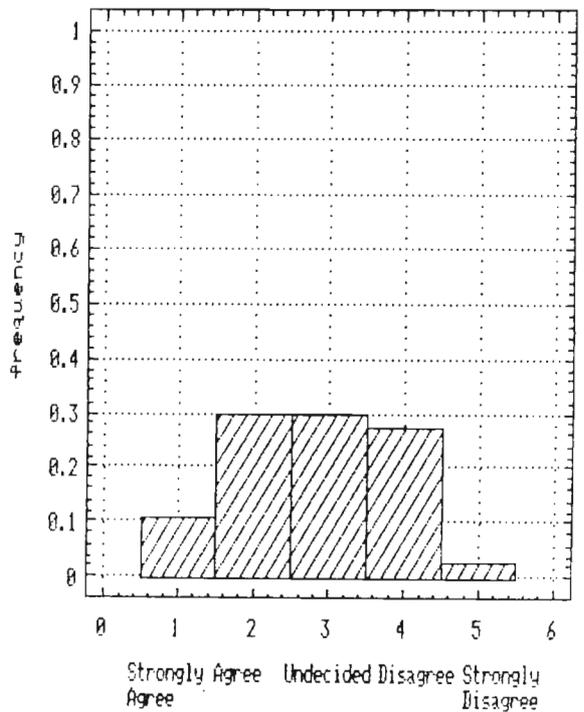
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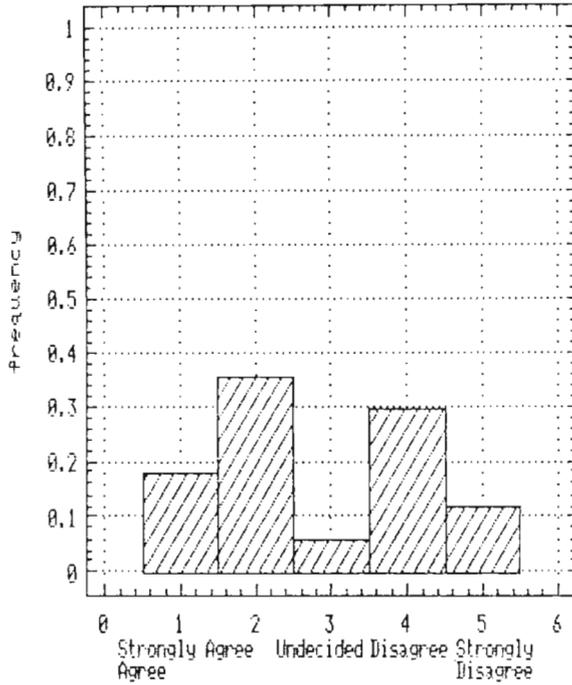


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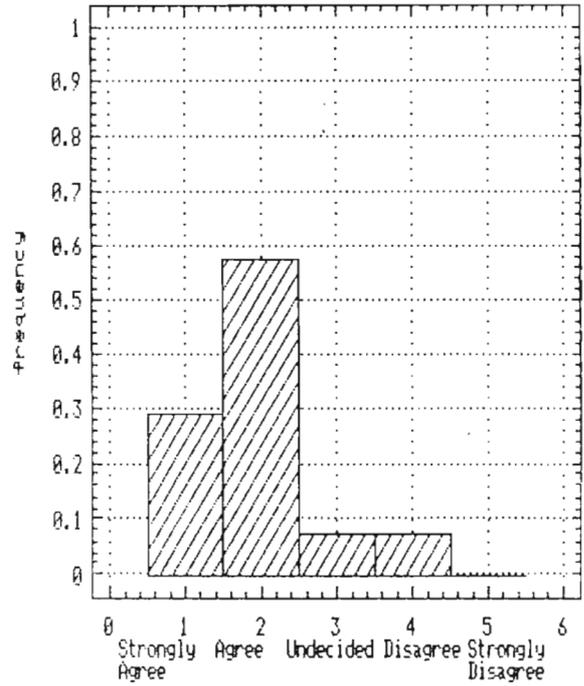
'The black pupils in this school behave better than the black pupils outside the school'

BLACK FEMALES

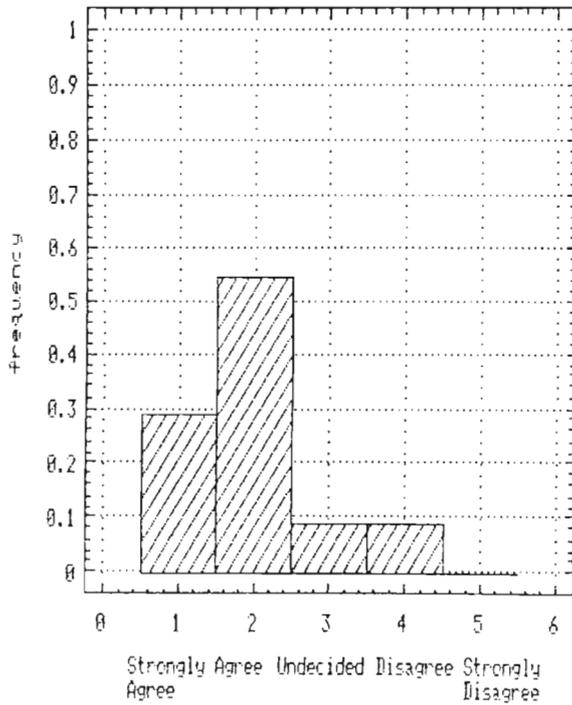


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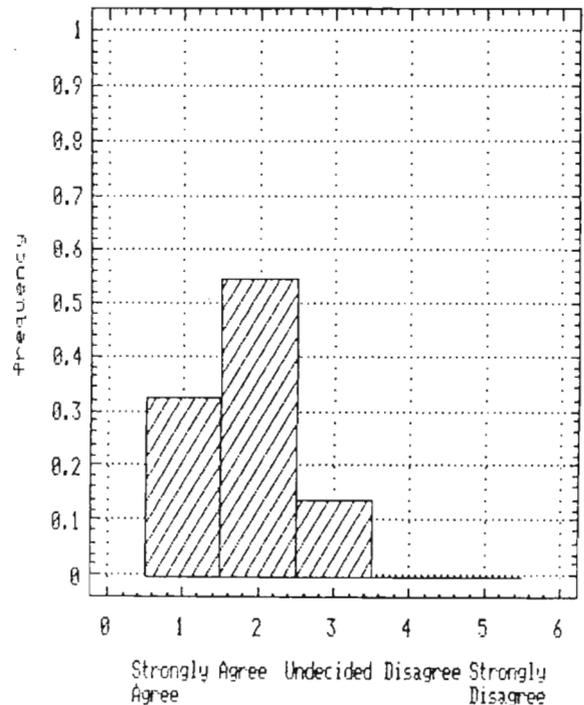
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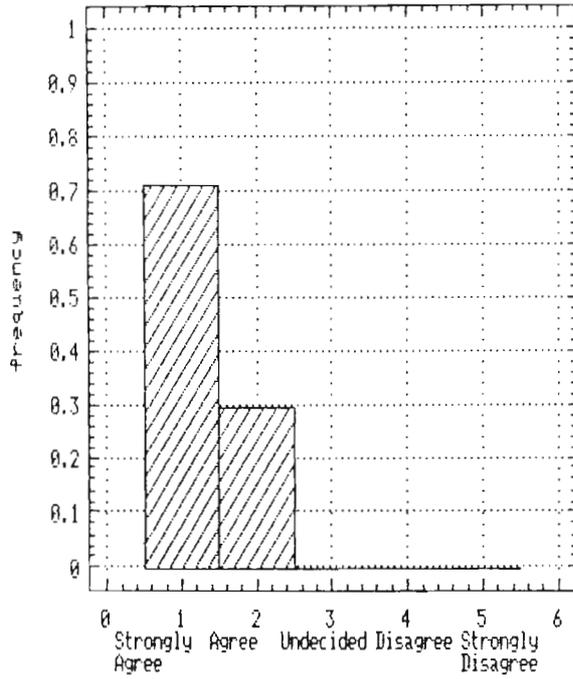


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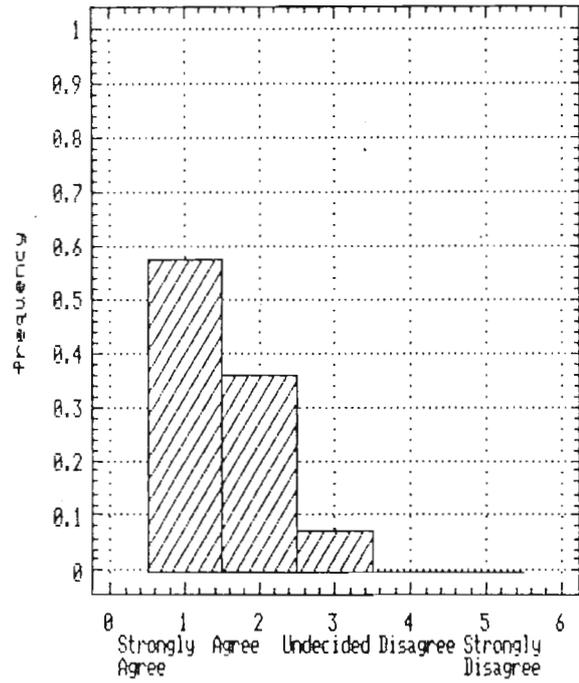
'Black people should be free to live where they like'

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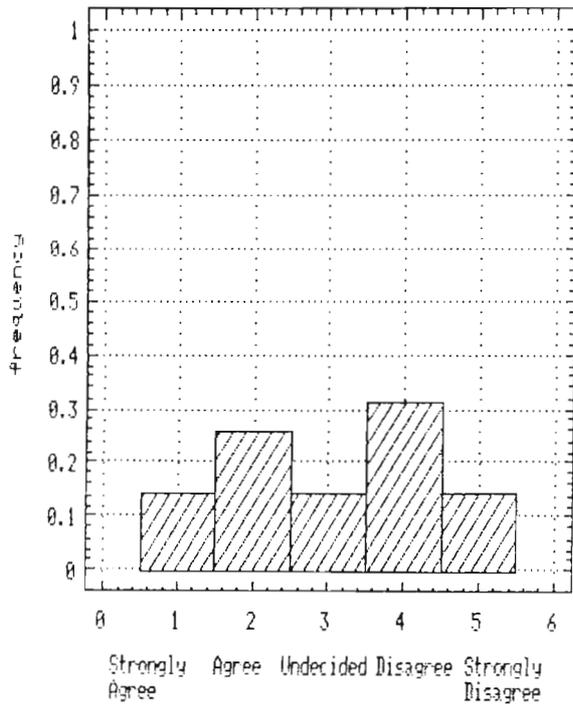


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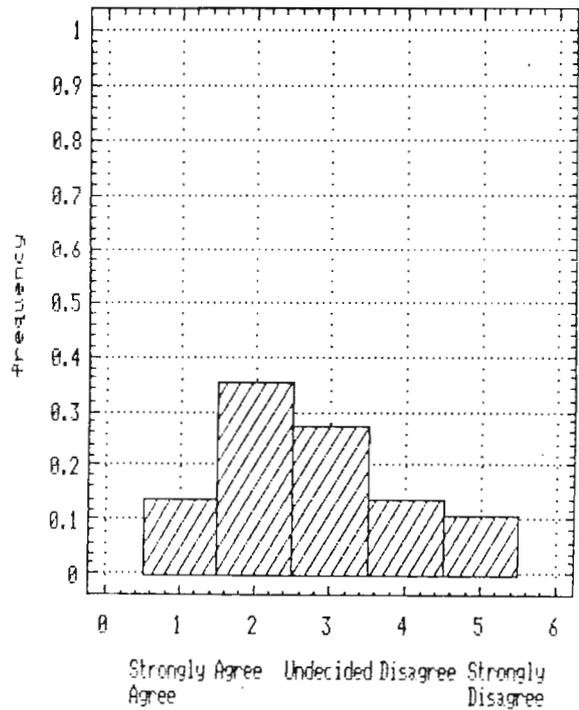
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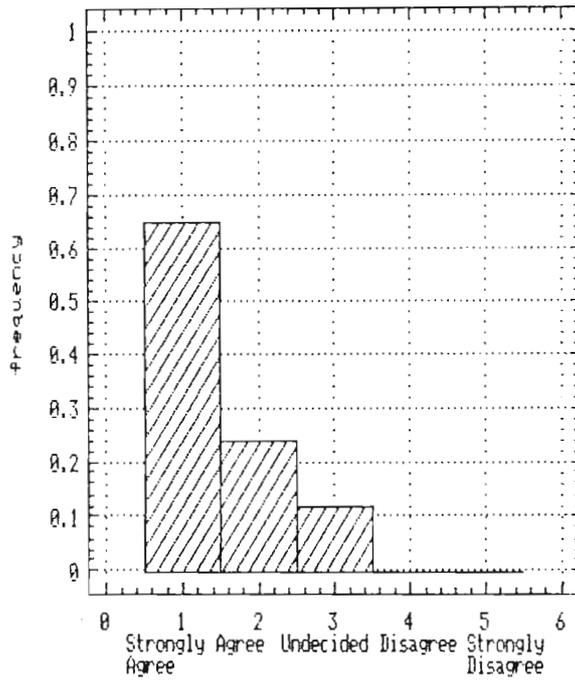


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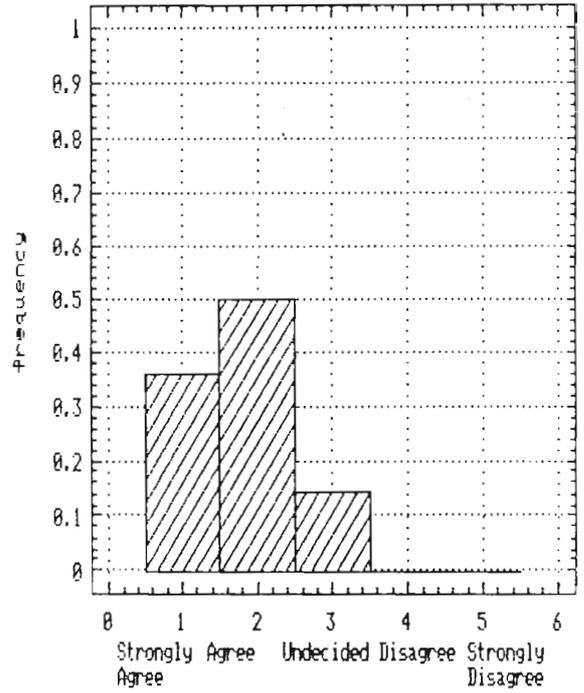
'There should be social change in South Africa'

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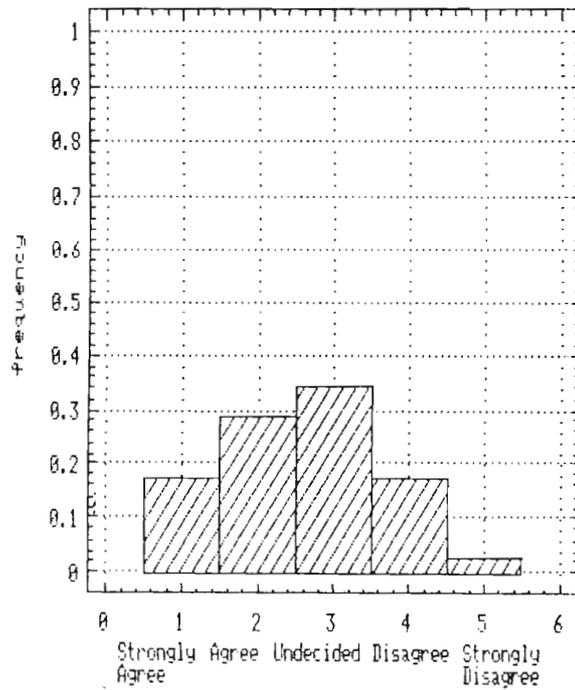


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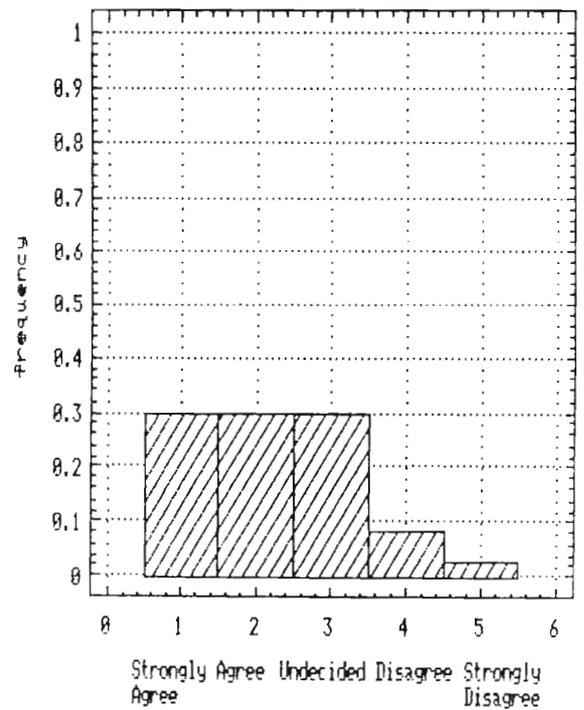
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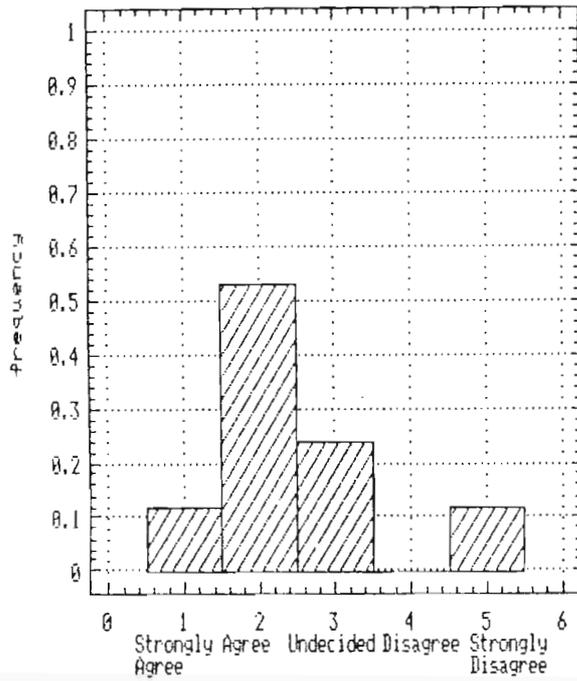


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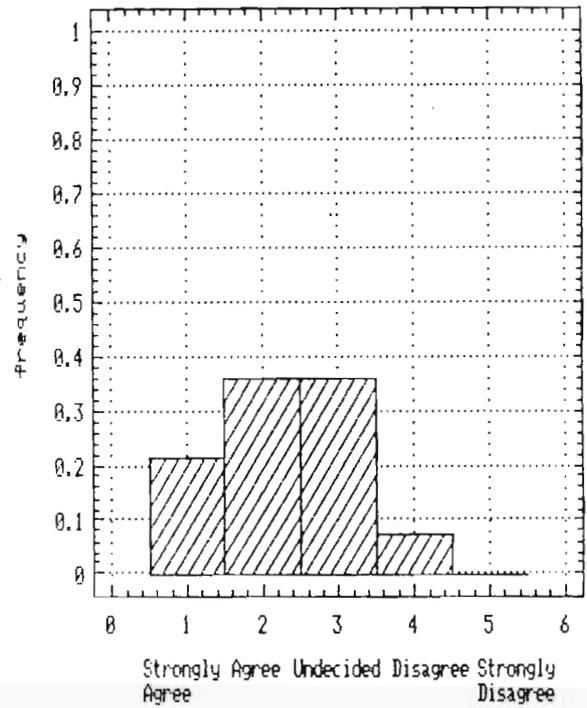
'I feel personally concerned about the social problems facing South Africa'

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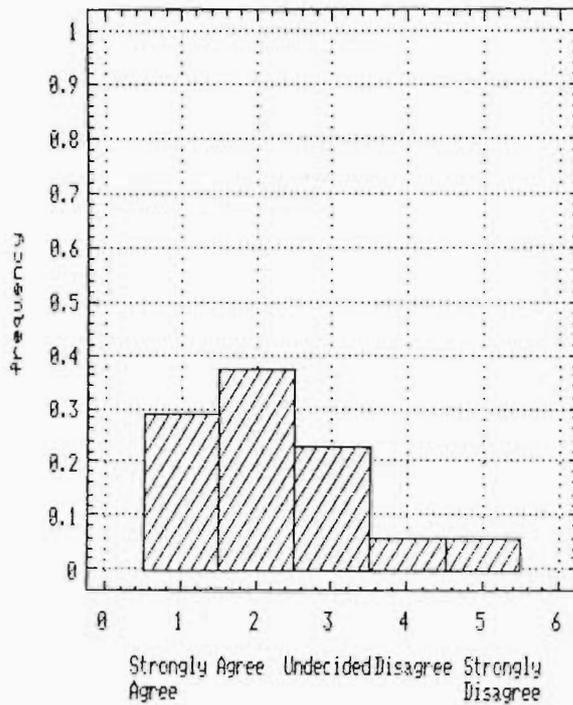


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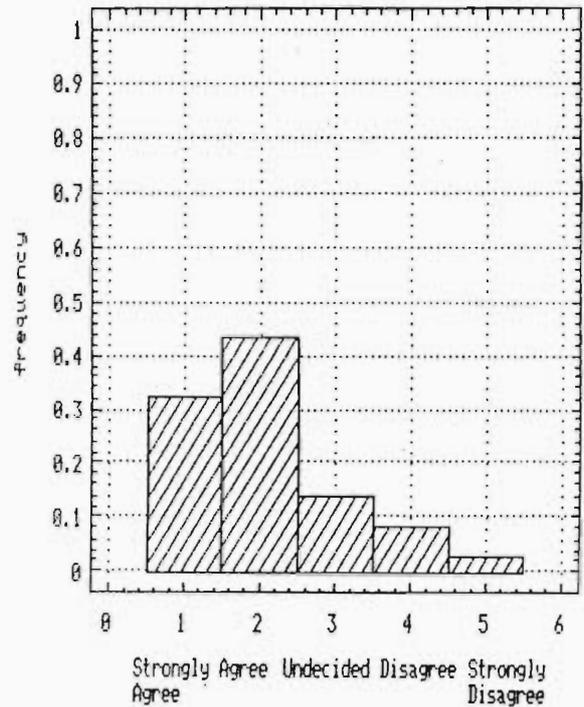
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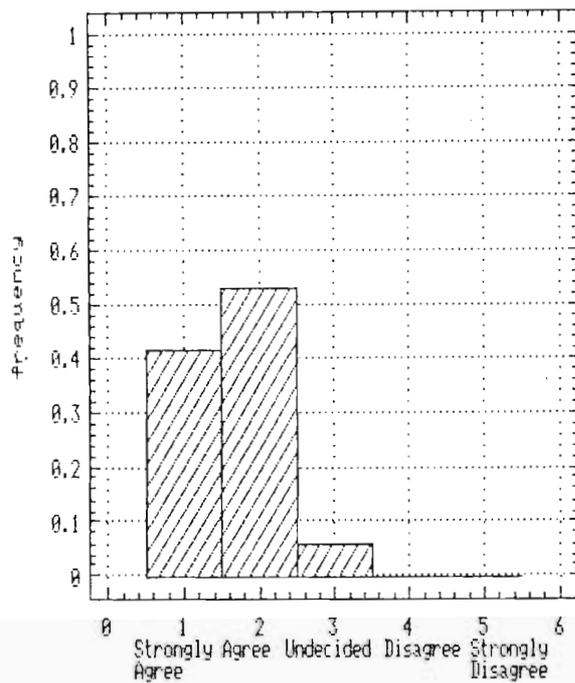


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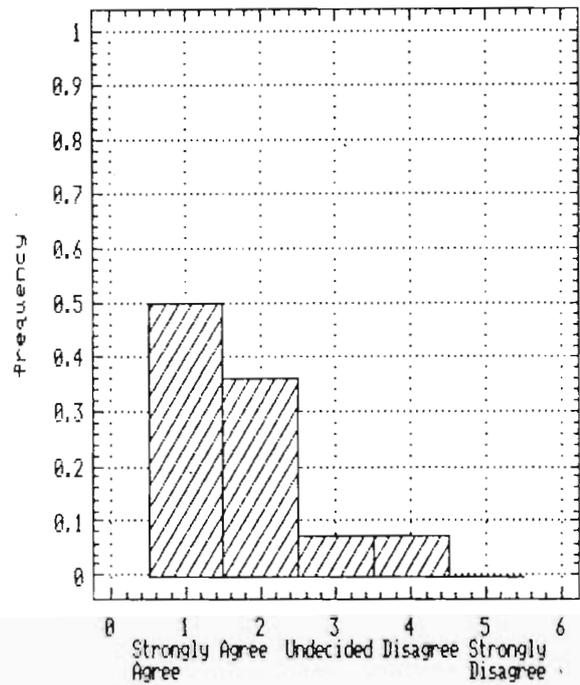
'Teachers at this school care about me as a person'

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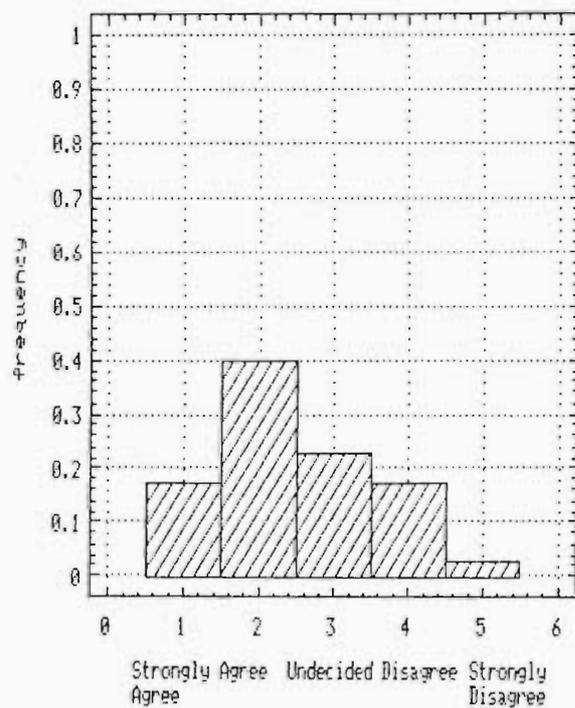


