Teacher perceptions of the process of desegregation in selected Pietermaritzburg schools

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ABSTRACT

This research project attempts to identify teacher perceptions of school desegregation at three schools in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. A targetted selection of schools was made to ensure that three of the former apartheid era Education Departments were represented.

Data were gathered from interviews with teachers and by means of questionnaires that were completed by pupils.

The study attempts to replicate a study that was carried out by Verma et al (1994) in secondary schools in Britain. The Pietermaritzburg study sought to examine the experiences and attitudes of teachers in three racially desegregated schools to deepen our understanding of the complex processes of inter-racial and inter- cultural exchange within the three schools. The Pietermaritzburg (as did the Verma et al, 1994) study focussed on the following areas:
- How well did the teachers know themselves, their students and colleagues?
- What, if any, relevant policy frameworks did they operate with, and how widely were these internally known and acknowledged?
- To what extent were teachers equipped by knowledge, experience, training and disposition to contribute to good inter-ethnic relationships?
- What were the teachers' perceptions of the state of pupil inter ethnic relationships?
- To what extent did school/community links affect the pupil inter-ethnic relationships?
- see page 38.

The teacher interviews were used to create a profile for each school and selected data from the pupil questionnaires were used to compare the opinions of the pupils to that of the teachers. The profiles of the three schools were compared to determine similarities and differences in terms of the research questions. The major findings of the study were that:
- The teachers did not know their pupils' ethnic backgrounds.
- None of the schools operated with any policy frameworks with specific reference to either the promotion of inter-ethnic relationships, or the handling of racial incidents or racism in general.
- None of the schools were equipped by knowledge, experience, training or disposition to contribute to good pupil inter-ethnic relations.
- Assimilation was the primary approach adopted in response to desegregation.
- Very few links existed between the schools and the communities that they served.
- The state of pupil inter-ethnic relationships was perceived by the teachers as being poor.

The comparison of the findings of the Pietermaritzburg and Verma et al (1994) studies revealed that:
- The circumstances under which school desegregation took place in the United Kingdom and South Africa were different;
- teachers in both the studies were ill-prepared to teach in multi-ethnic schools;
- insufficient INSET was identified as a problem in both studies;
- significantly better school-community links were identified in the Verma study as compared to the Pietermaritzburg study and;

- teachers in the Verma study were better informed about macro and micro education policies as compared to the teachers in the Pietermaritzburg study.

This study recommends that mechanisms need to be established to ensure that the role players involved in education work together as it is impossible to implement any form of educational reform without the participation of all the role players. The study also recommends that research needs to begin focussing on actual classroom practice to determine how racism is addressed in lessons and how it is tackled as a problem among children.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the whole of this thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work.

Mahomed Yusuf Sader
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TERMINOLOGY

Defining terminology and the context in which it is used is crucial to any study of inter-ethnic relationships as a casual glance at the literature on race relations indicates the uncertainty surrounding the use of terms such as *race, ethnicity, racism, ethnocentrism* and *prejudice.* Furthermore, terms such as *multi-racial, multi-ethnic* and *multi-cultural* are used when researching and describing educational practice.

The issue of race and especially the race-related policies of South Africa have been constantly debated with very little agreement over theories concerning race. Issues such as gender, racial equality, socio- economic factors, group difference as well as politically correct terminology have added to or complicated the debate. Given the varied use of terminology in describing social relationships, it is necessary to clarify the meanings of commonly used terminology.

Terminology used in this study
The terms black, white, coloured and Indian as used in the text refer to a political classification of race in South Africa during the apartheid[1] era. It does not signify that these categories hold any validity as categories, other than that they have some, albeit contested, meaning for people in South Africa.

The Black Consciousness approach (supported by the African National Congress) argues that black as a political category, includes Africans, Indians and coloureds.

Whist the researcher is sensitive to and supportive of the use of politically correct terminology, in this study, the broad group terms of black, Indian, coloured and white are used to avoid confusion around the category of black. Terminology used by interviewees is left unchanged as any interference (by the researcher) with the terminology used by the interviewees could alter the meaning or their description of an event or point of view.

The use of inverted commas to denote political contestation of terminology will not be adhered to as it is too cumbersome to use.

RACE
Gillborn (1990) argues that attempting to define race is not easy for it is a highly contested concept. He also states that changes in the acceptability of different terms have important consequences for teachers. He cites the example of many teachers in Britain using the description 'Coloured[2] people' without realising that they are using contested terminology

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[1]

Apartheid is an Afrikaans word for a political ideology of separation along racial lines

[2]

In Great Britain, the word Coloured was used to describe immigrants ie: denoting residents who had been born overseas. This was a reference to people of colour and not immigrants from Europe.

and are in fact reproducing stereotypes which are transmitted to pupils and parents.

Gillborn argues that racial classification is based primarily on skin colour and justifies his argument on the following basis :

> During the nineteenth century, biologists used the term 'race' to place human beings in apparently distinct groups (types) thought to share a common biological ancestry. These races were primarily defined in terms of physical differences (known as phenotypes), such as skin colour (Gillborn, 1990:3).

The use of skin colour in determining race is disputed by Eyber *et al* (1997) who argue that according to geneticists, there is no such thing as race. They argue that people living together for centuries have drawn on the same gene pool and so common traits have become identifiable.

The apartheid government (South Africa 1948-1994) was dedicated to enforcing racial separation, but even it found race very hard to define (Eybers *et al*, 1997:1). Racial terms such as white, coloured, Indian and black were used to describe the racial groups in South Africa. These racial terms were used in this study as they have generally become accepted as a part of people's identities (see Wedekind, 1992).

ETHNIC GROUP
> Members of ethnic groups see themselves as culturally distinct from other groups in a society, and are seen by those others to be so. Many different characteristics may serve to distinguish ethnic groups from one another, but the most usual are language, history or ancestral (real or imagined), religion, and styles of dress or adornment. Ethnic differences are wholly learned (Giddens cited in Gillborn, 1990:4).

Gillborn (1990) states that there are several important points about the above definition such as ethnic groups existing within larger cultural systems and being distinguished by their cultural distinctiveness (for example language or history). Another important point raised is the notion that ethnic differences are wholly learned which implies that teachers' knowledge of ethnic groups may be based on interaction with different ethnic groups, or on the basis of hearsay which has the potential to perpetuate stereotypes. The circumstances under which the knowledge of the ethnic groups was arrived at, may also have an influence on the way teachers perceive the ethnic groups and especially the state of inter-ethnic relationships.

The terms race and ethnic group are often used synonymously but in the light of the above definitions, a definite distinction becomes apparent. Race classification is based primarily on skin colour and other physical traits whilst ethnic group classification is based on shared values such as language, religion or history.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND RACISM
Ethnocentrism emerges when distinctions are drawn between groups by members of the group or by others. Cohen and Manion (1983) describe ethnocentrism as
in-group glorification that is a process of invidious comparison in which the symbols and

values of one group become objects of attachment and pride, while the values of another become objects of disparagement and contempt (p.155).

Cohen and Manion (1983) further argue that racism on the other hand is used to describe an ideology of racial domination and exploitation which justifies biological inferiority and uses such justification to prescribe inferior or unequal treatment for the group that is being dominated.

Given the above definitions of common terminology, a South African example may be illustrative. When the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948, they instituted policy that divided the population along racial lines. The rationale for this was that it would allow each racial group to pursue and develop its own culture. Tikly (1993) argues that:

> Within the Nationalist/Conservative tradition, race has been perceived as a fundamental difference between peoples which has been either divinely ordained, or is the result of different 'evolutionary paths'. The trusteeship status of whites in relationship to blacks, and the assumed superiority of the "white race" were similarly taken as givens. Other aspects of difference such as cultural differences were seen as basically related and rooted in biological difference, although in the context of global questioning of biological assumptions concerning race, segregation and inequality have increasingly been legitimated in cultural terms (p.11).

Apartheid education policy created a system of separate education for the different race groups with all decisions and policy being made by the dominant minority white government. The policies of the National Party can be summed up as being both racist and ethnocentrist when reviewed in terms of the definitions by Cohen and Manion(1983) and Tikly (1993).

CULTURE

Eybers *et al* (1997) argue that as resistance to apartheid grew internationally and within the country, the apartheid government found it increasingly difficult to defend the concept of race and began an elaborate process of disguising its concept of race by using the concept of ethnicity to justify its segregationist policies. Ethnic groups were seen as groups with their own lifestyles, values and identities. This definition of ethnic groups certainly did not take into consideration that groups were not homogenous. An example of a lack of understanding of group dynamics is the racial term Indian which broadly described a group that had ties with India, but it did not take into consideration the vastly different life style, values and identities of the Muslims and Hindus that make up the group amongst others.

