

AN ANALYSIS OF THE HOME CONDITIONS IN RELATIONSHIP  
TO POOR ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN  
A NATAL HIGH SCHOOL

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CHAPTER ITHE RESEARCHAn Introduction

The survival of Indians as a community is at stake. Education has become the lifeline to which Indians are tenaciously clinging in the hope of escaping the consequences of political and economic pressures which are felt on all sides. Hence there is a tremendous demand for secondary education and a consequent problem of accommodation.

With the sharp rise of the secondary school population has been coupled an alarmingly high rate of failures, so much so that concern has been expressed by the Director of Education in Natal.<sup>4</sup> The gravity of the problem can be measured when it is considered in terms of the tremendous financial sacrifice that parents have to make; the psychological effects such failures have on both the students and his parents, not to speak of the disappointment that confront the teachers and of the double-demand that failures make on accommodation, thereby creating an admission "bottle-neck" for the new students.

The/...

### The Purpose of this Investigation

Since the high rate of failures is sufficiently widespread, as has been noted in the remark of the Director of Education, great circumspection is called for in the interpretation and assessment of poor examination results. It is not good enough to say that the results are "disappointing"; or, though the results are bad, they are comparatively better than those of the previous year; or, are "favourable" when compared with those of other secondary or high schools. Such unscientific yardsticks offer a measure of comfort but nothing else.

The Clairwood Government Indian High School has been selected for the purpose of this investigation. It is unique, in that it is the only Indian High School built by the Province while Sastri College, which is the oldest, has been built by Indian effort and money. Other high schools, excepting the Kathiawad High and the Orient High which are really comprehensive and sectional schools, have been built by Indians and handed over to the Natal Provincial Administration. The rest are Government primary schools with secondary tops. A new Government secondary school, the Centenary High, is in the course of construction at Sydenham. This school will serve a dual purpose; one, to relieve the pressure/...

pressure of accommodation at the secondary school level, and two, to establish a close liaison between itself and the Springfield Training College nearby, where provision is now made to train specialised teachers for secondary school work in the lower forms.

The Clairwood Government Indian High School is situated in one of the most densely-populated districts of Durban, and in close proximity to the shopping centre, the industrial sites and the slum areas. It is the largest co-educational Indian high school in Natal. It has a fairly well-equipped biological laboratory and a domestic science room but the library is ill-ventilated and poorly-laid out. This twenty-one-roomed building has no school hall. The playing-fields have been carefully laid out on what was once a water-logged, low-lying, clay-ridden, wind-swept land.

In the present investigation an endeavour has been made to show how "bad" the examination results are and to trace the causes of poor achievement. The investigation has been planned to cover as fully as possible the conditions relating to the home, the experiences at school, the methods of learning, the reactions of personality and emotions, the physical and nervous conditions of the students, the spare-time and vocational interests, and the depth and extent of friendship. The data for all these have been collected, but/...

but only the first part of the investigation, that relating to the conditions obtaining at home, has been completed and presented here.

### The Method

Two groups - the "obstructed"<sup>\*</sup> and the normal - have been selected on the basis of the aggregate marks obtained in three consecutive <sup>half</sup> examinations. In order to validate the consistency of the poor performance of the "obstructed" students, their aggregate marks were compared with those obtained in the class tests <sup>o</sup>. Students were eliminated from the investigation when their results failed to show consistency when compared. Similarly, aggregate marks of the normal students were examined for consistency before they were selected.

Both the "obstructed" and the normal students were of the same age group, religion, and home language. They were as has been already made clear drawn from the same school. By means of questionnaire, the data concerning the intellectual, emotional/...

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\*For definition see page 36

<sup>o</sup>These tests were given during the time set for Periodic Tests.

emotional, physical and environmental conditions were collected. In addition, the New South African Group Tests were administered.

### The Results

The statistical results of the analysis of the conditions relating to the home are given in Chapter IV, while in the subsequent chapters the significant results are discussed.

CHAPTER II  
STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

In 1946, the Wilks' Committee on Provincial Education in Natal reported that "taking into account the general economic standard of the (Indian) parents, which demands that children shall begin as early as possible to earn something towards the upkeep of the family, it does not appear feasible as yet to provide for the bigger majority an education which goes beyond the existing primary stage".<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it made a modest recommendation that "opportunity should be made available for a minority who will be able to continue their education beyond that stage". It had not been anticipated that within a few years there would be a very steep rise in the level of secondary enrolment, and that the Natal Education Department would be forced into a position of preparing each year a "merit list" for admissions, thereby creating a ridiculous situation in which a child who had a certificate entitling him to proceed to a high school was precluded from even going to one in search of a place as his name did not appear in the aforesaid "list". In 1955, there were 3086 pupils in Standard VII to X,

whereas/....



whereas the figure for 1953 was 4062, an increase in three years of about 30%.<sup>14</sup>

With the insistent and increasing demand for admission to secondary and high schools, there has followed the problem of school accommodation at the secondary level. Added to this is the problem of a high rate of failures at the Junior Certificate level. A former Chief Inspector of Indian Education has remarked that:

"One wonders if the Indian parent..... does not regard secondary education as a panacea for his ills. Around him he sees large numbers of European children who proceed to post-primary classes, and he reasons that if this system brings economic and other advantages to the white races it must be good for the adolescents of his own people".<sup>2</sup>

The inference sounds obvious, but nonetheless, it is a mistaken one, and as such, it contradicts the observation made in the Wilks' Report. The Indian parent does not reason in terms of the white child, nor does his motivation stem from his spirit to emulate. He is, however, fully aware of the fact that the law of the land enforces the school attendance of the European child in order to maintain white leadership/...

leadership, whereas in the case of the Indian child, it is a question of parental decision, and as such it is not obligatory. Other factors operate, and become sufficiently compelling on the Indian parent to send his child to school. For one thing, his ills are purely economic, and for the other, his environment is a difficult one, for all the avenues of employment and opportunities are being fast shut down to his child either in pursuance of the policy of the country or because of the presence of a very large reservoir of cheap, migratory, Bantu labour force. It is a question of survival; the Indian parent is concerned in the future well-being of his offspring. He has, therefore, a twofold reason for sending his child to a secondary school. Firstly, he does not wish his son to swell the ranks of the unemployed; and, secondly, he cherishes the hope that his child will find itself in a more congenial and financially rewarding occupation than that in which he, himself, is. Such is the aspiration of the Indian parent.

The Handbook of the Natal Junior Certificate Examination lays down that the minimum mark required for a pass in any one subject is 33 1/3rd per cent of the total marks assigned to that subject. Further, to obtain the full Natal Junior Certificate /...

Certificate, a candidate must in one and the same examination

- (a) pass in an official language on the A grade;
- (b) pass in four other subjects; and,
- (c) obtain a minimum aggregate of 330 marks, that is, 40 per cent of the total marks assigned to the whole examination.

No marks, however, below 20 per cent in any one subject are added to a candidate's aggregate.

An analysis of the Natal Junior Certificate passes and failures at the Clairwood Government Indian High School reveals a record of poor achievement. When the school was first opened in 1956, 103 students enrolled for the Junior Certificate classes. Of this number 96 entered but 2 failed to put in appearance for the final examination. The results of this examination showed that 78 per cent of the students failed. In 1957, 278 wrote the examination, and 60 per cent of them failed to achieve success. Though the percentage of failures had been reduced, yet a closer examination of the figures in Table I shows that 55 per cent of the students gained aggregate marks that ranged from 33 1/3rd to 40 per cent. These passes represent the borderline cases. 244 students received marks that were below 50 per cent of the aggregate/...

TABLE I

JUNIOR CERTIFICATE PASSES AND FAILURES OF THE CLAIRWOOD  
GOVERNMENT INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL FOR THE YEARS 1957 - 58

Y E A R		1957 <i>1953 June</i>	1958 <i>1954 June</i>	
ENROLMENT		293	340	
NUMBER ENTERED		282	324	
NUMBER ABSENT		4	--	
DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATE SYMBOLS	A	80% and over	-	-
	B	70% to 79%	2 <i>2</i>	1
	C	60% " 69%	6 <i>1</i>	5
	D	50% " 59%	26	44
	E	40% " 49%	78 <i>20</i>	110
	F	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$ " 39%	60 <i>30</i>	90
	FF	30% " 33%	33 <i>12</i>	28
	G	20% " 29%	58 <i>25</i>	39
	H	0% " 19%	15 <i>7</i>	7

aggregate marks. In other words, only 12 per cent passed the examination with the aggregate marks above 50 per cent. In the 1958 examination, 62 per cent of the students had "scrape passes", while 15 per cent had aggregate marks above 50 per cent. These results are not heartening. Anxiety has been expressed in the official school journal :-

"...One will no doubt observe that whereas in the fields of plays, debates, public-speaking, art, cricket, and soccer the school appears to feature prominently, it does only moderately well in respect of academic activities".<sup>16</sup>

Does this mean by implication, the extra-curricular activities are partly responsible for poor academic achievement? This cannot be so, for the achievements in the extra-curricular fields are the works of a handful of students. As recently as December, 1960, the Principal of the school, writes in the school magazine that :

"The academic achievements of the school have not as yet been spectacular.....the poor results in the public examinations are due to a variety of factors".

Mr. L.T.J. Bicbuyek observed, when he was the Chief

Inspector/...

Inspector of Indian Education, that:-

".....not every child who passes Standard VI is fit for the only type of secondary education now available in Indian Secondary Schools, the purely academic one".<sup>3</sup>

This implies that the high rate of failures is widespread and that there is no choice of subjects to cater for the varying interests and aptitudes of Indian students. A few years later, as a Director of Education, he told the Natal Indian Teachers' Society Conference that his department was trying to find the causes of Indian school children's high rate of failures in public examinations. He added that it was not the lack of intelligence or intellect but the cause might be in the instruction of English. Teachers of all subjects should regard themselves as teachers of English.<sup>4</sup> He shifted the blame from the intellectual character of the studies, that a large number of students are compelled to follow, to the teaching of, and proficiency in, English.

Though the present investigation has been limited to the Clairwood Government Indian High School, the writer considers that it would not be inappropriate to graphically view the failure results of the school against the

background/...

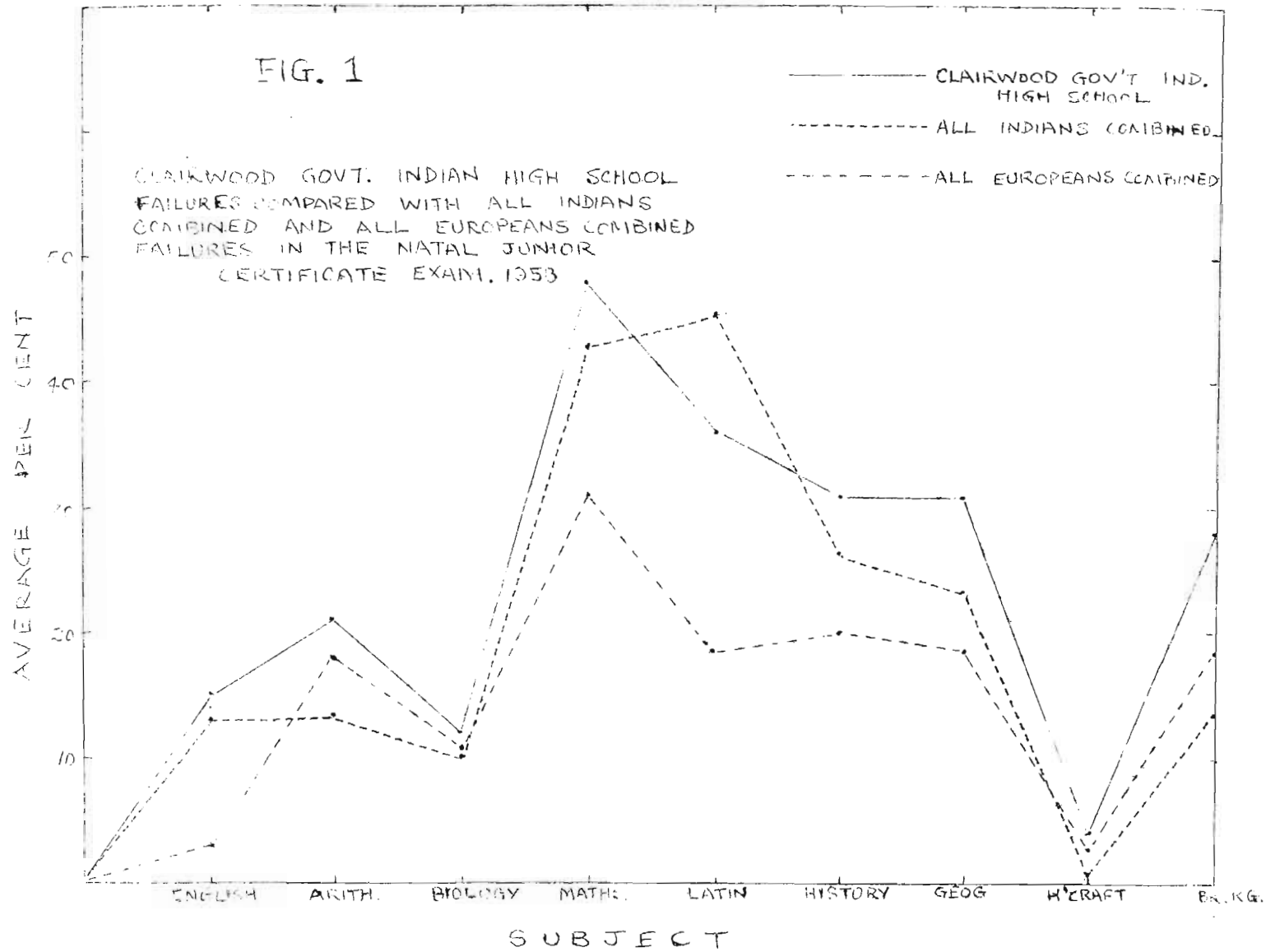
background of those obtaining in European, Coloured and Indian secondary and high schools in the Province of Natal.

TABLE II

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FAILURES AMONG EUROPEAN, COLOURED, AND INDIAN STUDENTS IN THE NATAL JUNIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1958

SUBJECT	<u>EUROPEAN</u>			<u>COLOURED</u>			<u>INDIAN</u>		
	No.	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	No.	%
	Wrote	Failed	%	Wrote	Failed	%	Wrote	Failed	%
ENGLISH A	2244	69	3.1	153	10	7.0	1268	168	13.3
AFRIKAANS B	2222	293	13.1	154	9	5.8	100	42	42.0
ARITHMETIC	2901	530	18.1	154	14	9.0	1268	171	13.4
BIOLOGY	1329	145	10.9	136	12	8.8	1268	130	10.2
MATHEMATICS	2045	637	31.0	99	17	21.5	1085	467	43.0
LATIN	310	53	13.6	24	10	41.6	1186	544	45.8
HISTORY	936	195	20.0	96	16	16.6	1071	287	26.7
GEOGRAPHY	1856	345	18.5	154	41	26.6	1249	292	23.3
HOUSECRAFT	793	20	3.0	41	-	-	161	1	0.6
BOOKKEEPING	1163	213	18.4	-	-	-	220	30	13.6

FIG. 1





The graphical presentation (Fig. 1) on the previous page shows that the failure rate at the Clairwood Government Indian High School is the highest when it is compared with those of the all Indian and all European students. In the case of Latin, however, the failure rate of the school is 9.8 per cent lower than that of the all Indian students.

In Table II (page 19), it is interesting to note the relationship between:

(1) Arithmetic and Mathematics:

	<u>ARITH.</u>	<u>MATHS.</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
<u>EUROPEANS</u> :	18.1%	31%	12.9%
<u>INDIANS</u> :	13.4%	43%	29.6%

(2) Latin and Mathematics:

	<u>LATIN</u>	<u>MATHS.</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
<u>EUROPEANS</u>	18.6%	31%	12.4%
<u>INDIANS</u>	45.8%	43%	- 2.8%

The above figures suggest:

- (a) Mathematics as against Arithmetic: Mathematics calls for a more abstract level at which relational thinking has to take place. Why is it that the Indian students find the gap/...

gap between Arithmetic and Mathematics so much more difficult to bridge? Is it simply a matter of teachers and teaching?