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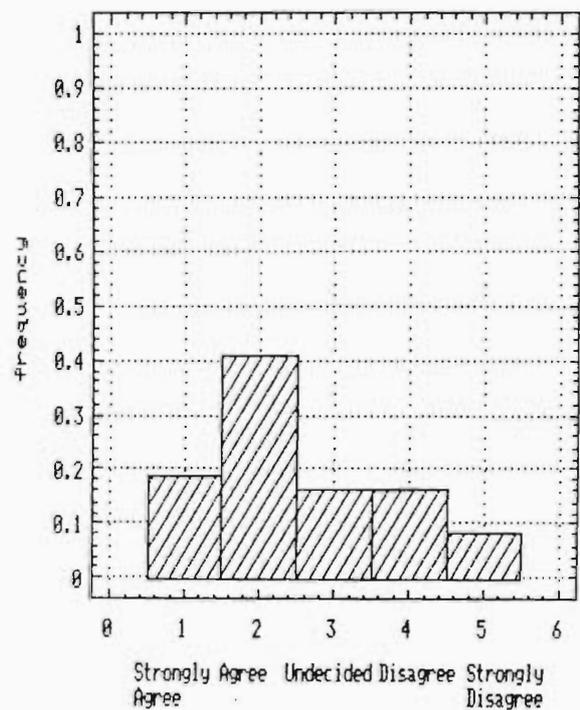
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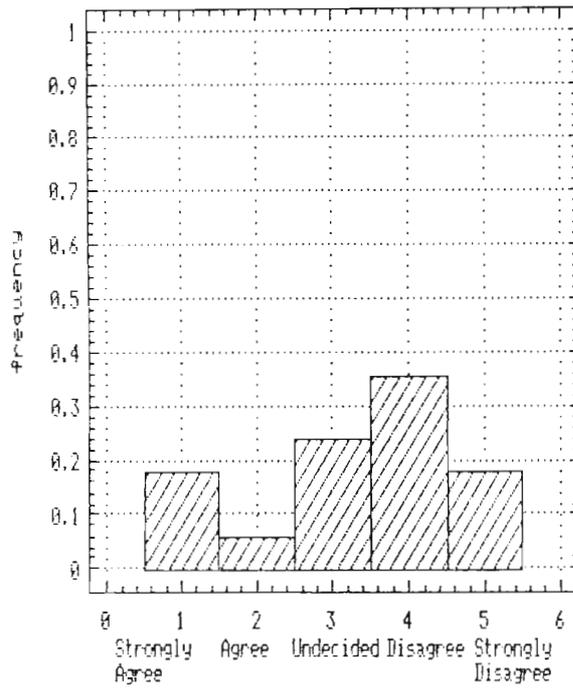


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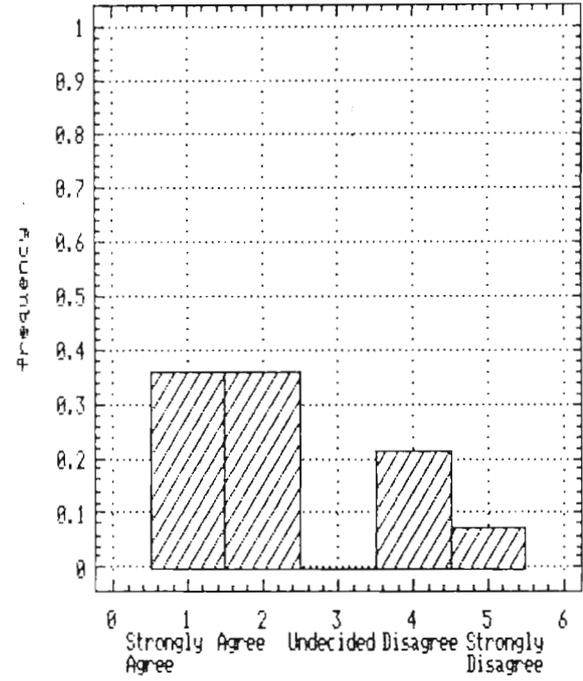
'The discipline in this school is too strict'

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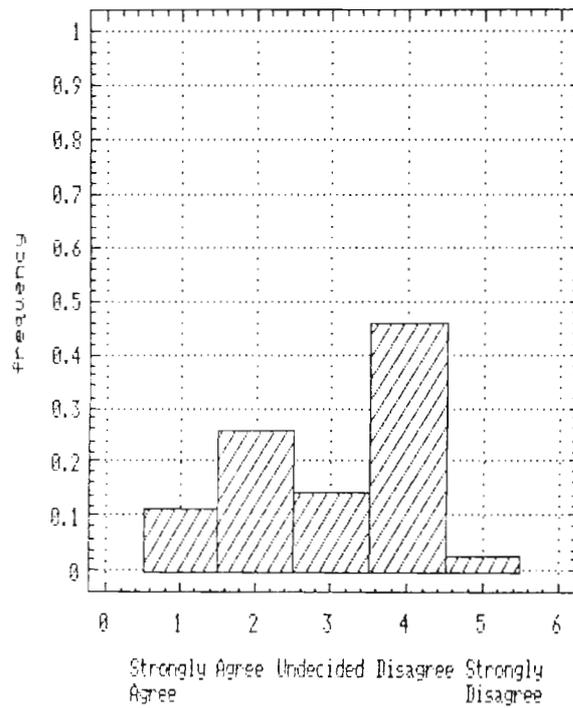


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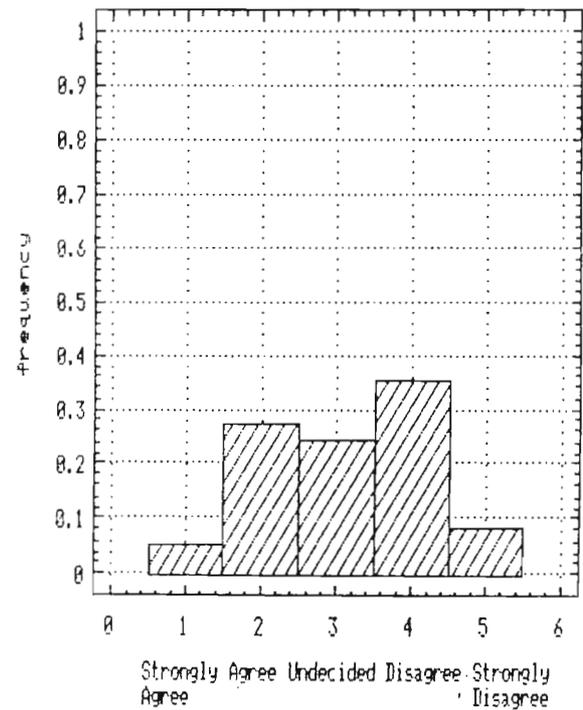
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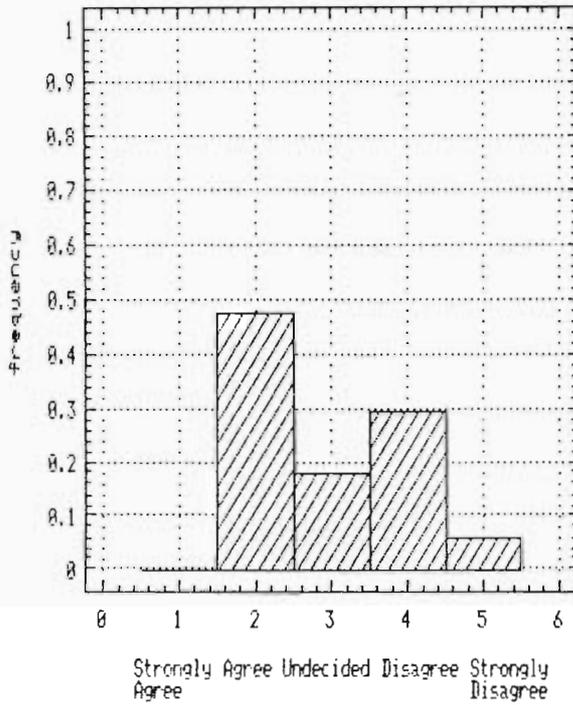


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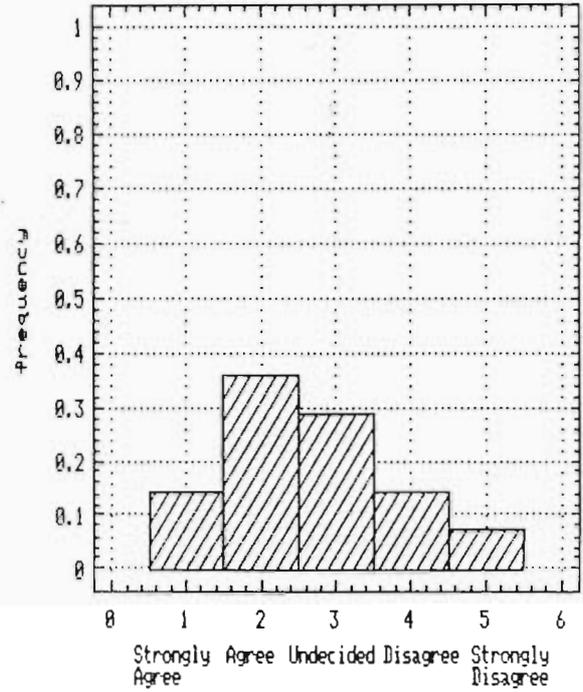
'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views'

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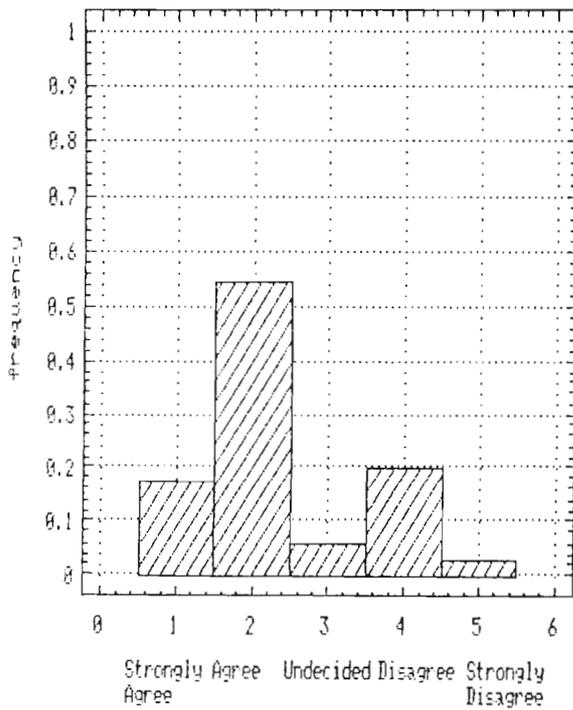


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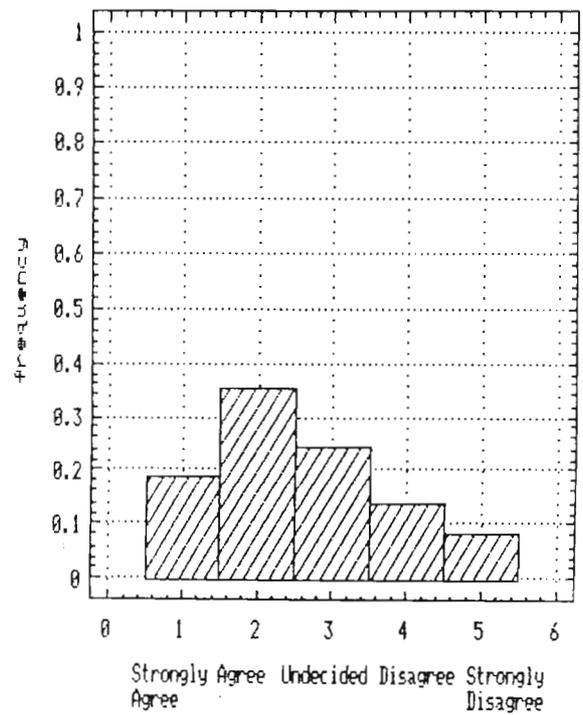
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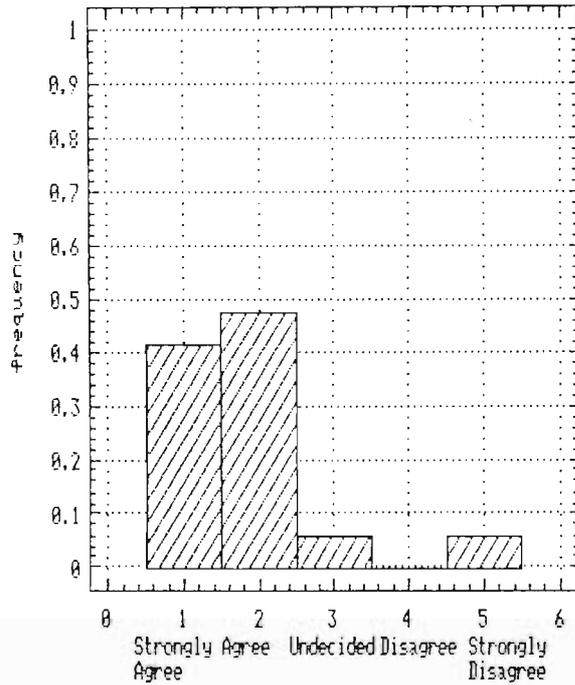


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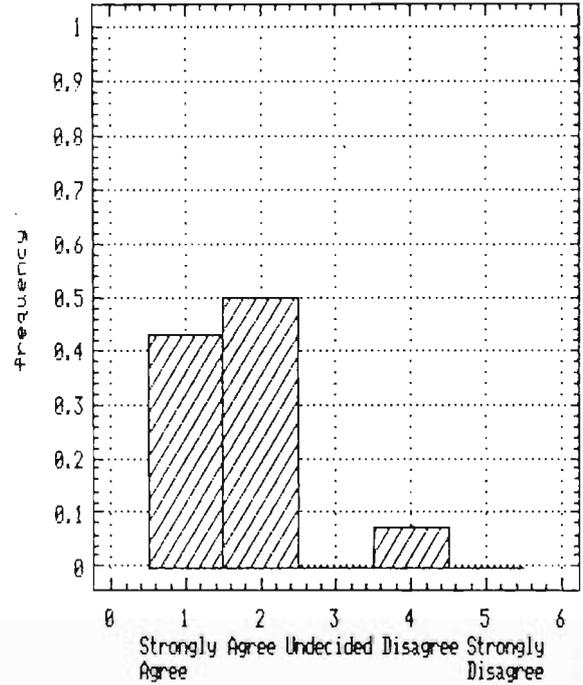
'I am happy at this school'

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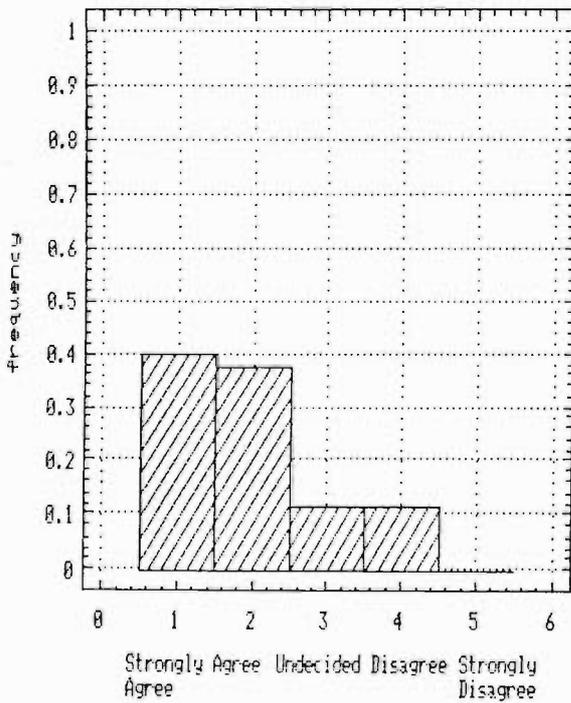


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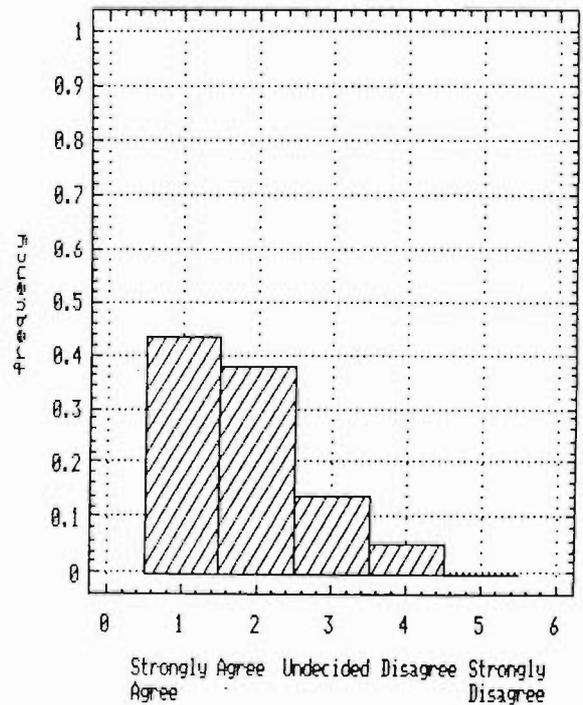
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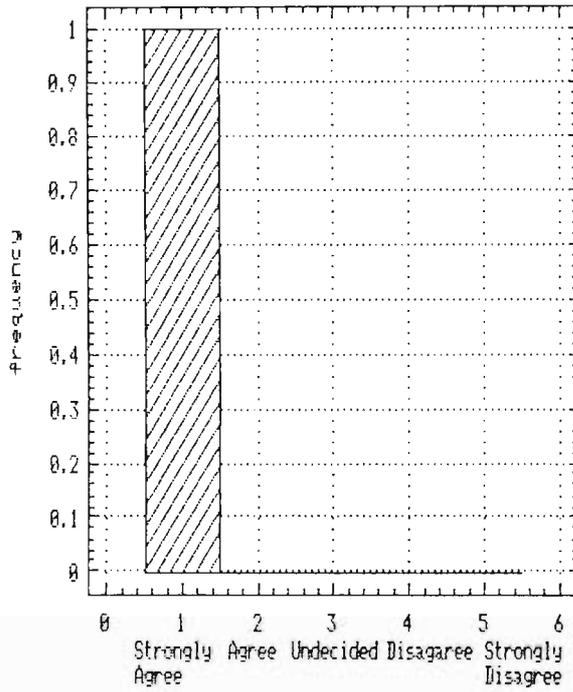


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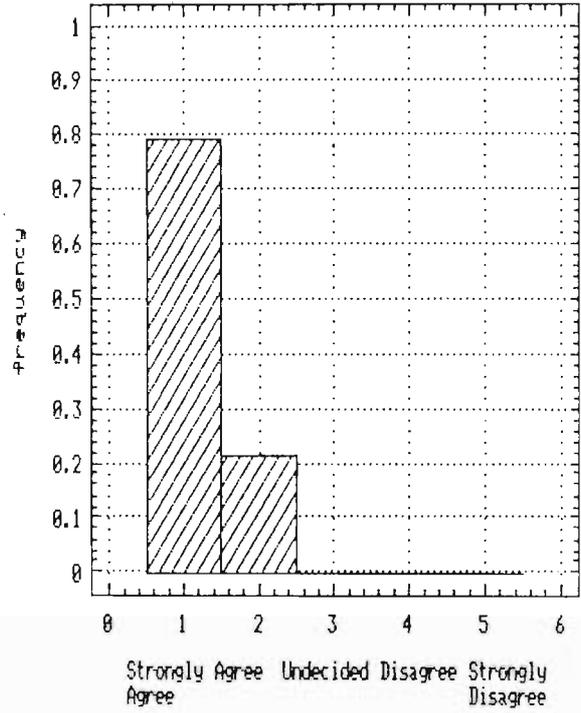
'Education is the key to my future'

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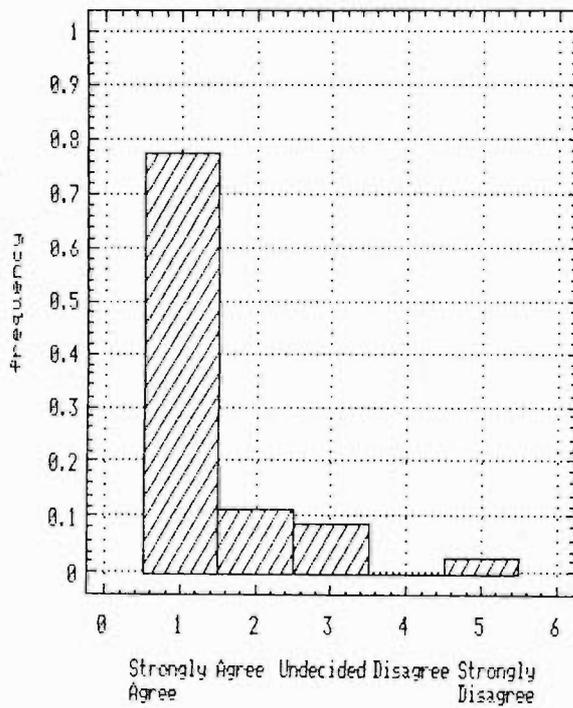


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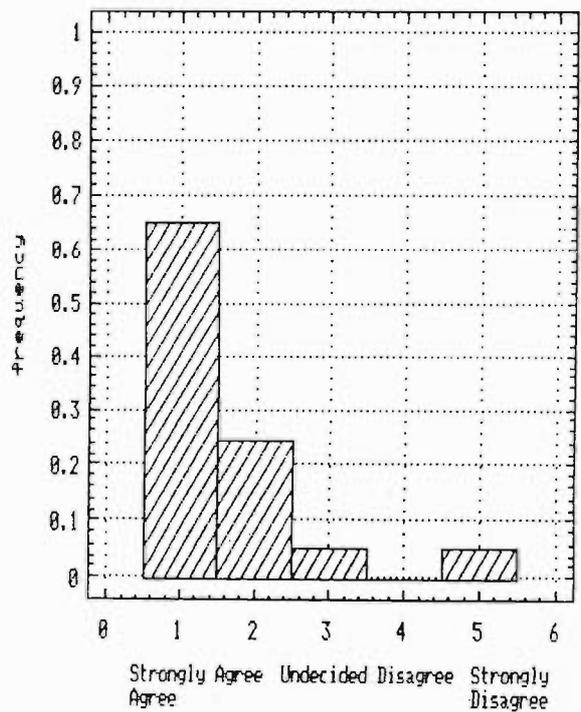
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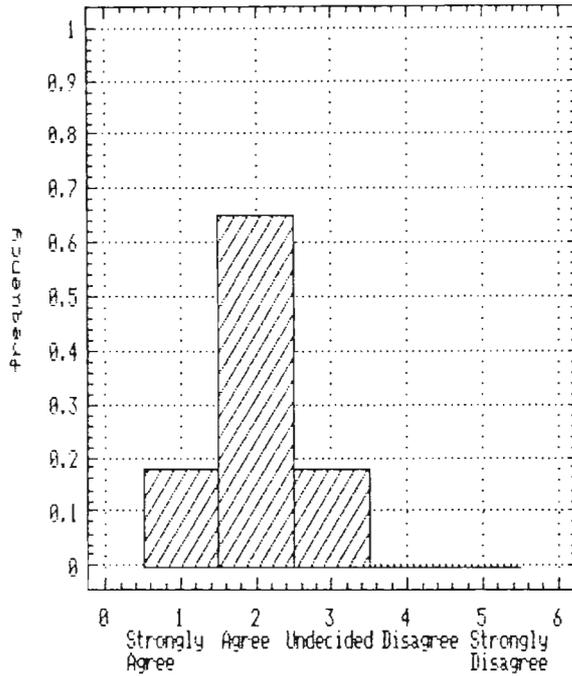


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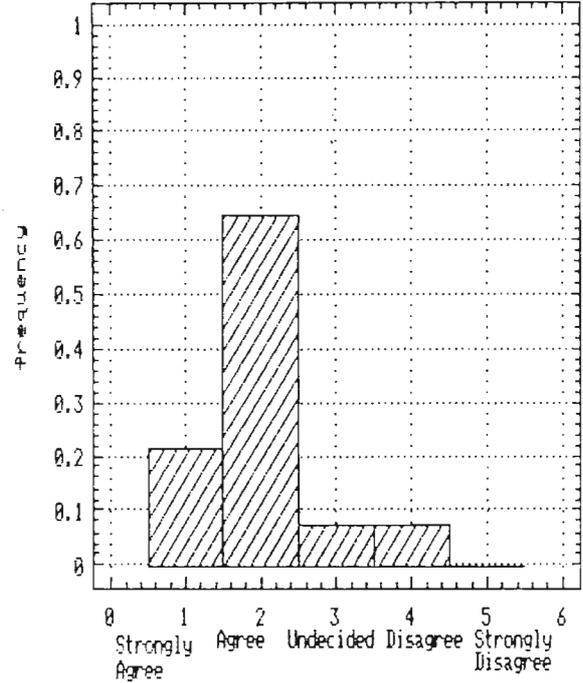
'This school helps me to have self-confidence'

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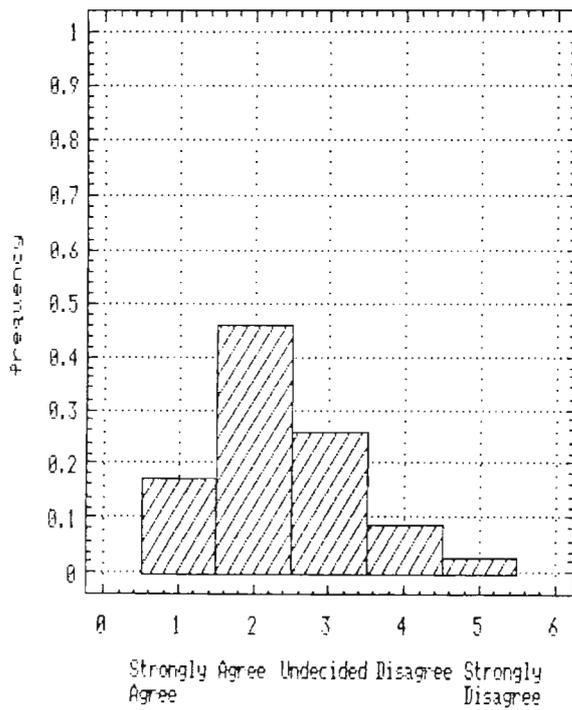


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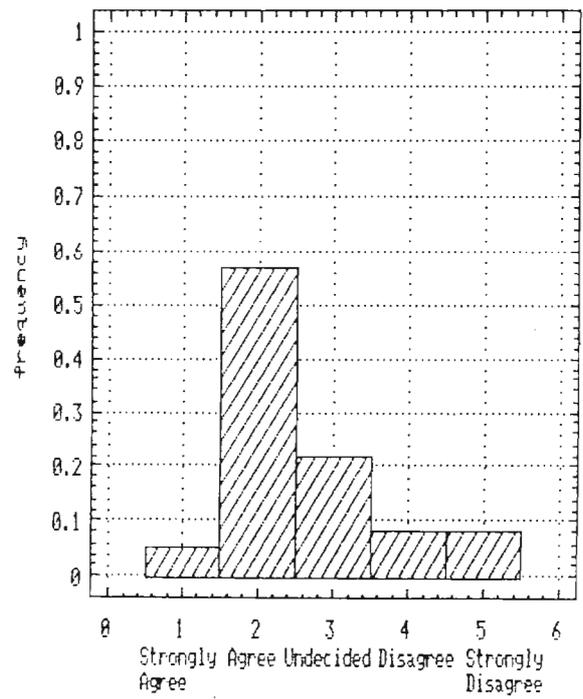
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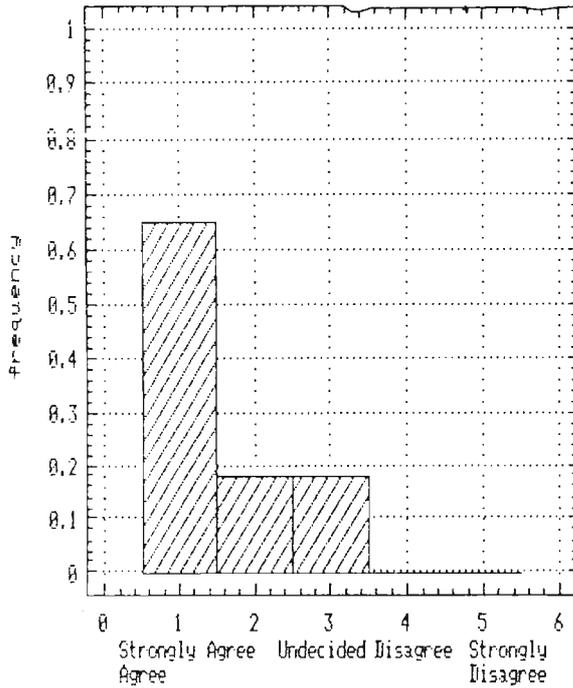