Massey (1991) argues that most social scientists view culture as something more than just tradition, language, arts and religion which is transmitted via education to the next generation:

> Culture should be seen as knowledge on which individuals draw to make sense of their day to day lives and this will be mediated through gender, class, age, time and place (Massey, 1991:49).

It is very difficult to define or to arrive at an acceptable description of culture, but what is clear is that culture is in a continuous process of change and that the boundaries of culture are forever changing.

Cultural group descriptions create the space for stereotyping which in turn create patterns of expectation and patterns of behaviour that significant others such as teachers come to expect.

CHAPTER ONE

Background to the Research

With the democratisation of South Africa in the early 1990s, the previously segregated schooling system has been undergoing a process of realignment towards an integrated and open system. During the early 1990s extra parliamentary organisations and teacher unions initiated a concerted campaign towards desegregation by encouraging and supporting black pupils to seek admission at the previously Indian, coloured and white schools as they were better resourced and less affected by the political turmoil taking place in the black townships. Educational resources up to 1994 were distributed in such a way that white education was favoured, with Indian, coloured and black education following in terms of priority. Penny *et al* (1993:413) refer to an "informal status hierarchy" with white schools perceived as setting the educational standards that all the other schools aspired to (also see Christie, 1993:12).

In 1991 the African National Congress in Southern Natal encouraged children to present themselves at schools for other races which according to Lemon (1994:202) in most cases were Indian schools. These schools found themselves flooded with black applicants in January 1991. The call by the ANC was supported by the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in terms of its 1992 Congress resolutions. White and Indian schools were targeted because of their perceived educational excellence whilst coloured schools were considered by black parents to be a better proposition than the violence-ravaged and poorly-resourced township schools.

The move by schools towards an open and desegregated system immediately began to present problems for teachers in that the teachers found that they were in some instances unable to communicate with the newly-admitted black pupils who, in some instances, were unable to speak or understand English. The researcher, who was actively promoting desegregation by virtue of his membership of the African National Congress (ANC) and SADTU, on a very personal level began to notice that very little inter-ethnic interaction was taking place in either the classroom or on the play ground. Teacher colleagues were also beginning to voice concerns about the academic proficiencies of the pupils during staff meetings, informally in the staffroom, as well as at branch meetings of SADTU.

From 1993 to 1996 the researcher was a member of the professional development portfolio of the Northern Areas Branch of the SADTU in Pietermaritzburg. He realised that professional development within the union had to move from a political stance of promoting classroom desegregation to one of searching for strategies which could assist SADTU members to cope with the changes brought about by the process of desegregation. The researcher's realization that teachers were ill prepared for desegregation and the researcher's own vested interests in attempting to understand the processes that were assisting or retarding desegregation, led to his interest in teacher perceptions of the process of school desegregation. Interest in the topic arose from the researcher's belief that teachers and teacher interventions were central to the process of desegregation and that teachers had an important role to play in creating educational environments that would

initiate and nurture positive inter-ethnic pupil relationships.

The researcher attended a workshop at the School of Education (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg) at which research projects being undertaken were presented. One of the projects was entitled "*Social Relations and Identity Formation*" which was based on a study carried out by Gajendra Verma, Paul Zec and George Skinner in nine secondary schools in the United Kingdom (UK). The researcher's reading of the book *The Ethnic Crucible : Harmony and Hostility in Multi-ethnic schools* which was based on the research carried out by Verma *et al* (1994) (hereafter referred to as the Verma study), revealed important parallels to the process of school desegregation in South Africa. The Verma study attempted to characterise prevalent attitudes and behaviour centring on those of the students and those who taught them. The study further sought to discover how inter-ethnic relationships are influenced by the policies and practices of individual schools. The Verma study also sought to present models and examples of good school practice which might be of help to schools with a multi-ethnic population.

The issues that were researched by the Verma study were very similar to the concerns that the researcher was feeling about the process of school desegregation in South Africa. He therefore decided to structure a research project that attempted to gain an understanding of teacher perceptions of the process of school desegregation at three multi-racial secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. It was a partial replication of Verma *et al's* (1994) study of teacher expectations and experiences of inter-ethnic relationships in secondary schools in Britain. The Pietermaritzburg study sought to examine the experiences and attitudes of teachers in three racially desegregated schools to deepen our understanding of the complex processes of inter-racial exchange within the three schools. The study focussed on the following areas:

- How well did the teachers know themselves, their students and colleagues?
- What, if any, relevant policy frameworks did they operate with, and how widely were these internally known and acknowledged?
- To what extent were teachers equipped by knowledge, experience, training and disposition to contribute to good inter ethnic relations?
- What were the teachers' perceptions of the state of inter-ethnic pupil relationships?
- To what extent did school/community links affect the inter-ethnic pupil relationships?

The focus of the research indicates the researcher's belief that it is not possible to elicit teacher perceptions without locating the perceptions within the context of the teachers' training, as well as the communities to which they belong and the schools at which they taught. Understanding the context is vitally important to ensure that the data obtained during the research are analysed without preconceived notions.

The next step of the research involved a review of the available research in the field of teacher perceptions of the process of school desegregation to determine whether relevant research literature already existed, whether research already satisfactorily clarified the problem, and or to determine the gaps that existed in research in the field under investigation.

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Chapter Two
Literature Review

Introduction

A review of literature was carried out on research on teacher perceptions of inter ethnic relations and the process of desegregation that had been undertaken in South Africa and other parts of the world so as to inform the theoretical approach of this study. The researcher was particularly interested in finding out the experiences of countries that had already implemented desegregation to determine whether any lessons (related to the implementation of the process of desegregation) could be learnt and applied in South Africa. The literature search carried out on ERIC (Educational Resources Information Centre) and SABINET (South African Bibliographic Network) revealed that most of the literature emanated from the United Kingdom and The United States of America and hence the reliance on literature from those two countries.

Diversity And Educational Policy

One of the most interesting sociological and political phenomena since the 1960s, according to Watson (1992), has been the resurgence of ethnic identity and ethnic nationalism to such an extent that not only is there increased awareness of the ethnic and cultural diversity throughout the world, but as events in Bulgaria, Rumania, Rwanda , Burundi, China and the former republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (now known as the Commonwealth of Independent States), have shown, there has been an increase in ethnic conflict. Watson further argues that ethnic groups, which had for generations been regarded as politically quiescent and socially assimilated into the mainstream of life of the majority community in different countries as a result of education and other policies, have begun to protest at their inferior status and have demanded the right to receive education in their own languages. Examples of ethnic resurgence noticeable in the USA, Canada, Western Europe and in Africa are cited by Watson. The issue of language is but part of the broader demand of ethnic groups for quality education. The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI - located in France) in its report *One School Many Cultures* (1989) argues that it is entirely understandable that in educational circles the multi-cultural issue should have become centered around language, for modern schools have become institutions with a mission to standardise language. CERI further argues that in endeavouring to inculcate and enforce linguistic standards, the school has been performing a cultural and social function in that schools have been engaged in the work of linguistic unification demanded by economic development in industrial societies.

The educational and linguistic policies pursued by those who hold power, argues Watson (1992), are often influenced as much by how they acquired power, as by perceptions of different groups within their midst. However, a country may have become ethnically plural, forcing its government to face a number of policy decisions as to how it responds to this diversity, not least in educational terms. Whether through official legislation or not, governments have traditionally pursued one of a range of options from extermination, expulsion and separate development through assimilation, adjustment, desegregation to cultural pluralism, interculturalism and anti-racism.

Extermination, expulsion and separate development are more overtly political than educational policies and were practised in the United States of America (USA) and Canada with reference to the Native Indians and Inuit Eskimos respectively, by the Australians in their treatment of the Aborigines, by the Nazis in Germany in their treatment of the Jews, and in South Africa with reference to its policy of apartheid (Watson, 1992). Other approaches that are used are listed below :

- *Assimilationist* policies, whereby immigrant groups or ethnic minority groups are expected to be absorbed, over a period of time, into the mainstream of the dominant group in society. They are expected to adopt the language, cultural modes and norms, attitudes and beliefs of the host society or majority group (Watson, 1992:249).

- *Adjustment* and *desegregation* which differs from assimilation only in degree. In the former, minority groups or immigrants are expected to 'adjust' their way of life and values towards those of the dominant group. Where desegregation is the policy pursued, although religious, intellectual and cultural rights are recognised, educational diversity is not, and the minority ethnic groups are expected to integrate into the host society in due course, maybe after a period of bilingual or bi-cultural adjustment. The long term aim of both politicians and educationists is that the minorities will gradually become integrated into the social and political framework of society, with future generations becoming assimilated (Watson, 1992:250).