- (b) Learning off by heart, or learning a procedure, without sufficient real understanding, acts as a barrier to further learning. Is Arithmetic in the Indian schools learnt too much by memorising ( tables, money-sums), so that the teacher of Mathematics has nothing much on the way of genuine insights into number relationships to build upon when he starts to substitute the more general symbols of Algebra for the less general symbols of Arithmetic?
- (c) Ability at Latin ( Apart from involving quite a bit of memorising of vocabulary, grammatical details, etc.) also involves fairly high-level abstract thinking. Ability in Latin and in Mathematics usually correlates fairly highly. Again: Do Indian students find this rising to the very abstract level particularly difficult or is it a matter of teaching?

The argument that the Indian student is offered no other choice but Mathematics is not a valid one, since out of a total of 2901 European candidates, 2045 wrote Mathematics, and/...

and in the case of Indians, out of a total of 1268, 1085 wrote Mathematics and 161, Housecraft. The European had a choice of a third language other than English or Afrikaans. The third language was limited to Latin, German or French.

It has been noted that the great percentage of passes at the Clairwood Government Indian High School is really borderline cases. It would be interesting to follow-up such cases to see what academic successes have attended them. Such a study was made at Sastri College, which up to 1955, was the only large secondary institution for Indian boys in Natal. The findings of the Principal of this school showed that:-

"Year after year the examination schedules indicate that those students who pass the Junior Certificate below certain level of attainment require more than two years to gain the Senior Certificate. It is illuminating that in the period being reviewed (that is, from 1943 to 1953), only 3 per cent of those who gained a third class pass in Junior Certificate were able to take Matriculation in two years. It is also somewhat extraordinary that in the same space of six years, of those who wrote the Matriculation for a second time, that is,

three/...

three years after the lower examination, only 20% made the grade.

Many students have stayed for four years after the Junior Certificate to gain the coveted award. It does not require an accounting genius to assess the financial implications of this situation, but so powerful are the forces in the larger context of our country..... that the Indian parents are prepared to make these tremendous sacrifices that their children might achieve a status and find a niche in what to a very large extent, if not openly hostile, is a very difficult environment".<sup>10</sup>

What do parents feel in this matter of tragic waste of human endeavour in a field that in the very scheme of things seems to be the exclusive preserve of a very few children? Indian teachers are quite familiar with the plaintive pleadings of those parents whose children have fared badly in the internal examination of the school. With patience, the teachers listen to the long tales of woes that are poured out with emotionally-toned words of how a good boy through the influences of bad friendship, has neglected his studies/...

studies for the pleasures of the world. Can the school do something to regain the parental hope and faith that have been so assiduously built-up in the child? Then follows the heart-rending comparison with the neighbour's child who has done good. How is such a crest-fallen parent to face the situation where neighbourly vanity takes the pride of place!

Officially, the concensus of views held among Indian teachers is that the present educational set-up does not take into account the inclination, the interest or the aptitude of the individual child. The President of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society expressed concern when he said that:-

"We are surely clinging to somewhat archaic ideas when we resolutely refuse to admit fundamental principles in education by expecting every one (of the students in the high school) to grind through the same mill in the same way on the mechanical principle that all subjects taught for the same length of time have the same value. I am prepared to accept up to a point that the discipline involved in learning Latin or Mathematics are important, but that this should happen at the expense of the individual personality is a discredited, if not discreditable/...

discreditable, philosophy, and yet that is precisely what is going on in our schools."<sup>10</sup>

An undertone of bitterness runs through the following extract taken from an article written by an Indian High School teacher who is on the staff of the Clairwood Government Indian High School. He says:-

"It is difficult to offer hard and fast explanations for the poor results. Explanations offered by the teacher after the examinations are regarded by parents as excuse-making. The pupil, too, should he find an odd bit or two in the paper which was not treated in class, readily fastens on it as the cause of his failure, forgetting for a moment that, if he had retained in his head 40 per cent of the 90 per cent that was taught, he would have had no cause to complain .....

....A general assault is made on teachers and for a few weeks.... the high school teacher becomes the focal point of accusing fingers, odious confusion and blame".<sup>15</sup>

Thus far, the views of the parent and the pedagogue have been presented, but nothing from the pupil himself.

This/...

This is what the writer has now chosen to investigate on the basis of the hypothesis that the factors that relate to the student's personality and intelligence, to the socio-cultural level of his home and environment, to his experiences at school, to his interest in life generally, to his habits of study, and to his general condition of health, determine the extent of his success or failure at school



CHAPTER IIIREVIEW OF PERTINENT LITERATURE

From the little material that is available, it seems that the high rate of failures in secondary schools is becoming an educational problem in those countries where the demands of democratic institutions and government on the individual become more exacting. In addition to compulsory secondary schooling, some countries have given statutory sanction to allow their local educational authorities to follow a system of education based on intelligence and aptitude. In this way the problem of secondary school failures is partially met.

Most studies on secondary school failures, particularly in America, are mere surveys of opinions to which little scientific worth can be attached. The British studies, on the other hand, hastened through the need for differentiation of secondary education, are more scientific in approach, in that carefully-controlled experiments have been carried out.

Campbell (1952) investigated the socio-cultural backgrounds of a hundred recent entrants to secondary schools. He says that: "Among teachers and educational authorities generally, there exists a widespread belief in the effect of home/...



home environment, but the evidence presented by previous research is far from conclusive. Many workers have reported negative results, and everywhere positive correlations have been demonstrated between home environment and secondary school achievement, and it is not always clear whether or not the coefficients are statistically significant. Two main criticisms may be directed towards the studies in this field:

In the first place, the methods used to collect data about the homes have not always been satisfactory as very few investigators have attempted to make objective assessments; in the second place, most attention has been concentrated upon the socio-economic status of the home, and other aspects have been largely neglected".

His conclusion is that "since the 'misplaced' (at the grammar schools) and the 'rightly-placed' (at the central schools) children had approximately the same average level of intelligence and primary school attainment, the difference in achievement at the secondary schools can be attributed, at least in part, to home environment".<sup>5</sup>

Chazan/...

Chazen (1959) finds that parental attitudes which are authoritarian often lead to resentment and rebellion, especially during puberty. Pressure and nagging tend to lead to lack of effort on the part of the student. He states that "the role of parental attitudes in the causation of maladjustment among children has been stressed by many writers. In 42 cases, faulty or unsatisfactory parental attitudes militated against the satisfactory development and progress of the child. The parents of those children who presented nervous or neurotic symptoms tended to be over-anxious, there being much parental conflict over handling the child. The significant attitude of the parents of the children who were delinquent in some way, or who played truant was a lack of interest, supervision and control. The children were rarely given much encouragement or support at home for their efforts at school."<sup>7</sup>

He further finds that the lack of cohesive family unit is often responsible for maladjustment in school. The feelings of social inferiority lead to dislike and even avoidance, in some instances, of going to a grammar school. These feelings are related to a lack of sufficient pocket-money, and sensitivity concerning the material standard of the home and inferior clothes/...

clothes. These children feel "out of it" both at school and in their own neighbourhood, where the local children may regard them as snobs.

His other findings concern overcrowding and premature burden of responsibilities. Overcrowding has been responsible for lack of facilities for study. Some of the children have to attempt their homework in the presence of noisy siblings, others in rooms lacking warmth. In a number of homes there is a general atmosphere of strain and pressure and consequently children have to shoulder the responsibilities of adults.

Lee (1957) says that "young children whose absence from home is prolonged by an extensive daily bus trip show poorer school adjustment".<sup>11</sup> In the present investigation, where the students are adolescents, it has been established by statistical analysis that there is a definite relationship between poor school performance and prolonged daily travel. It has not been ascertained how far fatigue resulting from such a travel, affects school work.

Renier (1957) states that there "is more retardation found in children whose mothers are not at home when the pupils return home".<sup>17</sup> This conclusion is either suggestive of indiscipline arising from lack of parental supervision  
and/...

and control or of psychological maladjustment arising from lack of warm and intimate maternal care. In the present investigation it has been found that students who are away from home for a prolonged period, are affected by a feeling of loneliness and by an inability to adapt themselves to a new surrounding.

Sandon (1938) finds that "there is, in a number of secondary school pupils, a psychological or physical constitution that results in poor progress being associated with frequent absence, so much so that frequent short spells of absence are related with educational retardation more than are less frequent longer spells of much greater total duration."<sup>18</sup> Because of the limitation of the scope of the present investigation, it has not been possible to work out the analysis of the collected data relating to the shorter and longer spells of absence.

Carrothers (1946) an American, lists the following as reasons for failures within the high school population: the heavy load carried by teachers in and out of school, pupils' lack of interest, lack of understanding of pupils on the part of the teacher, inability of youth to do the work expected, indifference and unconcern on the part of the teacher and parental/...

parental unconcern;<sup>6</sup> while Lafferty's survey (1947) puts down the high rate of failures in secondary schools of Texas to mental slowness (22%), lack of effort (29%), irregular attendance (13%) and poor preparation on the part of the pupils (7%)<sup>9</sup>.

Hunter (1952), limiting his investigation to a select Durban European high school, finds significant parent-child conflict, a distinct tendency to submissiveness (that is, to environmental circumstances), low linguistic persistence, father in a non-professional occupation, mother goes out to work during the day and sparetime interests mainly of an outdoor type and frequent absence from school.<sup>8</sup>

The overall picture that one is presented with is that the causes of high school failures can be ascribed to numerous factors - either simple or complex. The conclusions of Burt (1948), though based on the investigation carried out among primary school children, can, in a modified way, be applicable to students who do badly in high schools. He says that: "Throughout the whole inquiry one outstanding conclusion emerges again and again - the fact of multiple determination. . . . . in most cases not one cause, but several, are at work. Were we to reckon up all the different factors . . . . .

wc/...

we should find that more than sixty distinguishable conditions had been reported or observed. When we try to sort them out, according to their general nature, we are met with a wide variety - some are physical and others mental; some are to be found within the child, others in the circumstances in which he lives or has grown up; some appear to have been inherited or at any rate to form part of the child's congenital endowment, others are social or environmental; and of these latter some arise inside the school, others arise outside it". \*

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\* Burt, C. The Backward Child, 1951, Univ. of Lond. Press, Ltd., Chap. XVI, p. 564.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE DESIGN OF THE EXPERIMENT

The experimental design is as follows:

GROUP		OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL
NUMBER		150	150
EXAMINATIONS (Aggregate marks of each student converted to z-score)	E.1	STANDARD SEVEN FINAL (1957)	STANDARD SEVEN FINAL (1957)
	E.2	STANDARD EIGHT HALF-YEARLY(1958)	STANDARD EIGHT HALF-YEARLY(1958)
	E.3	STANDARD EIGHT TRIAL (1958)	STANDARD EIGHT TRIAL (1958)
MEAN (z-score)		$\frac{E.1 + E.2 + E.3}{3}$	$\frac{E.1 + E.2 + E.3}{3}$
PERCENTAGE (z-score of the MEAN converted to percentage based on the Normal Probability Curve)		45 AND BELOW	46 AND OVER

In the case of each student, the aggregate marks obtained in the three consecutive examinations (henceforth designated as E.1, E.2 and E.3 respectively, vide ut supra), were converted to standard scores (z-scores), the mean of which was changed to percentage based on the Normal Probability Curve.

It/.....

It was planned that there should be an "obstructed" and a normal group of 150 students each. The writer has adopted the term "obstructed" to which he has given a new signification. An obstructed student may be educationally described as one who in a secondary or high school consistently produces a poor performance in examinations, school tests or generally in classwork. In this definition, and for the purpose of this investigation, "poor performance" connotes a statistical concept which covers those cases where the normal probability percentage, obtained after the conversion of the examination or test marks to z-scores, is below 45.

It must be noted that the terms "backwardness" and "retardation" with all their variants, presuppose the measurement of intelligence as a prerequisite to classification, whereas the term "obstruction" is not determined by intelligence tests. It is only after the student has been found to be obstructed in his studies that a systematic search may begin for the causative factors which may operate singly or in varying degrees of combination, and which may arise from intellectual, emotional, physical or environmental conditions.

If the causes are determined, then the student can  
be/.....



be classified as either backward or retarded. Backwardness and retardation are not synonymous or interchangeable terms, for backwardness is associated with low intelligence, and as such, the student is doing as well as he can; or, statistically, his educational age (E.A.) which is well within the range of his mental age (M.A.), falls far short of his chronological age (C.A.). Retardation, on the other hand, is a "condition of unrealised intellectual ability which characterises the bright, the dull and the normal alike".<sup>\*</sup> In other words, his attainments do not measure up to his capabilities; or, statistically, his E.A. is negatively related to his M.A. So, a student must be first deemed "obstructed" before he is classified as either backward or retarded.

In order to validate the consistency of the aggregate marks of the obstructed and the normal students in the three examinations (E.1, E.2 and E.3), an adjunct to the experimental design is devised as follows:-

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<sup>\*</sup> Schonell, 1946, "Backwardness in Basic Subjects", 4th edition, Oliver and Boyd, London.

<u>GROUP</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>TEST 1</u> Aggregate marks of each student converted to z-scores	<u>INTERVAL OF TWO MONTHS</u>	<u>TEST 2</u> Aggregate marks of each student converted to z-scores	<u>MEAN</u> $\frac{T.1 + T.2}{2}$	<u>PERCENTAGE</u> z-score of mean converted to percentage based on the Normal Prob- ability Curve
OBSTRUCTED	150	STANDARD SEVEN LEVEL		STANDARD EIGHT LEVEL	$\frac{T.1 + T.2}{2}$	45 AND BELOW
NORMAL	150	STANDARD SEVEN LEVEL		STANDARD EIGHT LEVEL	$\frac{T.1 + T.2}{2}$	46 AND OVER

Test 1 (T.1) and Test 2 (T.2) were ordinary school tests in English, Latin, History, Geography, Biology, Mathematics and Arithmetic. In the case of each student, the aggregate marks of T.1 and T.2 were converted to z-scores, the mean of which was changed to percentage based on the Normal Probability Curve. This mean was then compared with the mean percentage of E.1, E.2 and E.3. Where consistency was found to be lacking between these two means, the student concerned was eliminated from the investigation.

The following plan is devised as the next step to match the obstructed and the normal groups for age and language-grouping:-

AGE DISTRIBUTION	LANGUAGE GROUP						TOTAL IN AGE GROUP
	URDU	HINDI	TAMIL	TELEGU	GUJARATI	MALAYALAM	
14.6 - 14.11							
15.0 - 15.5							
15.6 - 15.11							
16.0 - 16.5							
16.6 - 16.11							
17.0 - 17.5							
17.6 - 17.11							
18.0 - 18.5							
18.6 - 18.11							
19.0 - 19.5							
19.6 - 19.11							
20.5 - 20.6							
OBSTRUCTED	10	50	60	10	10	10	150
NORMAL	10	50	60	10	10	10	150

It must be pointed out that owing to absences and for other reasons, it was not possible to muster 150 students in each of the groups selected. The actual number selected will be seen in the presentation of the results later.

A questionnaire, divided into four parts, covering the personal history of each student selected for study, is planned as follows:-

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I	PART II	PART III	PART IV
Home conditions	Schooling:	Study-habits	Friendship
Family-relationship	1. Primary	Comprehension	Personality
Language	2. Secondary	Memory	Emotions
Religion	3. Subjects	Attention	Nervous
	4. Attendance	Concentration	Conditions
		Physical comfort	Physical
		Time of study	Conditions
		Place of study	Spare-time
		Homework	Interests
			Vocational
			Interests

During the actual investigation, the students filled in Parts I and IV of the Questionnaire at school. The reason for this procedure was that the writer felt that parents or guardians might become unduly perturbed at or critical over the/.....

the information that was being sought. Coded numbers were used instead of the real names of the students. In this way, it was hoped to get a fuller and more frank information from, and at the same time to win the confidence of, the students.

#### THE INTELLIGENCE TESTS

The New South African Group Tests, Senior A and Senior B, issued by the National Council for Social Research, were used. The norm of these tests is a standard score on the normalised distribution with the average of 100 and a standard deviation of 15. The reliability co-efficient according to Kuder-Richardson formula is .92, and according to Horst formula, .96.