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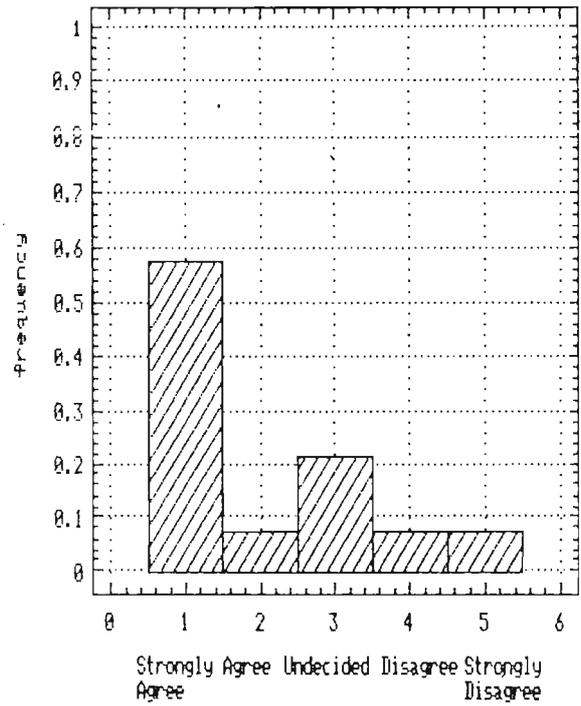
'Violence will never bring about political improvements'

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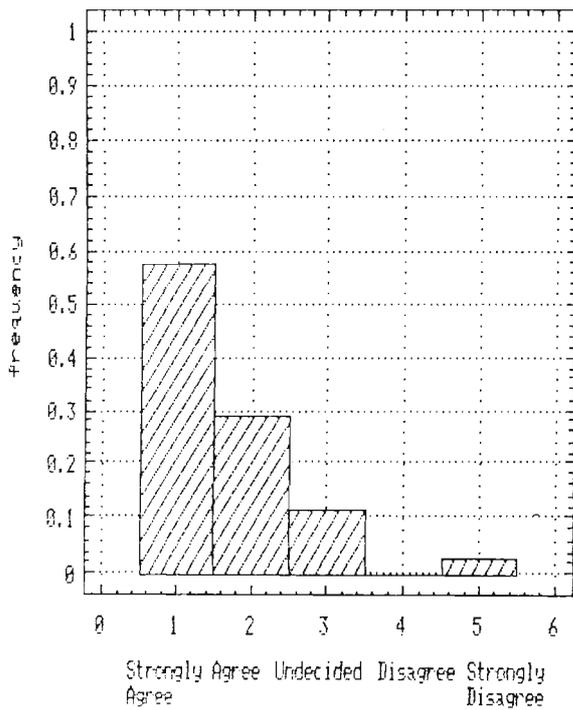


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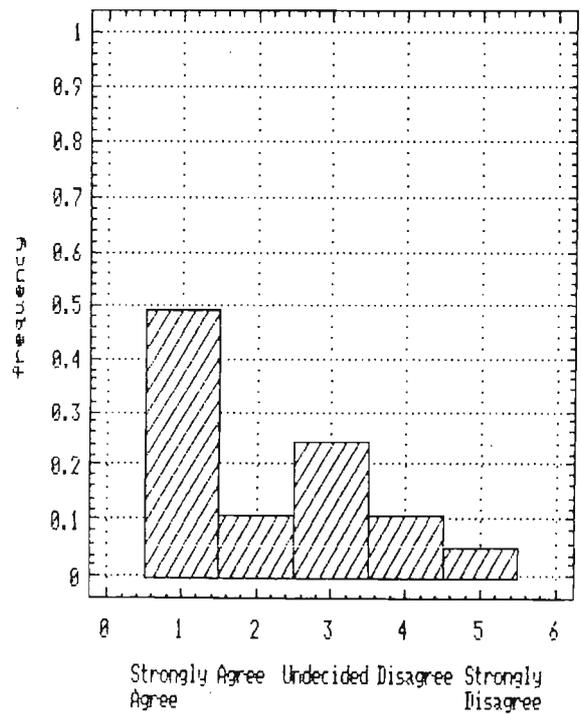
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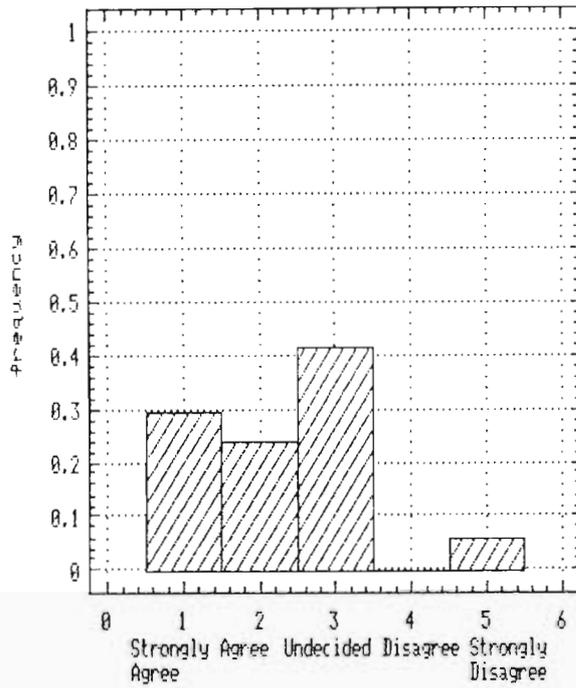


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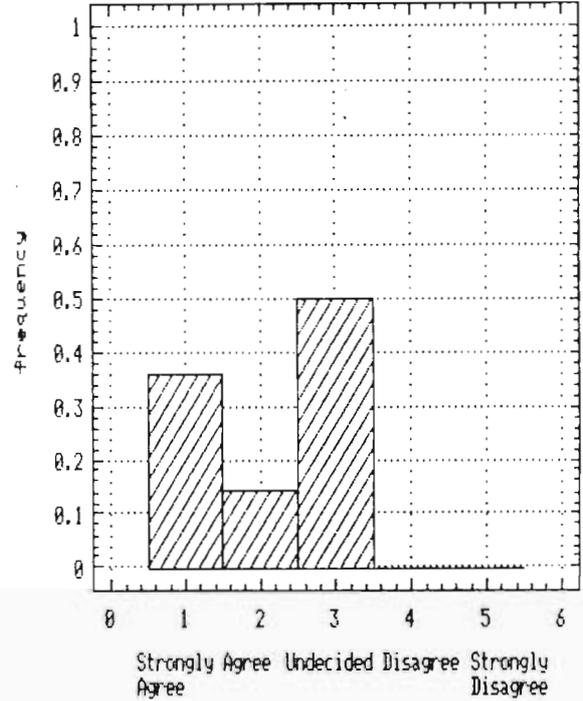
'Agitators (political troublemakers) are behind the unrest in South Africa

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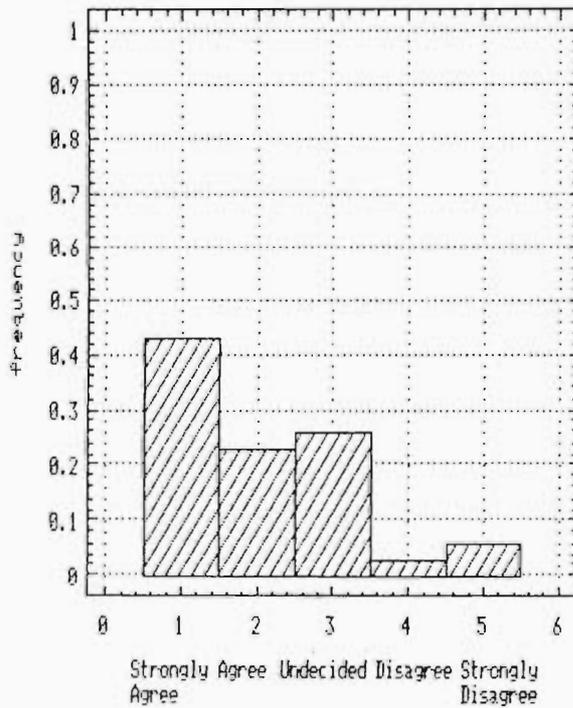


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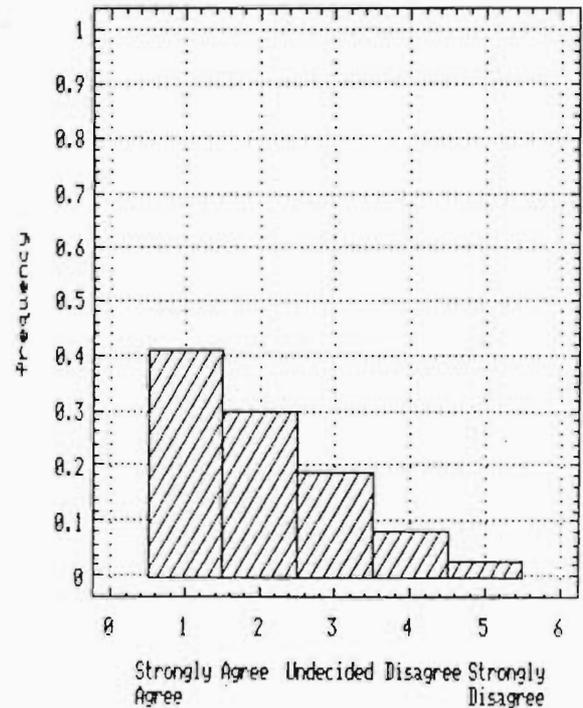
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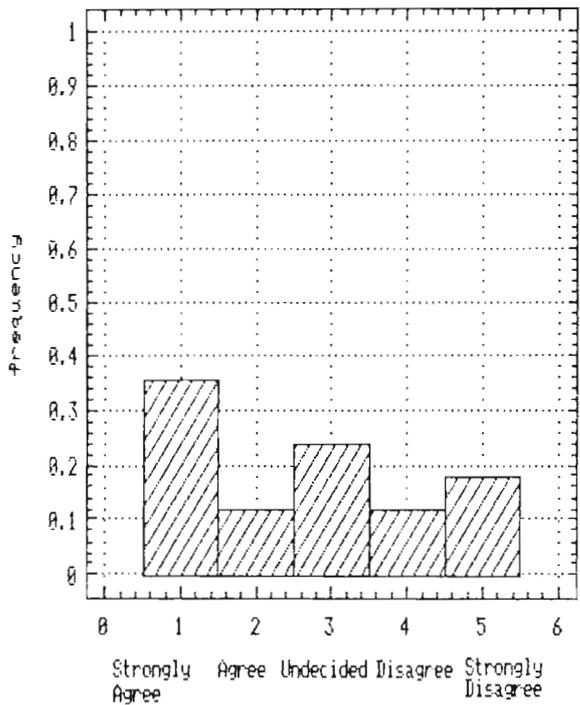
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JUST SIGNIFICANT

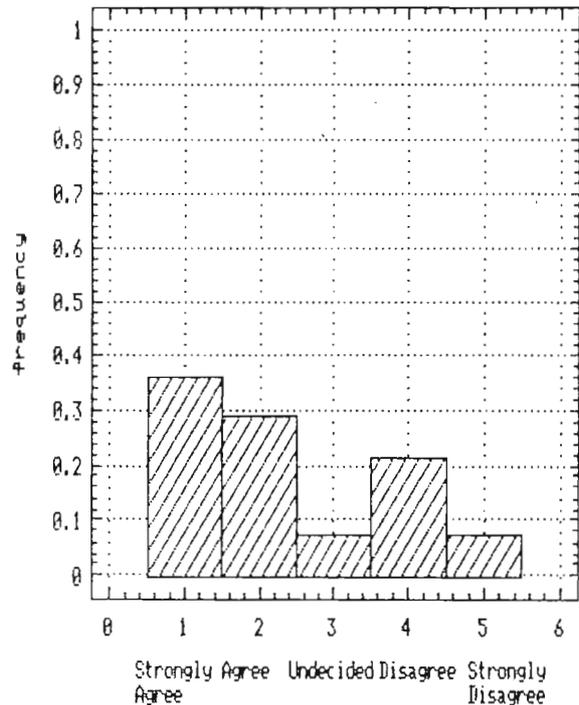
'Peace, law & order are more important than political rights'

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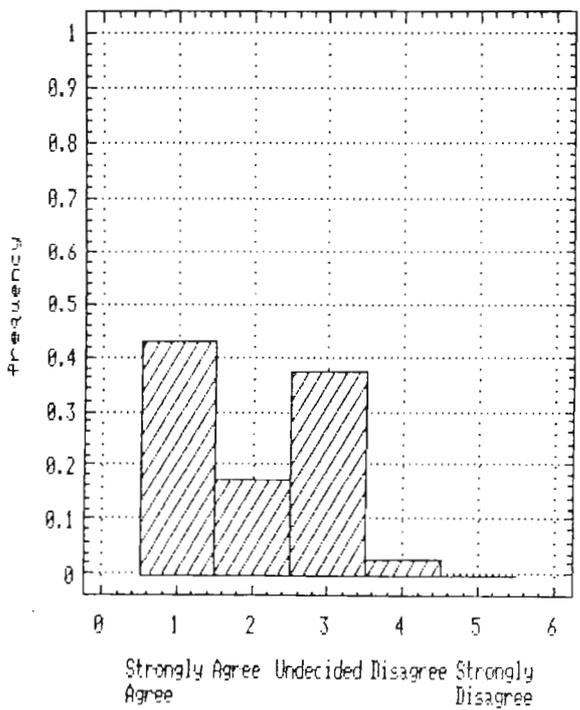


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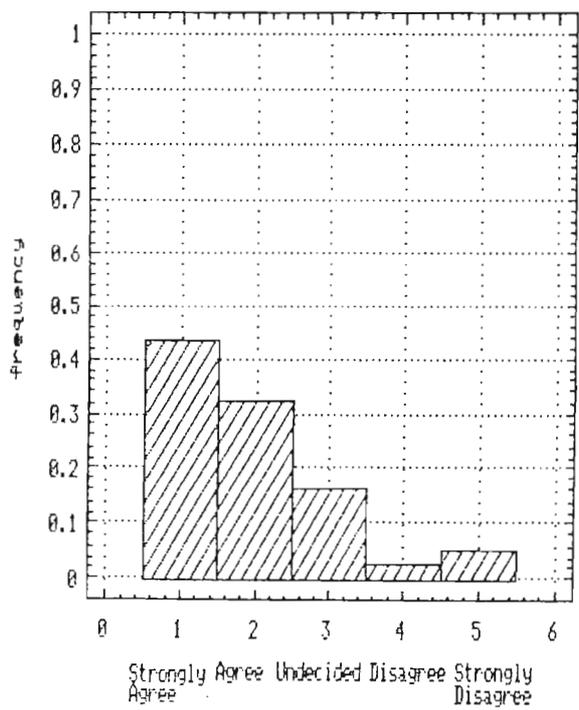
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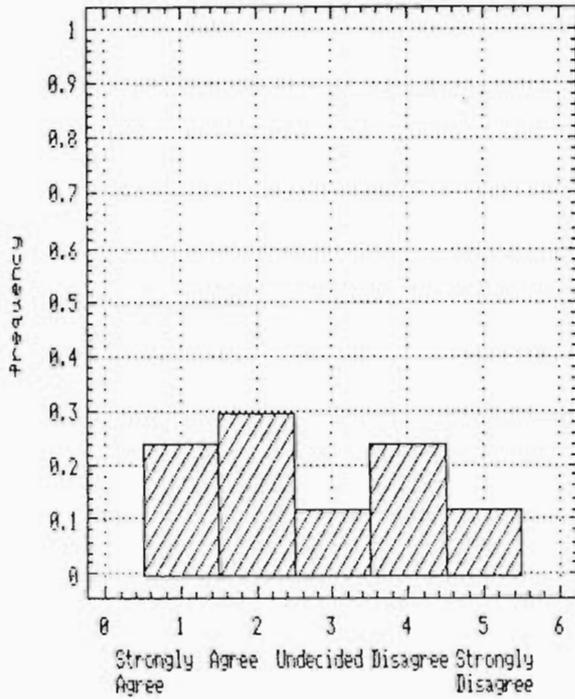


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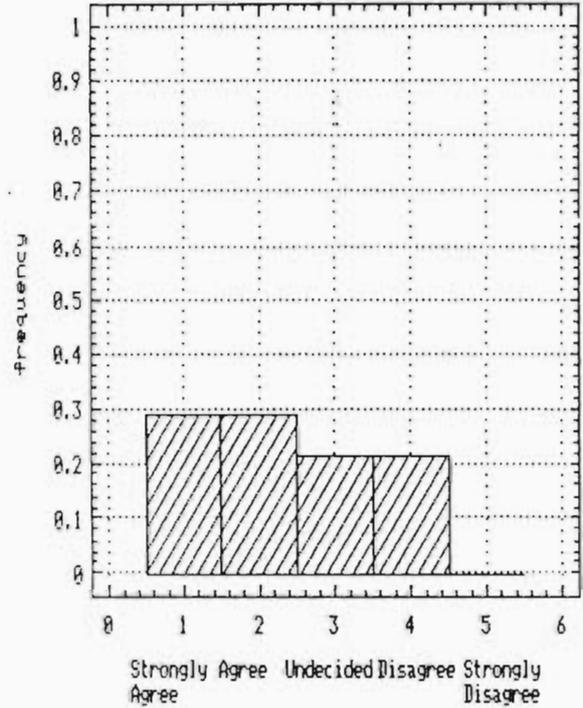
politics (power struggles); they simply want a decent education, home and job

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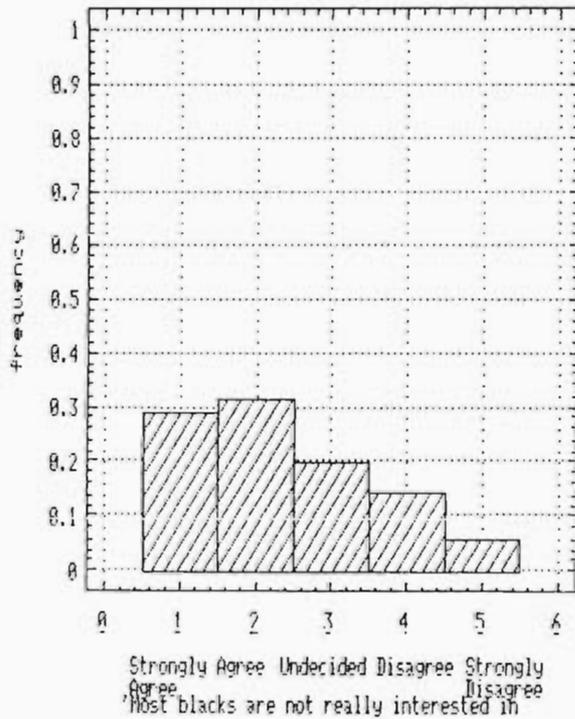


'Most blacks are not really interested in politics (power struggles); they simply want a decent education, home and job'

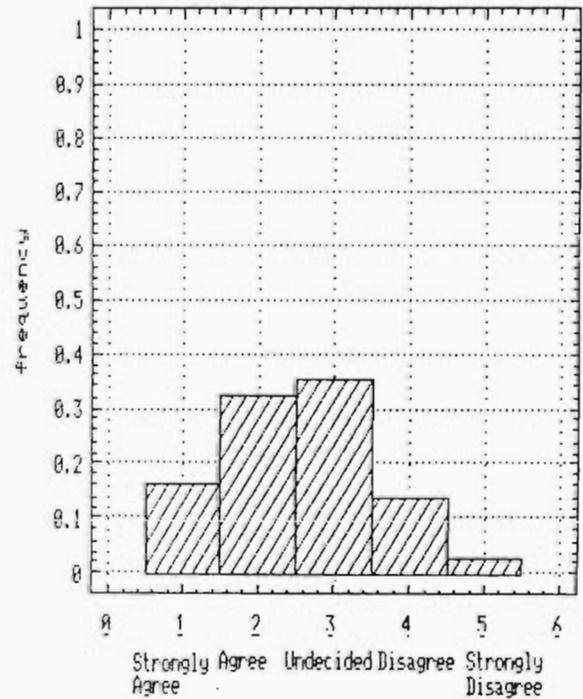
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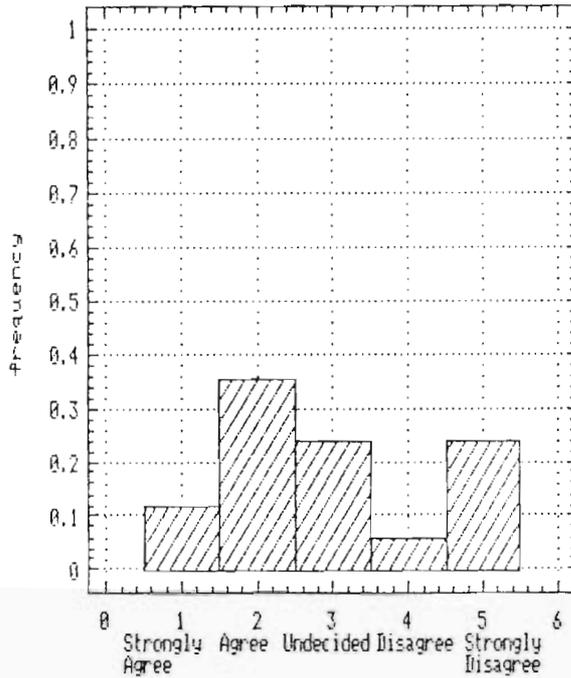


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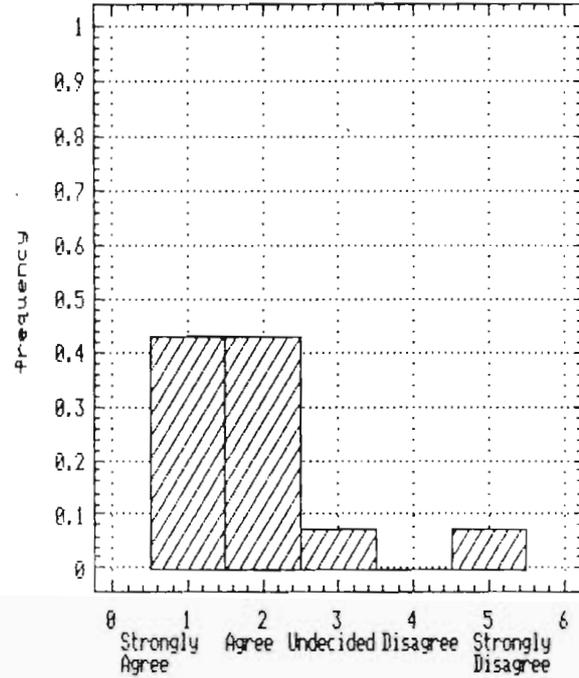
'Black people could be better off if they worked and tried harder'

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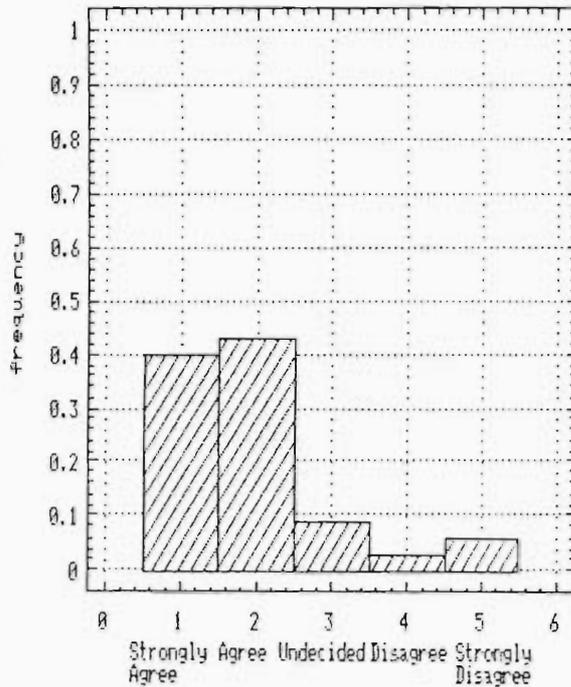


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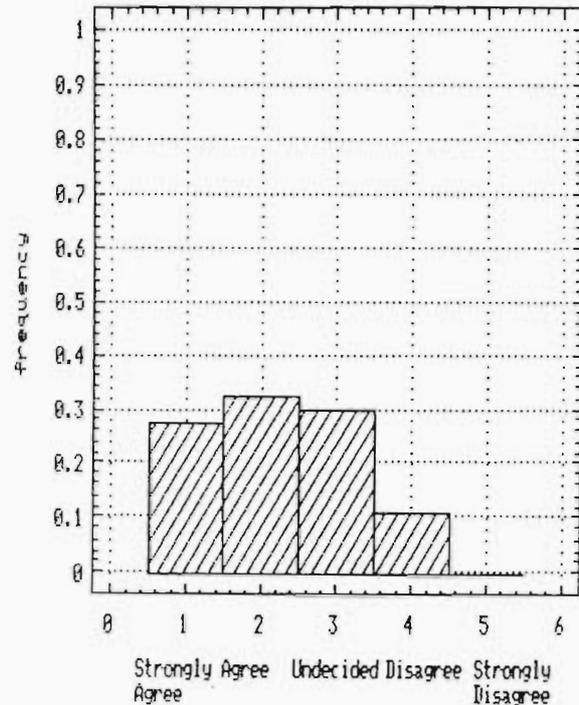
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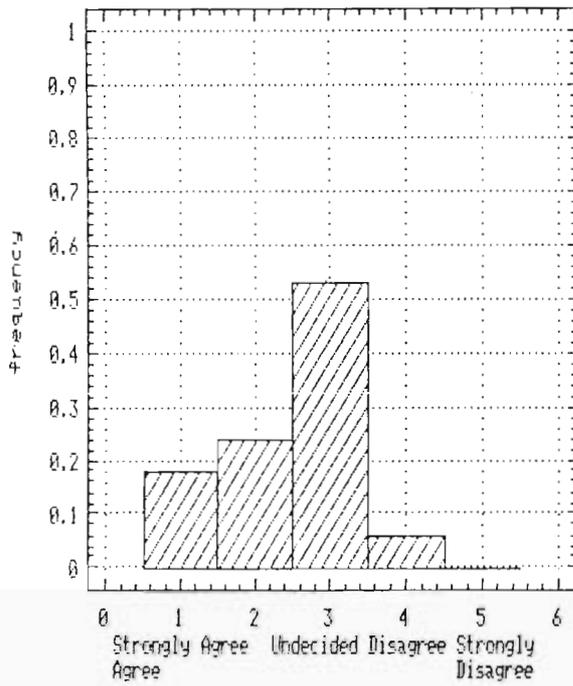
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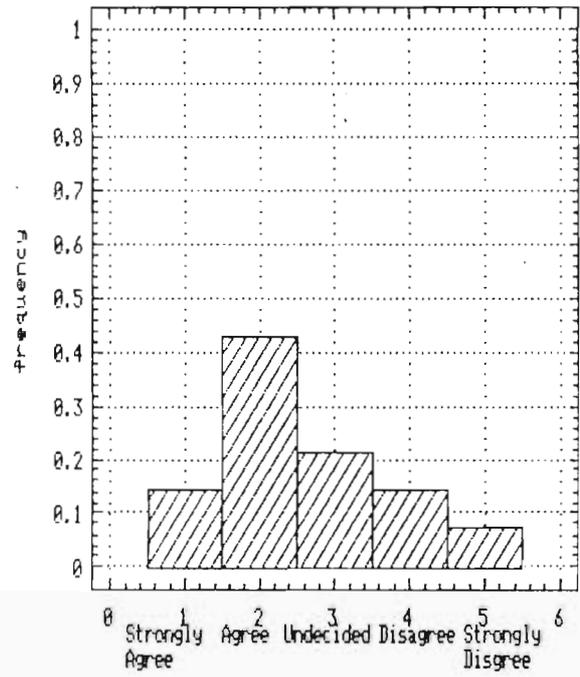
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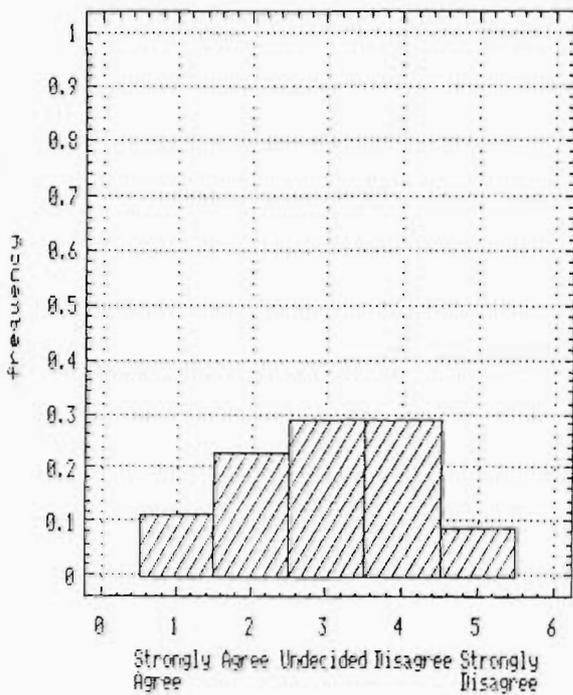
'I feel confident about the future of South Africa'
BLACK FEMALES