- *Synthesis:* Here the education system, supported by social policies, aims to weld together different ethnic and cultural groups into some new hybrid mix containing elements of them all but with a common national identity based on a common pattern of schooling, though not necessarily through a common language of instruction (Watson, 1992:250).

- *Multi - cultural:* This approach is firstly an attempt to meet the particular educational needs of ethnic minority children and secondly, the broader issue of preparing all pupils for life in a multi racial society (DES, 1985 cited in Verma *et al*, 1994:16).

- *Anti - racist:* The more recent 'anti - racist education' movement has been described as both a development of multi - cultural education and a reaction against it. It grew out of a realisation that simply focussing on cultural diversity did not ensure that more subtle forms of racism, particularly at an institutional level, would be addressed. Central to the concept of anti - racist education is the need to deal with racial discrimination and to develop a more critical approach to all teaching methods and materials (Verma *et al*, 1994:17).

The common approaches adopted by some governments in response to diversity have been listed to provide a broad overview of the approaches. This understanding of the various approaches was used to categorise the policies adopted by the sample schools to the accommodation of diversity during the process of school desegregation.

Racial Desegregation of Schools

It is necessary to gain an understanding of the racial desegregation of schools both internationally and in South Africa to gain an understanding of the factors that influenced or forced the desegregation of the schools. Racial desegregation and the preparation (or lack thereof) of teachers for the change has a bearing on how teachers react to desegregation and especially how they perceive relationships in the school.

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Racial Desegregation of State Controlled Schools in South Africa

Much has been written about apartheid education and its effects on the various sectors of the South African population (Alexander, 1990; Bunting, 1971;Christie, 1993) whereas the present study has a post apartheid era focus and aims to deal specifically with state controlled schools which unlike private schools, are attended by the vast majority of school going pupils. The changes that took place in the education sphere as a result of the changing political climate of the period 1990-1994 will be briefly discussed as the researcher believes that they had a direct bearing on the policies adopted by schools to the issue of desegregation.

The year 1990 was much more than the beginning of a new decade for South Africans as it was the year that sounded the death knell of legislated apartheid. Mr F. W de Klerk, the then leader of the governing National Party, announced on 2 February 1990 the unbanning of extra parliamentary, anti- apartheid organisations.

The Group Areas Act and various education acts under apartheid had ensured that schools were racially segregated and controlled by "own affairs" administrations such as the House of Assembly (HOA-whites), the House of Delegates (HOD-Indians), the House of Representatives (HOR-coloureds) and numerous self governing territories that were established to legitimise the policy of denying blacks South African citizenship. The revoking of apartheid laws in general and the Group Areas Act in particular had a significant effect on education provision :

> Subsequent changes in the Group Areas legislation, the formation of so called "grey" or free settlement areas and the accompanying demographic changes brought tremendous pressure to bear on state educational structures and policy and on schools under the control of different departments, but particularly on white schools in these areas (Naidoo, 1996:18).

The apartheid government had justified its policy on education in terms of the need to protect the identities of the various cultural groups in the country. The various "own affairs" education departments could only, under exceptional circumstances, admit children from other race groups:

> Thus at this point, educational institutions for a particular population group could only provide education for other groups by exception, on condition that the character and ethos of the institution was not jeopardised and preference was given to members of the population group for which the institution was established (Naidoo, 1996:16).

The changing political climate of the early 1990s saw large numbers of whites move away from the city centres to suburbs. At the same time many blacks moved into the city centre to be closer to their places of employment. Squatter settlements (called "informal settlements") sprang up on unoccupied state land. This situation placed tremendous pressure on the white, Indian and coloured schools as black parents sought school admission for their children for various reasons:

> Factors that promoted the opening of these schools were united opposition to "gutter education" and the demand for education by out of school African students. There were also demands from professional and semi-professional middle-income black parents for their

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children to attend these schools. They were seen as an escape from the disruptions in the black schools and a means of obtaining a "better" education for their children (Hindle and Morrell, 1993:80).

Naidoo (1996) reports that Indian and coloured schools had up to 1990 adopted a flexible admissions policy towards black pupils , but this changed significantly between 1990 and 1991 during which time a dramatic increase in black pupil admission was noted. Naidoo's view on the flexible admissions policy of the Indian and coloured schools is contradicted by Lemon (1994:202) who argues that coloured school principals gave preference to pupils living in residential areas officially served by the schools concerned and that Indian schools tended to apply more exclusionary criteria in dealing with admission applications from other race groups.

Several factors collectively placed a tremendous amount of pressure on white schools to desegregate. The demographic changes resulted in a declining pupil intake in many white schools in both the primary and secondary phases. The demographic changes were not solely responsible for the declining white pupil intake as the increase in white emigration and the declining white birth rate were also contributory factors. This decline in pupil enrolment placed in jeopardy thousands of white teaching posts. The economic crisis that faced the country at the time also had a role to play:

> There was a growing demand for more skilled labour and with black education being perceived as inadequate to satisfy these needs, it was argued that integrated schooling would enable a select number of black pupils to receive a reasonable standard of education in the "open schools" and contribute to satisfying some of these needs (Naidoo, 1996:19).

The political changes in South Africa in 1990, the declining pupil intake in white schools, demographic changes, the flexible admissions policy of Indian and coloured schools as well as the demands of the business sector all combined to produce what Metcalfe (1991) called a lurching process of desegregation in state schools. In an attempt to control the process of desegregation of white schools, the Minister of Education in the House of Assembly Mr Piet Clase , announced on 10 September 1990 a new admission policy for white state schools. His announcement gave white parent communities the option of choosing from three models that would allow the parents to control the admissions policy of the school. The three models that Minister Clase proposed became known as the "Clase models" and are described below:

- Model A: A model for privatisation. The white school closes and reopens as a private school. It is run by a management committee or board of governors which employs staff, sets conditions of service and dictates the terms of pupil admission. The state provides a 45% subsidy as long as certain criteria are met concerning curricula and facilities.

- Model B: A state school option. The school remains a state school under a management committee within departmental regulations. Salaries of staff and most operating costs would be borne by the state. There would be an "open" admissions policy.

- Model C: A state aided school that is run by a management committee and the principal. A prescribed number of teachers are paid by the state while the rest of the expenses are borne by the school community. The management committee has the power to appoint teachers, decide on admission policy, deal with curriculum

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development and impose fees to cover costs. School resources such as grounds and buildings are transferred to the school community and its management committee (Naidoo, 1996:20).

Very stringent steps had to be followed before the parent community of each school could decide upon a particular model. The conditions that the models had to abide by will be highlighted as they have a bearing on the study being undertaken. The following conditions dealt with desegregation:

- All schools (Models B and C) had to maintain a 51% white majority in their school population
- The cultural ethos of the school was to remain intact
- The management councils of the schools had the right to determine curricular changes
- No school was necessarily bound to consider curricular changes
- The opening of schools did not necessarily mean the employment of black teachers on the staff of such open schools
- The financing of the black pupils at these schools was the responsibility of the parent and child (Carrim and Mkwanazi 1993:13).

In contrast to the white schools, the changes in Indian and coloured schools occurred almost unnoticed, without official announcements or media attention (Penny *et al*, 1993:414). The Director of Education for the House of Delegates in the directive to schools concerning admission of black pupils gave the following guidelines which were in line with the principles of the "Clase Models":

- the character of the school shall not be prejudiced;
- accommodation and other facilities can be made available only after provision for Indian pupils is made;
- the medium of instruction is one of the two official languages (ie: English and Afrikaans);
- pupils shall be easily assimilated into the relevant class (Bot, 1990:16).

Criticism of the Clase Models
Lemon (1994) criticises the Clase Models for being measures clearly intended to preserve the cultural character of schools opting for the new models and that the models reflected the most conservative instincts of at least some members of a government supposedly well advanced on the path of fundamental change.

Carrim and Mkwanazi (1993) point out that the similarities between the conditions laid down by the director of Education (HOD) and those of the Clase Models are clear, especially in terms of preserving the ethos of the school which was in keeping with the values of the community within which the school was located. Carrim and Mkwanazi's contention is validated by the Penny *et al* (1993) case study of the advent of racial desegregation in South African schools, in which the writers found that schools were responding to desegregation by assuming an ideology of racelessness. The raceless approach and the denial of cultural diversity adopted by schools is seen by Penny *et al* (1993:413) as having the potential to reproduce the social relationships that existed in the wider society. Lemon (1994) is also critical of the raceless approach adopted by schools and states:

> Although a breakthrough in the sense that it made possible the opening of white schools to other races, it did so in a deeply cautious and controlled way, leaving the decision to parents of the dominant minority race group, insisting on huge majorities, and qualifying the new freedoms in favour of white admissions and white cultural norms (p. 205).