The Statistical Results of the Analysis  
of E.1, E.2 and E.3

This section contains:

1. A statistical comparison of E.1, E.2 and E.3.
2. A statistical comparison of Aggregate Marks of E.1, E.2 and E.3.
3. Frequency Distributions of Raw Scores for E.1, E.2, and E.3.
4. Frequency Polygon for E.1.
5. Frequency Polygon for E.2.
6. Frequency Polygon for E.3.
7. Frequency Distributions, showing comparison of Aggregate Marks (converted to z-scores) of E.1, E.2, and E.3.
8. Distribution of Attainment, based on the Means of Aggregate Marks (z-scores) for E.1, E.2 and E.3.
9. Distribution of Ages (Obstructed and Normal)
10. Distribution of Language-groups (Obstructed and Normal)

TABLE III  
STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF E.1, E.2 AND E.3

EXAMINATION	STANDARD VII FINAL 1957 (E.1)	STANDARD VIII HALF-YEARLY 1958 (E.2)	STANDARD VIII TRIAL 1958 (E.3)
N	318	317	316
MAXIMUM (Raw Score)	700	800	2200
RANGE (Raw Score)	217 - 540	137 - 563	392 - 1421
RANGE (z - score)	-1.9 to 3.8	-2.9 to 3.7	-0.7 to 1.1
S.D.	56.5	65.5	583.2
MEAN	325.91	327	793.32
MEDIAN	306	315.5	783
INTERQUARTILE RANGE	296.5 to 344.5	265.6 to 353.07	641 to 920

TABLE IV

A STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF AGGREGATE MARKS OF E.1, E.2 &amp; E.3

z-score	E.1		E.2		E.3	
	AGGREG. MARKS	f	AGGREG. MARKS	f	AGGREG. MARKS	f
3.8	540.61	1				
3.7	534.96	0	569.35	1		
3.5	523.66	1	556.25	0		
3.0	495.41	0	523.50	0		
2.5	467.16	4	490.75	1		
2.0	436.91	14	459.00	7		
1.5	410.66	15	425.25	7		
1.1	388.06	5	399.05	14	1434.04	1
1.0	382.41	4	392.50	11	1376.52	0
0.5	354.16	47	359.75	35	1084.92	22
0.0 (Mean)	325.91	55	327.00	57	793.32	137
-0.5	297.66	53	294.25	59	501.72	140
-0.7	286.36	49	281.15	23	385.08	16
-1.0	269.41	37	261.50	27		
-1.5	241.16	25	228.75	55		
-1.9	218.56	6	202.55	8		
-2.0			196.00	5		
-2.5			163.25	5		
-2.9			137.05	2		
N		318		317		316
S.D.	55.5		55.5		503.2	



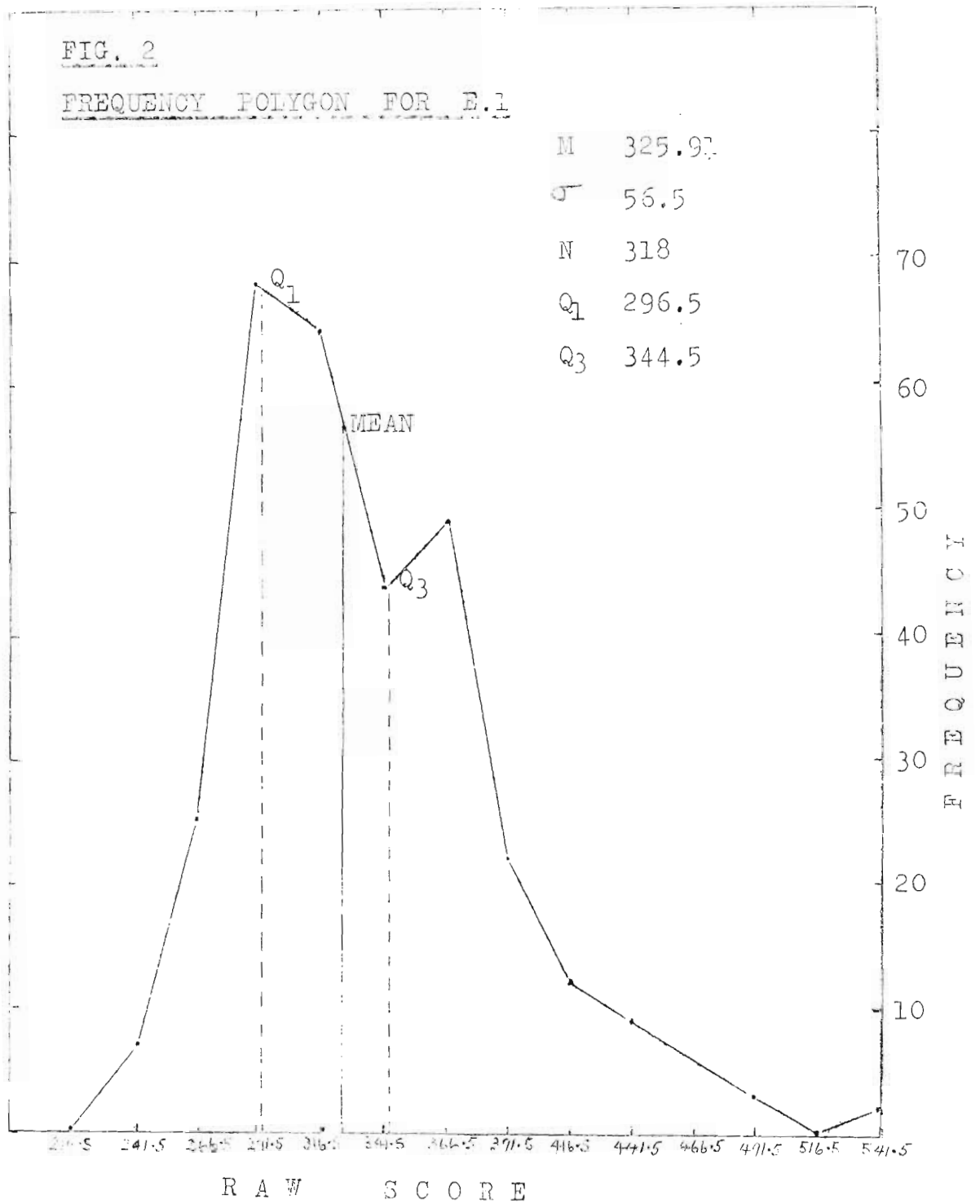
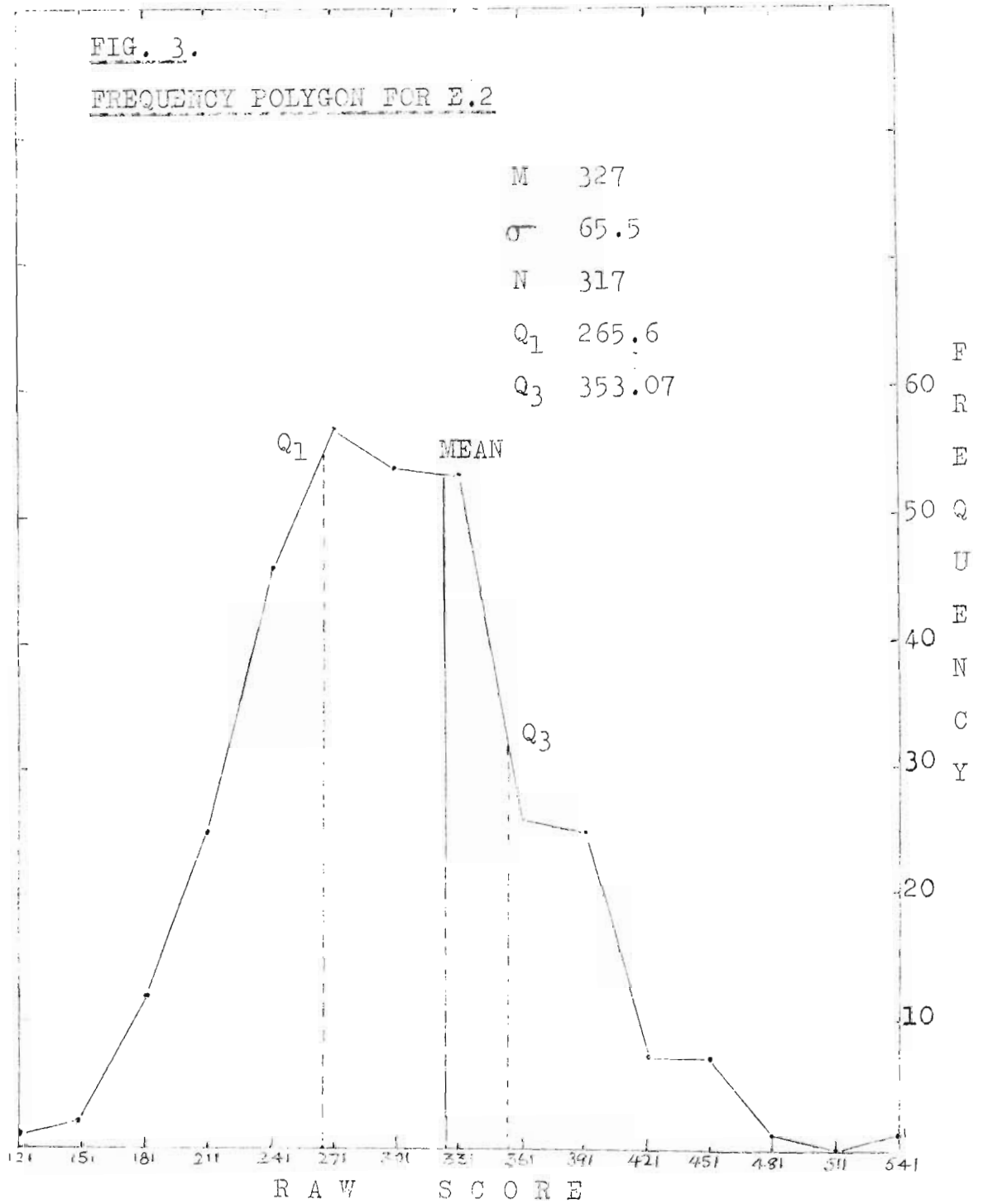
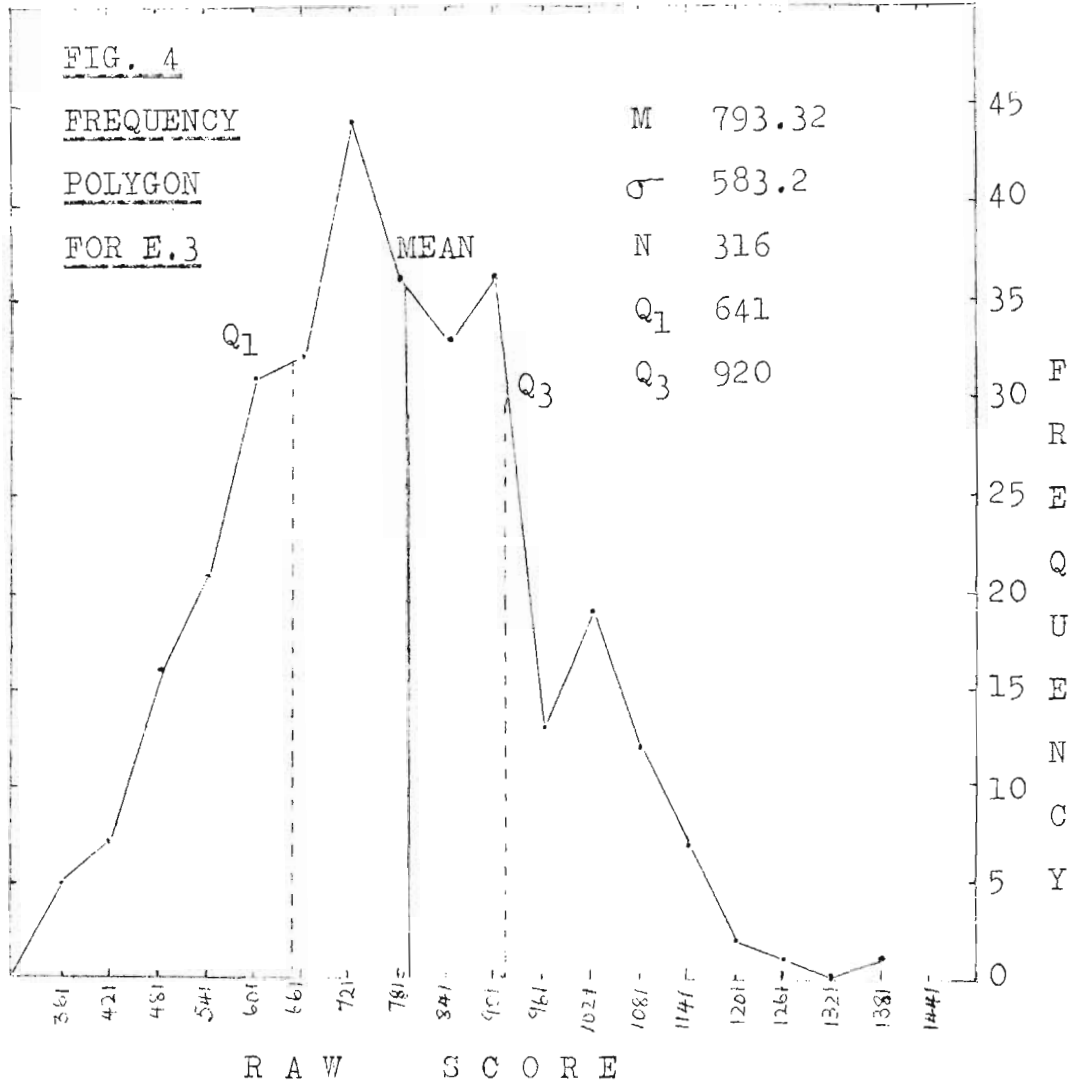


FIG. 3.