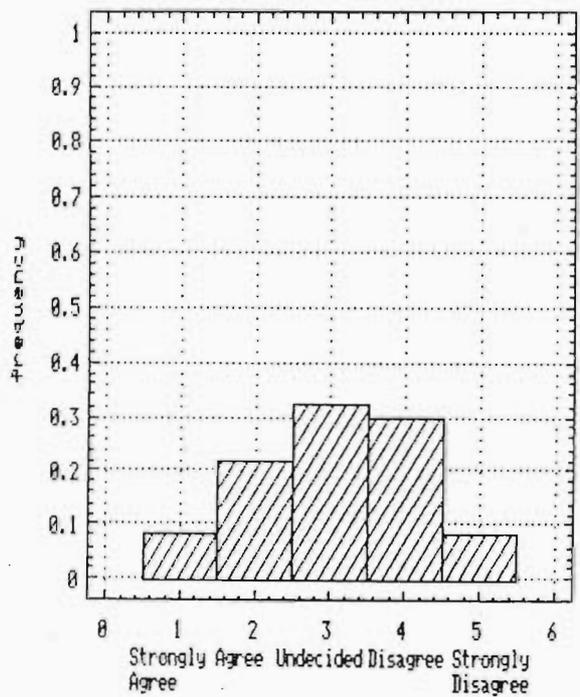
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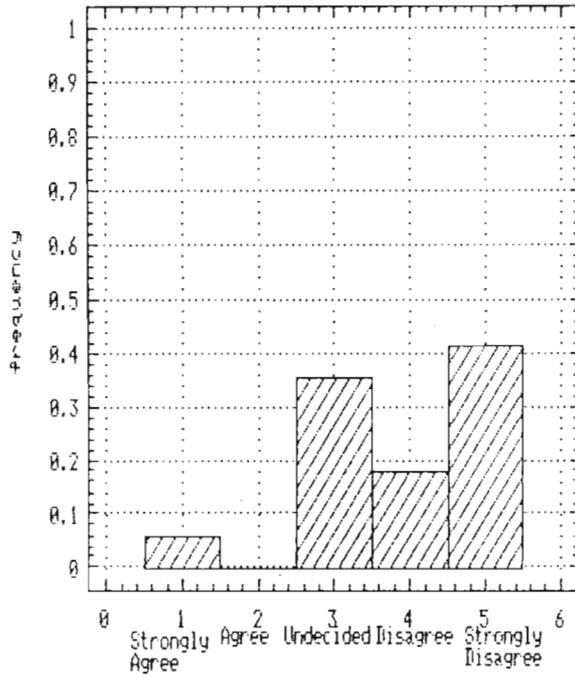


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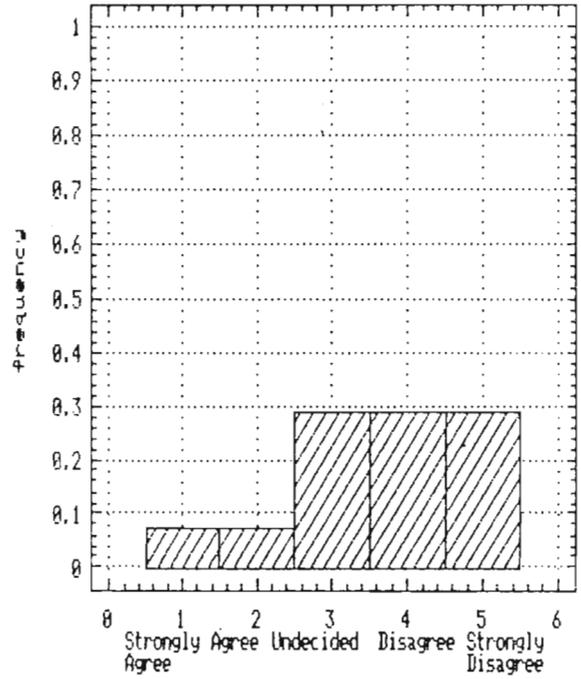
'I support compulsory military service for boys'

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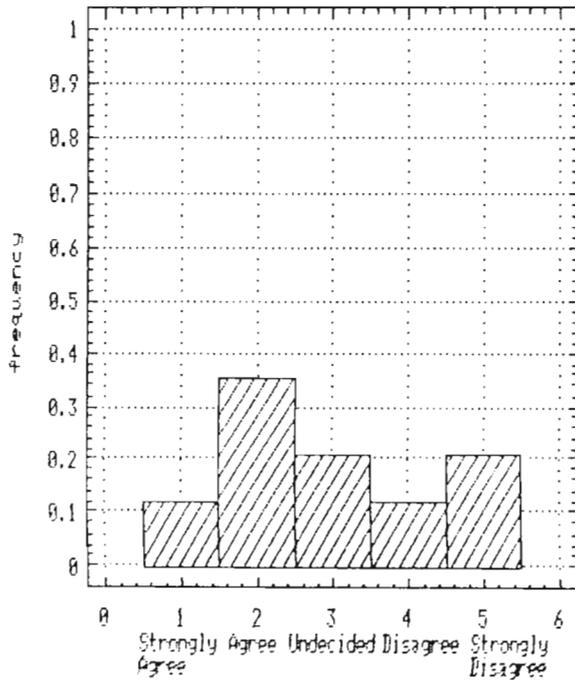


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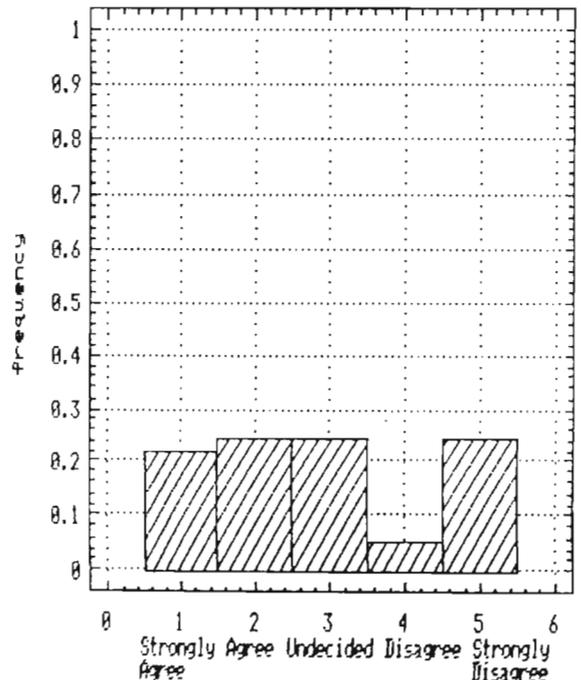
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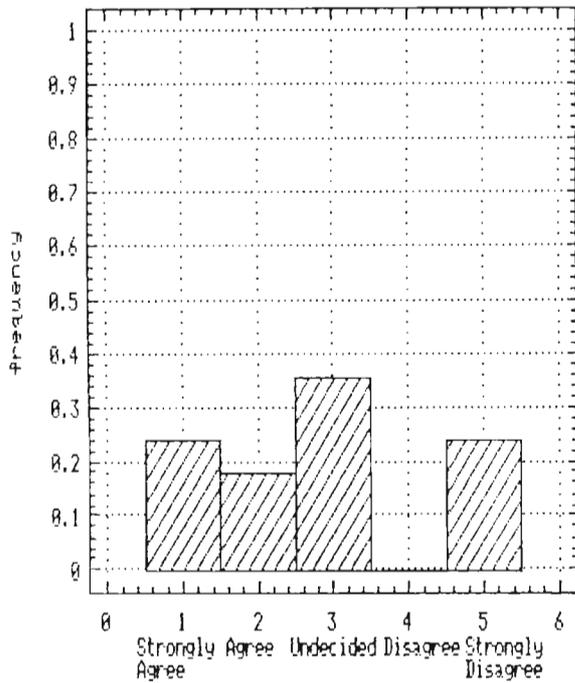
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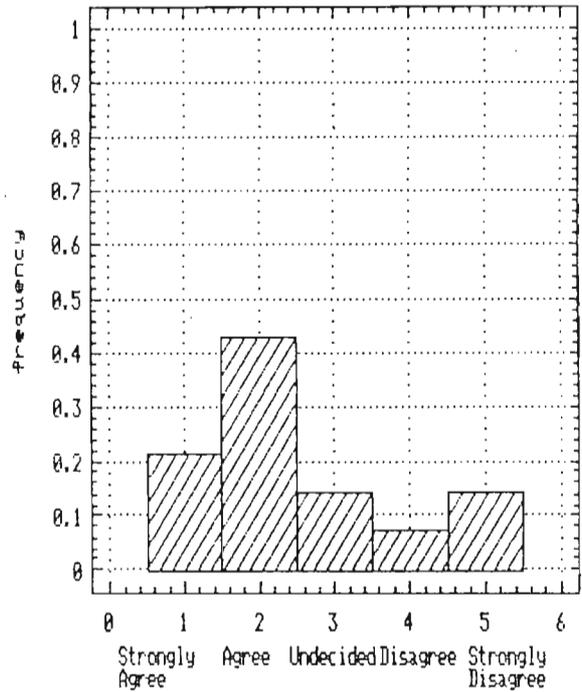
WHITE MALES



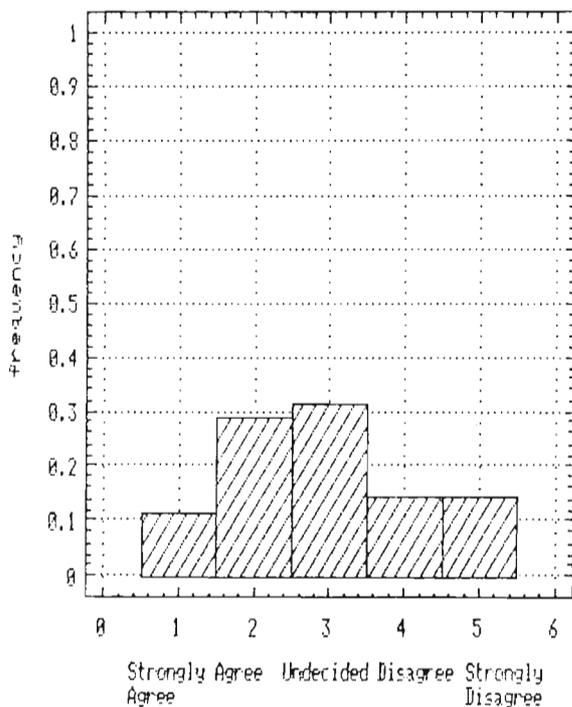
'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution'
BLACK FEMALES



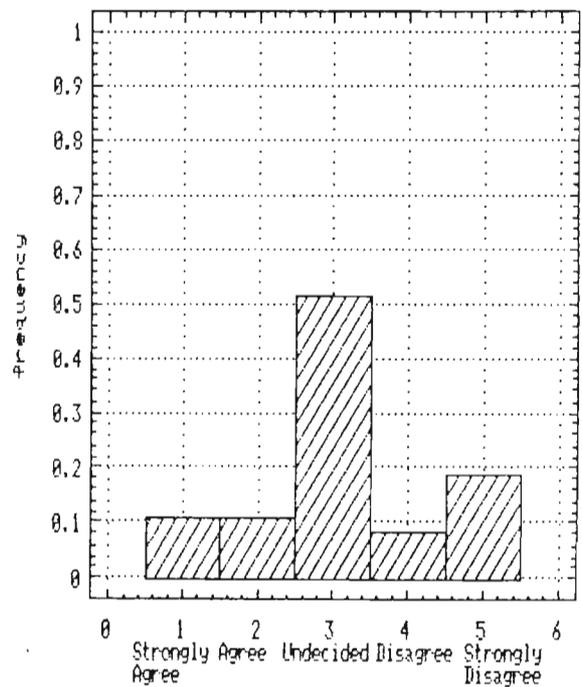
'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution'
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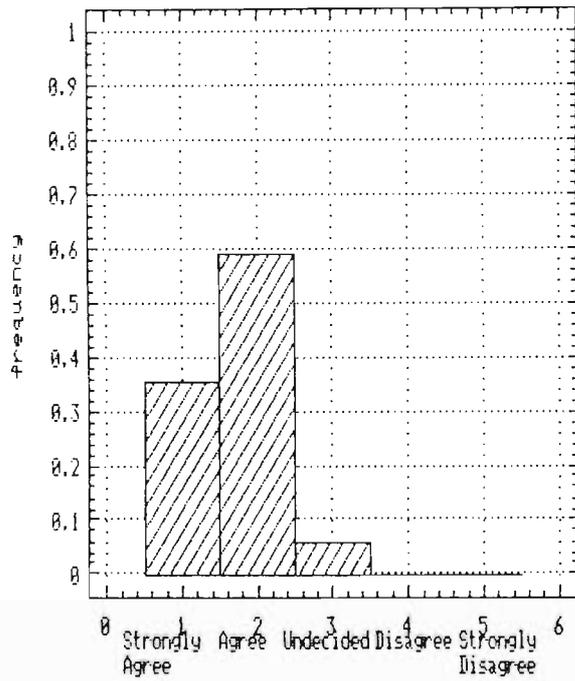
WHITE FEMALES



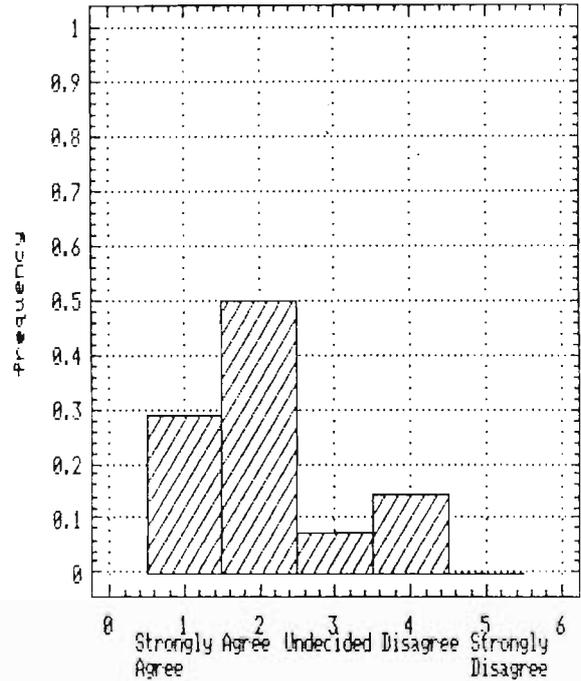
WHITE MALES



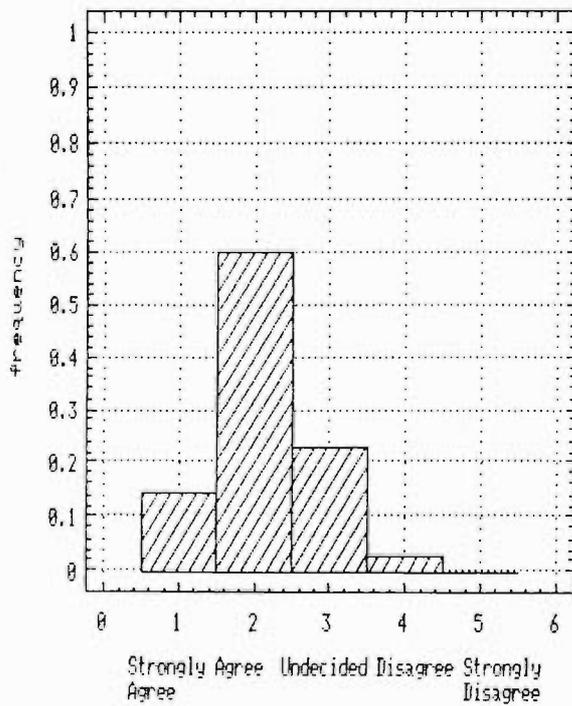
'The standard of education at this school is good'
BLACK FEMALES



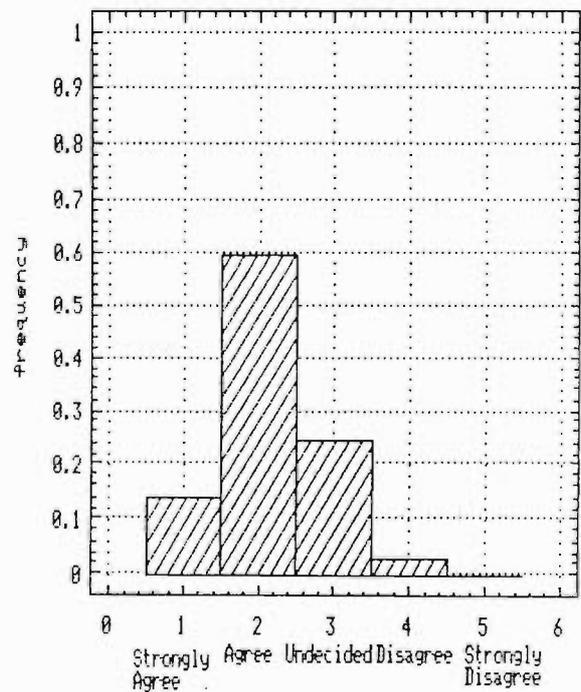
'The standard of education at this school is good'
BLACK MALES



WHITE FEMALES

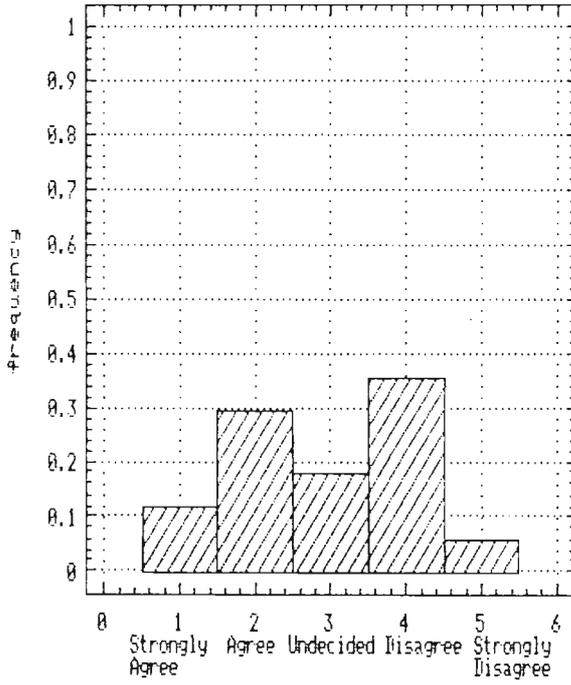


WHITE MALES



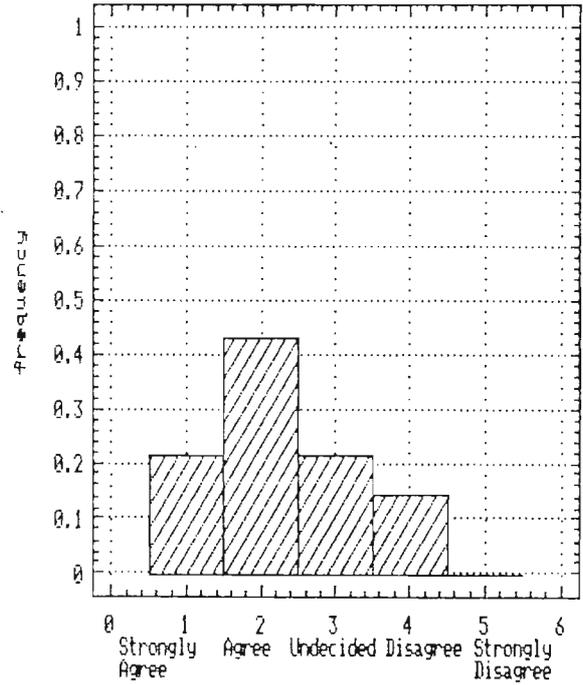
'I don't mind if more black pupils than white pupils attend this school'

BLACK FEMALES

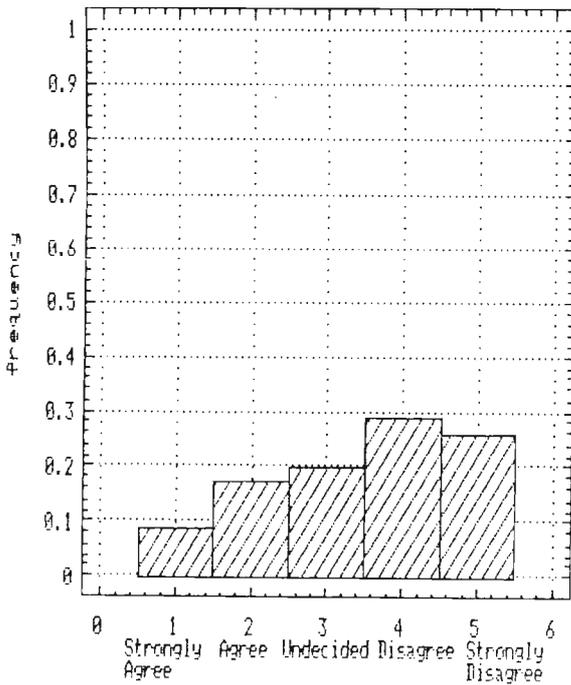


'I don't mind if more black pupils than white pupils attend this school'

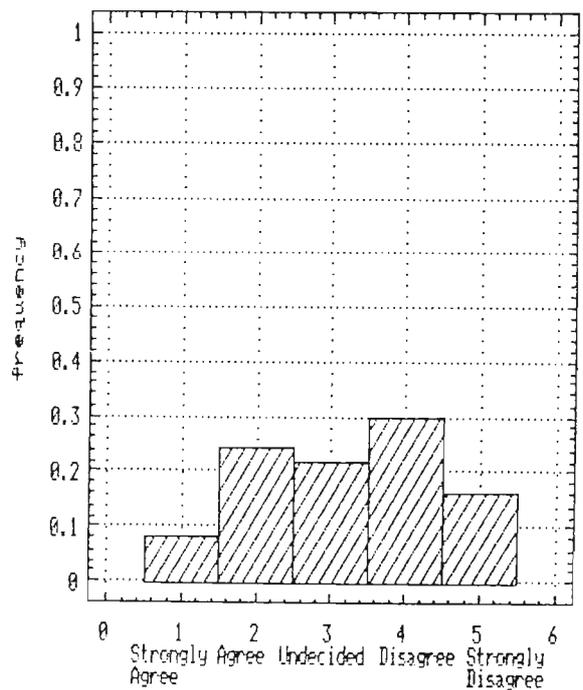
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WHITE FEMALES

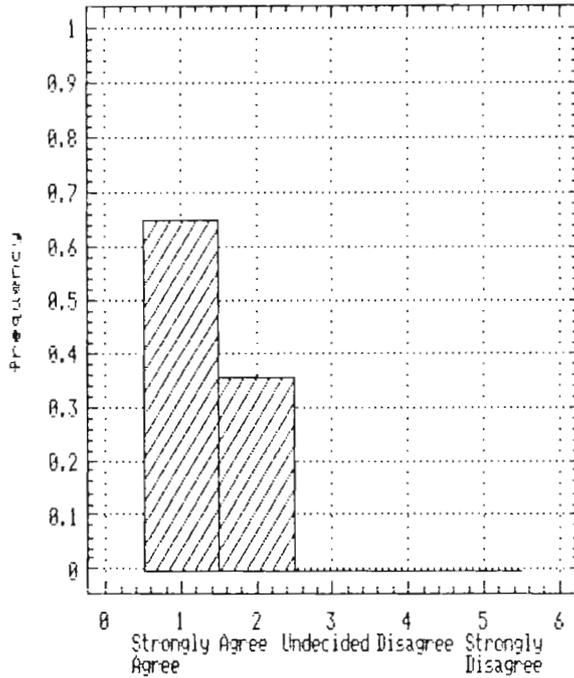


WHITE MALES



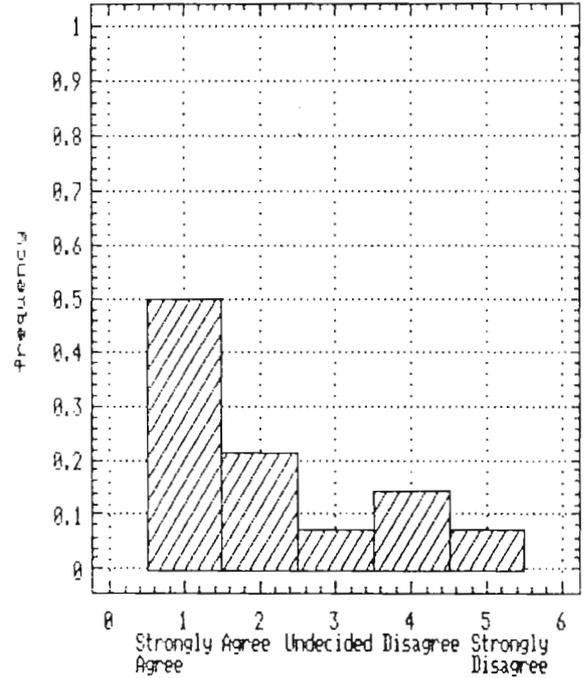
'The subjects offered at this school are going to help me in my future career'