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Lemon (1994) further argues that the "Clase Models" in no way forced schools to desegregate in that the schools were simply given more freedom to control their own admissions policy by moving that control from the education department to the school and the parents.

In their critique of the Clase models, Carrim and Sayed (1992) argue that the models created the space for schools (especially Model C) to render education to a privileged few by virtue of the high fees levied. They argue that a consequence of high fees would be that Model C schools would increasingly take on a distinct class character due to working class children being unable to access the schools due to financial constraints.

We now focus on the international experience of school desegregation.

Racial Desegregation of Schools Internationally
It is important to place the changes and debates in education within the wider context of society. At the same time it is important to note that there are significant differences in terms of racial desegregation in the different parts of the world. A key difference between Africa in general and South Africa in particular in comparison to the USA or Europe is that in the two latter regions, the majority of the population is white. In South Africa and parts of Africa, whites represent a minority which historically dominated the African majority. An important consequence is that in the USA and Europe the minority groups (referred to as ethnic minorities) were integrated into the schools of the majority. In South Africa and parts of Africa, the majority group was integrated into the better resourced schools of the minority group but had to accept the ethos of the minority group.

Lessons from the USA, United Kingdom and Zimbabwe will be discussed in order to highlight their relevance to the South African situation.

The Experience of Zimbabwe
Frederikse (1992) argues that as in South Africa, the former British colony of Rhodesia segregated its schools along racial lines. Before the country won its independence in 1980, the Rhodesian government spent twenty times more on a white child's schooling than on a black child's. Less than eight percent of African children progressed from primary to secondary school, and most of the education of African children was provided by religious missions rather than the government (Frederikse, 1992).

The Rhodesian approach to school desegregation in the late 1970s was similar to that of the South African Government in the early 1990s. In both cases, white parents took on more responsibility for the government schools in their areas. In return, they exercised more control over the schools' administration. A law passed in the year before Zimbabwe's independence (1979) transferred ownership of what were called 'community schools' to the larger white communities where they were located. The result, argues Frederikse (1992), was that at first only a small number of African students managed to enrol at these schools.

The newly independent Zimbabwean government of 1980 substantially increased its spending on education. It made primary education free and compulsory. Frederikse (1992) states that even though the government of Zimbabwe charged school fees at secondary level, far more children continued their education beyond primary school. In addition, the government built

new schools, and rebuilt those destroyed during the war for liberation. Racial discrimination no longer prevented any child from attending the school of his or her choice, but financial constraints still remained a significant factor as pupils were expected to pay school fees even at the primary education level (see Jansen, 1993).

Freer (1992) writes that in Zimbabwe since 1981, the inclination has been towards a perception of education as multi-racial rather than multi-cultural, perhaps with a view to promoting social unity rather than as a means which might be interpreted as promoting and recognising diversity. The official government view seems to be that notions of multi-culturalism might further divide the society rather than act as a catalyst to reconcile differences and promote greater understanding.

Frederikse reports the different experiences of Zimbabwean teachers in interview format. A particularly important point is made by Rosemary Gordan who is involved in teacher training:

> I think that if you want to change an education system, you have to start with the teachers. That's why I teach teachers how to teach. It's what I think is always neglected. It doesn't matter how much you change the curriculum, how much you alter the syllabus - if your teachers' attitudes and values are not changed, nothing's going to change (Frederikse, 1992:114).

The viewpoint expressed by Gordan is echoed by another teacher, Tinashe Makoni. He argues that the performance of girls is influenced by teacher attitudes. He feels that teachers tend to neglect the girls in favour of the boys - and that goes for female teachers as well as males (Frederikse, 1992). This is an important point, for whilst the present study does not specifically deal with gender issues, it highlights the influence of teacher attitudes and the impact that they have on the educational experience of pupils.

Makoni's views are most revealing. Makoni argues that something which would really help to promote better teaching is close supervision of teachers, and offering them continued support and assistance. He states that he had been teaching for years before an education officer from the Ministry of Education came to his classroom to observe his lessons. He believes that there needs to be more regular contact with government education officers, to make sure that teachers are not busy sabotaging education policies that seek to combat racism and sexism (Frederikse, 1992).

The process of school desegregation in South Africa (pre 1994) is very similar to that of Zimbabwe for the following reasons: We notice the similarity of attempts at passing the governance of schools to parents in Zimbabwe (pre-independence) and South Africa (pre 1994), in an effort to maintain the privileged standards of education for the former white schools. We also notice the broadly multi-racial approach at the desegregated schools of Zimbabwe being used in South Africa, but with legislated protection of the rights of South Africa's culturally diverse population to pursue linguistic and cultural practices within the post apartheid state schooling system (see South African Schools Act of 1996).

Experience of The United States of America (USA)

> Today, it [education] is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms (Rist, 1979:3).

The above quotation is from the judgement of the Supreme Court of the USA in the case of Brown v. Board of Education (1954). This decision of the court effectively ended educational discrimination on the basis of race in the USA. The court decision, however, did not ensure that all children had equal opportunities. A number of strategies were used to facilitate desegregation. Among these were the bussing of poor black children to wealthier white schools. Magnet[3] schools were created to attract children of all races who shared a particular academic interest.

The Congress of the USA passed the Civil Rights Act forbidding discrimination in education and authorised the withholding of public funds from segregated school systems. This legislation had the effect of forcing the schools especially in the southern states of the USA to change rapidly from resisting desegregation to implementing it in a relatively short space of time. It is not possible, however, to generalise the desegregation of schools in the USA due to each state having its own educational programme. The following are identified as important landmarks by CERI:

- Direct Federal Government intervention in multi-cultural education is relatively recent and began in the 1960s, coinciding with the period of the civil rights movement. The history of the adoption of multi-cultural education is therefore marked by social concerns arising from the problems of minority integration.
- The introduction and evolution of multi-cultural education policies in the United States has been heavily influenced by many lobbies (the black community, the Hispanics, etc.) and within each community by several types of militants, including professional educators. But it would be a mistake to believe that the communities put up a united front to support their educational demands: their interests diverge and there is no unanimity in this connection even within each community.
- The implementation of bilingual education programmes is highly controversial due to the ambiguity of the objectives assigned to this type of instruction. Education departments at both Federal and State level, are not against bi-lingual education as such, provided that it moves in the direction of assimilation: the organisation of home language and culture courses should continue to be a means of equalising educational opportunities and helping minorities to do better at school and integrate more easily into American society. However, some groups feel that ethnic instruction must not only serve to facilitate or speed up the teaching of English to children who have an imperfect knowledge of it because they speak other languages in the home, but should also be a means of safeguarding minority cultures. This basic disagreement regarding objectives to a large extent explains the problems encountered by multi-cultural education in the United States.
- There are two central issues to the debate: bilingual education and equal opportunities.

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[3] Magnet schools: Well resourced schools were built in poor or more affluent communities to attract pupils of the different ethnic groups as a means of promoting desegregation. Pupils were bussed to these schools

Verma argues that whether it was because of philosophical dissatisfaction with the assimilationist model or a more pragmatic response to its apparent failure, school responses moved towards a more desegregationist approach. The focus was still on the needs of the ethnic minorities and the expectation largely was that they would adapt. Concerns raised by the immigrant parents about the education of immigrant children and in particular the under achievement of West Indian children resulted in the then Labour Government establishing the Committee of Inquiry (the 'Rampton' and later 'Swann' committee) in 1979 to address the concerns.

Verma argues that the broad school response to the developing patterns of attempts at catering for the minority groups have broadly been described as ' multi-cultural education', although the term has been, and continues to be subject to a wide range of interpretations. They argue that perhaps the most widespread criticism of multi-cultural education has been directed at the focus on the cultures of the minorities rather than on the racism of the dominant culture.

The British government introduced the Education Reform Act of 1988 in an attempt to create a National curriculum. The Education Reform Act has been criticised for attempting to eliminate the differences in culture and ethnicity in British schools by assuming that it does not exist . Verma argues that the school responses have been diverse and inconsistent and often dependent on local (or even individual) initiatives rather than central government guidelines and support. A British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News Online report dated Saturday February 27, 1999 reported that researchers from the Children's Legal Centre Charity at the University of Essex had claimed that teachers were failing to recognise the extent of racism in schools. The research had been carried out at 15 schools in East Anglia, all with a majority of white pupils to see how racism was addressed in lessons and how it was tackled as a problem among pupils. The researchers reported that:
- schools with a few black pupils often failed to identify there was a problem with racism, with a reluctance to consider racial incidents as separate from other bullying,
- there was a greater awareness of racism among pupils than teachers to the extent that while both black and white pupils reported racist name calling and other violent incidents, teachers were often apparently unaware of the problem and that,
- schools did not adequately prepare pupils for life in a multi-cultural society.