FREQUENCY POLYGON FOR E.2

M 327  
 $\sigma$  65.5  
 N 317  
 $Q_1$  265.6  
 $Q_3$  353.07





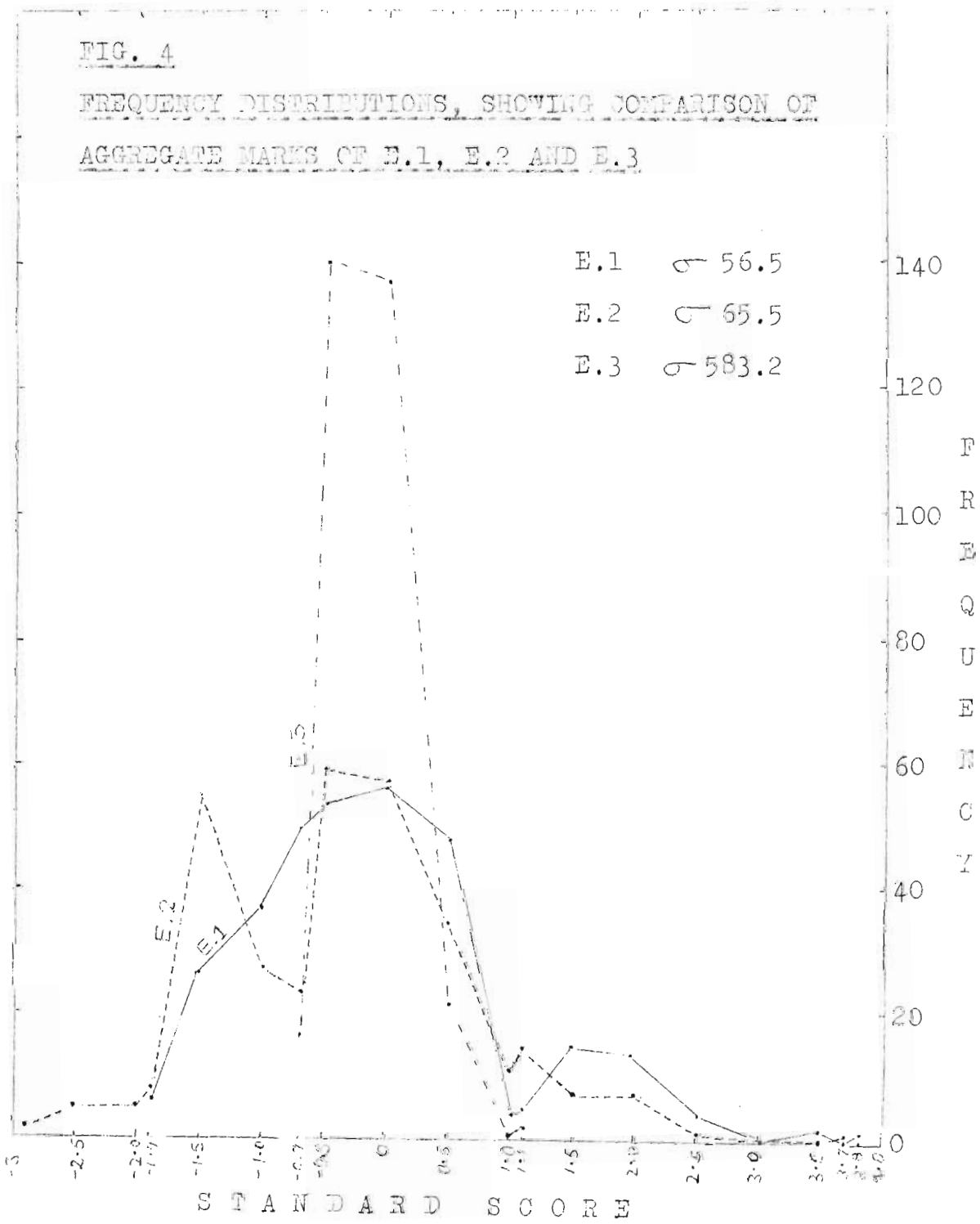


TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTAINMENT, BASED ON THE MEANS OF THE  
 AGGREGATE MARKS (STANDARD SCORES) FOR E.1, E.2 AND E.3

STANDARD SCORE CONVERTED TO PERCENTAGE	STANDARD SCORE	OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL
6% - 10%	-1.59 to -1.29	5	
11 - 15	-1.28 to -1.04	3	
16 - 20	-1.03 to -0.85	9	
21 - 25	-0.84 to -0.68	16	
26 - 30	-0.67 to -0.53	13	
31 - 35	-0.52 to -0.39	15	
36 - 40	-0.38 to -0.25	13	
41 - 45	-0.24 to -0.12	11	
46 - 50	-0.13 to 0.00		14
51 - 55	0.01 to 0.12		11
56 - 60	0.13 to 0.25		12
61 - 65	0.26 to 0.39		8
66 - 70	0.40 to 0.53		4
71 - 75	0.54 to 0.68		2
76 - 80	0.69 to 0.85		9
81 - 85	0.86 to 1.04		5
86 - 90	1.05 to 1.29		10
91 - 95	1.30 to 1.63		11
96 - 99.8	1.69 to 2.80		4
	N	90	90

TABLE VII  
DISTRIBUTION OF AGES

AGES	OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL
14.6 - 14.11	2	2
15.0 - 15.5	2	1
15.6 - 15.11	1	2
16.0 - 16.5	8	5
16.6 - 16.11	8	10
17.0 - 17.5	14	12
17.6 - 17.11	17	19
18.0 - 18.5	14	14
18.6 - 18.11	13	13
19.0 - 19.5	6	6
19.6 - 19.11	3	3
20.0 - 20.5	2	2
	N 90	90
	M 17 yrs 8.5 mths	17 yrs 8.25 mths
	S.D. 11.48	11.21

TABLE VIII  
DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE GROUPS

LANGUAGE GROUP	OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL	%
Urdu-speaking	4	4	44.44
Hindi-speaking	38	38	42.22
Tamil-speaking	40	40	44.44
Telegu-speaking	8	8	8.88
	N 90	90	99.98

This section contains the statistical results of the analysis of Part I of the Questionnaire.

TABLE IX  
RESULTS OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF CONDITIONS  
RELATING TO THE HOME

	O	N	S.E. Diff	t	P	Sign.
1. Homes situated						
outside Clairwood	56	40	.07	2.29	<.05	Yes
2. Daily travelling						
from outside Clairwood	54	36	.07	2.71	<.01	Yes
3. Father dead	11	20	.05	-0.20	>.05	No
4. Mother dead	7	11	.04	-1.00	.05	No
5. Under parental care	91	83	.10	0.80	>.05	No
6. Father unemployed	23	22	.06	0.16	>.05	No
7. Ambitiousness of						
Father very marked	42	38	.07	0.57	>.05	No
8. Father's popularity	83	73	.05	1.66	.05	No
9. Father's encouraging						
attitude	66	57	.07	1.29	.05	No
10. Happy feeling dis-						
played by father	71	63	.07	1.14	.05	No
11. Father very gentle						
in his dealing	84	71	.06	2.16	<.05	Yes
12. Kept quiet when						
scared of father	70	61	.07	1.29	.05	No



	O	N	S.E. Diff	t	P	Sign.
13. Faced father with understanding and sympathy when he "loses his head"	59	70	.07	1.57	.05	No
14. Rarely saw father	16	9	.10	0.70	>.05	No
15. Avoided father's presence	21	17	.06	0.50	.05	No
16. Father showed attention and fondness	86	76	.06	1.66	.05	No
17. Confided wishes in father	71	82	.06	-1.83	.05	No
18. Father worthy of worship	87	74	.06	2.17	<.05	Yes
19. Father's attitude had not changed after his illness	76	66	.08	1.25	.05	No
20 Before marriage mother did not work	63	70	.07	-0.10	>.05	No
21. After marriage mother remained at home	91	82	.10	0.90	>.05	No

	O	N	S.E. Diff	t	P	Sign.
22. Mother showed attention and fondness	90	87	.05	0.50	>.05	No
23. Mother's attitude was demanding	16	12	.05	0.80	>.05	No
24. Mother's attitude was co-operative	73	72	.05	0.14	>.05	No
25. Helped mother with her wishes	80	75	.06	0.83	>.05	No
26. When in conflict with others, mother scolded if in the wrong	83	81	.06	0.33	>.05	No
27. Happy feeling displayed by mother	82	79	.06	0.50	>.05	No
28. Mother nagged and humiliated	34	36	.07	-0.28	>.05	No
29. Never resorted to scolding in her methods of dealing	37	27	.07	1.55	.05	No
30. Sometimes terribly afraid of mother	68	58	.07	1.42	.05	No
31. Faced mother with understanding and sympathy, when she "loses her head".	45	41	.07	0.57	>.05	No

	O	N	S.E.Diff	t	F	Sign.
32. Gave in to mother when she "loses her head"	20	24	.06	-0.56	>.05	No
33. Mother's attitude was very intimate and confiding	84	81	.06	0.50	>.05	No
34. Told mother everything	67	68	.07	-0.14	>.05	No
35. Told mother very little	25	20	.06	0.83	>.05	No
36. Felt lonely when mother was away from home	58	43	.07	2.14	<.05	Yes
37. Mother worthy of worship	82	76	.06	1.00	.05	No
38. Mother's attitude had not changed after her illness	80	89	.05	1.80	.05	No
39. Parents got on well with each other	84	80	.06	0.67	.05	No
40. Terribly upset by parental conflict	24	18	.06	0.10	.05	No

	O %	N %	S.E. Diff	t	P	Sign.
41. Took <sup>no</sup> notice of parental conflicts	50	44	.07	0.86	.05	No
42. Parents demanded obedience without questioning	60	66	.07	-0.86	>.05	No
43. Obeyed without questioning	48	42	.07	0.86	>.05	No
44. Obeyed as occasion demanded	49	44	.07	0.71	>.05	No
45. Home life was free from punishment and disciplinary actions	74	77	.06	-0.50	>.05	No
46. Responded to parental punishment as something deserved	77	74	.06	0.50	>.05	No
47. Responded to parental punishment with defiance	12	4	.04	2.00	<.05	Yes
48. Parental* control during primary school days took the form of scolding	58	54	.07	0.57	>.05	No
49. Parents kept an eye	84	71	.06	2.20	<.05	Yes

	O %	N %	S.E. Diff	t	F	Sign.
50. Parents agreed on how to exercise control	84	83	.06	0.16	.05	No
51. Got on well with siblings	78	77	.06	0.16	>.05	No
52. Prepared for birth of younger sibling	36	38	.07	-0.28	>.05	No
53. Surprised and shocked when younger sibling was born	21	17	.06	0.58	>.05	No
54. Favoured by parents	53	56	.07	-0.44	>.05	No
55. Others favoured by parents	21	9	.05	2.40	<.05	Yes
56. Tried to shine above those who enjoyed parental favours	49	59	.07	-1.43	>.05	No
57. Protested when others enjoyed parental favours	13	2	.04	2.75	<.01	Yes
58. Elder sibling was kindly and friendly	70	77	.07	-1.00	>.05	No
59. Teased and bullied by elder sibling	14	7	.04	1.75	.05	No

	O %	N %	S.E.Diff	t	P	Sign.
60. Considered equal to elder sibling	34	33	.07	0.14	>.05	No
61. Kindly and friendly to elder sibling	24	32	.07	-1.14	.05	No
62. Had much responsi- bility at home	38	36	.07	0.28	>.05	No
63. Took responsibility on my own at home	10	19	.05	-1.80	.05	No
64 Responsibility given at home	22	19	.06	0.50	.05	No
65 Interested in family life at home than in outside affairs	89	83	.05	1.20	.05	No
66. Enjoyed the responsibility at home	60	56	.07	0.57	>.05	No
67. Beside English and Home Language spoke no other languages.	76	70	.07	0.86	>.05	No
68. Beside English and Home Language could write no other languages	94	90	.04	1.00	.05	No

	O %	N %	S.E.Diff	t	F	Sign.
69. Could not read Home Language	59	49	.07	1.42	.05	No
70. Could not write Home Language	64	52	.07	1.71	.05	No
71. Parents showed great interest in religious education	82	75	.06	1.17	.05	No
72. Attended religious service	47	42	.08	0.62	>.05	No
73. Attended vernacular school where religious instruction was given	35	33	.07	0.27	>.05	No
74. Had no relative residing at home	54	55	.08	-0.01	>.05	No
75. Terrible scenes between parents and relatives residing at home	10	4	.04	1.50	.05	No
76. Took no notice of quarrels between parents and relatives residing at home	38	37	.07	0.14	>.05	No

	O %	N %	S.E.Diff	t	P	Sign.
77. Father's health was bad	13	4	.04	3.00	<.01	Yes
78. Mother's health was bad	13	6	.10	0.07	>.05	No
79. Married brothers resided with parents	31	17	.06	2.33	<.05	Yes
80. Mother had no interest in societies, sports, or in reading newspapers, books or periodicals	84	71	.06	2.17	<.05	Yes



CHAPTER VTHE SITUATION OF THE HOMES

Statistical analysis shows that 56 per cent of the obstructed students live outside the suburb of Clairwood, while 40 per cent of the selected normal students are residents within the vicinity of the Clairwood Government Indian High School. This percentage difference between the two groups is statistically significant. In this chapter, a closer examination is made of the areas from where the students come, and of the reasons why so many students attend this school while living in areas that are so remote from it.

With the exception of the areas that lie at the foot of the Berea, between Wills Road and Greyville, and thence extending in broken strips along Umgeni Road, most of the Indian residential districts are on the fringes of the Old Borough, which was bounded in the south by the Umbilo River, in the north by the Umgeni River and in the west by the Central Berea Ridge. The peri-urban areas which were incorporated into the Old Borough in 1932, include Cato Manor, Mayville, Overport, Sydenham and Clare Estate on  
the/.....

the west of the Berea Ridge; Prospect Hill, Riverside, Briardene, Greenwood Park, Red Hill and Newlands in the north and beyond the Umgeni River; Jacobs, Wentworth, Rossburgh, Clairwood, Marine Drive, Merobank and Reunion in the south; and, Sea View, Bollair and Cavendish in the westward direction, hugging the valleys and the lower slopes that almost run parallel to the main railway line.

The Indian areas within the city of Durban are thickly populated. The Gujarati and Moslem communities predominate. They have almost complete control of the Indian trade, and practically own the whole of these areas. Expansion is impossible, except "vertically". These people live mostly in compact flats, where space is at a premium. Thus restricted in their movements, the children of these townfolk spend their time by assisting their parents in business premises, or by attending cinemas. Civic amenities like parks, swimming-pools and playing-fields do not exist for them. On Saturday afternoons and on Sundays when the flow of traffic is at a minimum, the streets and narrow lanes are turned into playgrounds. In the May Street-Umgeni Road vicinity and in the lower parts of the Berea one comes across slum conditions. These areas are of mixed racial occupation. Little or no effort has been made

to/.....

to renovate dilapidated cottages, for uncertainty has been created since the passing of the Group Areas Act. Most of these houses are tenanted by Indian and Coloured families, who are dependent for their source of water on a communal tap situated in the yard. The Population Census for 1951 showed that 31,149 Indians lived within the Borough of Durban. Of this number, 6,800 were accommodated in three official barracks, where there is little open space for healthful recreation. The latrine system is water-borne, communal, with little privacy. Some of these latrines, particularly at the Greyville Barracks which is under the control of the South African Railways, were built in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The central portion of the city with the barracks, has a concentration of 67.33 per cent of the total Indian population of the Old Borough. The percentage distribution of Indians in the Old Borough and the Added Areas is 21.21 and 78.79 respectively.

The districts, west of the Berea Ridge, had an Indian population of 57,425 in 1951. The most densely populated of these is Cato Manor, which in recent years has been the centre of much racial disturbance. It has one-tenth of the total area of Durban. It has a municipal Indian housing scheme, large slum African shack settlements, a

neatly/....

neatly laid-out African location, and an estate set aside for African freehold ownership. The living conditions of the Indians is generally poor. The future of these people is uncertain, for the area has been declared for White ownership and occupation. An atmosphere of neglect and despair predominates. The fate of Mayville is also bound with that of Cato Manor, and similar pessimism prevails. Overport, once a much-coveted district where the better class of Indians would have liked to live, has many wood-and-iron structures that pre-date the incorporation of 1932. This area is fast being encircled and encroached upon by housing schemes for Whites, while all building projects by Indians have been halted by the municipality.

Sydenham is one of the oldest settlements in Durban. The southern portion of this area has been established as a Coloured racial zone by removing some 10,500 Indians. Springfield, the northern part of Sydenham is a hilly inland area. Here the Durban Municipality has established four types of housing schemes for the Indians. The first is the scheme of sub-economic houses which are built on the steep slopes of a valley that opens out towards the alluvial plain of the Umgeni River. The outer walls of these houses are single four-and-half inch brick. During  
wet/.....

wet weather these walls become damp and cold. There is an absence of electricity and water-borne sewerage. The tenants are mostly aged persons and pensioners. The second scheme is also a sub-economic one. These houses are built on slopes of valleys that also run in the direction of the Ungoni River. The cottages are semi-detached, compact and bag-washed within. The room entrances have no doors. These homes are not supplied with electricity. The occupants, who are tenants of the municipality, are mostly municipal employees and displaced persons from areas which have been expropriated. One of the conditions of occupancy is that the gross income of the entire family must not exceed twenty pounds per month. The third scheme comprises economic houses for ownership and occupation. Most of these houses are semi-detached, the rooms doorless and the walls bag-washed. It is difficult to distinguish one house from the other, for the styling is too regular and barracks-like. This scheme is provided with electricity and water-borne sewerage. The owners of these houses are drawn from the lower income groups, such as factory-hands, transport and semi-skilled workers. The fourth is known as the individual housing scheme, whereby the Municipality sells the building plots and offers substantial housing loan. This has proved

attractive/....

attractive to the upper income groups, comprising mostly professional men and skilled workers. The houses are completely westernised in styling and design. These beautiful homes are built on the fringes of the economic houses and along the important arterial roads that lead to the city. This area has a heavy concentration of population, and expansion is only possible in the direction of Clare Estate which has been declared for Indian ownership and occupation under the Group Areas Act, but the Municipality has stopped all building plans on the ground that the area is unsuitable for drainage. The roads are in a deplorable state, with no provision for storm water. The possibility of providing the area with water-borne sewerage and other amenities as envisaged in the Group Areas Act is as remote as ever.