BLACK FEMALES

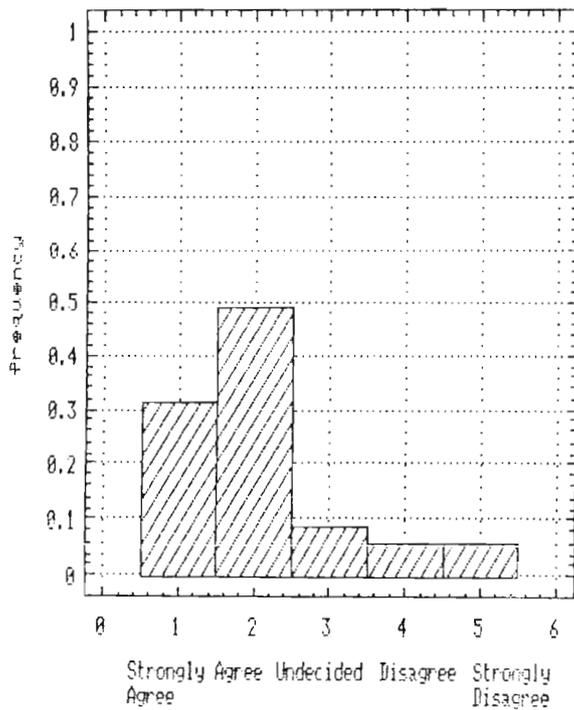


'The subjects offered in this school are going to help me in my future career'

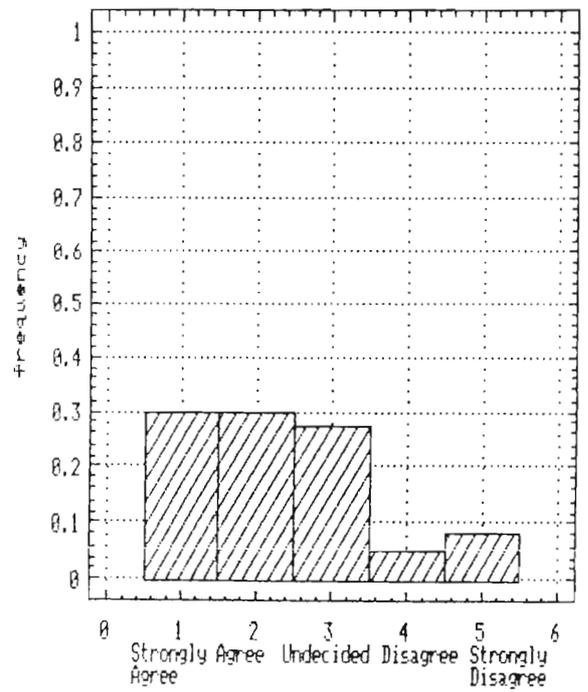
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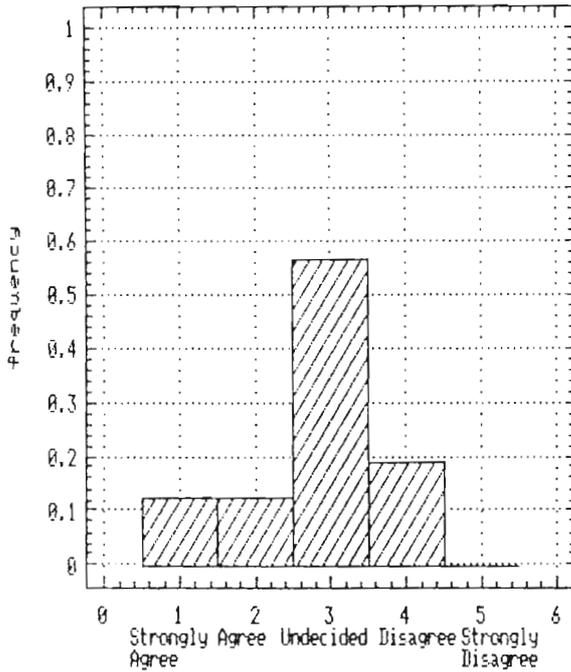
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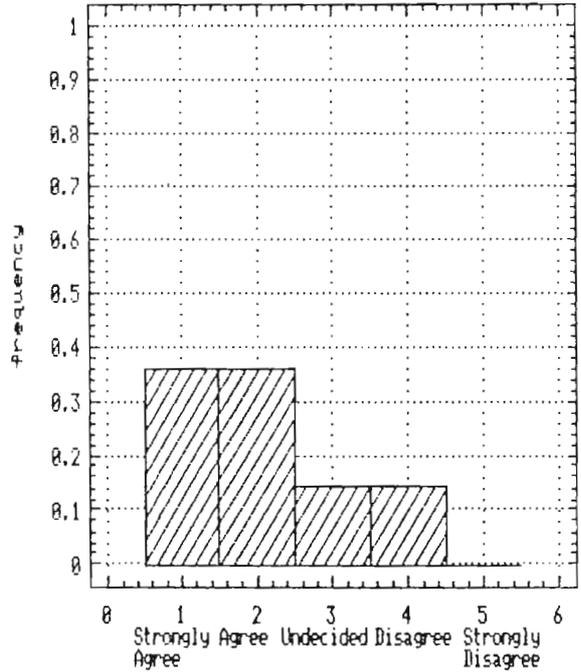
WHITE MALES



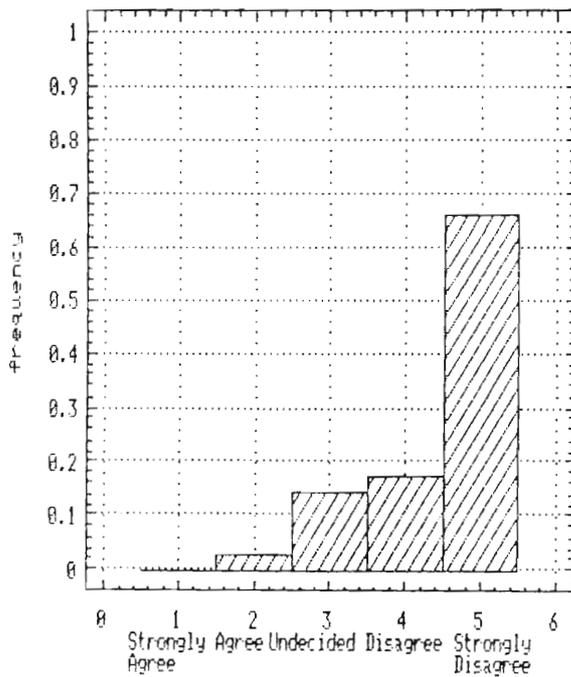
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a marriage partner'
BLACK FEMALES



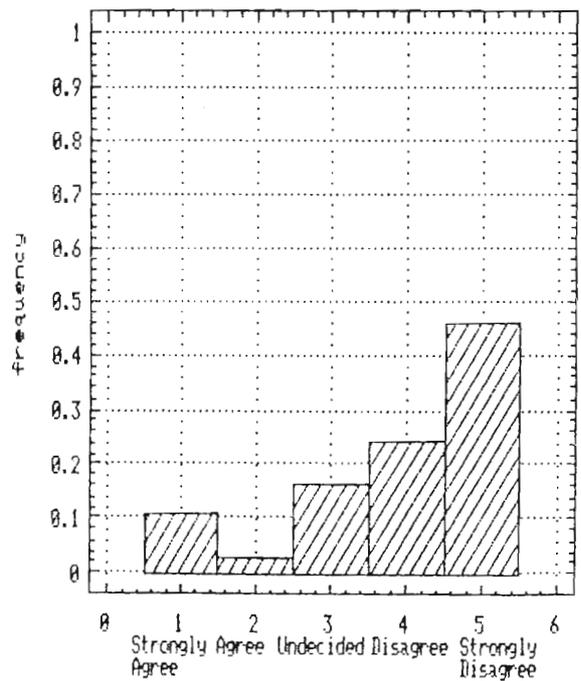
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a marriage partner'
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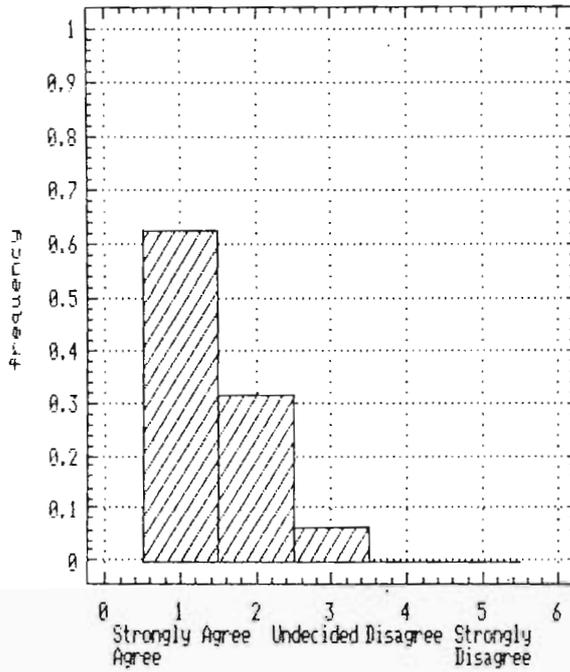
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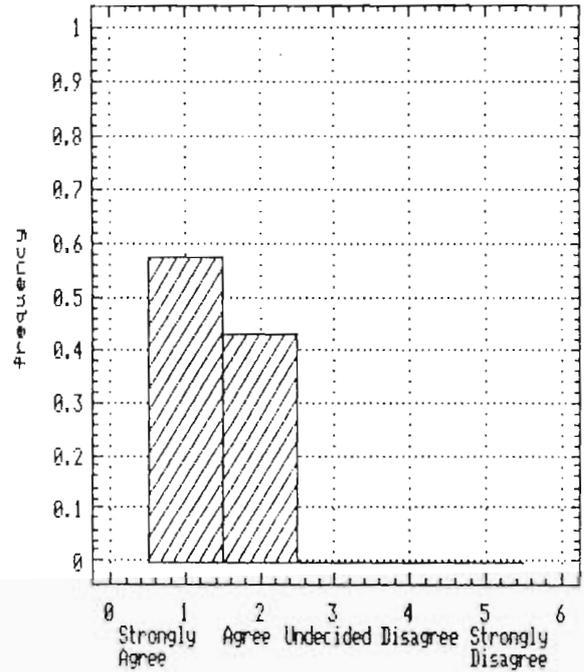
WHITE MALES



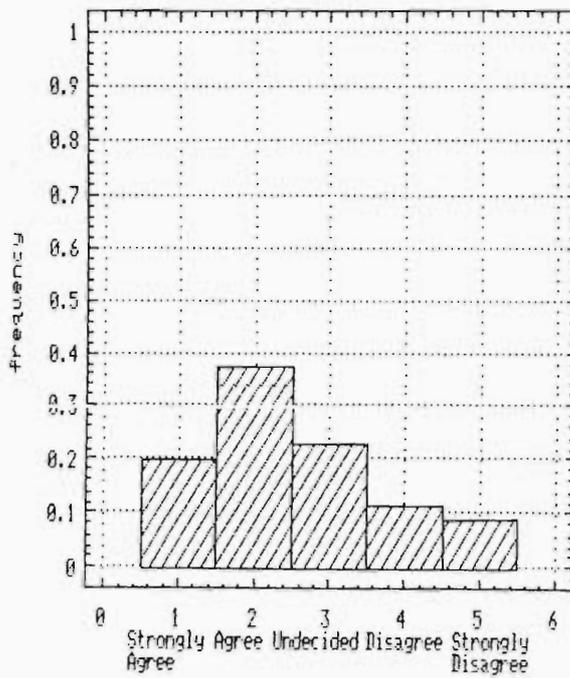
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a close friend'
BLACK FEMALES



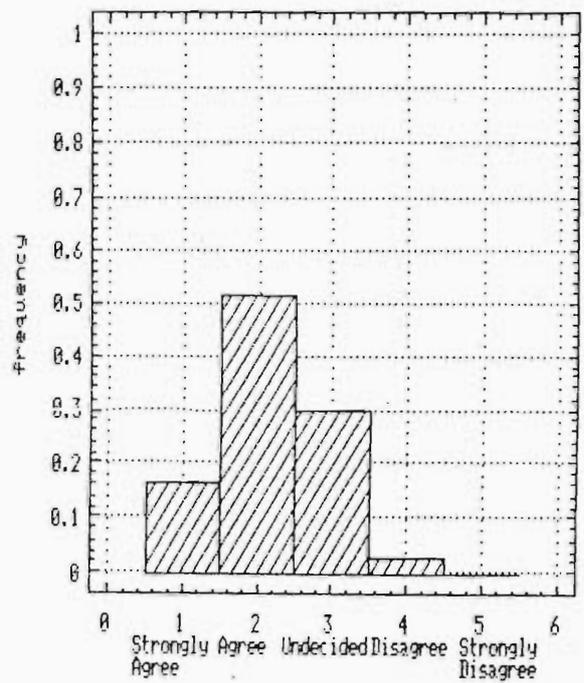
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a close friend'
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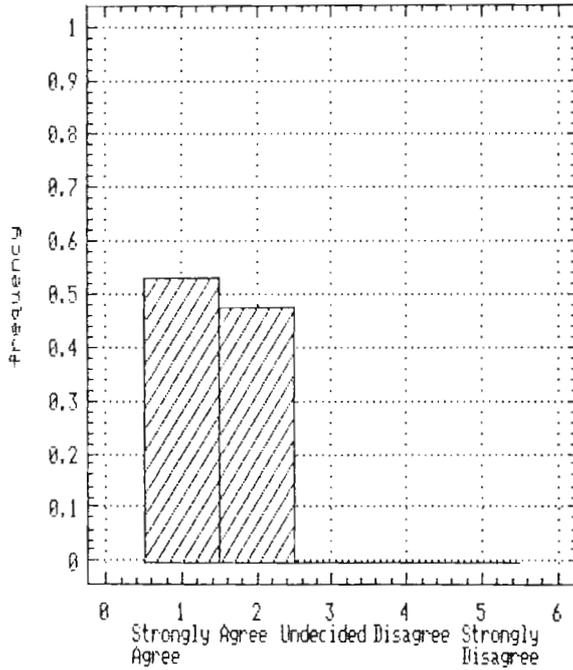
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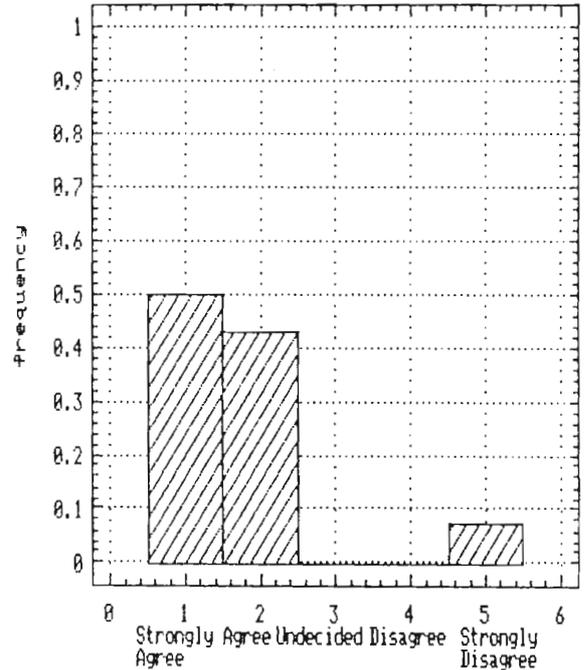
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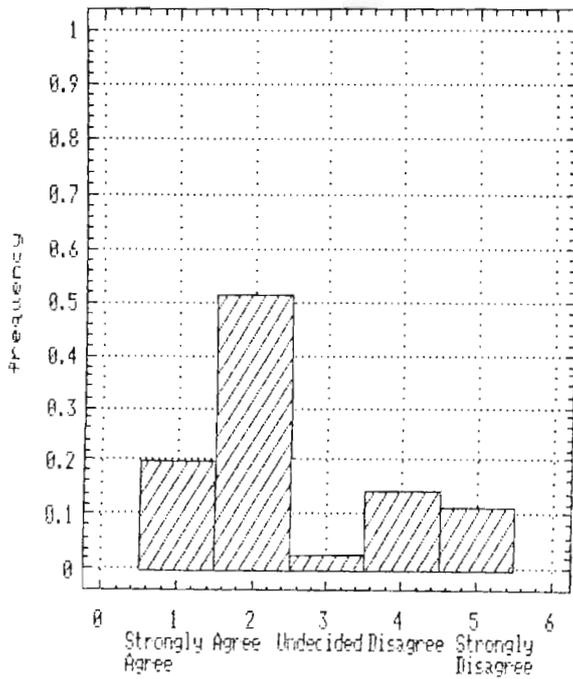
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race
as a neighbour in my street'
BLACK FEMALES



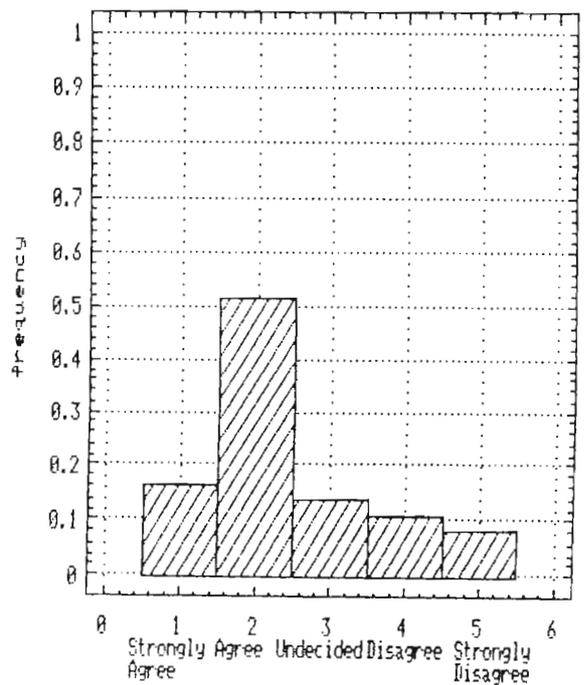
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race
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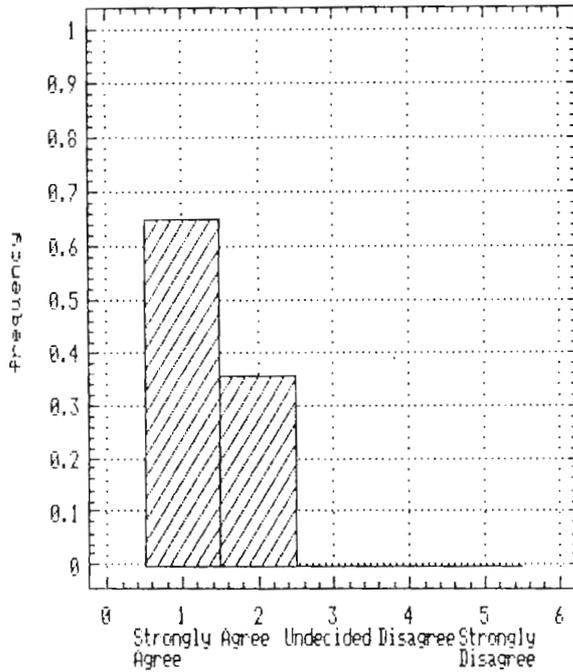
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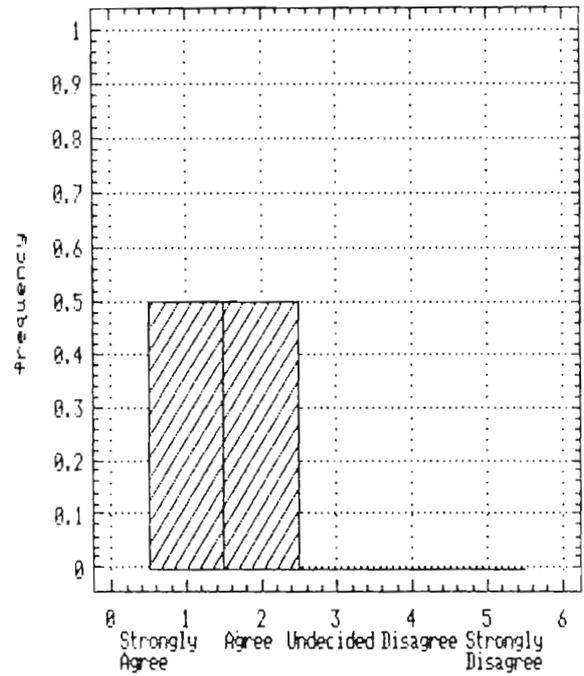
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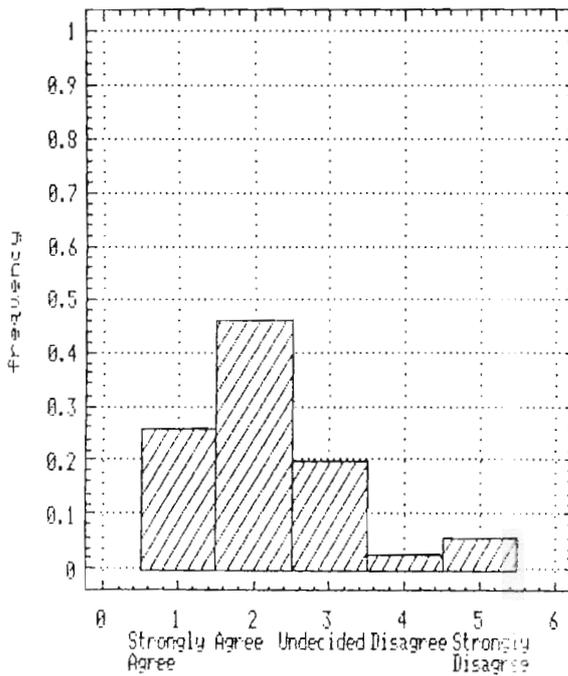
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a visitor to my home'
BLACK FEMALES



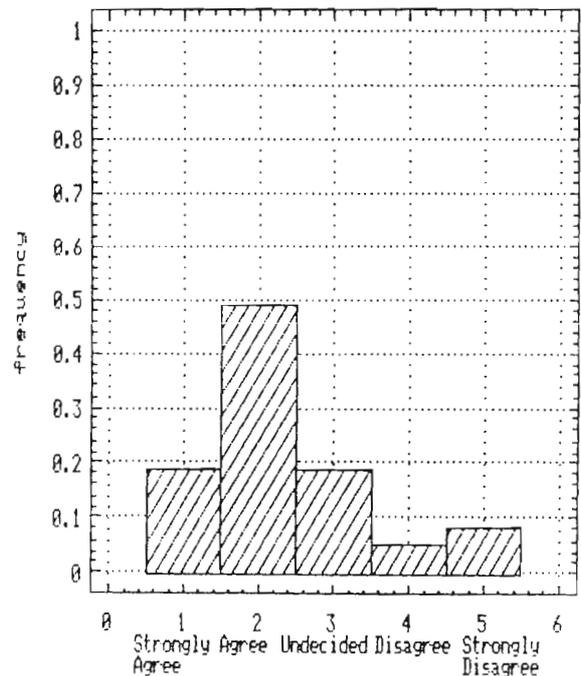
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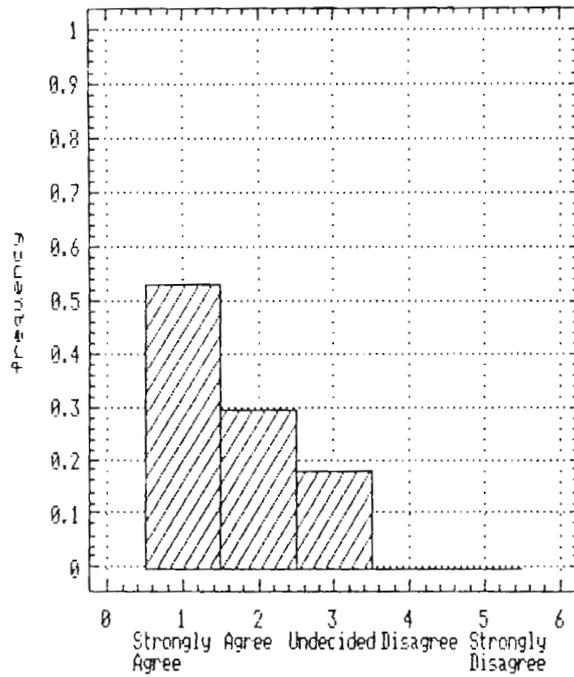
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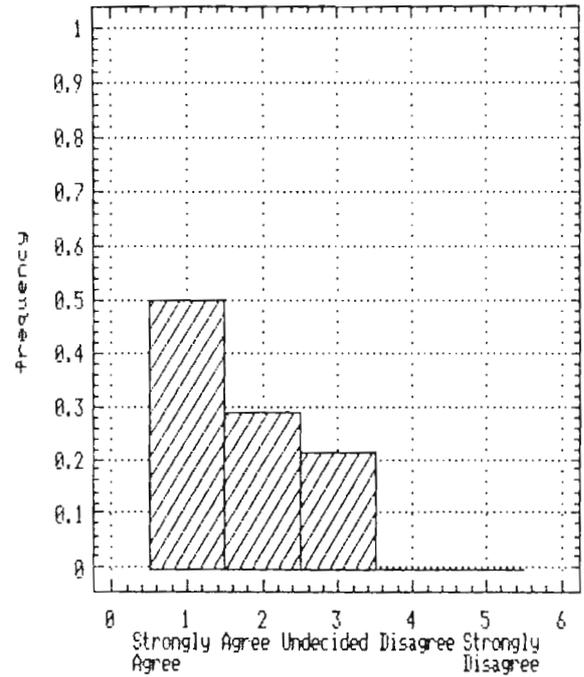
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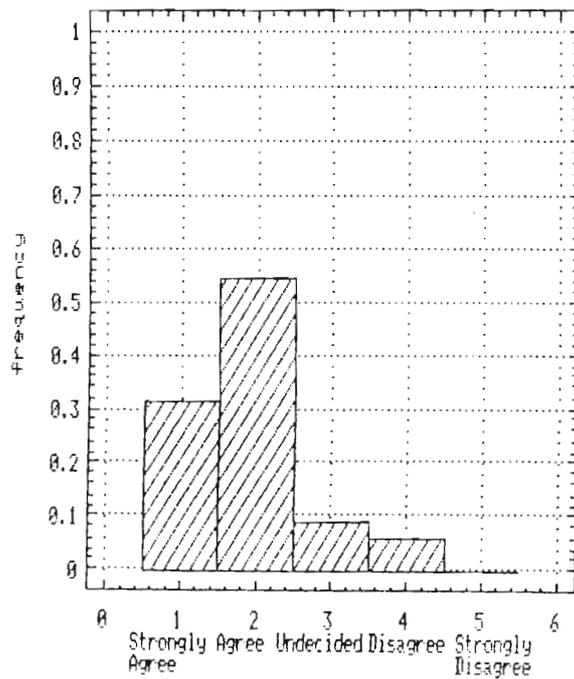
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a fellow pupil'
BLACK FEMALES