The move towards desegregation of schools in Britain arose because of the need to accommodate the minority groups, unlike the legal stipulation which forced desegregation in the USA and political pressure in the case of South Africa.

We will now refer to literature that reflects on studies that focussed on inter ethnic relationships among pupils in desegregated schools.

Studies on Inter Ethnic Relationships
The review of the literature has revealed a vast amount of information on the desegregation of schools predominantly in the UK and USA. The very same cannot be said of studies on teacher perceptions of pupil inter-ethnic relationships in schools, as much of the research available is with reference to racial attitude in contrast to inter-racial interaction.

Johnson *et al* (1975) studied teacher influences in the desegregated classroom in Britain. Their perception was that the social atmosphere of the class had an influence on the well being of children regardless of their ethnic background. They argue that behind culturally biased measures, lies social bias in educational practice and that observational data show that teachers' social biases affect their classroom practice. Their study focussed on teacher bias and the effect that it had on pupil achievement. They argue that teachers' ethnic attitudes influence the self esteem of their pupils, which, in turn, may influence achievement. The concluding statement of the study was that the results suggest that teachers play a critical role in the success of a desegregation program. Their (teacher) attitudes and teaching standards may mediate the success or failure of the desegregation experience of the children involved. This may occur through direct expectation of minority versus Anglo (white British citizens in this context) performance or may be mediated through socio-structural aspects of the classroom (Johnson *et al,* 1975).

The influential position of the teacher is also identified by Cohen and Manion (1983) who view the teacher as being a person who is in a position to exert a powerful influence, positively or negatively, on home-school relations. Their study focussed on the following questions:

- How can teachers themselves become more aware of their own racial attitudes and perceptions, and of the influence they can have on children?
- If necessary, how can they change their behaviour in these respects?
- What is known about teachers' attitudes and expectations with regard to ethnic minority pupils?
- What are teachers' views on multicultural education?
- What do they think about pupil behaviour? (Cohen and Manion, 1983:154).

Cohen and Manion argue that ethnic minority children cannot be studied in general terms, but only on a strictly racial basis. This means looking specifically at a teacher's expectations of West Indian pupils as distinct from those of Asian children. Cohen and Manion refer to studies on teacher attitudes conducted by Courd (1971) and Giles (1977) and state that the evidence overall does not permit firm conclusions being drawn as to whether teachers' attitudes and perceptions are a determining influence on black childrens' school performance.

The literature reviewed thus far has dealt largely with the issues of school desegregation and pupil inter-ethnic relationships. We would also need to review curriculum policy in post apartheid South Africa to determine whether there was an attempt to counter the hegemonic influences of the apartheid curriculum. The review of relevant literature was restricted to South Africa and the United Kingdom due to the research being located at three schools in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa as well as the United Kingdom due to the Verma study being located in the London and Manchester areas of the United Kingdom.

Macro policy debates and educational transformation in post apartheid South Africa
A brief description of apartheid curriculum policy is necessary to place the debates about curriculum change in post apartheid education in context.

Equality was not a central concern for official apartheid curriculum policy. Christie (1993) argues that curriculum policy and development was firmly located in the hands of white

education departments, with an official policy of Christian National Education enshrining white Afrikaner dominance. Christie further argues that the result was a curriculum which favoured historically white schools and students, while progression and participation rates for the black majority were manifestly unequal, and inequalities of gender and region (particularly urban/rural) were also threaded through apartheid schooling.

Christie proposed that the post apartheid curriculum policies should include a commitment to principles of equality in education. She suggested three major areas for curriculum policies espousing principles of equality:

- changing curriculum decision-making procedures,
- orienting the curriculum towards improving the learning experiences and participation of the majority of students,
- and extending notions of common citizenship in the curriculum (Christie, 1993:17).

A range of policy options on all aspects of South African education was researched by Basil Moore (1994) in order to inform decision-making by the post-apartheid government. Moore's sample was drawn from the anti-apartheid end of the political spectrum and then, within that, from those for whom racism was seen as an important category of social, political and economic analysis in South Africa. Moore argues that while most of the interviewees were particularly well informed and articulate about multi-cultural education, many were simultaneously extremely critical of it as an educational principle, for whilst multi-cultural education was seen to be the antithesis of apartheid education, it was also perceived by many to be too conceptually close to it for comfort.

Without discussing the opinions of individual interviewees on the issue of curriculum policy in the Moore research, what emerged was that the topic of multi-cultural education, raised passions to a quite extraordinary degree and that educationists approach the topic with a great degree of caution. Some of the educationists believed that in responding to the challenge to educational policy posed by the legacy of apartheid meant that policy needed to accept that culture was a powerful force in society, shaping people's sense of who they are. These educationists thus argued that cultural difference needed to be respected and used not to drive people apart but to construct a new cultural base for national unity. At the other extreme were educationists who believed that in the South African context the concept of culture was inextricably bound up with apartheid racism and argued that students needed to be able to deconstruct the concept of culture both intellectually and, more importantly, emotionally if they were going to find new ways of understanding who they were and what they could become. The Moore research clearly highlighted the lack of consensus among academics about the route that should be followed in terms of curriculum policy in the post apartheid South Africa.

The post apartheid government passed the South African Schools Act of 1996 in an attempt to transform the apartheid education system. Carrim (1998) argues that the contemporary South African educational reforms were, out of historical necessity, aimed at enacting structural and systematic changes in the South African social order. He further argues that the educational reforms shift South Africa away from a racist past to one of human rights and democracy. Carrim contends that "the treatment of race in very generalised ways" in consistently maintaining a bi-polarity between whites and blacks, do not spell out what anti-

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racist practices actually entail on the levels of daily schooling routines. As a result, these macro interventions are decidedly structuralist in nature, leading to the consequent desegregation of South African schools and not necessarily to their de-racialisation (Carrim, 1998).

In an attempt to transform the apartheid curriculum, the post apartheid government introduced Curriculum 2005. Minister of Education Bhengu in a message to teachers stated:

- The dream of most countries is to have a winning nation - a land that is prosperous, democratic and free of crime and violence. And for that dream to be realised, we need an education system that supports it. I believe that Curriculum 2005 is that system.
- Curriculum 2005 will begin to integrate education and training and incorporate a view of learning that marries academic and applied knowledge, theory and practice and knowledge and skills. It will produce learners who are creative and critical thinkers, ready to take their place in society (Department of Education newsletter distributed with Curriculum 2005 information booklets, 1998).

Curriculum 2005 does not as policy indicate whether a multi-cultural or anti-racist approach should be adopted when developing the curriculum at a micro level. Carrim (1998) criticises macro educational policies for failing to de-racialise institutional settings because the policies do not address the complexities and 'specificities' of race and racism on the micro level of the school, as experienced by people themselves(also see Christie, 1990). He argues that:

> It is on these micro levels of people's lives that guidelines, programmes and structured interventions are needed. Yet there is no nationally instituted anti-racist programme or package which has been put into place. There is no structured, co-ordinated programme to help teachers cope with multi-racial/lingual/ability classrooms (1998:318).

The UK response to the presence of cultural diversity in-terms of curriculum policy is best described by Massey (1991) in which six phases of school and Local Education Authority responses are identified:

- *Laissez-Faire*: The initial response to black and Asian immigration was inaction. The assumption was that everyone was equal before the law and, therefore, no special policies were necessary. Immigrants would learn to integrate by working and learning alongside whites. immigrants were simply strangers who faced temporary difficulties which would be eased by assistance from voluntary agencies. Any tensions caused by their arrival would soon disappear as they were absorbed into an essentially tolerant society.
- *Assimilation via language and numbers*: The key to social cohesion was seen as assimilation of the immigrants and this would be assisted by greater control over the numbers allowed to enter the country. The educational response at this time was to offer infant and junior reception classes where children without English as mother-tongue were given introductory courses. The LEAs were granted permission for the dispersal or 'bussing' of immigrants. This would be done where the quota of immigrants exceeded 33% of the school. The justification of such a policy was educational, based on language development and a furtherance of cultural assimilation.
- *Integration through compensation*: A policy of bilingualism was encouraged. the second language offered at schools was restricted to European languages. language tuition itself was confined to Asian pupils and not extended to Afro-Carribean children who were seen as speaking a deficient dialect of English which needed correction.

Any problems that ethnic minority children had were seen as the result of their cultural or linguistic deficiencies or family structure.