In the areas to the north of the Ungeni River, the Indian population in 1951 was 17,311. The houses in these parts are poor in condition, surroundings or appearance. The worst of these places is Riverside where one is presented with an interminable sight of corroded corrugated iron structures. Prospect Hall has some beautiful homes, but most of them are falling to pieces through neglect, for the people, here, are living in  
constant/....

constant dread of expropriation.

In 1951, the districts to the south of the Umbilo River had an Indian population of 33,447. Clairwood, Rossburgh and Jacobs are residential islands in an industrial area that extends from the vicinity of Gale Street and Maydon Road to Nobeni in Merebank. Housing conditions are generally bad, and there is serious overcrowding. Marine Drive and Happy Valley are huge new Indian shack settlements where homes, constructed of "pre-fabricated" second-hand iron are rigged-up overnight and occupied. The evidence of dire poverty is found everywhere. Sanitary services are poor; the drains are open and often blocked and the roads are unmade. The Municipality has now undertaken a large economic housing scheme in Merebank.

Within the limits of the city the Indian population along the main railway line was 6,039 in 1951. The greatest density is in Cavendish, the greater part of which lies in the Borough of Queensburgh and which is one of the few remaining areas where farming is still carried on. With the exception of Umhlatuzana, the future of the Indian possessions in these areas hang in the balance.

All/....

All told the Indian population was 145,371 in 1951, the largest racial group in the City of Durban. One would in the circumstances expect that in the field of secondary education, the demands of this community would reasonably, if not adequately be met. But this is not the case. There are not enough high schools for all those children who want to continue with their education after passing the Natal Standard Six Examination.

The Clairwood Government Indian High School draws students from every Indian residential area in and around Durban. The homes of a number of students who attend this school are situated in such scattered places as Umkomaas, Sezela and Port Shepstone on the south coast of Natal and Gingindlovu in Zululand on the north coast. The school has no hostel attached to it. Many students enter into temporary arrangements with their relatives for boarding and lodging. Others, upon recommendation of friends or relatives find boarding and lodging with strangers. In many cases, just lodging is available, and the students are thrown upon their ingenuity and resources for the provision of their meals and for their laundry. It must be pointed out that the offer of boarding and lodging in most cases by relatives and others, has been made because of no other consideration than that of supplementing a meagre and strained income.

Such/....



Such arrangements are a poor substitute for a home where a student can study undisturbed. The following is a typical case of an obstructed student who is forced to board and lodge:

Case 1 G.G. (16 years 11 months) comes from Port Shepstone. His parents decided that he should attend the Clairwood Government Indian High School since he has a number of relatives living in Clairwood. An uncle of his suggested that he should stay with Mrs R. B. \_\_\_\_\_ who is affectionately referred to as "granny". In fact, the relationship is very remote. This woman is a widow living with a daughter of marriageable age in an out-building consisting of two rooms for which she pays a monthly rental of £7. The student pays £6 per month for his boarding and lodging. The original decision was that he should stay with a close relative in Cavendish. This was rejected on account of the distance and expenses involved in travelling to and from school.

His desire is to take up teaching.

Why are students put to so much personal inconvenience? The answer to this question becomes obvious when one traces the origin, growth and spread of secondary education among Indians in Natal. The following table gives some indication of the growth of Indian post-primary school population over the last few years:

TABLE/.....

TABLE X

NUMBER OF INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS WITH  
SECONDARY TOPS AND THEIR POPULATION FROM 1953 TO 1958

YEAR	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS		POPULATION	
	HIGH SCHOOLS SECONDARY ONLY	PRIMARY WITH SECONDARY TOPS	HIGH SCHOOLS SECONDARY ONLY	PRIMARY WITH SEC TOPS
1953	2	10	1165	4980
1954	2	10	1146	4996
1955	2	10	1251	4097
1956	2	11	1248	5757
1957	3	11	1948	5910
1958	3	11	1978	6240

Secondary education for Indians goes back to 1899 when the Higher Grade Indian School, taking pupils up to Standard VII was established. Later, this institution was shifted from the corner of Alice and Grey Streets to Carlisle Street. Provision was made for Junior Certificate and Matriculation classes and the school continued to function until the establishment of Sastri College in 1930. The Carlisle Street Boys' Government School was then converted to Mitchell Crescent Government Indian Girls' School. In 1937, it was renamed as the Dartnell Crescent Government Indian Girls' School/....

School from which the present Durban Indian Girls' High School grew and finally separated into a distinct entity in 1940. These were the only two Indian High Schools in Durban. As a matter of fact, Sastri College tried to meet practically the whole of the secondary needs of Indian students of Natal. In the course of time, the problem of accommodation became acute, and it led Dr. R.A. Banks, the Director of Education in Natal to observe in 1946 that:

"Secondary education is now provided at eight schools and there is an insistent demand for more accommodation. Each year a large number of prospective pupils are unable to gain admission and the deficiency can only be met by the erection of one, if not two, high schools in Durban."

The eight schools referred to in the Director's Report were primary schools in the country which had makeshift provision for Standard VII and VIII. With the influx of Standard IX students from the country schools, the position of the local pupils who were seeking admission for the first time at Sastri College was made difficult. Further, a Teachers' Training College was attached to this institution. So admission at Sastri College for Standard VII pupils became a highly selective affair since only a limited number could  
be/....

be accepted. In the meantime, there was a sharp rise in the number of pupils who were successfully qualifying for secondary education. In 1954, 2730 candidates wrote the Standard Six Examination, in 1957, 4253 and in 1958, 5267.

A unique situation had arisen. In their desperate bid to give their sons secondary education, parents made tremendous inroads into their financial resources, much to their personal discomfort and inconvenience, so that their sons could be sent to the country schools with secondary tops in such places as Newcastle, Dundee, Ladysmith, Escourt, Greytown, Stanger, Tongaat, and Umzinto. It was only after these students had completed the Junior Certificate requirements that they were able to find places in Standard IX at Sastri College! However, hundreds of students who had qualified to receive secondary education had to go without further schooling, for it was beyond the means of their parents to pay for this merry-go-round-the-country education. These students were beginning to form the nucleus of a new agitation for secondary education, and in 1948, the Natal Indian Congress actively aided in the organisation of a private part-time secondary school in Durban. These classes were run by teachers drawn from existing secondary and primary schools and were conducted in the afternoons. An innovation of this type was

unsatisfactory/....

unsatisfactory and was definitely not in the best interest of the students themselves. The teachers lacked freshness and vigour, for the better part of their energy had been sapped by the ordinary day-school activities; the students could not have been just as mentally receptive and as keenly responsive as were the normal day-school students. Generally, teaching under such conditions was a hurried affair, with little opportunity to establish rapport between the teacher and the taught. Proper control and supervision of written work were impossible.

The need for a new high school became as urgent as ever. A public outcry followed, supported and sustained by the Indian press. In 1956, the Clairwood Government Indian High School came into being. At the beginning of 1959, through community self-help two more secondary schools were opened in Central Durban. The new intake of Standard VII students at these schools offered but slight relief. The problem of secondary school accommodation is far from being solved, for a large number of students seeking secondary school admission are still being turned away. The erection of secondary schools in places remote from the students' homes and the shift of population under the Group Areas have entailed a great deal of hardship on the students and heavy strain on the purses of the poor.

The/....

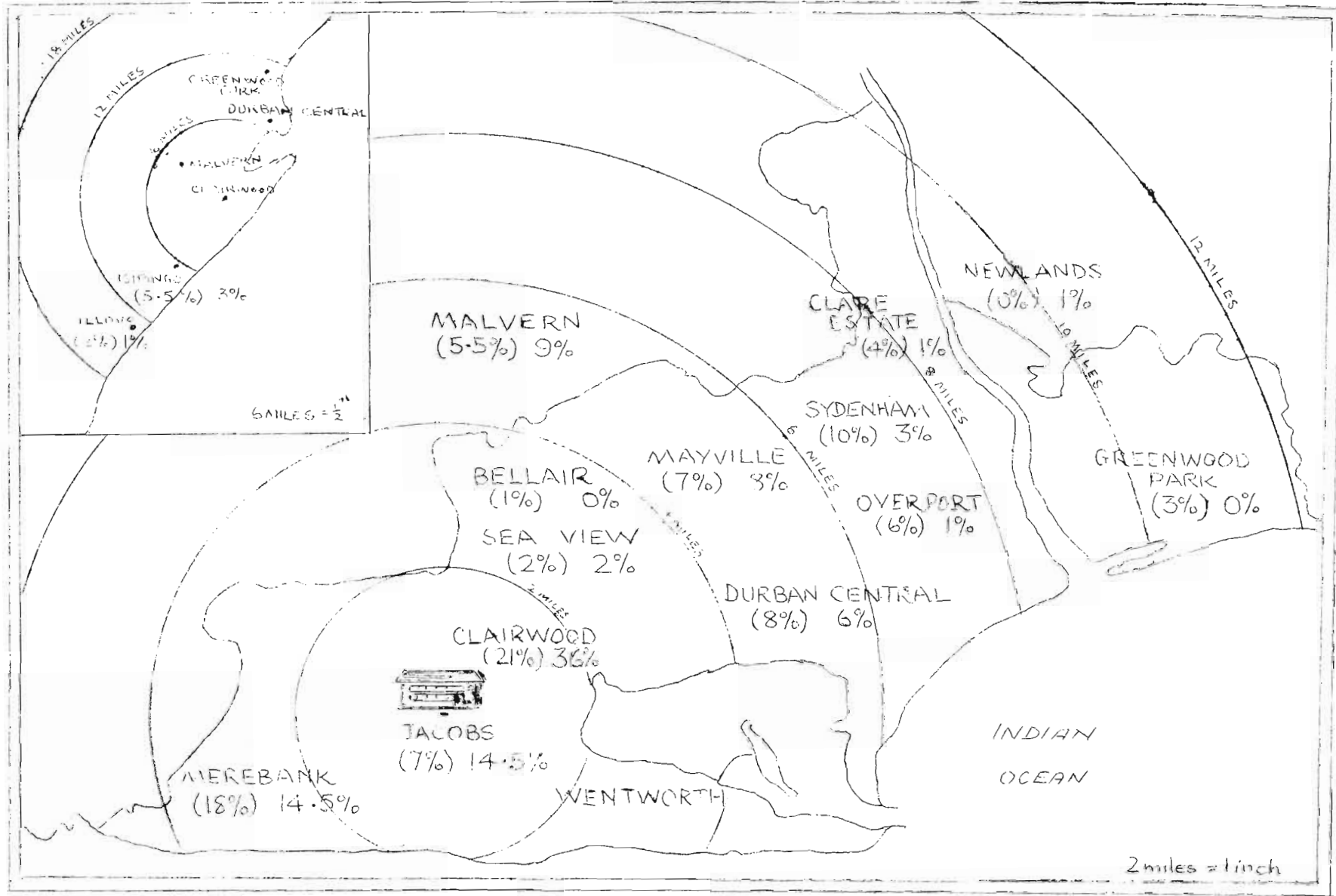
The student sees very little of his home, except at night, and even then he has very little time to relax as he has to attend to daily homework.

CHAPTER VI  
DAILY TRAVELLING

A large number of students who attend the Clairwood Government Indian High School do much travelling which is inimical to the proper pursuit of study. In long-distance journeying precious hours are unproductively and irretrievably lost; needless bus or train delays are not uncommon, and in some cases, inevitable, distractions and temptations of all sorts are ever present. The present investigation shows that 54 per cent of the obstructed and 36 per cent of the normal students journey to and from school daily. The difference between these two groups is statistically significant. In this chapter the writer examines the different means of travel, the routes followed, the distances covered and the time taken in journeying.

The map of Durban and its environs shows the distribution of the obstructed (within the brackets) and the normal groups in relationship to the Clairwood Government Indian High School. Taking the school as the centre, it will be noted that 28 per cent of the obstructed and 50.5 per cent of the normal students live within the radius of 2 miles, whereas outside this radius limit but within 4 miles the percentage distribution of these two groups is 21 and 16.5 respectively; beyond 4 but within 6 miles it is 20.5 and 23; beyond 6 but within 8 miles, it is 16 and 4; beyond/...

FIG 5. MAP OF DURBAN, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE OBSTRUCTED AND THE NORMAL STUDENTS IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE CLAIRWOOD GOVT. INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL.





beyond 8 but within 10 miles it is 4 and 1, beyond 10 but within 12 miles it is 3.5 and 4; and, beyond 15 but within 18 miles it is 2 and 1. These figures seem to suggest that the student benefits considerably when his home is in close proximity to the school he attends.

The majority of the students who travel daily depend on the cheapest and the most convenient means of travel. The availability of the different kinds of transport is much dependent on the nature and lie of the residential area, on the density of population and on distance.

Although Clairwood lies within an area that is mostly flat and low-lying, yet cycling is the least popular means of travel. The reasons for this unpopularity are partly economic and partly civic neglect. Most Indians who live here still follow the humble calling of bygone days - market gardening. Gardens in the backyards and on ill-drained lands provide an occupation and a source of income to many who would otherwise be counted among the unemployed. Most open stretches which would have lain waste are under temporary lease. The threat of eviction hangs over the head of many lessees particularly in the Wentworth area. The uncertainty of tenure is further aggravated by the rapid encroachment of industry on this area. Clairwood has long enjoyed the reputation of being the Cinderella suburb,

for/.....

for civic neglect is brazenly-marked. Were it not for the main South Coast Road, Clairwood would have had little to boast about, but much to lament over its streets which are ash-strewn, dusty and pot-holed, and which, in the absence of storm-water drainage, become veritable little lakes on rainy days.

It is not uncommon to find numerous letters of complaint appearing in the local newspapers drawing attention to streets that are only streets in name. Newspapers themselves have given prominence, by means of photographs and news items, to the general civic neglect of Clairwood. The following news item appeared in the Natal Mercury on 11th November, 1959:

"Perhaps the most disgruntled and disappointed citizens of Durban at the moment are the thousands of Indian residents of Clairwood - the largest suburb of Durban.

The cause of their unhappiness is the 'deplorable state' of many of their roads.

Following complaints from reporters in Clairwood, I (the reporter) visited the area yesterday and was astonished at the number of pot-holes found in almost all the untarred roads.

In Archary Road, the stretch near Edwin Swales Drive/.....

Drive was so slushy it was almost impossible to walk through without wetting one's ankles.

The area opposite the Hindu Cemetery in Flower Road is very rough and there are numerous little pot-holes all over the surface.

Similar scenes greeted me in Richborough Road and Amber Lane, where water from the recent rains is still standing.

Mr Sam Pillay, one of the area's best known social workers, said yesterday that he was 'sick and tired' of bringing the condition of the roads to the attention of the Corporation.

He said: 'Since 1947 we have been making representations to a host of Corporation officials and on one occasion we had arranged a tour of the area by City Councillors. But all we received were assurances that something would be done as soon as funds permitted.

And now - 12 years later - we find ourselves in an unfortunate position of having to again plead with the authorities to give top priority to our neglected roads'".

Cycling under such conditions is therefore no joy. As long as these roads remain unmade so long will cycling remain unpopular/.....

unpopular.

Travelling by train is least popular and is comparatively expensive. The train-times are rigid and ill-fit with the school hours. Indian areas in Durban are not served by the railways, and the existing railway stations are inconveniently situated in relation to these areas, with the result that there is no incentive for short-distance travelling by train. Where possible preference is given to other forms of travel that are easily accessible and time-saving.

The other means of travel open to students are by cars and by buses. It is luxury to travel by car. The majority of students cannot dream of it. Transport by bus is the cheapest, the most popular and expedient. Almost every Indian residential area is served by buses.

Most buses which are privately-operated are Indian-owned. The municipality which had hitherto confined itself to the Old Borough is becoming a serious competitor in those areas where large housing schemes have been established. The City Council is anxious to make good the tremendous loss incurred in running an efficient but comparatively luxurious service for the European. A number of suggestions has been mooted but no finality has been reached. One of the suggestions is to take-over

all/.....



all privately-owned bus services. The other suggestions are: to sell or lease out the municipal transport undertaking to private enterprises; to cut out non-paying services or routes; to expand the non-European services; and, to establish a system of control independent of the City Council.