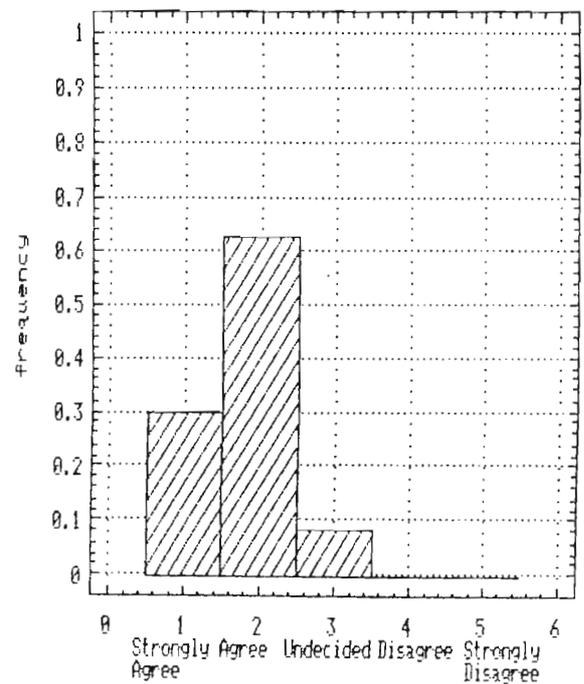
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a fellow pupil'
BLACK MALES



WHITE FEMALES

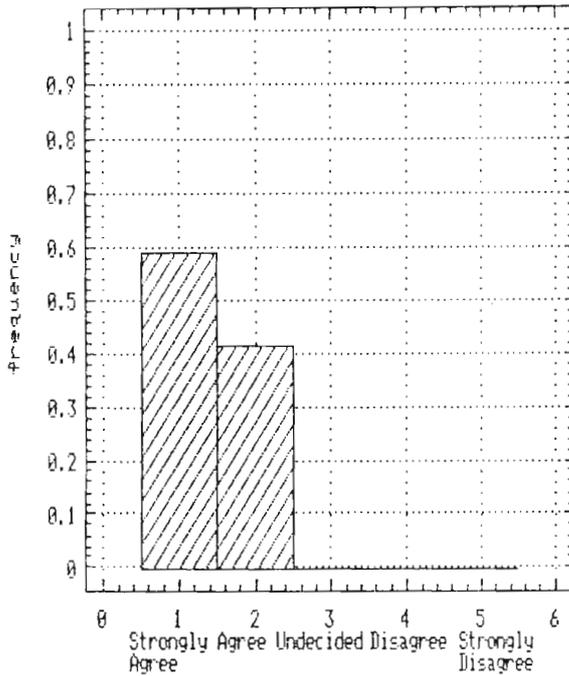


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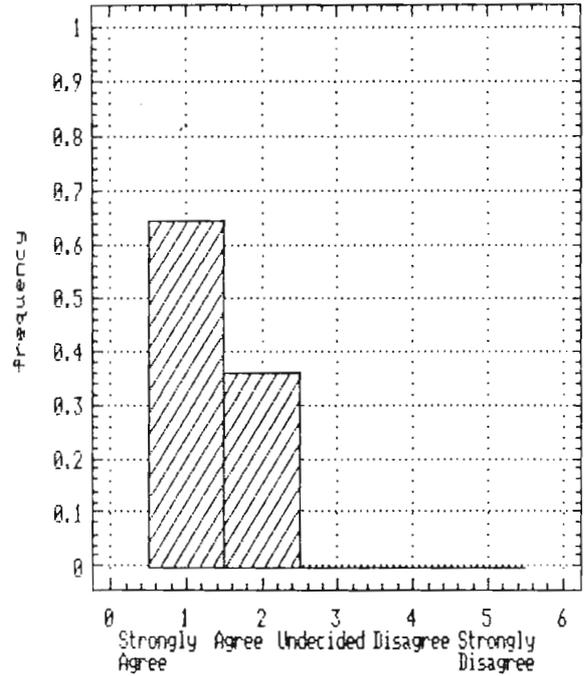
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a member of my sports or social club'

BLACK FEMALES

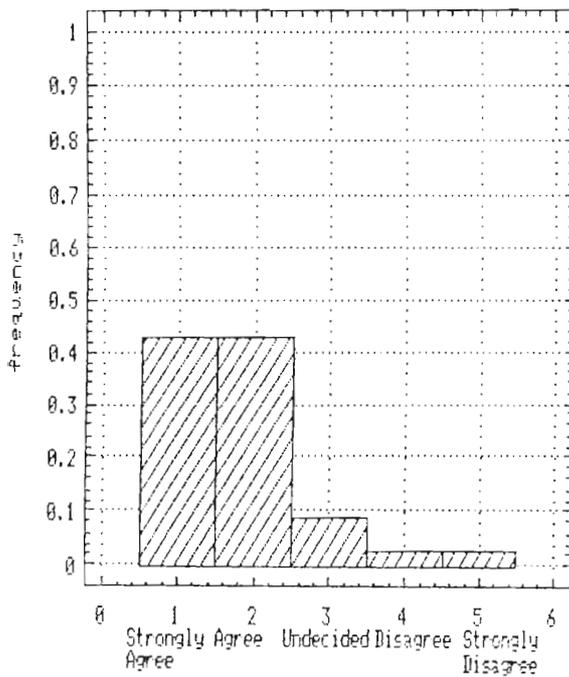


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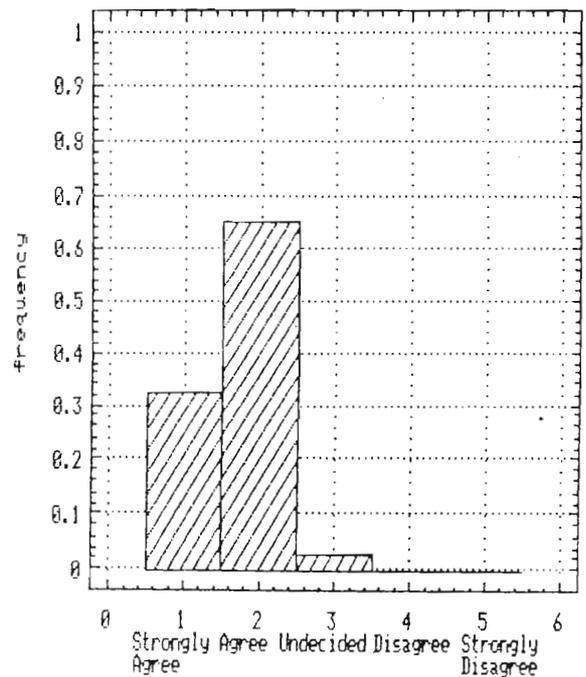
BLACK MALES



WHITE FEMALES

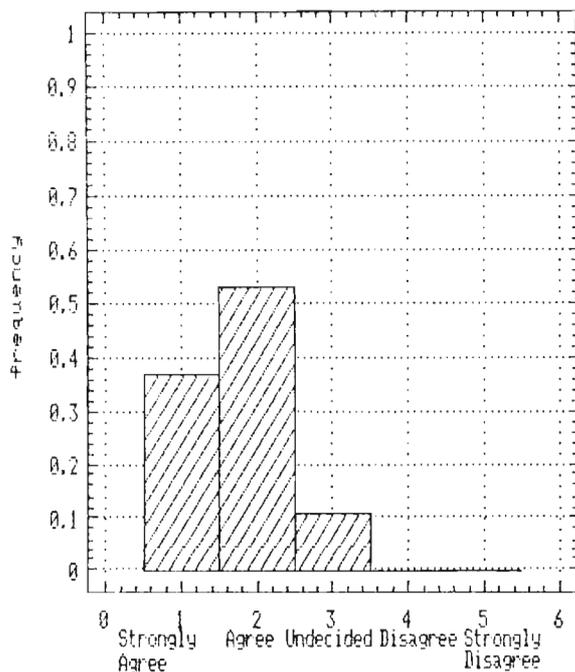


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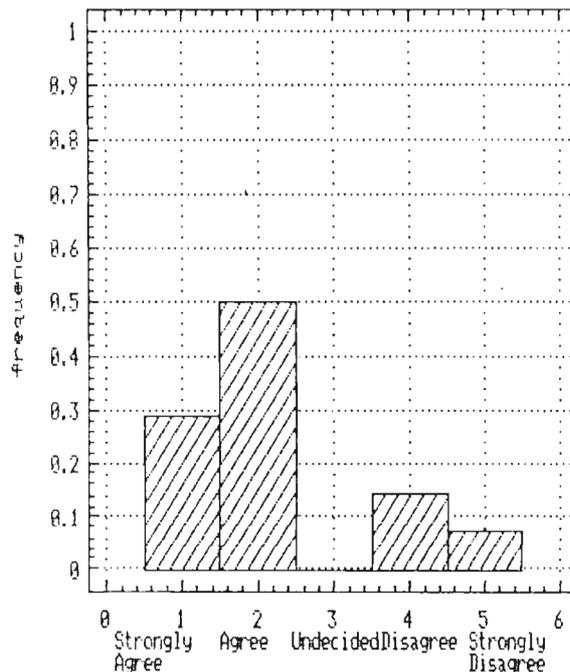
'It is important to me that this is a racially mixed school'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



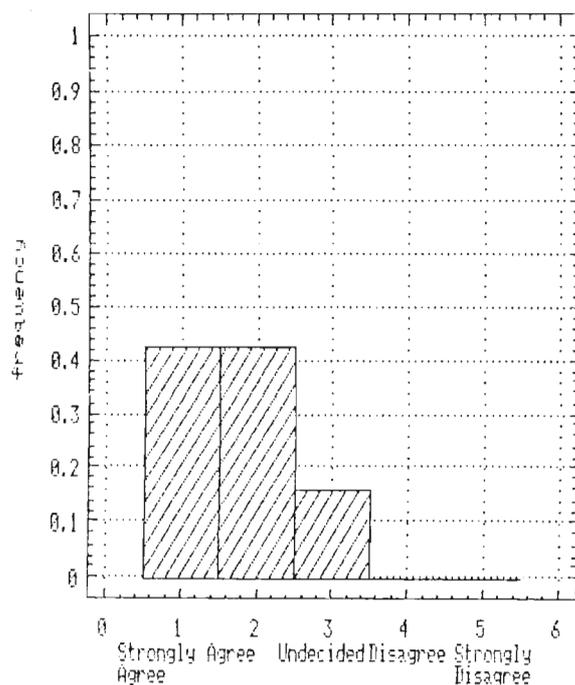
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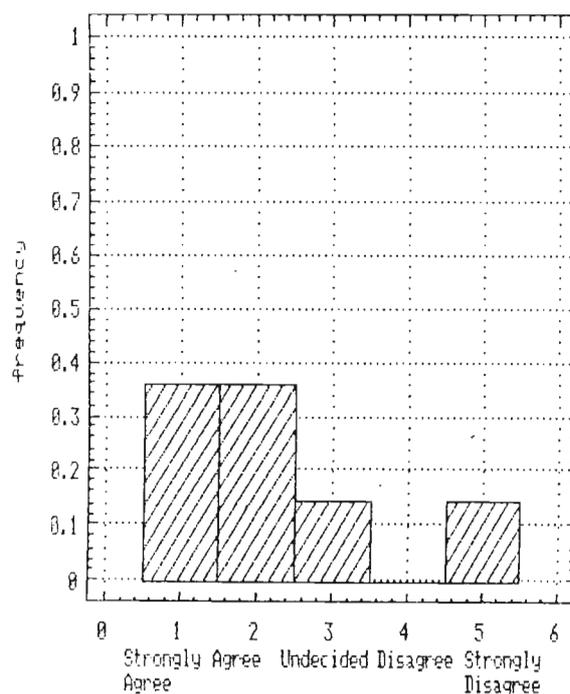
'This school should have black teachers as well as black pupils'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS

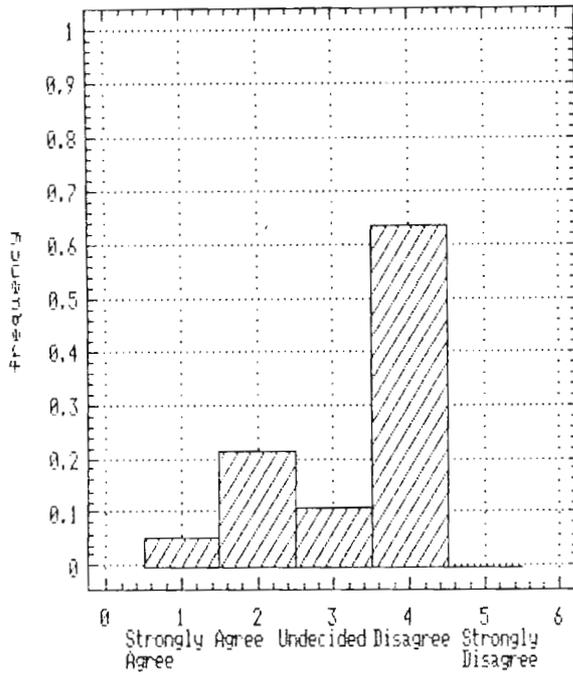


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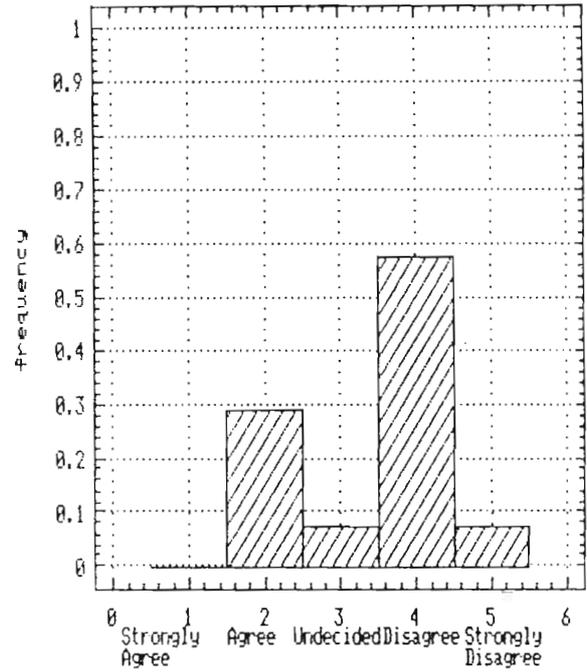
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



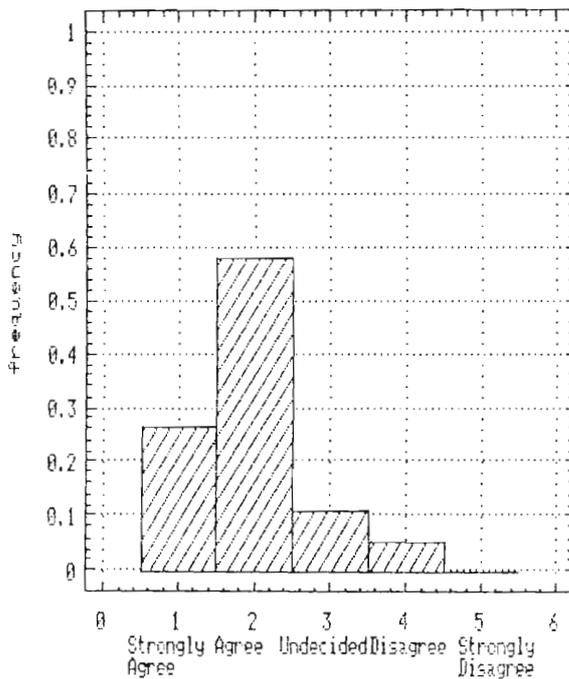
'The standard of education at this school is low'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



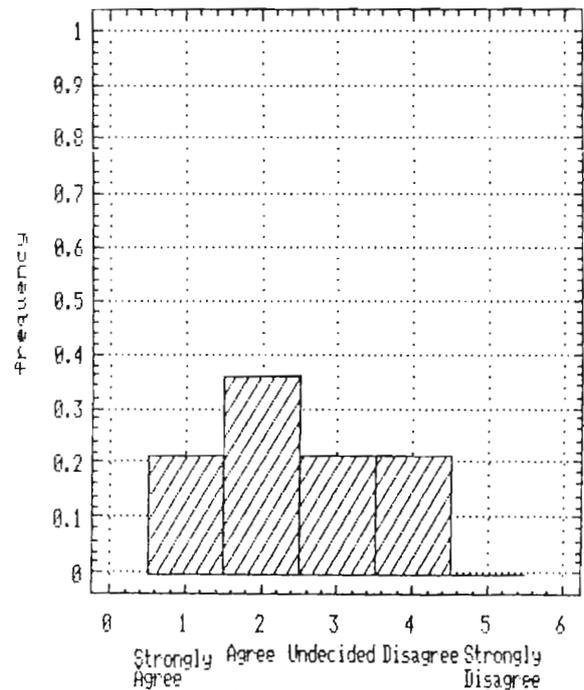
'The standard of education at this school is low'
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



'It should be compulsory for all pupils to learn
an African language at some stage'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS

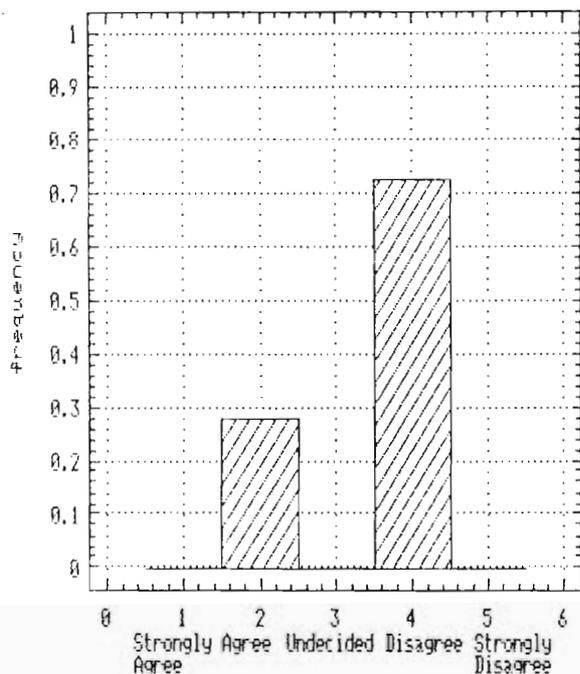


'It should be compulsory for all pupils to learn
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WHITE MALE TEACHERS



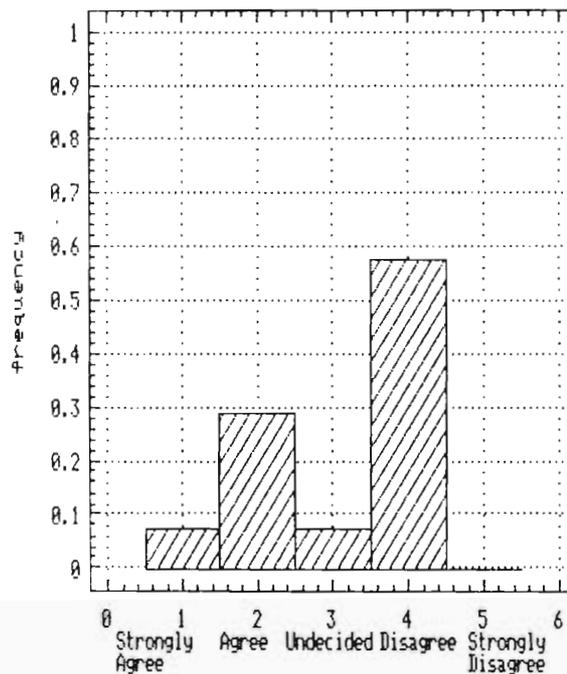
'My close circle of friends includes people of other race groups'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



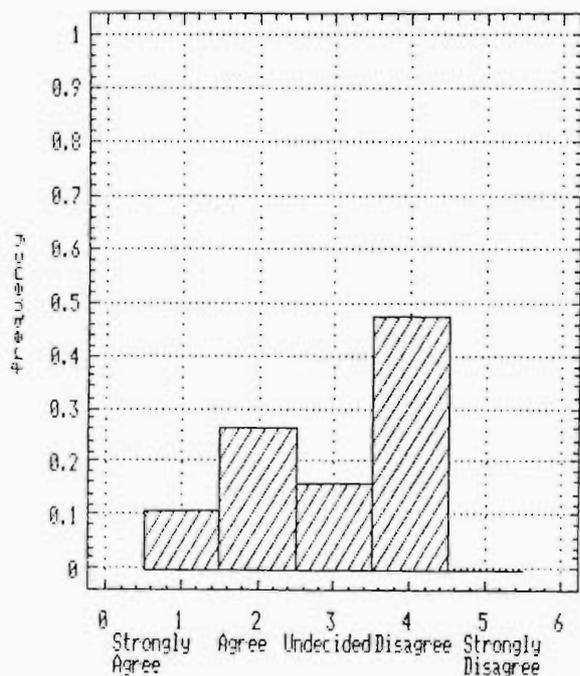
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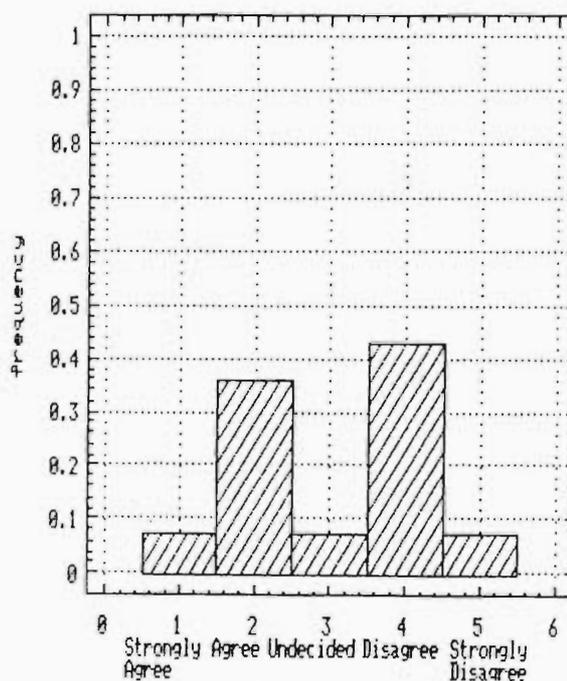
'In my professional capacity as an educator, I have meaningful contact with fellow professionals from other race groups'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



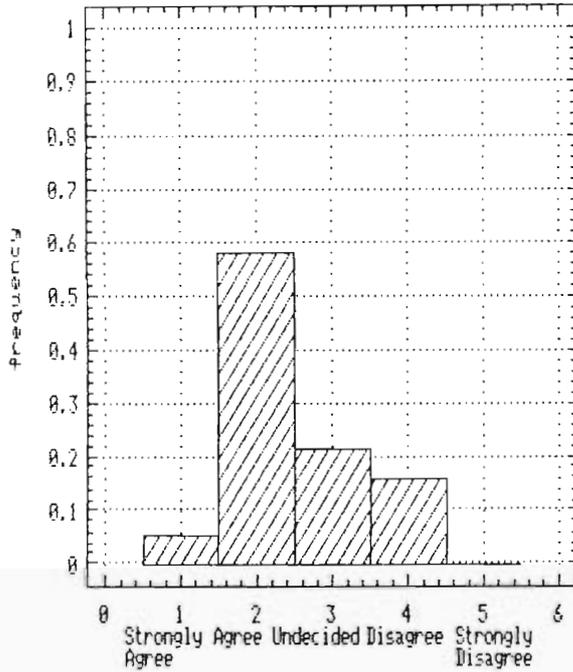
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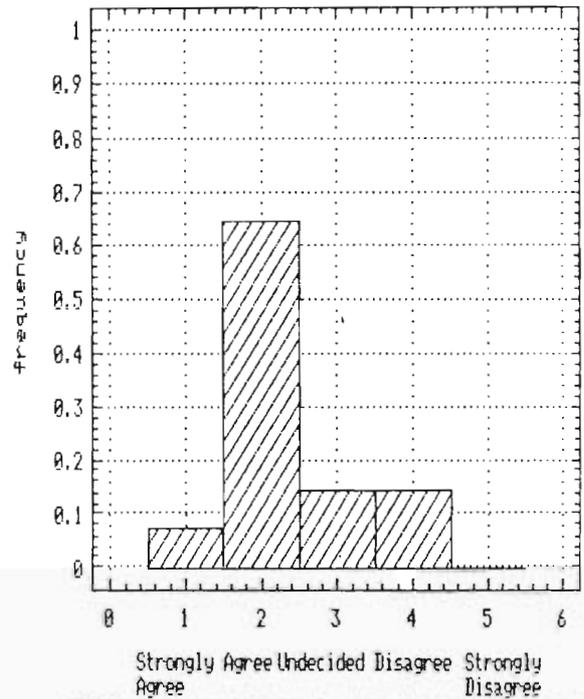
'Teachers at this school encourage pupils to put forward their own views'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



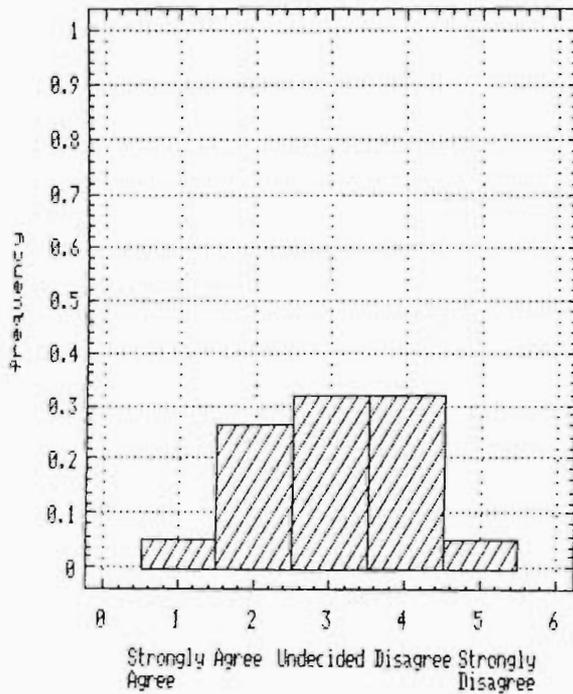
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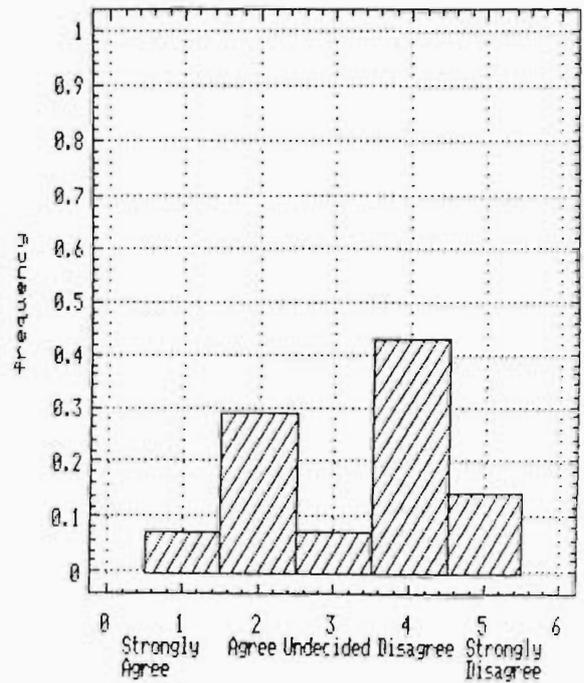
'This school provides a relevant curriculum that caters for the future needs of its pupils'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