- *Multiculturalism: From compensation to cultural pluralism:* This was not regarded as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. This kind of approach to multi-cultural education rested on the assumption that the poor performance and alienation in school of black and Asian children could be remedied by improving their self images. This could be accomplished through showing respect for the cultures of ethnic minorities in the curriculum of the school. Racism at school and in society in general was not confronted.
- *Anti-racism:* Pressure groups began to identify examples of racism in school practices, such as streaming or referral procedures. LEAs began to take a positive stance against racism. Policies began to be formulated not on the basis of cultural understanding but rather on the need for equality and social justice, involving the combatting and dismantling of racism in all its forms, personal and institutional. These policies marked the first real attempts at a more racialised concept of the nature of schooling and society and the black and Asian experience within that. As a result, anti-racism came to be seen as a radical political movement because of its emphasis on inequality and the need to understand the roots of British racism, which lay in the economic system of both the past and present. The implication that white teachers were colluding in the perpetuation of an unequal racist society did not always go down well with educators and politicians, who professed a political and ideological neutrality.
- *Anti-racist multi-culturalism:* Anti-racism was seen as a radical departure from multi-cultural education which was attempting to promote racial harmony on the basis of an understanding and appreciation of other cultures. A polarity of perspectives therefore arose. Proponents of an anti-racist multi-culturalism began to argue that multi-cultural and anti-racist education are essential to each other. They are logically connected and each alone is inadequate. Each is appropriate to different stages and contents in education and must be part of a combined strategy if either is to have any real effect (Massey, 1991:19).

The six phases identified above must be seen as overlapping and not as distinct phases.

Issues That Emerge From the Literature Review

The following issues emerge from the literature review:

- The literature referred to indicates that the process of school desegregation in the USA, Zimbabwe (post 1980) and South Africa (post 1994) was forced on schools in terms of governmental legislation that sought to change political policies that had ensured segregated educational provision.
- The schools (in all three of the countries) attempted to retard school desegregation by adopting school policies (with community and political support) that sought to ensure that pupils from the host communities remained in the majority at the schools. In the cases of South Africa and Zimbabwe, this was done by levying high school fees in an attempt to restrict access to working class children, by allowing parents via school governing bodies to determine the admissions criteria and by ensuring that the political and social hegemony of the dominant groups remained in force at the desegregated schools.
- The schools in Zimbabwe and South Africa adopted a raceless approach in dealing with desegregation in order to cope with the changing demographics of the school. The raceless approach did not take into consideration the cultural diversity of the pupils thereby reinforcing the assimilation of the minority group of pupils into the majority group.

- No mention is made in the literature of any special in-service training or preparation of teachers for the school desegregation.
- The system of magnet schools as used in the USA to promote desegregation was not used in South Africa and Zimbabwe.
- Britain, unlike South Africa, the USA and Zimbabwe did not have race-driven education policies. Schools in Britain had to adapt to changing pupil demographics that resulted from large numbers of immigrants from former British colonies seeking residence in Britain. But, as in the case of the USA, South Africa and Zimbabwe, British schools reacted to the changing demographics by adopting assimilationist policies.
- Macro educational policies in South Africa in attempting to transform the apartheid education system, have at a micro level not assisted teachers in transforming their teaching or curriculum interpretations.

We now refer to the theoretical framework, research instruments, the research site, methods of data collection, recording and analysis.

CHAPTER THREE
Research Methodology

Introduction
This chapter identifies the theoretical framework, research sites as well as the means by which data were obtained and analysed.

Locating the research within a theoretical framework is necessary to know the most useful forms of research method to employ in a given study. This enables the researcher to plan and carry out the research, as well as giving direction as to how the data obtained would be interpreted. Literature dealing with educational research methodology were consulted to locate the Pietermaritzburg study within a theoretical framework. Summaries of the major current research approaches were compiled to assist the researcher in locating the research within a particular theoretical framework.

Quantitative and Qualitative Research
Data are the facts and observations gathered to answer a research question/s. In educational research such data might represent peoples' perceptions in their own words or in the artifacts they have created, or data may take the form of some standard measurement, such as a number, that is often a compilation of one or many peoples' perceptions or reactions to something (Coombs,1964;cited in Langenbach *et al*, 1994:12). Langenbach *et al* refer to quantitative data as data arising from measurements of attitude, academic achievements, and self esteem and are often represented in the form of numbers compiled from a relative scale. Quantitative researchers collect facts and study the relationship of one set of facts to another by using scientific techniques that are likely to produce quantified and, if possible, generalizable conclusions.

Langenbach *et al* (1994) refer to qualitative data as data represented in the form of words or pictures that arise from artifacts, newspaper clippings, diaries, taped interviews with people or researcher's observations of a classroom. Researchers adopting a qualitative approach/perspective are generally concerned with gaining an understanding of individuals' perceptions of the world. Qualitative researchers are therefore primarily concerned with gaining insight rather than gathering statistical data. Judith Bell (1993) argues that qualitative researchers doubt whether social "facts" exist and question whether a "scientific" approach can be used when dealing with human beings.

Different terms such as scientific, interpretive, macro and micro, and quantitative and qualitative paradigms are often used to describe the two research approaches described above.

Table 1: Characteristics of quantitative and qualitative studies.

Qualitative	Quantitative
The investigator has chosen a topic or issue to study.... task is to discover, hypotheses emerge	Investigator goes much further, delimiting the study, selecting variables, making predictions etc. His/her task is to refute or verify. Hypotheses are stated in advance.

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The sites/individuals chosen for the study are governed by the topic ......sites/ individuals/ cases relatively few in number	Sample size is governed ideally by considerations of statistical "power." "N" is preferably large.
The investigator is the principal "instrument" for data collection	The investigator should remain anonymous and neutral vis-a-vis the research site/subjects. He/she gathers data via intermediary instruments like questionnaires, tests, structured observation schemes, etc
The research process is designed to intrude as little as possible in the natural, ongoing lives of those under study	Intrusion may be extreme in that subjects may be paid to participate in a laboratory simulation. At a minimum those being studied will be aware that they are part of an "experiment"
Investigator aware of his/her own biases and strives to capture the subjective reality of participants	Investigator assumes an unbiassed stance; safeguards are employed to maintain objectivity
Investigator uses "wide-angle lens" to record context surrounding phenomena under study. Focus may shift as analytical categories and theory "emerge" from the data	Context is seen as potentially contaminating the integrity of study. Procedures employed to reduce extraneous factors
Typical study lasts some months, perhaps years	Typical study lasts some hours, perhaps some days
Report utilizes narrative format, there is a story with episodes	Report is expository in nature, consisting of a series of interlocking arguments

Table 1: Adapted from D. F. Lancy (1993:2)

The above table, whilst helpful in giving the reader a quick sense of the characteristics of qualitative and quantitative studies, is by the author's own admission a very simple overview of the two approaches. While dichotomies may over-simplify and over generalise, these two approaches rest on different assumptions about the nature of social reality, and the methods by which it can be 'known'(M.Ed Course Handout, 1997). When speaking about the quantitative and qualitative research approaches, we actually refer to interrelated assumptions about the social world which are philosophical, ideological and epistemological. In describing qualitative and quantitative type studies, Lancy (1993) argues that the two approaches promote basic research, the accumulation of findings that gradually give us a better understanding of some educational or psychological phenomenon.

Case Study
The case study approach to research is considered by Bell (1993) to be particularly appropriate for individual researchers because it creates the opportunity for one aspect of a problem to be studied in some depth within a limited time scale. The idea that case study research is appropriate for investigating an aspect of a problem is also supported by Lancy (1993) who argues that (in the case study) a problem is either identified in advance or the investigator proceeds on the assumption that problems will be uncovered in the course of research. The case study approach also allows the researcher the flexibility of using elements of both the quantitative and qualitative methods of research.

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Table 2: Strengths and weaknesses of the case study approach.

Strengths	Weaknesses
Evidence is collected systematically, the relationship between variables is studied , and the study is methodically planned.	Where a single researcher is gathering all the information, selection has to be made. The researcher selects the area for study and decides which material to present in the final report. It is difficult to cross-check information and so there is always the possibility of distortion.
It allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify, or attempt to identify, the various interactive processes at work.	Generalization is not always possible.
Case studies may be carried out to follow up and to put flesh on the bones of a survey. Can also precede a survey and be used as a means of identifying key issues that merit further investigation	To conduct a case study requires the co-operation of people. It also requires their frankness and this may constitute a risk for them.

Table 2: Strengths and weaknesses of case study: Adapted from Bell (1993), and Lancy (1993)

Replication

Social scientists ultimately rely on systematic empirical observation in order to have confidence in a hypothesis. This also includes a study of the biases that are inherent in attempting to determine which explanations are good and which are poor. Tudd *et al* (1991) argue that the researcher's biases inevitably affect how observations are gathered and interpreted. They further argue that the only way to avoid these biases is to replicate the research so that other researchers in other settings with different samples attempt to reproduce the research as closely as possible.