Students pay full adult fare when they use privately-operated buses. However, one or two big private companies have made special fare concession to students. The municipality issues scholar's season tickets at considerably reduced price.

Municipal buses are regular and punctual, though wanting in comfort and convenience, for the seats are wooden and un-upholstered. Crowding in buses is not uncommon. On the other hand, privately-owned buses are, at times, inefficient and irregular. They rarely keep to the time-schedule. The interval between the appearance of one bus and another, at times varies from 45 to 60 minutes, whereas it should normally be 15 or 20 minutes. So time wastage is considerably increased when one has to take two buses in a single journey. What are the reasons for such a long interval? At peak periods, some bus operators do not complete their full scheduled run to the terminal point, but turn around mid-way as soon as all passengers have alighted/.....

alighted. In this way they cut short the time and the distance while the number of loads for the day is increased. In the meantime passengers are kept waiting in those places beyond the point the bus has turned to go back. At other times, the buses move at snail's pace and at certain points along the route they halt for a while, touting for passengers. At such times, the interval of delay is dependent upon how soon the bus is full. It is not uncommon to find during peak periods such spectacles as insane and breath-taking competition between one bus and another, the intentional jamming of one bus by another in a desperate bid to pick-up passengers and when such things happen one invariably witnesses free-for-all fisticuffs between bus crew of competing companies. Foul and filthy languages are freely exchanged with little or no regard for the presence and susceptibilities of young children, students or women passengers.

The set-up of the Durban Bus system from the passenger's point of view is a real waste of time and money. One has to put up with needless journeys, for there is no through-service from one point to another. Indian buses from the various areas terminate their journeys near the City/.....

City Markets. Similarly, the Municipal buses begin and end their journeys within the vicinity of the City Hall. So the route for most travellers is devious for it entails travelling by two buses each way.

Students who live in Cato Manor, Mayville, Overport, Sydenham, Clare Estate, Prospect Hall, Riverside, Briardene, Greenwood Park, Red Hill, Newlands, Sea View and Malvern have to travel by four buses daily. This means that students have to wake up quite early in the morning in order to be at school in time. The South Coast Road between Umbilo and Clairwood is noted for very heavy traffic and traffic hold-up is not infrequent. Much of the unpunctuality is due to this fact. Similarly, the students arrive home late in the afternoon. In this connection, it would be interesting to carry out a test of fatigue to ascertain how far the quality of work suffers at school, as a result of long-distance travelling, and whether these students produce satisfactory homework. The following student, who does much travelling to and from school, has been selected at random.

Case 2. V.K.G. (13 years 4 months) lives near the foot of the Reservoir Hills. Each way he takes two buses, which through windings and turnings cover a distance/....

distance of nearly 15 miles. In all he does 30 miles of travelling every day. He leaves home at 6.30 a.m. to be in time for school at 9.30 a.m. The school terminates at 3.00 p.m. and he returns home about 5.00 p.m. Much of his time is wasted in waiting for the buses at the bus-stops, and if he misses a bus, or for some reason or other there are bus-delays, then he is either late for school in the morning or arrives at home quite late. He shows much keenness, but the quality of his work is below average.

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CHAPTER VII  
THE PAMPERING FATHER

Statistical results show that the fathers of the obstructed students are generally indulgent towards their children. In this chapter the writer examines the position of the father in the family, his occupation, his education, his attitude towards his children and the extent of his control at home.

By virtue of the fact that he is a breadwinner, the father occupies a position of importance in the family. It is his obligation to provide the home with the necessities of life. It is rare to find the mother working in order to supplement the income of the father. Indian husbands do not look kindly upon the idea of their spouses working or hiring their labour in the open market. It is something that is repugnant and distasteful, for the proper place of the wife is at home, attending to the daily household chores and caring for her children. This attitude towards the woman is still largely found among the uneducated and the semi-educated. The opinion of neighbours is an effective yardstick whereby to measure his moral conduct and duty, that is, it is a question of what the neighbours would say. However, when the family is stricken by dire poverty, or  
when/.....

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when the father is dissolute and irresponsible, or when the children are made fatherless and as a result, are too young to take over the responsibility of the home, the mother is forced to seek employment as a menial servant or as a washerwoman in some neighbouring home. Neighbours who engage her do so more out of sympathy. Today there is a new tendency among young unmarried girls and widows from poor, but good homes to work in factories and hospitals. This does not mean that the community approves of such practice. The disapproval is shown in subtle ways, for example, if the negotiating party in a marriage comes to learn that the girl was a factoryhand or a nurse, then some feeble excuse or other is found before the matter of marriage is completely dropped. The chances of marriage for such girls are limited. On the other hand, it is not an objectionable practice among the educated, to find working wives. These women have adopted western ways of life and since their standard of living is higher, they are constrained to work in order to maintain it. Further, where wives have superior education than their spouses, they assert their independence, while at the same time acknowledge that the head of the family is the man. This sounds paradoxical. The woman realises that the position of the husband in Indian Society is superior to that of hers and is unchallenged, hence she cannot entertain the idea of relegating her husband into a position  
of/....

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of insignificance and of usurping his functions.

The present investigation shows that the mothers of 91 percent of the obstructed and 82 per cent of the normal students stay at home. So the father's position is economically important. The following table shows the types of occupation in which the fathers are engaged:

TABLE XI  
FATHER'S OCCUPATION

GROUP	OCCUPATION	OBSTRUCTED		NORMAL	
		No.	%	No.	%
Higher Income	Professional	4	5	4	5
	Business	8	9	9	10
	Clerical	10	11	3	3
	Skilled	19	20	3	3
		41		19	
Lower Income	Semi-skilled	33	37	31	34
	Unskilled	10	11	24	27
		43		55	
No Reply		6	7	16	18
	Total	90	100	90	100

The/....

The Higher Income Group consists of principals, teachers, estate agents, building-contractors, clerks, printing-press operators, cabinet-makers, motor-mechanics, and welders. In the Lower Income Group are pedlars, waiters, market-gardeners, van and lorry drivers, laundry and factory hands.

The figures in Table XI indicate that 45.5 per cent of the obstructed students come from the Higher Income Group, while 47.7 from the Lower. For the normal students the percentages for these two groups are 21.1 and 61.1 respectively. Do these figures then, suggest that different causes of "obstruction" are operative for the Higher and the Lower Income Groups? When the hypothesis - that the conditions making for poor high school work are not the same for the students coming from the Higher and the Lower Income Groups - is tested by the  $\chi^2$  method, the following result is obtained:

	<u>OBSTRUCTED</u>	<u>NORMAL</u>	
HIGHER INCOME GROUP	a. 41 (32)	b. 19 (28)	50
LOWER INCOME GROUP	c. 43 (52)	d. 55 (46)	98
	84	74	158

Cell/....

Cell	$(f_o - f_t)$	$(f_o - f_t)^2$	$(f_o - f_t)^2 / f_t$
a	9	81	2.53
b	-3	9	2.89
c	-9	81	1.57
d	9	81	1.76
			----- $\chi^2 = 8.75$ P. < .01

The theoretical frequencies are given within the bracket, while the observed are above them.

In the following table, a further analysis of the obstructed group shows that there is no significant difference between the Higher and the Lower Income Groups.

TABLE/.....

TABLE XII

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SIGNIFICANT FACTORS SHOWING THE  
PERCENTAGE OF OBSTRUCTED STUDENTS BELONGING TO THE  
HIGHER AND THE LOWER INCOME GROUPS

MAJOR FACTORS	INCOME GROUPS	
	HIGHER	LOWER
1. Home situated outside Clairwood	56.1	55.8
2. Daily Travelling (living outside Clairwood)	56.1	55.8
3. Father's Pampering attitude	30.2	81.4
4. Father worthy of worship	87.8	97.6
5. Mother's absence causes feelings of loneliness	56.1	58.1
6. Parents kept an eye	30.5	36.0
7. Married brothers live with parents	31.7	23.3
8. Mother's Illiteracy	30.5	36.0
MINOR FACTORS		
1. Met parental punishment with defiance	7.4	18.3
2. Parents favoured other siblings	19.5	20.9
3. Protested when parents favoured other siblings	14.6	19.3
4. Father's Health was bad	14.6	23.2

The table on the next page shows the highest standard

of/....

of English education attained by the fathers of the two groups:

TABLE XIII

FATHER'S STANDARD OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

HIGHEST STANDARD PASSED	OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL
Illiterate	18	15
Class i	0	1
Class ii	1	0
Standard I	2	3
Standard II	10	2
Standard III	3	9
Standard IV	16	21
Standard V	7	3
Standard VI	20	7
Standard VII	-	-
Standard VIII	4	6
Standard IX	-	1
Standard X	1	2
Graduate	2	2
	N	
	84	72

There is very little difference in the educational attainments of the fathers of the two groups, the majority of whom left school in the upper primary

standards/.....

standards.

Economic necessity and the lack of incentive for further education were the two chief reasons as to why most fathers had to be contented with the meagreness of their learning. However, they were the causes which have spurred the parents to urge their children to continue with their education up to the highest stage possible. Most parents desire that their children pass the matriculation examinations and pursue university education. In this effort, nothing is spared, no financial sacrifice is too great and there is no want of encouragement and pampering. Much damage is being done, for many of the students take full advantage of such situations especially when the fathers freely give in to the requests of their children - requests that have little or no bearing on their education but much on their waywardness. When things are so easily obtained, interest in learning suffers and little headway is made at school. The parents, because of their state of illiteracy or semi-illiteracy, are not aware of the extent to which they are being guiled by their children nor do they realise the extent to which they have contributed to the poor results of their children. The following student was thoroughly spoilt by her father:

Case/.....

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Case 3 S.D. (I.Q. 110; Age 18 years 5 months) is a girl with a pleasing disposition. She appears to be studious. Her father, ex-indenture, by dint of hard work and by business acumen, built up a profitable transport undertaking. His children have everything they want - a home built on modern lines; expensive tape-recording machines, cars and other things are theirs for the asking of them. It is the cherished desire of the father that his children should shine at school. The progress of this girl at school was far from satisfactory. She spent two years in Standard Seven and had made two unsuccessful attempts to pass the Junior Certificate Examination. She complains that she is unable to retain facts. In an interview with her parents, the writer has found that she was thoroughly pampered by her father.

Control of children at home is for the most part in the hands of the mother. It is she who can make or mar the future of her children. The father has very little time to spend with his children. He is up early and comes home late. This is because of the peculiar set-up of Indian residential areas in relationship to the places of employment. He, too, has to put up with the inconveniences  
of/.....

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of needless long-distance travelling. The problem of paternal care and control at home will be made increasingly difficult with the enforcement of the Group Areas Act, which, in turn, can be considered as one of the contributory factors of poor discipline and why the mother has to bear much more than her share of responsibility. In fact, the Indian family is subject to stress and strain arising from conditions over which it has no control. It is no wonder then, that the father is more indulgent towards, and readily acquiesces in the requests of, his children. Serious misdemeanours and indiscretions are lightly passed over.

This lack of direct control by the father has a telling effect on the quality of homework produced by the student. Further, the student's attitude towards schoolwork and study is one of indifference and neglect. Written work is sloven and careless. At home, the student takes advantage of his mother, who, at times, becomes helpless as his truculence and his threats to have his own way increase.

It is obvious then, since the father exercises little supervision, why the student makes him the object of hero-worship. Statistical analysis shows that 87 per cent of the obstructed and 74 per cent of the normal students/....

students consider their fathers to be worthy of worship. The difference between the groups is significant. Is it familiarity that lessens the students' liking for their mothers?

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CHAPTER VIIITHE ABSENCE OF THE MOTHER

A significantly interesting fact which has emerged from this investigation is the feeling of loneliness which has been felt by 53 per cent of the obstructed and 43 per cent of the normal students when they have temporarily missed their mothers while living elsewhere.

Indian mothers are very homely. After their marriage, they recognise that their proper place is in the home, and the rearing of their children is one of their important functions. The broken homes that have become characteristic of the Western way of life are the causes of insecurity and emotional disturbances in the child. Indian mothers profoundly believe for the sake of their children the home must be kept as intact as possible, no matter what the conjugal difficulties are. In this way security, the basic need of the child is assured. The family, therefore, is above the individual, and maternal duty comes before personal interest and happiness.

The attachment between the mother and her children is very close. This closeness is consolidated through devotion and sacrifice, for the mother is always at hand ministering to the wants of her children. The result is that there is a  
great/...

great dependence of the child on its mother. This dependence is carried so far that it is felt even when her children have married. The sense of obligation to the mother transcends that to the wife, who is enjoined to show due respect and to give unwavering attention to her mother-in-law. The relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is a delicate one since it basically involves a love for the same man. No daughter-in-law, if she has been properly schooled by the experiences of others, will come into conflict with her mother-in-law. She is fully aware of the strong emotional attachment between her husband and and his mother.

So when a student misses his mother for a while, he finds himself in an intolerable position of a "lost soul". The whole world seems to have deserted him. She is the source of his inspiration, the instiller of his courage, and the repository of his sorrows and his confidence. Her absence from home or his missing her while he is away from home affects his work and study.

By her example, she meets from his childhood, his religious needs and she inspires him to follow the creeds of his forbears. She is the custodian of religion. In

almost/...

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almost every Hindu home, a special corner or a separate room has been set aside for worship, and either in the morning or in the evening, the members of the family gather round the image of the deity or household god or goddess, sacred to that particular family. It is the mother who initiates the young into the observance of religious rites and ceremonies, and into the celebration of feasts and festivals. In this way, the filial duties are inculcated, the bonds of parental devotion strengthened and the religious needs of young met.

One can fully appreciate the painful situation that is created when the youth has to part from his mother in order to attend a secondary school which is far from home. This separation, forced on the youth through circumstances, is not without consequences.

To the adolescent the idea of living out while schooling is an experience for which he is totally unprepared. It is quite foreign to his way of life and education. Emotional disturbances follow, for there is no substitute for his mother on whom he pinned his faith and reliance.

The very idea of boarding and lodging with strangers is repelling to the conscience of the youth, while to live

temporarily/...

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temporarily with relatives is to accept curtailment of freedom.

Maternal possessiveness is yet another factor which must be considered when separation takes place. Indian parents generally consider their sons to be of more importance than their daughters. This particular preference arises from economic causes. Sons remain with their parents whereas the daughters become members of another household after their marriage. Parents look upon their sons as their mainstay particularly in their old age. It is for this reason maternal possessiveness becomes stronger and temporary separation a heartbreak for the youth, with its consequent effect on work and study.

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CHAPTER IX  
PARENTS' WATCHFULNESS

Where the upbringing is traditionally Indian in character and the education received is completely Western in form, then conflict in the mind of the adolescent is inevitable. He is presented with two sets of contradictory values which he has to resolve. In the final resort, it is his solution which will determine his future relationship with his parents.

The statistical results show that 84 per cent of the obstructed and 71 per cent of the normal students resent disciplinary control, however unobtrusively exercised by their well-meaning parents. The difference between these two groups is statistically significant.

The pursuit of secondary education has brought in its train new problems that were unheard of in former days when the education of the majority of Indian boys stopped at the primary school level, while that of the girls barely passed the infant stage. As far as the girls were concerned, traditional opinion held that it was useless to give formal English education to them as they were ultimately destined to the pots and the pans. To the majority of the boys,  
secondary/...

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secondary education was unknown and it mattered little as there was no incentive. They were quite contented in finding employment which was plentiful in the days when African labour was undependable and unregularised. The influence of urbanised living had not reached the Africans, and no serious competition was met with in the field of employment.

Neither was the Indian community afflicted by the problems of adolescence. As soon as the boys were able to read, write and compute they left school to help share the family burden. Youthful marriages were quite common. In these marriages, love and courtship did not enter. Marriage was a serious business of procreation and a satisfactory extension of relationship with a certain desired group. The inclinations, tastes and feeling of the young people who were to be contracted in marriage were rarely consulted. At any rate, they were not schooled to entertain any such thing. Later, when boys became a little more knowledgeable with a smattering of English learning and a little more assertive in their selection of life partners, we see a curious development of negotiated marriage with the right of acceptance or rejection residing in the boy. The negotiations for marriage arrangements were usually conducted  
by/.....