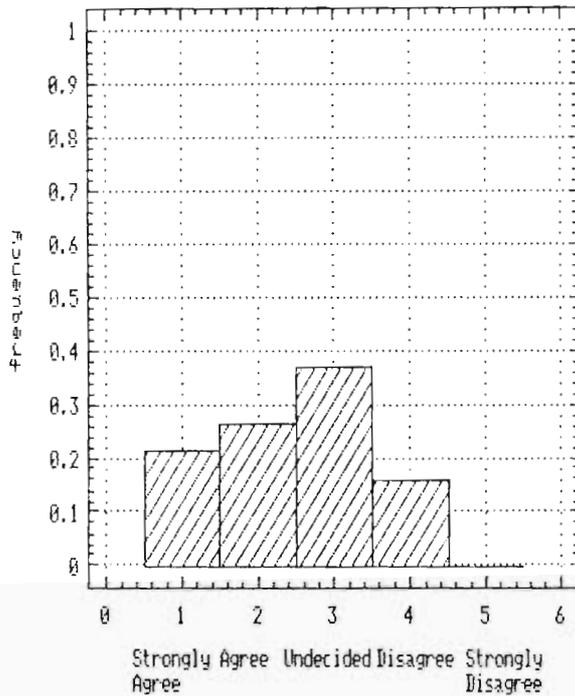
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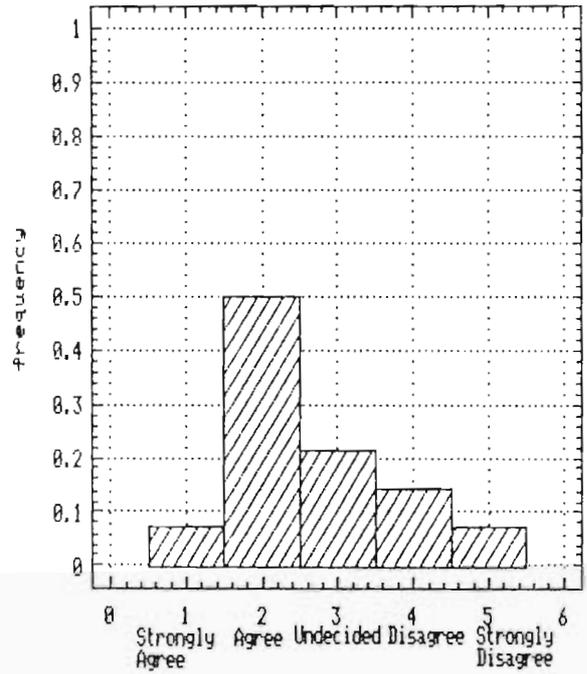
'It is of no concern to me if black pupils at this school outnumber the whites'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



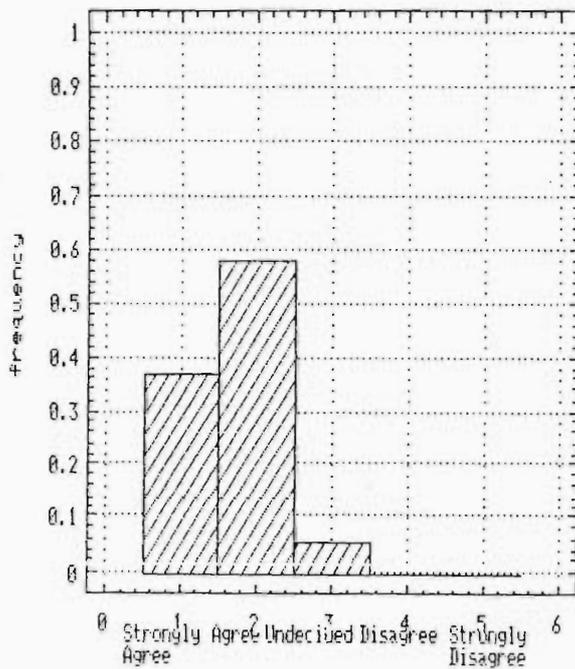
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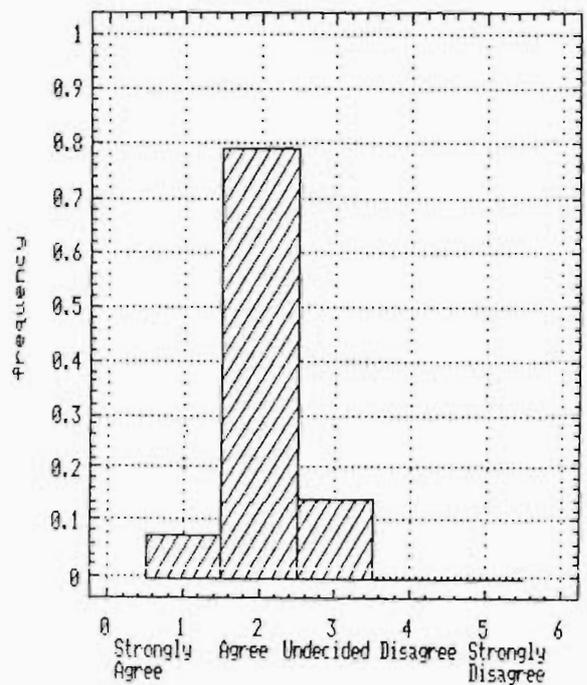
'Teachers at this school care about the pupils as individuals'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



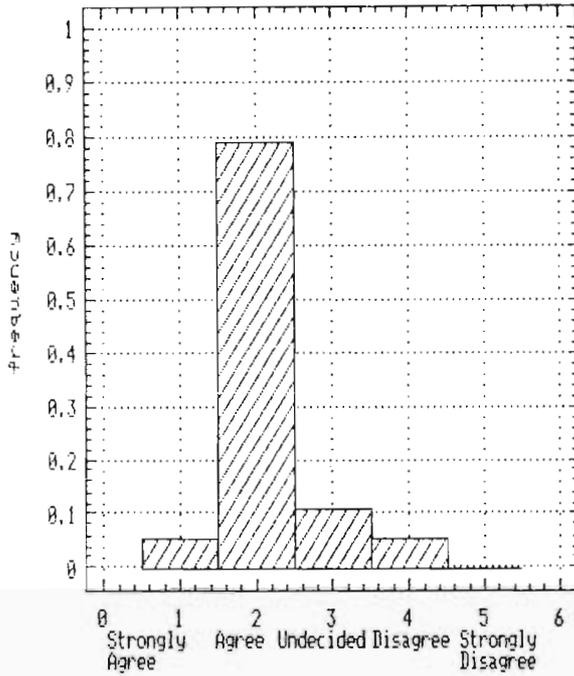
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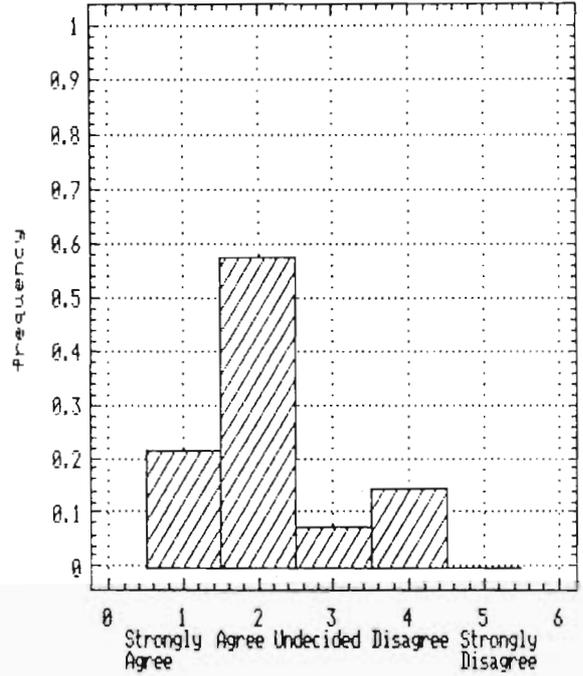
'School policy and organisation in this school is conducive towards establishing a positive non-racial environment'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



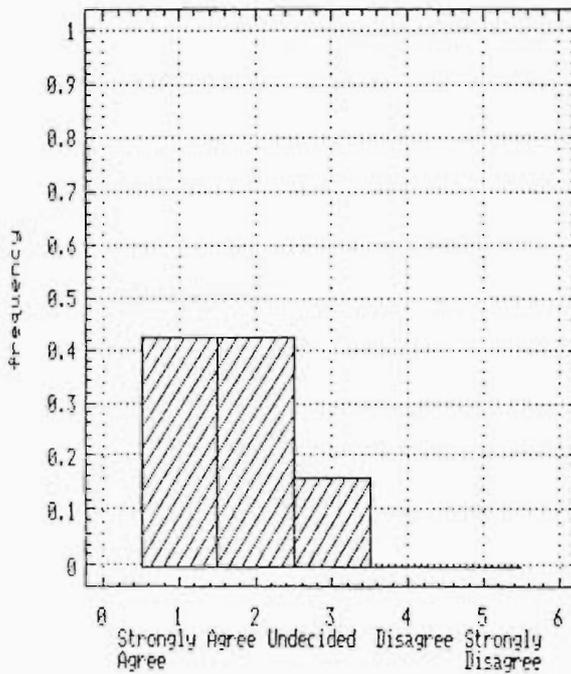
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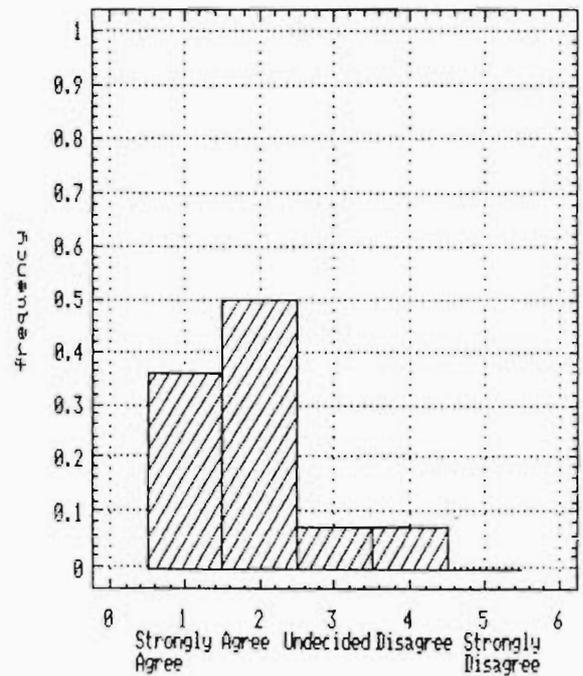
'I think there should be social change in South Africa'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



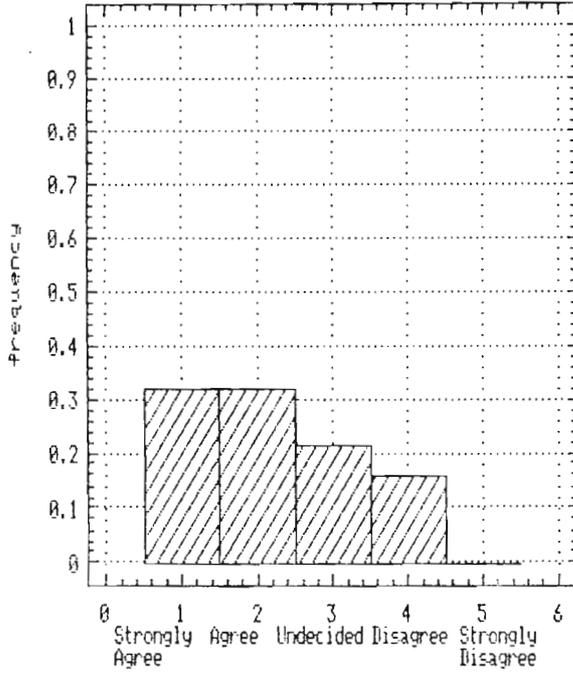
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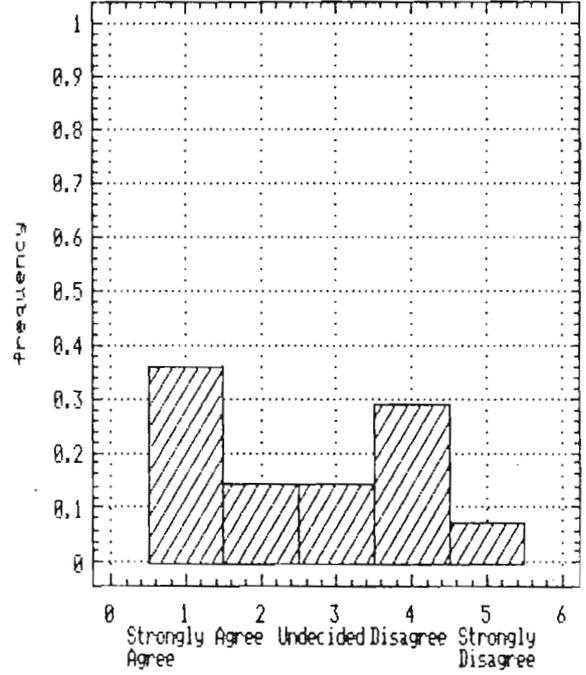
'Violence will never bring about political change'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



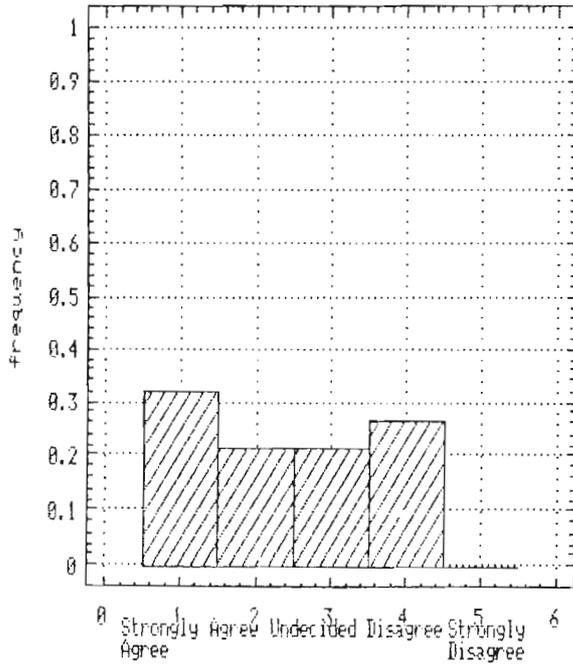
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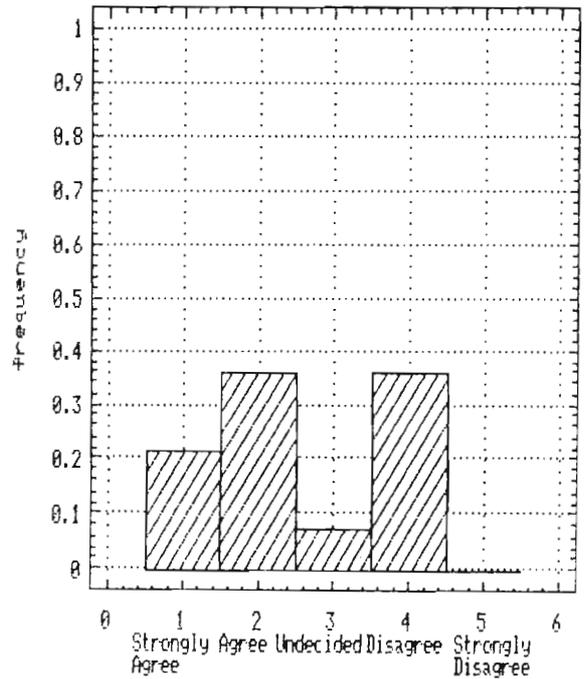
'Peace, law & order are more important than political rights'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



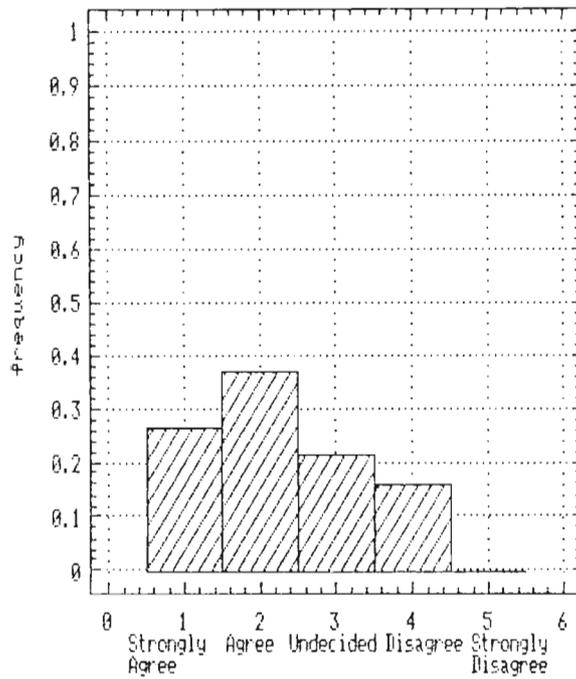
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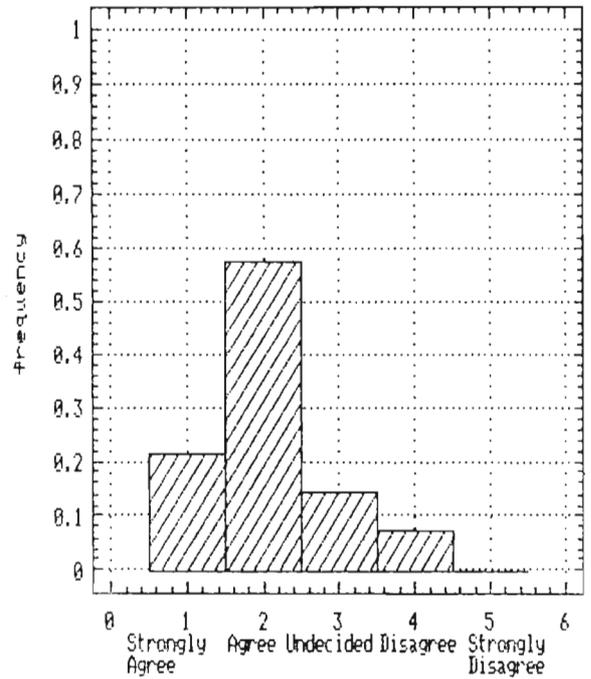
'Agitators are behind the unrest in South Africa'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



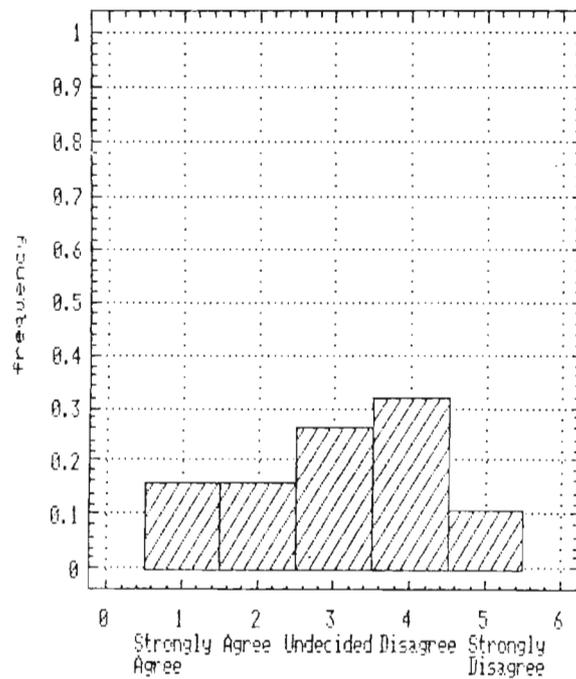
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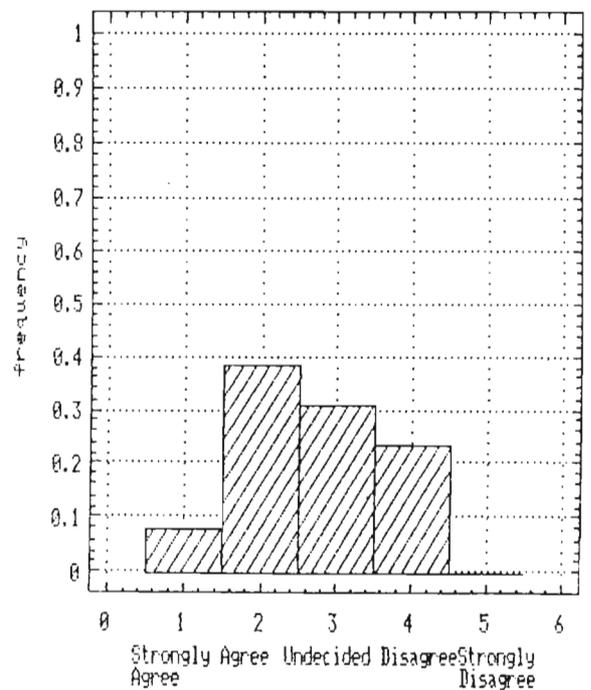
'Black people in South Africa could be better off if they worked and tried harder'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



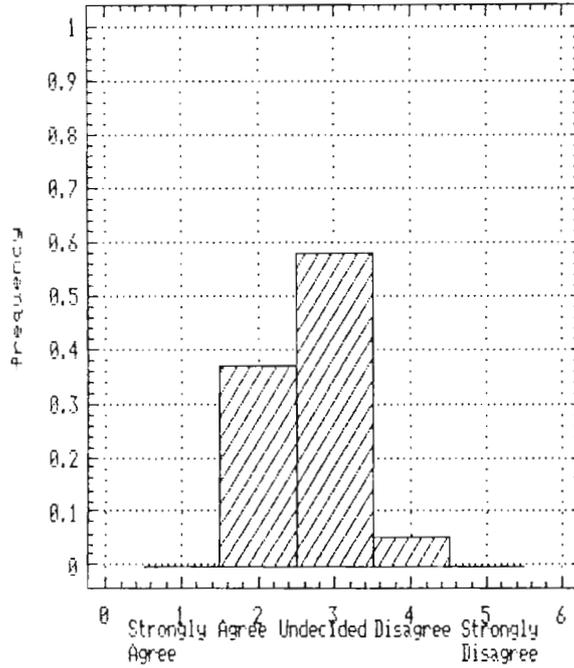
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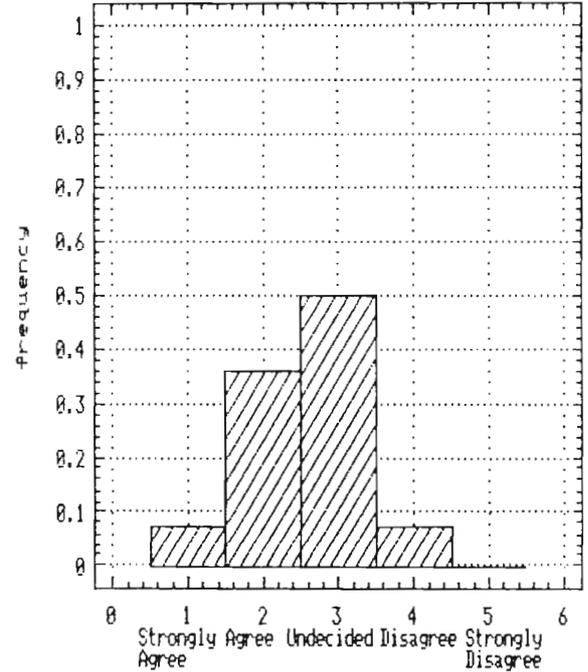
'I feel confident about the future in South Africa'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



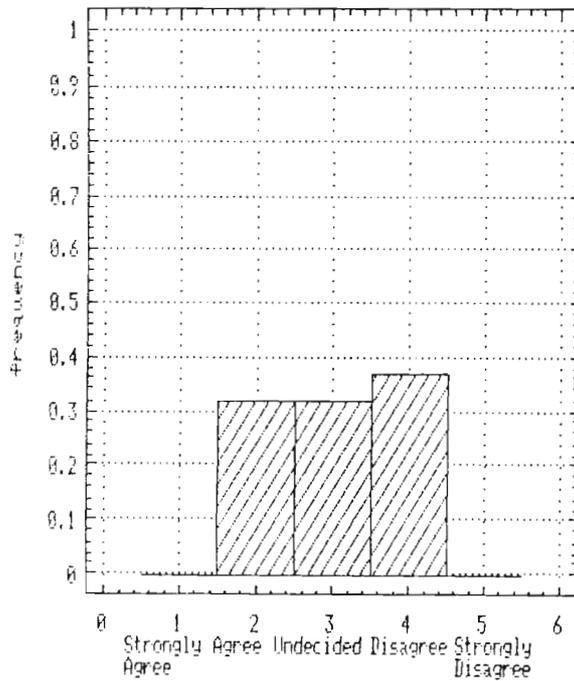
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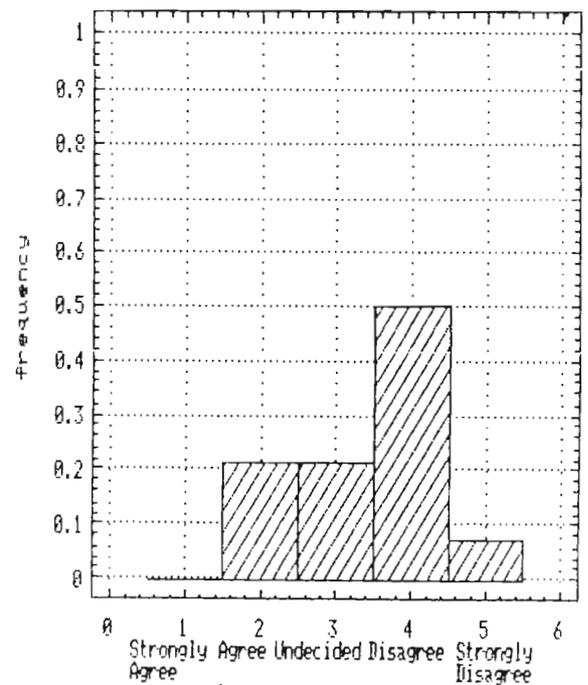
'Change in South Africa is more likely to happen through revolution than evolution'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS

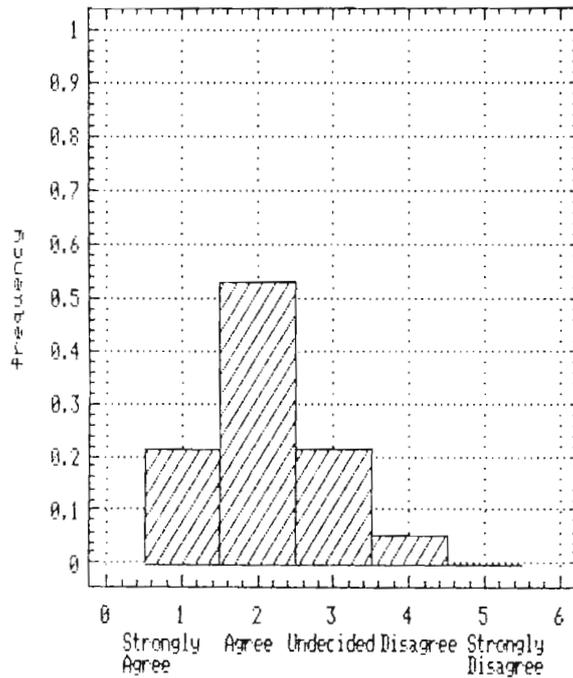


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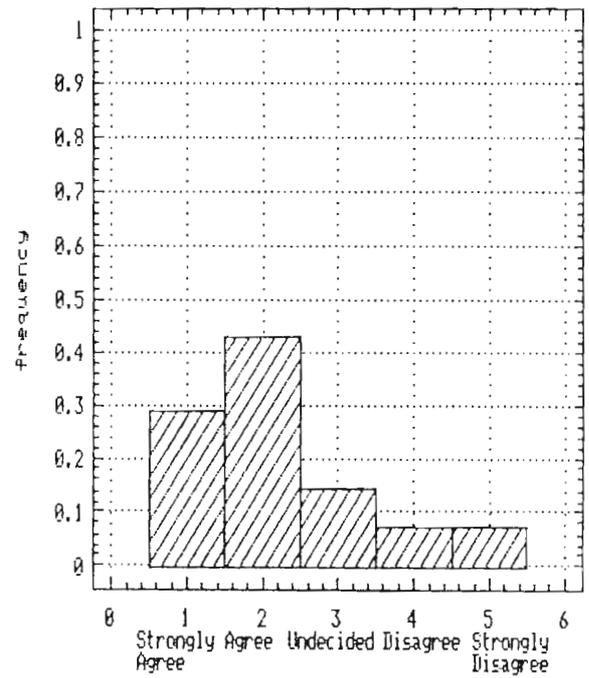
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