Direct replication

The purpose of conducting direct replication, would be to test whether the stated results of research generalize to different times or places (Mitchell and Jolley, 1988). Direct replications could be affected by changing times as a study on racial attitude conducted in the mid 1970s would perhaps not yield the same results in a post apartheid South Africa.

Systematic Replication

Systematic replication affords the researcher the opportunity of repeating a study with systematic modifications to the original study. The systematic modifications may be necessitated by changing times or different contexts. One of the advantages of this approach is that it affords the researcher the opportunity to fill in gaps that may exist in the original study, and it may have more power, more external validity, or more construct validity than the original (Mitchell and Jolley, 1988).

Multi methods/Mixed methods

Giddens (1989) argues that the various research methods have limitations and that the one way of compensating for the limitations, is to combine two or more methods in research. Giddens further argues that a combination of methods would allow each method used, to check or supplement the material obtained from the other methods. A multi-methods

approach is also recommended by Brewer and Hunter who argue that:

> a multi-methods approach to research allows the researcher to attack a problem with an arsenal of methods that have no overlapping weaknesses in addition to their supplementary strengths (cited in Langenbach et al, 1994:243).

Theoretical framework of the Verma study

In their review of methodological approaches to the study of inter-ethnic relationships, Verma makes note of Troyna's (1991) reservations about both case study and more quantitative types of empirical research, given the complexity of race relationships. Verma summarises Troyna's acknowledgement that anecdotal evidence from case studies about racial incidents in school is often too imprecise and partial to be an adequate basis for generalisations, policy development and professional practice. They refer to Troyna's critique of Kelly's (1990) study of racial name calling in Manchester secondary schools, and of Smith and Tomlinson's (1989) *The School Effect*. Both the Kelly, and Smith and Tomlinson studies, report that overt racism is not on the whole a large scale problem in multi-ethnic schools studied by them (three in Kelly's case, twenty in Smith and Tomlinson's). Verma cites Troyna who argues that the approach adopted by Kelly and Smith and Tomlinson is open to criticism for the following reasons:

- First, the apparent absence of 'overt racism' does not necessarily negate claims about the prevalence or seriousness of racist behaviour;
- Second, in relying on others, especially parents', perceptions of children's experiences in school, rather than on students' reports of their own experiences couched in their own language, such enquiries are likely to miss the subtle and complex nature of racism in education through failing to register the narrative of the main actors;
- Third, studies similar to that of the Smith and Tomlinson type tend to concentrate on 'assembling statistical data on the observable, detectable and therefore easily measurable forms of racism' (cited in Verma et al, 1994:23).

The stance adopted by Troyna in reaction to the work of Kelly and Smith and Tomlinson was accepted by Verma who argues that surveys, even those as sophisticated as used by Smith and Tomlinson, were too crude to capture the subtle and complex nature of racism in education. Verma argues that their primary concern was to go beyond the 'what' of student experiences to the 'how' and 'why' in order to hear not just what teachers or parents believed to be the experiences of students but to hear from students themselves. The appeal to Troyna of the qualitative paradigm over that of the quantitative paradigm is evident. Hammersley (1992) supports Troyna's criticism of the Kelly and Smith and Tomlinson studies, but argues that Troyna failed to show a similar scepticism towards qualitative research. The Verma study therefore used elements of both the quantitative and qualitative approaches in deciding about the theoretical framework of the UK study.

Verma et al (1994:23) stated that in deciding to employ a ' mixed method' research approach, embodied in multi-site case studies, they were aiming essentially to do three things:
- first, penetrating school students' and teachers' experience of inter-ethnic relationships through recording what they tell them,

- second, implementing that procedure across nine very roughly similar institutions, with the anticipated outcomes of both illuminating variety and some suggestive patterning and,
- third, exploiting the number of institutional case studies to carry out a quantitative analysis based on a large (2300) student sample.

Theoretical framework of the Pietermaritzburg study

The following factors influenced the researcher's decision about the theoretical framework of the Pietermaritzburg study:

- The opportunity afforded by the case study approach that allowed the researcher to investigate one aspect of a problem in a limited time scale.
- The case study approach created the space for the researcher to adopt a multi-site case study investigation at three schools that represented three of the ex-Departments of Education. This would further increase the potential to generalize the findings.
- The systematic replication of the Verma study allowed the researcher to modify and replicate a part of the original study.
- The 'mixed method' research approach adopted by the Verma study was used during the course of this research to ensure validity since part of the Verma et al (1994) study was being replicated, to provide a comparative dimension between the Pietermaritzburg and United Kingdom studies, and to ensure that the researcher's own bias did not taint the research.

The Research Setting

Research was conducted at three co-educational secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa . The nature of the research required that the schools be racially desegregated. A targeted selection of schools was made to ensure that the schools represented three of the former education departments ie: ex-House of Delegates, ex-House of Representatives and ex-House of Assembly. The prefix "ex" is used when referring to the departments that no longer exist. For purposes of anonymity, the schools chosen would not be identified by name. In this study the names of indigenous plants have instead been used to identify the schools for purposes of reference.

The ex-HOD school chosen is referred to as Polygala Secondary and is located in a suburb which was developed (during the years of apartheid) for members of the Indian community.

The ex-HOR school chosen is referred to as Protea Secondary and is located in a suburb which was developed for members of the coloured community.

The ex-HOA school chosen is referred to as Strelitzia and is located in a suburb which was developed for members of the white community.

The schools were selected from a list of ten schools (categorized according to the ex Departments of Education) that were participating in a study entitled "Social Relations and the Construction of Identity in Multi-ethnic Schools" that was being conducted by the School of Education at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. The names of the ten participating schools were written on pieces of paper and divided according to the ex-departments that they represented. The three schools selected for this research were finalised by a simple process of picking from a hat one of the slips of paper with the names of the schools written on them.

We now proceed to the actual data sources.

Research Populations

The research population at each school included:
Principal/Deputy Principal
Head of Department
3 teachers
grade 9 (std. 7) pupils

The following rationale (as used in the Verma study) was used in deciding upon the research population:

- **Principal / Deputy Principal**: The interview with the Principal / Deputy was deemed necessary since he/she was responsible for ensuring that the school policy was implemented.

- **Head Of Department**: The interview with the Head of Department was deemed necessary to gather data on the impact of the curriculum on pupil inter race relations since the Head of Department was responsible for the implementation of the curriculum.

- **Teachers:** During the planning of the research, the aim was to select the teachers by taking the following into consideration:
  - Ethnic minority teachers to provide data about their perceptions of pupil inter race relationships;
  - Recently appointed teachers to give a newcomer's perspective of the pupil inter-race relationships at the school;
  - Ethnic majority teachers to provide data about their perceptions of pupil inter race relationships.

- **Grade 9 pupils**: This particular grade was chosen by the university research team because the pupils would have spent at least two years in the school (admission is at grade 7) and administering the questionnaire to them would not be disruptive to the teaching-learning programme.
  - The grade nine pupils also corresponded to the age group interviewed during the Verma study.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedures:

A research team would have been able to interview (see research technique p.36) all the teachers at each school, but this was not possible due to the researcher working alone. The sample size is therefore acknowledged as the first limitation of the research. However, Giddens (1989) argues that one can usually be fairly confident that results deriving from a survey of a population sample can be generalized to the whole of that population. A further rationale for the targeted sample was to ensure that the sample used in the Verma study was replicated as closely as possible in order to provide a comparative framework with the Pietermaritzburg study.

The following identifies the research sample and the sampling procedure used in each instance:
• **Principal/Deputy Principal**: Since there was only one Principal and Deputy Principal at

each school, his/her permission for the interview was sought.
- **Head of Department**: A volunteer was sought. In instances where there was more than one volunteer (Protea Secondary School), a random draw was used to identify the interviewees.
- **Teachers**: During the negotiations for access to the schools, it was agreed with the Principals that a contact person at the school would identify teachers who were willing to take part in the research. Three teachers were selected by the contact person from the list of volunteers by drawing names from a hat. The total sample of teachers was 16, made up of 3 Principals, 1 Deputy Principal, 3 Heads of Departments and 9 subject (level one) teachers. The cross section of teachers (see Teachers, p.35) was unfortunately not obtained.
- **Pupils**: Total grade nine population at each school ie: Polygala 165 pupils, Protea 320 pupils and Strelitzia 225 pupils.

Research Technique
This sought to identify how the data were obtained from the research population. Two research techniques were used to obtain data ie: interviews for teachers, and questionnaires for pupils.