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by womenfolk. The parents of either party did not enter into any direct contact for the fear of being rebuffed. A feeler was sent by one of the interested parties through a go-between or a matchmaker who was a person, recognised for his good work, reputation and contact. Utmost secrecy was maintained over this preliminary negotiation, for the divulgence of the girl's name might prove harmful to her future prospect of marriage, should the negotiation fall through, for some reason or other. If the negotiation was successful, then direct contact was made at the girl's home whither the boy, accompanied by his close relatives, went. The boy was only given the opportunity of having a fleeting glimpse of the girl as she nervously brought in a tray of tea for the guests. If the boy signified his willingness to marry her - his judgement of approval, being based on physical appearance, - then, at a later date, serious discussion between the parties took place, when enquiries were made into family lineage, arrangement made for the exchange of the young people's horoscopes to see whether the stars were in accord and favourable, and the pundit consulted to set down the auspicious day and hour of the marriage. The final proposal took the form of mutual pledging and exchange of gifts between the fathers-in-law

in/....

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in the presence of close relatives and friends. It was only after this that the boy was permitted to visit <sup>his</sup> the betrothed. This form of arranged marriage was fairly common to all groups of the Indian community. Among the Hindi-speaking, the initiative was taken by the girl's parents, while among the Tamil-speaking the girl's parents waited for the initiative to come from the boy's side.

But today through the impact of Western culture and through extended education the outlook on life and marriage has changed. Boys and girls prefer to make their own choice and the parents are not consulted until it is for the final arrangement of marriage. However, this must not be interpreted to mean that the parents are unaware of such associations. An eye is kept on them. The mother of the girl makes a subtle approach to her daughter, who is incidentally and unconcernedly asked to confide in her mother of anyone in whom she is particularly interested. It is a delicate matter in which everything possible is done by the girl's parents to encourage the boy's visits to the house, while outwardly showing disinterestedness. This form of approach to marriage does not admit of "dating" and "courtship". The visits of the boy are the inevitable steps to marriage. It can be honestly said that this approach to the problem of marriage is a compromise, resulting/....

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resulting from a process of adaptation, between the westernised child and the traditionally-inclined parents. But many parents, who are steeped in tradition, do not look with favour upon such arrangement in which the young people's personal wishes are taken into consideration. Further, they are not keen to allow their daughters to continue with schooling when they reach puberty. These parents cite instances where girls having acquired a modicum of secondary education rebelled against parental authority by breaking across caste and language barriers in their determination to marry the man of their choice. Where such girls have been thwarted, then either elopement or suicide has resulted. Parental heartbreaks and ostracism followed in the wake of those who eloped.

With boys acquiring higher education, parents of girls are finding it difficult to continue with arranged marriages. These parents are faced with the choice of either giving their girls secondary education to enhance their marriageable value or burdening themselves with daughters who have reduced prospects of marriage. The boys are reluctant to marry girls who are restricted by traditional upbringing. They consider arranged marriages as something outmoded and embarrassing. Hence we find increasing numbers of girls continuing with secondary education. Though these girls are given greater freedom at home, yet parents are ever watchful over their movements/....

movements and company. The adolescent, whether boy or girl, resents such watchfulness. The young people are driven to rebellion and the excesses of student's indiscipline at school and home are symptomatic of the basic insecurity in a fast changing world in which traditionally-Indian and western values clash. The adolescent finds himself in a mirage of emotional difficulties. It is not surprising then that learning at school suffers.

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CHAPTER X  
THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM ✓

Serious overcrowding, interminable patter of children's feet and inconsiderately loud chatter of grown-ups generally characterise the joint family household. In such a home, a student will find it well-nigh impossible to concentrate on his schoolwork. Statistical results show that 31 per cent of the obstructed and 17 per cent of the normal students have married brothers with their families, living under the same roof. The difference between these two groups is statistically significant.

The joint family system has arisen out of the necessity when the need for security, self-sufficiency and solidarity, was great. This system has somewhat broken down through the impact of Westernisation, and where it still exists, it is proving a source of irritation and impatience to the younger generation. Such a system, even though it is modified to meet the exigencies of the moment, means sacrifice on the part of the individual, whether male or female, for

".....in the structure of a joint family, where  
three or four generations may live under one roof,  
the/...

the elders invariably dominate. A man must renounce a life of his own, and in very orthodox families even the money he earns automatically reverts to the joint family treasury. There is very little privacy for anyone and it is therefore inevitable that rules of conduct and duties are strictly enjoined, for otherwise a community of people living close together could not function at all.

This is the reason why women accepted their restricted role in life with such docility. While such a system has frequently been hard on the individual, stifling personality and even leading to grave injustice and ill-treatment, the credit side has been considerable for it provided the greatest possible insurance for the clan. Illness, loneliness, loss of parents, widowhood, handicaps and old age were no longer problems on the same magnitude in a group as in the single family unit. The joint family system, however imperfectly, gave shelter and protection. Relations always had a home to go to in times of distress, the old never/...

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never felt useless and abandoned, and living expenses were greatly reduced by the economic factors of a common roof and kitchen".<sup>1</sup>

This concept of the joint family system has changed in South Africa. With the steady increase of African labour and the gradual mechanisation of farming operations, there has followed a period of much unemployment among Indians who knew of no homes but the farms and the fields where their forbears were originally indentured. Migration from the rural to the urban centres was the only solution open to them. This involved the grave decision of uprooting himself and his family from his settled home and of adjusting to new circumstances and surroundings. The family unit, beside the father and the mother and their unmarried children, consists of the close relatives of the father, whether married or not. Since accommodation is hard to come by in the towns, the cumbersome family unit has to break-up as the influences of western culture, urbanisation and industrialisation begin to bear on it. Internally, conflicts, tensions and clashes of interests are beginning to erode the foundation of joint living. As long as the parents are alive these disruptive factors remain/...



remain below the surface. However, the real trouble begins when the sons marry. Relationships between the new wife and her husband's sisters soon become strained over trifling incidents. Invariably, the mother-in-law sides with her daughters. Much gossiping over the new wife follows with caustic remarks about her dressing, her cooking and her care of home. Busybodies, from neighbouring homes, while professing to be genuinely helpful, widen the rift until the situation becomes explosive and separation under the same roof seems to offer the only relief in the circumstances. Then follows a period of sporadic outburst and sometimes of violent quarrels. These eventually provide the basis for the justification of complete break-away from the paternal roof.

The tendency today is for the young married sons to live with their parents for some years after marriage. With the steady rise of unemployment among Indians in towns, the joint family system, in a much simpler form is once more offering relief, for it is one of the means of bridging economic difficulties, of sharing the tenancy of a hired house and of maintaining the social strength. Though it is not uncommon to find parents encouraging married sons to acquire homes/....

homes of their own, particularly freehold, yet distance has not weakened the son's social and moral obligations to his parents. The joint family system is now modified to include separate households and the barrier of distance is of little significance; its flexibility is meeting the challenges of the South African milieu. The sons, according to circumstances, are expected to contribute goods, services or money at marriages of sisters or brothers and at funerals of close relatives; they must support their parents in distress or old age; they must help their younger siblings to acquire the highest possible education; and, they must see to it that their womenfolk spend anything from a few days to a few weeks at their parents' household assisting in social, ceremonial or religious activities.

Under such circumstances, the student has to put up with much inconveniences. In an urban home, the conditions are even more trying. His study is continually disturbed by loud conversations, by the playing of music and radio, by the visits of friends and strangers, by the movements of people at home and by the uncontrolled rowdiness and play of small children. If the home is overcrowded, he will have/...



have no place to study in an atmosphere of peace and silence, and much of his time will be spent looking for a book, a ruler, a piece of blotter or a bottle of ink.

CHAPTER XI  
MOTHER'S ILLITERACY

In the complicated structure of South African society, which is subject to, and is influenced by, the cultural interaction of the various racial groups, a mother should have a fair degree of education so that she can be keenly perceptive of the moral, social, physical or emotional changes taking place in her adolescent child and be ever ready to counteract the harmful and to direct and encourage the useful. Although Indian mothers are aware of the necessity of their children acquiring the best possible education, yet their state of illiteracy or semi-illiteracy makes a sad commentary on themselves. Even those who have had primary education show no more interest in the continuance of their own education, or in the cultivation of the habits of reading newspapers, periodicals or light reading matter. This is especially so immediately after their marriage when they join the host of the unlettered, untrained and unprepared mothers. Hence, the adolescent boy or girl who attends the high school and who comes from such homes lacks that milieu of cultural richness.

In this investigation, 84 percent of the mothers of  
the/...

the obstructed and 71 per cent of the normal students have shown no interest in societies, sports or in reading newspapers, periodicals or books. The difference between these two groups is significant.

For long, though here and there some women movements receiving impetus through some external agency, momentarily erupt to assert the right, the dignity and the importance of women in Indian society, it has been the accepted philosophy and practice that it is a sheer waste of time for girls to be accomplished or to acquire more than a modicum of learning. After all, the ultimate place of the woman is in the home. Hers is the inheritance of domestic servitude. However, there is much enlightenment today for the girls are being freed from the age-old and outworn trammels of customs. Taboos are no longer being placed on those girls who go out to work in factories or offices or take up and follow a profession. As matter of fact, in the face of economic necessity, marriage is no longer a barrier, preventing them from being gainfully employed. Among the many newly-wed, both spouses work to achieve a common end - the acquisition or the running of a new home.

It is clear from Table XIV that the mother, because of her educational/...

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educational poverty, is placed at a disadvantage when it comes to understanding the difficulties and the needs of her adolescent children who attend the high school. Nothing can prevent a wayward lad to lull such a mother into a false belief that he is making an honest endeavour at school and is living up to her expectation. It must be borne in mind that for the greater part of his time the father is not at home. The responsibility for keeping an effective check on the adolescent mostly lies with the mother.

TABLE XIV

MOTHER'S STANDARD OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

<u>HIGHEST STANDARD PASSED</u>	<u>OBSTRUCTED</u>	<u>NORMAL</u>
Illiterate	53	38
Class i	-	3
Class ii	4	4
Standard I	3	7
Standard II	6	8
Standard III	6	9
Standard IV	7	3
Standard V	2	3
Standard VI	7	6
Standard VII	-	1
	N	82

The/...

The mother, since her educational opportunity has been restricted, is not in a position to create that atmosphere at home which will be culturally congenial and intellectually stimulating to her children. In the nursery of its mother's lap, the child looks forward to the first stirring of its intellect and to the active feeding of its imagination. Dr. E. G. Malherbe says that:

".....they (non-European students) are, on the whole, severely handicapped as regards their social heredity in respect of the fundamental bases of the European's mores and way of life. In my dealings for over ten years with a large non-European student body, it has been brought home to me on several occasions that the students do not realise that certain things 'are not done'. How could they know? They have mostly grown up in environments which, if not miserably poor, are devoid of cultural influences of books, magazines and newspapers which are commonplace in most European homes. ...." 13

The general weakness in English, arising from poor expression has been considered as one of the contributory

factors/...

factors responsible for failures in examinations. Poor expression in language can be traced to unfavourable conditions obtaining at home. The mother is not in a position to make her contribution to the betterment of English. Neither is the father who has little leisure left to enrich the experience of his child in its mastery of the language. Living as he does in a difficult environment, he is mainly preoccupied with the economic necessity of providing for his family. It largely devolves on the school to make good this serious omission in the child's experience. This is a well-nigh impossible task, for it must be borne in mind that in a week of 168 hours he spends only 35 hours at school and in a year of 8760 hours the school exercises control over his activities for 1365 hours! Bearing these facts in mind, the writer has endeavoured to measure the English background as obtaining in the student's home, by analysing the answers to the following questions:

- (1) What language do you hear most at home?
- (2) In what language does your mother speak to you?
- (3) and you to her?
- (4) In what language does your father speak to you?
- (5) and you to him?

As/...

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As answers, the following five alternatives were provided for Question (1), one of which the student undeline:

- (a) Only English.
- (b) More English, less Home Language.
- (c) English and Home Language about the same.
- (d) More Home Language, less English.
- (e) Only Home Language.

In the case of the remaining four questions, two alternatives were given, viz:

- (a) Only English.
- (b) Only Home Language.

The measuring technique is a simple one. A scale yielding a score of 4, 3, 2, 1 or 0 was used when scoring the answers of each student. The points allotted to the answers were as follows: Only English 4; More English, less Home Language 3; English and Home Language about the same 2; More Home Language, less English 1; and, Only Home Language 0.

After scoring, the obstructed and the normal groups were respectively re-grouped according to their mother-tongue, and the following table is the result of the analysis of

Question/...

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Question (1):

TABLE XV

SCORES SHOWING THE EXTENT OF SPOKEN ENGLISH AT HOME

VERNACULAR GROUP	MEAN SCALE SCORE	
	OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL
TAMIL	2.400	2.575
HINDUSTANI	2.280	2.052
URDU	1.500	1.000
TELEGU	2.625	2.150
Average	2.333	2.204

It is obvious that both the obstructed and the normal groups have unsatisfactory English background. In the case of the Urdu-speaking group which includes the Moslem and the Gujarati communities, the use of English is completely dispensed with. Every Moslem child from 3 years and older is compelled by parental injunction, dictated through religious zeal to attend the vernacular school where he has to commit to memory the greater part of the Holy Koran. The new high school/...

school in Durban, built through Moslem effort and money, has attached to it a hall for religious service, and religious instruction in the vernacular forms part of the ordinary English school curriculum. It matters little if the student is backward in his English study. He must, however, regularly and faithfully attend the mosque every Friday during midday, even if it cuts across his English time-table; scrupulously observe the feasts and fasts by taking a holiday from school; and, completely master the tenets and teachings of his Holy Prophet Mohammed. Similarly, the Gujarati child is put through the paces in acquiring the vernacular and to master the rudiments of arithmetic (also in the vernacular) in so far as they relate to the business of shopkeeping and accounts. However, he does not encroach upon the English school time-table. It is only after school is over that he rushes to the vernacular school where he receives a grounding in his religious creed and a lesson to uphold his sectional interests. The parents of the other vernacular groups attach greater importance to the learning of English. There is very little parental insistence on vernacular proficiency. As matter of fact, the children of the last groups are the direct descendants of the indentured Indians, and English among them, is fast becoming their home language/...

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language. The following table shows the English background scores of mothers:

TABLE XVI  
SCORES SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE MOTHER'S SPOKEN  
ENGLISH AT HOME

VERNACULAR GROUP	MEAN SCALE SCORE	
	OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL
TAMIL	1.128	1.297
HINDUSTANI	0.889	0.343
URDU	0.000	0.000
TELEGU	2.000	2.000
Average	1.062	0.357

This table confirms how widespread the state of English illiteracy is among the mothers of students who attend the high school. It is very seldom that either a Moslem or a Gujarati mother speaks to her kith and kin in English, and where circumstances constrain her to do so, her language will be punctuated with illogicalities and broken expressions. Hand movements and other forms of gestures are used to make her meaning/...

meaning clear and effective. Of course, among the newer generation of Moslem girls, necessity and enlightenment compel them to acquire and use English. This process is, however, very much slower among the Gujarati girls whose movements are very much restricted to their own vernacular group and whose sheltered upbringing and caste endogamy have cut them off from contacts with the other sections of the Indian community.

The table below shows to what extent students use English in their daily conversation with their mothers:

TABLE XVII

SCORES SHOWING THE EXTENT OF STUDENT'S SPOKEN ENGLISH WHEN SPEAKING TO MOTHER

VERNACULAR GROUP	MEAN SCALE	SCORE
	OBSTRUCTED	NORMAL
TAMIL	2.378	2.210
HINDUSTANI	1.333	1.411
URDU	0.000	1.000
TELEGU	2.000	2.000
Average	1.788	1.809

This/...

This is a further confirmation of the fact that students have little opportunity of speaking English at home. It is a handicap that negatives the efforts of the school and slows down the tempo of school work in class.