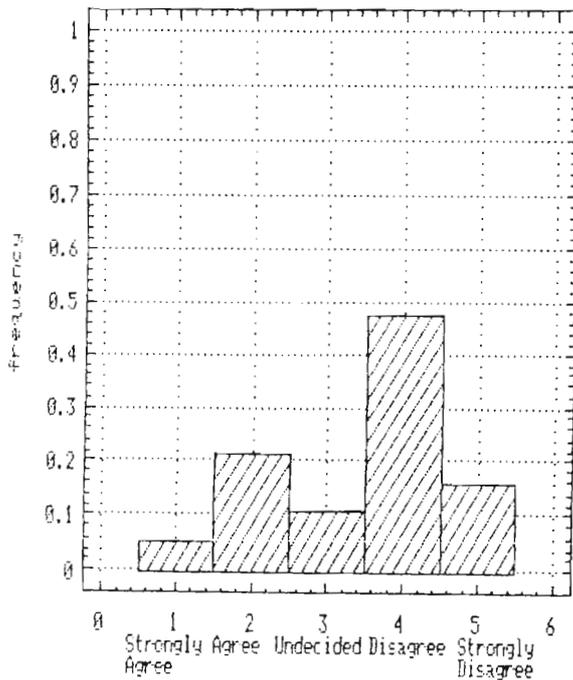
'I feel confident about teaching effectively in a racially-mixed institution'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



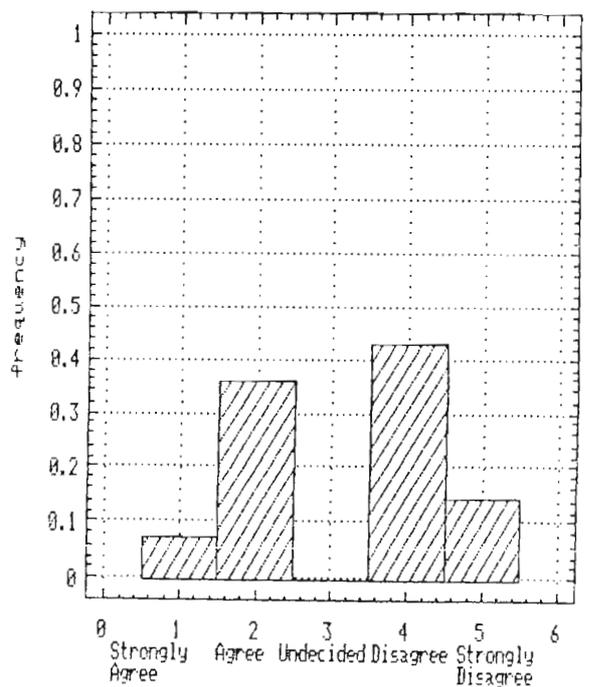
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WHITE MALE TEACHERS



'Cultural (ethnic) and racial differences are not important in considering a curriculum for this school'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS

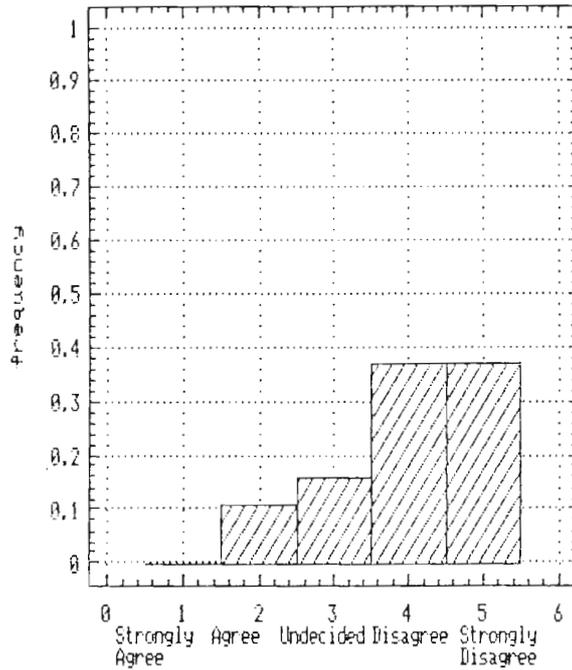


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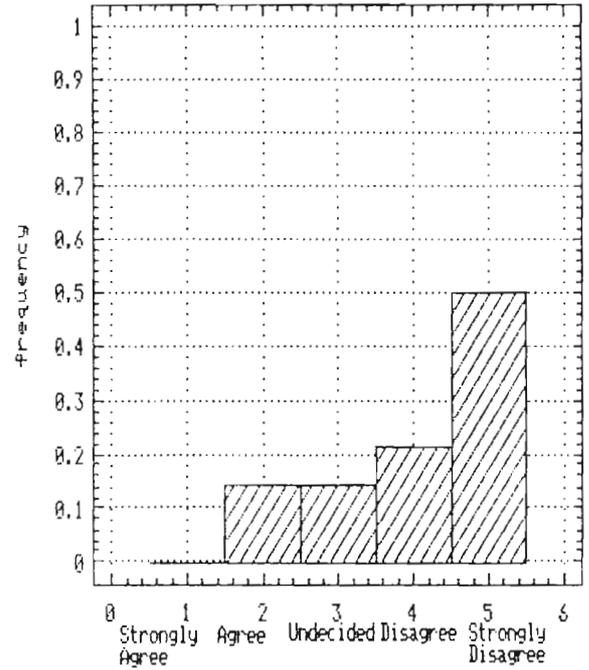
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a marriage partner'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



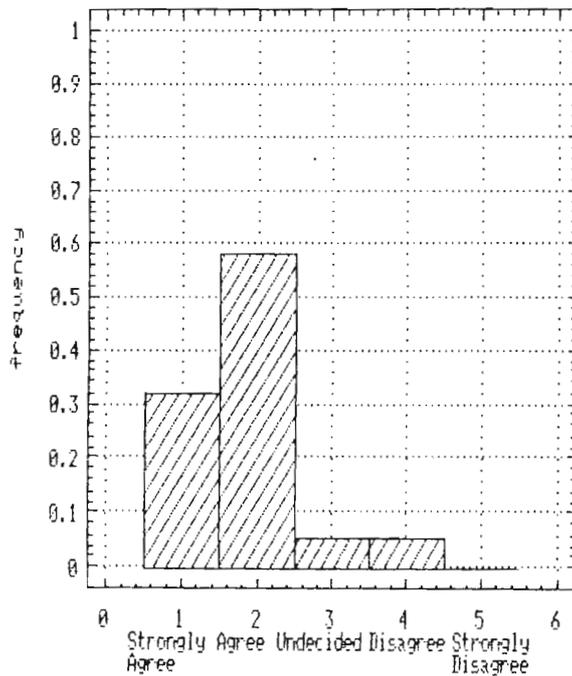
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WHITE MALE TEACHERS



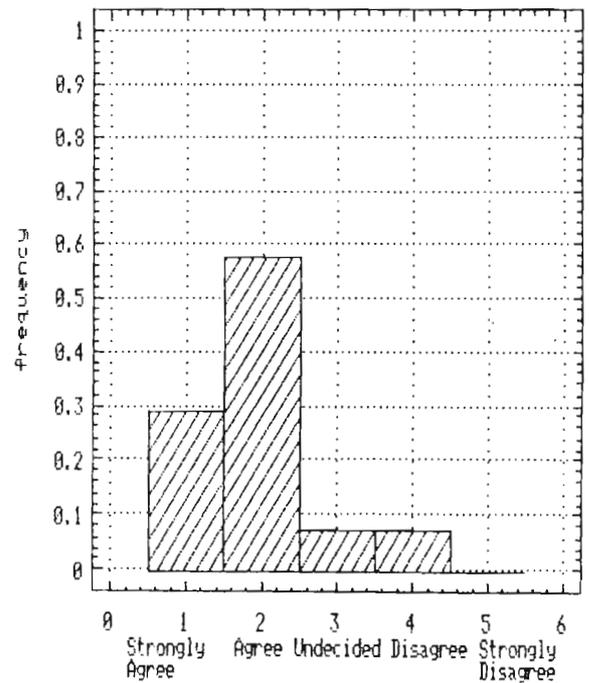
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a close friend'

WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS

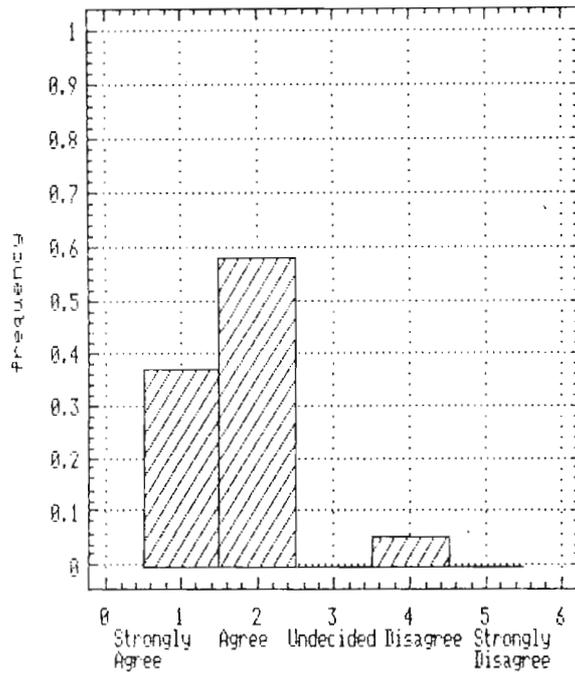


'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a close friend'

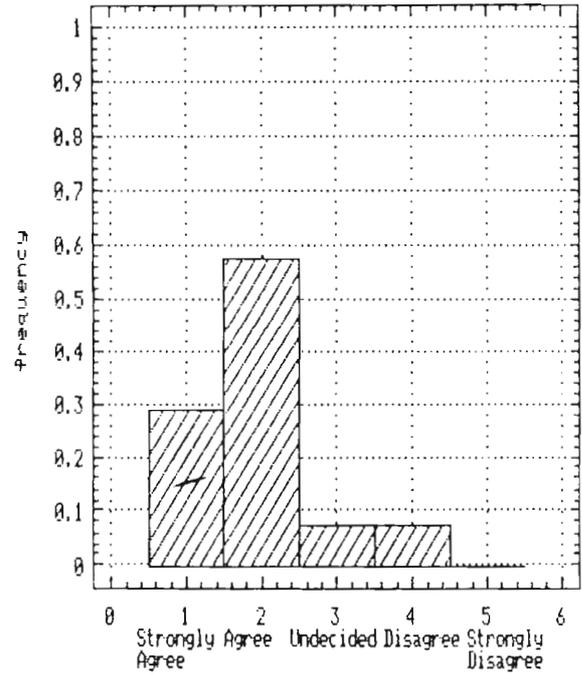
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



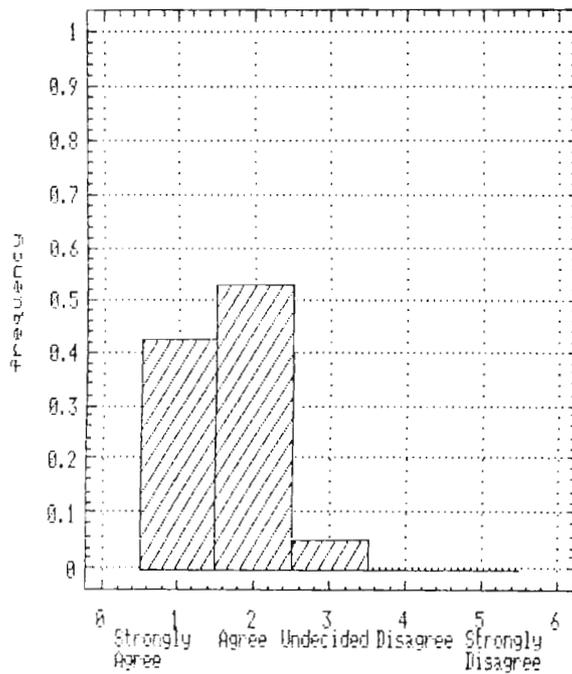
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a neighbour in my street'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



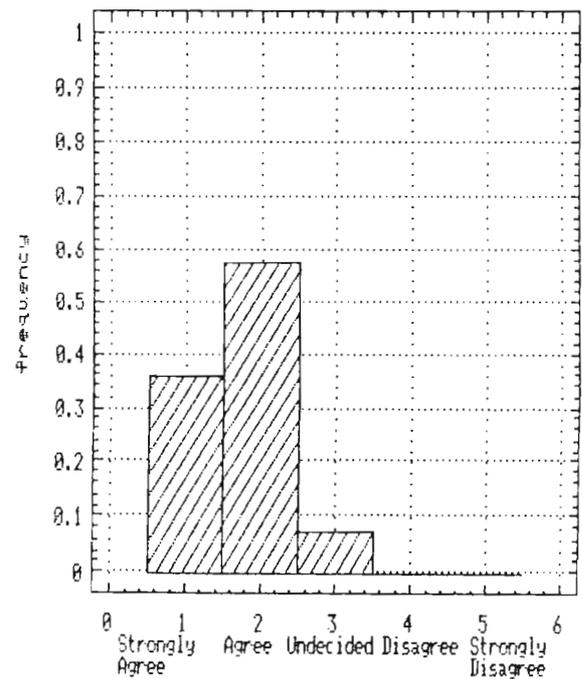
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a neighbour in my street'
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



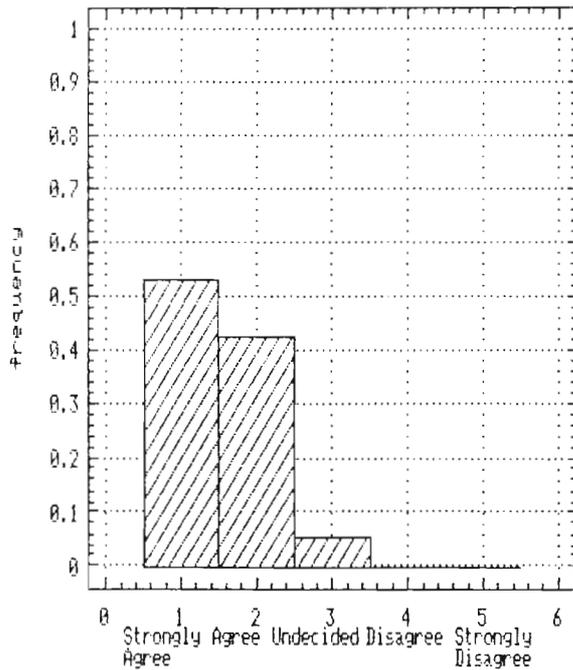
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a visitor in my home'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



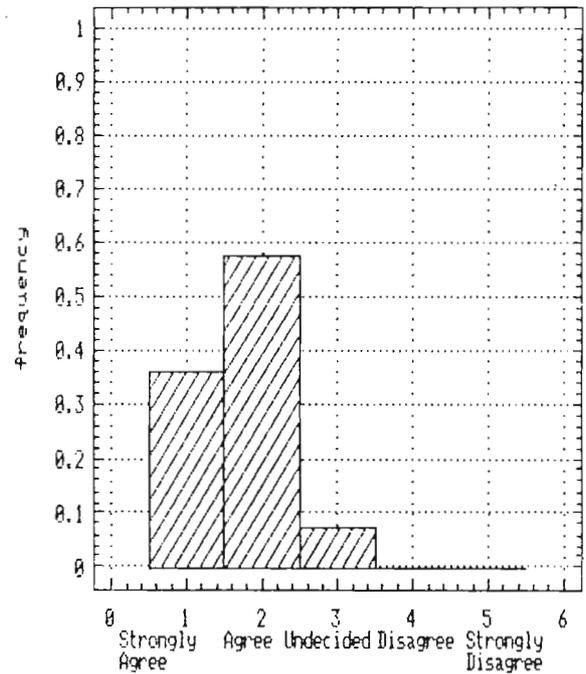
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a visitor in my home'
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



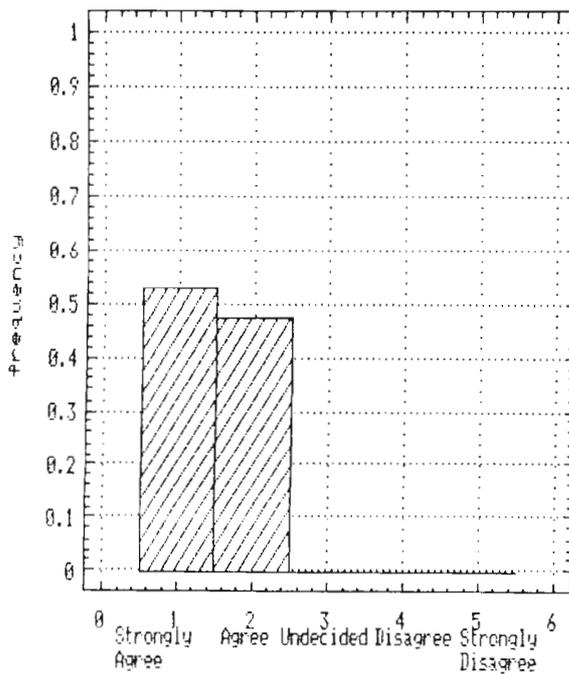
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a colleague at this school'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



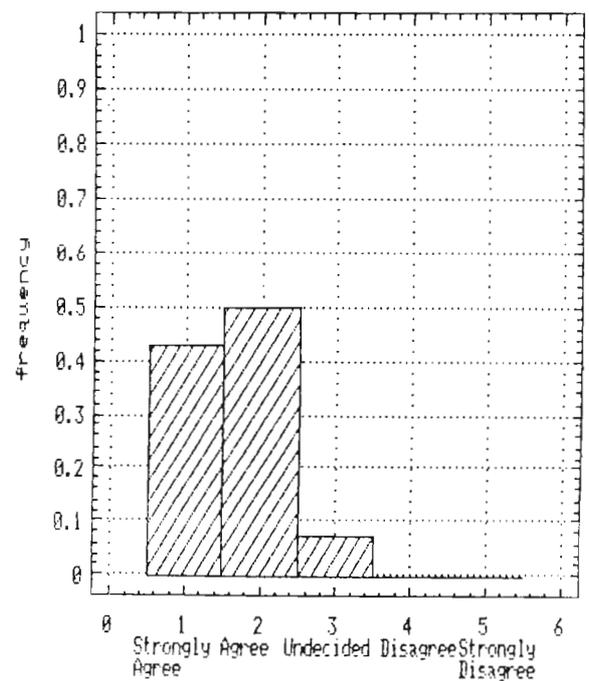
'I am prepared to consider a person of another race as a colleague at this school'
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



'I am prepared to consider a member of another race group as a member of my sports and social club'
WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS



'I am prepared to consider a member of another race group as a member of my sports and social club'
WHITE MALE TEACHERS



Interview Schedule (Students): NEWSA HIGH SCHOOLIntroduction to students:

'Good morning/afternoon _____.' (first name of student)

'Please take a seat, and make yourself comfortable. You may know who I am: my name is Dave Seager. As your Principal told the school, I'm here to discover what the pupils and teachers think and feel about this school as a racially-mixed institution. I also hope to find out something about how your school runs its daily programme. I hope that my research report will provide an opportunity for both this school, and other educational organisations, to make decisions that will be in the best interests of the education of young people such as yourself. I intend making my research report available to the school. Perhaps you may wish to look at it.

I appreciate your willingness to allow me the opportunity of asking you a few questions. Please feel free to say exactly what you like, to question me if you don't understand the question. The only answers I'm looking for are the ones you want to give. Please feel free to speak your mind.

Unless you object, I would like to record our conversation on this tape-recorder.' (show the participant a small hand-held recorder, that will be placed on a table, slightly to one side.)

'Using this recorder will achieve two goals: firstly, you can be sure that what you say cannot be misquoted by me. Secondly, time will be saved. I won't need to make too many notes as we proceed, although I will make a few.

Are you happy about this?' (smile re-assuringly.)

'Lastly, I want to assure you that the name of this school, and your name, is not required, and will be kept confidential. I am going to make up suitable names; that is, use fictitious names. Okay?'

'Shall we begin?' (Pause. Wait for affirmation.)

Question One:

What did you think when you first heard that your school was going to vote on Model B? You know, before there was much discussion? PROBE:

Ngesikhathi uzwa okokuqala ukuthi isikole sakho sasizovotela u "Model B" wacabangani? Njengoba wazi ngaphambilini kwakukhona ukuxoxisana okuningi ngaloludaba.

Question Two:

What did your parents think when they were contacted by the school?

What did they think? PROBE: Mother and Father's views.

Abazali bakho bathini ngalokhu ngesikhathi bethintwa noma betshelwa yisikole?

PROBE: Ubaba wakho wathini; umama wakho yena wathini?

Question Three:

Who, or what, would you say has had the most influence on how you feel and think about racial mixing? PROBE: individuals, circumstances, events.

Ubani, noma yini, ngokubona kwakho one "influence" eningi ngendlela obona noma ocabanga ngayo ngohlelo oluhlanganisa izinhlanga? Kungabe abantu, isimo izinto ezenzeka ngayo, izigigaba ezithile.

Question Four:

How were you influenced? In what way?

Waheheka kanjani?

Question Five:

What do you think now (today) about racial mixing here in this particular school?

PROBE: issues, events.

Njengamanje kulesisikole ucabangani ngohlelo oluhlanganisa izinhlanga?

Izigigaba, izinto ezenzeka.

Question Six:

What do you think about racial mixing outside of school; you know, socially in homes, personal relationships, in clubs, theatres, restaurants, on the beach, and so on? PROBE: issues, concerns.

Ucabangani ngohlelo oluhlanganisa izinhlanga ngaphandle kwesikole; njengasemakhaya, ekuzwaneni kwakho nabantu, kuma-"clubs, theatres", ezindaweni zokungcebeleka ezisolwandle nezokudlela njalonjalo? PROBE: izinto ezenzeka, ukukhathazeka okwabakhona.

Question Seven:

As a young person in a racially-mixed school, what would you say is of most concern to you? The answer you give may apply to either school, or outside of school, or both.

Njengomuntu osemncane osesikoleni esihlanganise izinhlanga, yikuphi ongathi kukukhathaza kakhulu? Ipendulo yakho ingathinta ngokwenzeka ngaphakathi noma ngaphandle kwesikole, noma kokubili.

Question Eight:

Are you aware of any changes to school rules, to school policy (you know, daily routine and organisation), that have come about as a result of your school being racially-mixed? PROBE: formal and informal changes.

Kukhona yini ushintsho olwenzekile kwimithetho yesikole, nendlela isikole esiphathwa ngayo (njengezinto ezenziwa usuku nosuku nohlelo lwesikole) njengoba isikole sesihlanganisa izinhlanga? PROBE: Ushintsho oluhambisana nohlelo oluthize homa ushintsho olungahambisani nohlelo.

Question Nine:

What would you like to see happening at your school that is not already happening, when you consider racial mixing in the school?

Yini ongathanga yenzeke esikoleni sakho engakenzeki uma ucabanga ngohlelo oluhlanganisa izinhlanga?

Question Ten:

What does your closest friend think about this school as a racially-mixed school?

Umngane wakho omkhulu ucabangani ngesikole sakho esihlanganise izinhlanga?

Question Eleven:

Is this particular friend a student at this school?

Lomngane wakho kungabe ufunda kuso lesikole na?

Question Twelve:

Do you have any friends outside of your own race group, who you mix with socially here at school; that is, during the school day?

Bakhona yini abangane onabo bezinye izinhlanga enihlangana nabo ngokuzwana ngaphakathi kwesikole?

Question Thirteen:

Do you have any friends outside of your own race group, who you mix with socially outside of school?

Bakhona yini abangane onabo bezinye izinhlanga enihlangana nabo sokuzwana ngaphandle kwesikole?

Question Fourteen:

(If the participant does mix socially i.e. Question 13)

How do you mix socially? Describe your relationship to the person, and what you do together.

Nihlangana kanjani nalabangane? Chaza isimo sokuzwana kwakho nabo, nanokuthi niyaye nenzeni ndawonye.

Question Fifteen:

What has been the greatest benefit to you of the school's decision to accept racial mixing? You know, a plus factor, a positive result to you personally? Yikuphi ongathi kubeyinzuzo enkulu kunazozonke kuwena ngokuba isikole sivumele ukuhlanganisa izinhlanga?

Question Sixteen:

What has been the greatest disadvantage to you, you know, a negative factor, or this change?

Yikuphi okungabanga yimpumelelo noma inzuzo kuwena ngoshintsho lwesikole lwokwanukela zonke izinhlanga?

Question Seventeen:

Without mentioning any names, what do you think teachers in this school feel about racial mixing in the school?

Ngaphandle kokusho amagama abantu, ucabanga ukuthi othisha balesikole bacabanga ukuthini njengoba isikole sesihlanganisa izinhlanga?

Question Eighteen:

What irritates you most about members, or even an individual member, of another race group? You know, something you have experienced that you find annoying?

Yikuphi okukucasula kakhulu okwenziwa ngomunye noma ngabanye bezinhlanga? Okusho ukuthi into esike yenzeka kuwe oyithola ikuthukuthelisa.

Question Nineteen:

What have you personally experienced that you like about members, or even an individual member, of another race group?

Yikuphi osekwenzeke kuwe okuthandayo ngomunye noma ngabanye bezinhlanga?

Finally, the last question. You have been very patient!

Owokugcina umbuzo. Siyabonga uzwelano lwakho!

Question Twenty:

Perhaps you would like to ask me a question, or say something that you haven't yet had a chance to say? Is there anything on your mind? Please take your time.

Mhlawumbe nawe uyathanda ukungibuza umbuzo noma usho okuthile ongathanda ukukubeka obala? Ngabe kukhona yini okusengqondweni yakho othanda ukukusho? Cabanga kahle ngaphambi kokuphendula.

Pause ...

Well, I guess that's it then! Thank you for your time. You have been very helpful.

Siyabonga ngokusinika isikhathi sakho ukuze sixoxe nawe. Siyalubonga usizo lwakho.

I'm going to be around for a while. Should something come to mind, or should something happen that you think will interest me, or be of help in this study, please get hold of me. Your contribution would be very useful. If you want to see me confidentially, then you can leave your name and class with the secretary at reception. Just say you need to speak to me. Then I will contact you without making it obvious.

Thank you! (Stand up, usher student to the door.)

I hope you have a successful year. Good luck with your studies. Bye!

Interview ends.