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CHAPTER XIISUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In order to discover the causes of secondary school failures which are alarmingly high at the Clairwood Government Indian High School, two groups, the obstructed<sup>x</sup> and the normal, each consisting of 90 students, were selected on the basis of their results in three consecutive examinations. The obstructed students were those who had consistently produced poor results in school and public examinations, in internal tests and general classwork. They were matched with the normal group for age, religion and language. Both groups were drawn from the same school.

A mass of data concerning the student's personality and emotional reactions, his intelligence, his experiences at school and his methods of learning, his home background, his spare-time interests and hobbies, and his physical conditions, was collected. Of these, the conditions which obtain at home and which impede his progress at school were sifted and analysed.

As/...

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<sup>x</sup> For definition see Chapter IV, page 36.

As a result of this analysis, two groups of factors emerged which seem to have some bearing on the poor achievement at the Clairwood Government Indian High School. The major factors are statistically significant for a large number of students, and the minor, for a small number.

#### THE MAJOR FACTORS

1. The obstructed students come from homes that are situated outside the area of Clairwood. Attendance at secondary schools that are remote from home is interlinked with the problem of accommodation. The student has very little time to relax at home and to tackle his homework with renewed mental vigour and freshness.
2. Travelling over a long distance and changing from one bus to another, are tiring and time-consuming. At the same time, the student is exposed to morally-corrupting influences, undesirable distractions and evil temptations when he comes in contact with questionable characters whose speech and manners descend to the level of the gutter.
3. The father who through circumstances has been denied the opportunity of a decent education, has in his eagerness/...



eagerness to give the best possible education to his child, unwittingly pampered his son or daughter who attends the high school.

4. The father because of the very nature of his employment sees little of his children. The disciplinary control rests in the hands of the mother. Since the father exercises little supervision, he is held in greater veneration than the mother and becomes "worthy of worship" in the eyes of his adolescent child.
5. Indian mothers are very homely and over-protective in their attitude towards their children. When the student who is closely sheltered and brought up, is forced to board and lodge with relatives or strangers, he becomes subjected to feelings of loneliness. He misses the love and security of his home. Such forced separation results in unstable behaviour at school.
6. Students react sharply to parental surveillance. Parents do not wish to besmirch their good name through the follies and indiscretions of their adolescent children, neither do the adolescents like to be dubbed by their fellows that they are tied to their parental apron strings. Parent-child conflict affects schoolwork.
7. Students find little privacy, quietness or sympathy in those/....

these homes where the vestiges of the joint family system still linger. These homes are generally overcrowded with a consequent lack of facilities for study. Some of these obstructed students attempt their homework in the presence of noisy siblings and cousins.

8. The general illiteracy of the mother is a cultural drawback and the student is so much the poorer for it.

#### MINOR FACTORS

1. Students respond to parental punishment with defiance (12% / 4%)<sup>#</sup>
2. Parents show favours to siblings. (21% / 9%)
3. Students protest when siblings are favoured. (13% / 2%)
4. Students show concern at the failing health of their fathers. (18% / 4%)

The need for more high schools in areas close to the students' home is an obvious solution. Unfortunately, under present circumstances and climate of political thinking this is not possible. However, this difficulty can be overcome by attaching a secondary department to existing primary schools in those localities where the pressure of population is great and where land is at a premium. An adoption of such a plan would cut out needless travel, wasteful expenditure/...

<sup>#</sup> The first percentage within the brackets refers to the obstructed group, the second to the normal.

expenditure and harmful influences. Difficult days can be anticipated in those areas where the school population is increasing rapidly and where vast blocks of flats are being erected to meet the housing shortage. Playing fields which are spacious will have to make way for additional classrooms and the organisation of school games will have to be centralised by allowing a number of schools to share a conveniently situated ground.

Little can be done to overcome the problems created through the soft, pampering attitude of the father and the illiteracy of the mother. We can hopefully look forward to the coming generation of educated mothers to set the intellectual tone of the home. In this respect, Professor R.G. Macmillan says:

"I believe that the true level of any civilization is the level attained by its women. This does not mean that women need to be scientists, engineers, writers and so on, but the influence of the cultured, educated, balanced woman in the home is an inspiration and a spur to her husband and sons to scale the heights and achieve the very best."<sup>12</sup>

Although attempts have been made by a number of interested bodies to organise a literacy campaign for mothers, these have not proved successful, for the unplanned household

duties/.....

duties call for full time attention.

Much of the problem of adolescence that is met with at the secondary school can be solved if pupils are admitted to primary school between the ages five and six. In other words, education should be made compulsory. As things are at present, it is not uncommon to find students whose ages range from nineteen to twenty-four in the Standard Eight classes. It is particularly during this period that the students resent parental surveillance, however unobtrusive.

With the increasing attention being paid to the housing of the lower income groups by the municipality and the Natal Housing Board, the joint family system as an institution should become a thing of the past.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR JUNIOR CERTIFICATE STUDENTS

PART I

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PART I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR JUNIOR CERTIFICATE STUDENTS

THIS INFORMATION IS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

To-day's date..... Standard VIII, Division.....

BE HONEST AND CAREFUL WHEN ANSWERING THE FOLLOWING

QUESTIONS:

A) CONCERNING YOURSELF

1. Your code number .....
2. Date of your birth..... Your age now....yrs.  
.....months.
3. Are you a boy or a girl? .....

B) CONCERNING YOUR HOME

1. Your present home address.....  
.....
2. Where are you staying now? .....
3. Fill in the following table:

PLACES WHERE YOU LIVED	ABOUT HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU MOVED FROM EACH OF THE PLACES WHERE YOU LIVED?	UNDER WHOSE CARE AND CONTROL WERE YOU AT EACH OF THESE PLACES?

4. Is your father still alive?..... and your mother?.....
5. Who is looking after you now?.....
6. If your father is alive, is he unemployed?.....  
     If unemployed, for how long? .....
7. What is your father's work/career/profession?  
     .....
8. Where does he work? .....
9. About how old is your father now? .....

The following questions have several answers in the second column. Underline the answer that fits your own situation.

(NOTE: Answer these questions even if you have a step-father. If your father has died sometime ago, and you have no step-father, then ignore these questions up to No. 22.)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 10. What do you know of your father's ambitiousness?                                | Very marked in ambition.<br>None at all<br>I don't know.          |
| 11. What do you know of father's popularity and success among his friends?          | Popular.<br>Looked down upon.<br>Has no friends.<br>I don't know. |
| 12. When your father wants you to carry out his plans, what attitude does he adopt? | Dictatorial.<br>Stern.<br>Encouraging.                            |

13. What do you know of your father's state of feeling?
- Happy.  
Moody.  
Unreasonable.  
Irritable.  
Alcoholic.
14. What feelings are shown in his methods of dealing with you?
- Brutal scenes.  
Very gentle.
15. Are you scared of your father?
- Death scared.  
Somctimos I dare him.  
Yes, I keep quiet.  
No.
16. When your father "loses his head", how do you face the situation?
- With understanding and sympathy.  
With arguments, fear or inward anger.  
Does not lose his head.
17. What opportunity do you have of meeting your father?
- He is at home most of the time.  
Rarely see him.
18. How do you get on with your father?
- Like to be with him.  
I avoid him as much as possible.
-

19. What interest does he take in you? Shows attention and fondness.  
Ignores me.
20. How friendly are you with him? I always confide my wishes in him.  
I discuss nothing with him.
21. What is your real feeling towards your father? Worthy of worship.  
Worthy of scorn and disdain.
22. Has your father's physical illness changed his behaviour towards you? Yes, he doesn't worry over me.  
No, he is as before.

23. About how old is your mother now? .....

The following questions have several answers in the second column. Underline the answer that fits your own situation.

(NOTE: Answer these questions even if you have a step-mother. If your mother has died sometime ago, and you have no step-mother, then ignore these questions up to No.36)

24. What kind of work did your mother do before marriage? Stayed at home.  
Worked outside  
.....
25. What does she do now? Stays at home.  
Goes to work.

26. What is your mother's interest and personal concern in you? Shows great attention and fondness.  
Indifferent and neglectful.
27. When your mother wants you carry out her plans, what attitude does she adopt? Demands that I must do as she wants.  
Co-operates with me to make a decision.
28. How far have you put aside your own interest to satisfy your mother's wishes? Helped her with her wishes and ambitions.  
Went against her wishes.
29. How does your mother treat you when you are in conflict with others? Takes my side whether I am in the right or wrong.  
Scolds me when I am in the wrong.
30. What do you know of your mother's state of feeling generally? Happy.  
Not easily annoyed.  
Tearful.  
Sulky.  
Gives way to temper.  
Alcoholic.
31. What methods does she adopt in dealing with you? Whipping (when much younger).  
Nagging.  
Humiliating.  
Never scolding.

32. Are you afraid of your mother?  
 Terribly.  
 Sometimes.  
 No.
33. When your mother "loses her head", how do you face the situation?  
 With understanding and sympathy.  
 By giving in to her without a murmur.  
 With arguments and quarrels.  
 By being quiet, but inwardly very angry.
34. What is your mother's attitude towards you?  
 Very intimate and confiding.  
 Cold and cheerless.
35. How friendly are you towards her?  
 Tell her everything.  
 Tell her very little.  
 Tell her nothing.
36. How do you get on with your mother.  
 Like to be in her company.  
 Feel lonely when she is away from home.  
 I avoid her as much as possible.
37. What is your real feeling towards your mother?  
 Worthy of worship.  
 Think that she has a bit of good and bad qualities.  
 Worthy of scorn and bitterness.

38. Has your mother's physical illness changed her behaviour towards you?  
 Yes, she doesn't worry over me.  
 No, she is as before.
39. How do/did your two parents get on with each other?  
 Terrible scenes.  
 Peace and happiness.
40. How were you disturbed by your parental conflicts?  
 Terribly upset.  
 Took no notice.  
 No parental conflict.
41. What type of obedience is demanded of you by your parents?  
 Just got to obey without questioning.  
 None.
42. How do you obey?  
 Obey without questioning.  
 Obey as the occasion demands it.  
 Do not obey at all.
43. Has your home life been one that has been filled with punishment and disciplinary actions?  
 Always.  
 Never.  
 Sometimes.
44. Going back to your primary schools days, how were you punished by your parents?  
 By inflicting pain on the body.  
 By scolding.  
 Both scolding and punishment.



45. How have you responded  With open defiance.  
 to punishments at home?  Took as something deserved.  
 Took as something that  
 was not fair.
46. How much control do your  No supervision.  
 parents exercise over you?  They kept an eye on me.
47. Do your parents feel the  Yes, they agree on how I should  
same when dealing with  be controlled.  
you?  No, they disagree.
48. How do you get on with  Violent scenes and fight.  
your brother/s and /or  Perfect harmony.  
your sister/s?
49. Were you prepared for  Very well prepared.  
the birth of your younger  Surprised and shocked.  
brother or sister?  
What was your age at that  .....years.  
time?
50. Do your parents show more  I am unpopular.  
favour to other children  Favours shown to others.  
above that shown to you?  I am favoured and  
 privileged.
51. How do you fit yourself  I try to do something that  
in the family when some of  would make me shine above  
the other children seemed  the others.  
more favoured?  I protest.  
 I become envious.

52. What is the attitude of your older brother/s and/or sister/s towards you?

I curse myself.  
I am indifferent.

Kind and friendly.  
Teasing and bullying.

53. How do you react to your older brother/s and/or sister/s?

Take them to be just as good as I am.

Take no notice of them.

I quarrel with them.

I remain silent and never argue.

Kind and friendly.

54. What is your responsibility at home?

Much.

Little.

Take the responsibility on my own.

Responsibility given to me.

55. Is there pleasure in the family life at home?

Yes, more interested in it than outside affairs.

No, I am anxious to get away.

56. How interested are you in your responsibility at home.

Enjoy it.

Proud of having done something.

57. To what language group do you belong?
- Hating it.
- Tamil.
- Telegu.
- Hindustani.
- Malayalam.
- Gujarati.
- Urdu.
- Others.
58. What language do you hear most at home?
- Only English.
- More English, less home language.
- English and home language about the same.
- More home language, less English.
- Only home language.
59. In what language does your mother speak to you?
- English/Home language.
60. and you to her?
- English/Home language.
61. In what language does your father speak to you?
- English/Home language.
62. and you to him?
- English/Home language.

63. What other language/s,  
other than English and  
your Home language can  
you speak? .....
64. What other language/s,  
other than English and  
your Home language can  
you write? .....
65. Can you read your Home  
language? Yes. No.
66. Can you write your Home  
language? Yes. No.
67. Do you still attend any  
classes or activities  
connected with the study  
of your Home language? Yes. No.
68. On what days and what  
time do you attend these  
classes or activities? .....
69. To what religious group  
do you belong? Hindu.  
Islamic.  
Christian.  
Buddhist.  
Others.

70. Of your parents who is more religious? Father/Mother/Equally.
71. What has been the interest of your parents in your religious education? Very much concerned.  
No interest.
72. Do you attend religious service? If so when? Yes. No.  
Week-days. Week-ends.
73. Do you attend vernacular school where religious instruction is given If so, when? Week-days. Week-ends.
74. Which of these relatives live with you? Grandparent/s.  
Uncle/s.  
Aunt/s.  
Cousin/s.  
Others
75. How do these relatives get on with your parents? Terrible scenes.  
With harmony and peace.
76. How were you disturbed by your relatives' quarrels? Terribly upset.  
Took no notice.  
Does not apply.

77. Fill in the following table:

(No names of your relatives are required.)

	<u>AGE</u>	<u>HIGHEST</u>	<u>INCOME</u>		<u>HEALTH</u> Underline what applies
		<u>CLASS/STD.</u> <u>PASSED</u>	<u>WEEK</u>	<u>MONTH</u>	
a. FATHER					Good. Satisfactory. Fair. Bad.
b. MOTHER					Good. Satisfactory. Fair. Bad.

78. Fill in the following tables:-  
 (No names of your brother/s and/or sister/s is/are required)

a. BROTHERS	AGE	HIGHEST CL/STD. PASSED	KIND OF WORK PRESENTLY EMPLOYED	MARRIED OR SINGLE	NO. OF CHILD- REN, IF MARRIED	WHETHER LIVING ON THEIR OWN (Write F) OR TOGETHER (Write T)
From eldest to the youngest (include yourself if you are a boy)	a	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	b	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	c	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	d	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	e	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	f	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
b. SISTERS						
From eldest to the youngest (include yourself if you are a girl)	a	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	b	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	c	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	d	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	e	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	f	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

79. What leisure interests does your father usually follow during the evenings and/or week-ends? .....

80. Has your father any hobbies? Yes. No.  
 If yes, what are they? .....

81. Fill in the following table:

a. <u>FATHER</u>	SOCIETIES OF WHICH HE IS A MEMBER	SPORTING CLUBS OF WHICH HE IS A MEMBER	PERIODICALS AND MAGAZINES HE READS	TYPES OF BOOKS HE READS
b. <u>MOTHER</u>				

82. To whom does the property on which you are now presently living belong?

- Father.
- Mother.
- Relatives.

83. What financial contributions are made towards this property?

- Others.
- Rent. £.....
- Rates. £.....
- Instalments £.....
- Others £.....



84. Roughly how much in all do your parents spend on groceries, clothings, entertainments, travelling, goods bought on hire-purchase, marketing, etc. for a month? .....
85. In what type of dwelling are you presently living? Flat.  
Outbuilding.  
Semi-detached.  
Cottage (Brick & Tile).  
Barracks.  
Double-storaged.  
Wood-and-iron cottage
86. Excluding the kitchen, pantry bathroom, how many rooms are occupied by the members of your family? .....Rooms.
87. Do you have tenant/sub-tenants/ relatives/boarders living in the same house as your family? Yes. No.
88. If so, how many rooms do they occupy? .....Rooms.

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IF YOU LOST ONE OR BOTH  
OF YOUR PARENTS.

89. With what feeling did you face the death of your mother?  
Shocked and upset.  
With calmness but inwardly disturbed.  
Wasn't affected.

How old were you when your mother died?  
.....years.

90. With what feelings did you face the death of your father?  
Shocked and upset.  
With calmness, but inwardly disturbed.  
Wasn't affected.

How old were you when your father died?  
.....years.