Interviews
The semi-structured teacher interview schedule (refer to Appendix A, p.87) used in the Verma study was used to ensure that the data collected were valid yet comparable, but slight modifications were made to the interview schedule to suit local conditions. The following modifications were made to the Verma interview schedule:
- Admissions policy: This was included to determine whether there was a consistent admissions policy being applied at state controlled schools. The researcher also wanted to gauge the response of teachers to the changing demographics of each school. Questions dealing with admissions policy were not included in the original Verma schedule due to such policy being determined by the Local Education Authority (LEA).
- Personal Initiative: This was included to identify the sources of teachers' knowledge about policy on racial desegregation in schools and teachers' understanding of cultural diversity.
- Policy formulation: The researcher was interested in finding out how informed teachers were about the South African Schools Act of 1996.
- Teacher's Role: Questions that sought to elicit the opinions of teachers about the staff composition as compared to the pupil composition were included. It was hoped that answers to these questions would help in determining the interviewees' views about school desegregation. Questions pertaining to pupil discipline were also added to determine whether teachers had a stereotypic view of pupil discipline/ill-discipline.
- The Community: Questions pertaining to the catchment area of the school were added to determine whether teachers were aware of the backgrounds of their pupils.

The structured portion of the interview schedule was used to gather general information about the interviewees whilst the semi-structured portion of the interview schedule allowed freedom to explore issues in depth. The focus of the research was teacher perceptions of pupil inter-ethnic relationships and teachers were asked to comment on the quality of pupil inter-ethnic relationships in school, including the extent to which pupils of different ethnic backgrounds

mixed. The interview also focussed on the teachers' background and training, their views on school policy and its impact on student relationships, racial desegregation and school community links. These 'background factors' were considered by the researcher to be crucial to understanding the perceptions of the teachers. Interviewees were also given an opportunity to comment on their own observations about inter ethnic relationships or educational issues in general or anything specific about their own schools that were in some way related to the research.

The interview schedule for teachers was trialed at a racially mixed secondary school to:
- determine the amount of time required to complete the interview,
- determine if there were any language or terminology difficulties,
- determine whether the focus of the study was clear in terms of the questions asked,
- obtain data that may influence the interview.

The trial revealed that on average an interview required 35 to 40 minutes to complete. No language or terminology difficulties were experienced by the interviewees. The focus of the study was clear in terms of the questions asked.

Teacher interviews at Polygala and Protea were conducted by the researcher. At Strelitzia, the researcher was assisted by a lecturer from the Education Department at UNP in conducting three of the interviews. The interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the interviewees. The interviews were then transcribed to facilitate analysis of the interviews.

Pupil Questionnaire

As with the teacher interview schedule, the pupil questionnaire (see Appendix B) used during the Verma study, was modified to suit local conditions. The modifications to the questionnaire were made by the research team at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. The modifications dealt largely with the following:
- Ethnic minorities: The questionnaire had to reflect the ethnic groups in South Africa as compared to the ethnic groups in the UK.
- Economic factors: The vastly differing socio-economic backgrounds of the pupils had to be accommodated. Questions were included to explore whether economic factors affected pupil interaction.
- Travel: Most pupils in the Verma study lived in close proximity to the school. Many black South African pupils travel by taxi to school. Questions pertaining to their travelling to school were added to determine whether this had an influence on their choice of friends.

The questionnaire was trialed by the researcher at the same school at which the teacher interview schedule was trialed.

The questionnaire consisted mainly of multiple choice questions with a four or five point scale. Open ended questions were included but kept to a minimum in order to facilitate coding and analysis. Pupils were required to identify friendship choices, religious groups and communities to which they belonged, to indicate experiences of bullying and name calling. The trialing of the questionnaire revealed the need to provide Zulu and English versions of the questionnaire due to the difficulty that was experienced by English second language learners in reading and comprehending the questionnaire that essentially uses first language English. The Zulu version of the questionnaire also had to be modified as the African pupils did not understand the concept of a bully . The term hitch hiker was also found to be foreign

to the black students and had to be substituted by Zulu terminology.

The researcher administered the questionnaire at Polygala and Protea whilst the UNP research team was responsible for the administration of the questionnaire at Strelitzia.

Whilst the questionnaire was an integral part of the School of Education research, it was, for the purposes of this study used to elicit pupil opinion about the state of pupil inter-ethnic relationships and the opinions of pupils about teacher knowledge of pupil inter-ethnic relationships at the three schools.

Data Analysis

Interview summaries for each school were completed by drawing on the transcripts of the interviews. The main themes of the teacher interview schedule were used to analyse the data from the teacher interviews. The interviewee responses were summarised under each interview schedule theme (combination of questions), and then the responses of all the interviewees at each school were summarised thematically to create a portrait of each school. The portraits of the three schools were then compared to answer the following research questions upon which the Verma and Pietermaritzburg studies were based:

- How well do the teachers know themselves, their students and colleagues?
- What, if any policy frameworks did they operate with and how widely were these internally known and acknowledged?
- To what extent was the school equipped by knowledge, experience, training and disposition to contribute to good pupil inter-ethnic relations?
- What approach was used to cater for pupils from diverse cultural backgrounds?
- To what extent did school/community links affect the pupil inter-ethnic relationships?
- What are the similarities and differences in terms of teacher perceptions among the teachers at the three schools?

A coding system for the pupil questionnaire was devised by the research team at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. The coded results were entered into a database. The data (that were related to teachers) required from the database were obtained in the form of reports. The data were then converted to pie charts using Corel Word Perfect Presentations to make comparison of data easy. The following aspects of the data, relating to each school, were drawn from the database:

- pupils' knowledge of their own and other religious groups to which they belonged (Appendix D, Chart No 1, p. 106)
- pupils' interpretations of how teachers manage conflict or misunderstanding between pupils from different backgrounds, gender or culture (Appendix d, Chart No. 3, p.108)
- pupils' interpretations of how much teachers understood the relationships between different groups in grade 9 (Appendix D, Chart No 4, p.109)
- pupils' interpretations of how well pupils from different beliefs, backgrounds, lifestyles or cultures get on with each other at school (Appendix D, Chart No 5, p.110)
- pupils' statements about the teachers' disposition towards the pupils (Appendix E, p.111).

The individual school portraits and the comparison of the three schools is presented in Chapter Four. The findings of the Pietermaritzburg research were then compared to the findings of the

Verma study.

CHAPTER FOUR
Analysis of quantitative and qualitative data

This chapter seeks to present the analysis of the qualitative (teacher interviews) and quantitative (pupil questionnaires) data that were gathered during the course of the research. The qualitative and quantitative data were used to create a composite profile of each school. The profiles of the three schools are presented below.

Description of the schools

The description of the three schools participating in the Pietermaritzburg study was intentionally restricted (see research setting page 34) in order to protect the identities of the three schools.

POLYGALA SECONDARY SCHOOL

Previous Experience and Initial Training:

Initial training of teachers did not focus on preparing teachers for multi-ethnic schools as most teachers had attended racially-exclusive teacher training institutions whether at college or university level. Personal initiative was responsible for the limited understanding of multi-racial or multi-ethnic activities as this understanding arose from activities at Church, sports meetings, further study or voluntary teaching at schools that had catered primarily for black children.

Externally organised INSET:

All the interviewees had participated in the Language In Learning and Teaching (LILT) programme that was organised and conducted by the Department of Second Language Studies (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg) at the school. With the exception of the Head of Department, all indicated that the programme dealt "a lot" (reference to coding scale used in the interview schedule) with the issue of multi- cultural matters.

Three of the interviewees had attended courses on multi-cultural issues at workshops conducted by the KwaZulu Natal Department of Education and Culture (KZNDEC), LILT and a workshop on Media in Education. The workshops conducted by the KZNDEC were criticised for targeting the wrong audience ie: principals, and should have instead targeted the classroom practitioners, being the teachers. The LILT workshop which comprised of a series of lectures/cum workshop type activities, was criticised by the interviewees for "attempting to marry theory with practice" in that the LILT co-ordinators were themselves not familiar with the practice of teaching in a second language.

Admissions Policy

Interviewees were divided over whether the school had an admission policy or not. The principal indicated that there was no admissions policy, whilst the Head of Department indicated that the school had such a policy.

All five of the interviewees indicated that no specific admissions criteria were used for different ethnic groups, with the availability of accommodation being the only influence on

pupil admission. One of the interviewees indicated that it would be preferable to admit pupils (especially black) at the lower standards so that the pupils could adjust to the school. His feeling was that the school system that the pupils (black) came from, as well as the competencies that they brought with them, made it necessary to sometimes place pupils at a lower standard than that at which they had passed at their previous schools.

The responsibility for admission of pupils rested with a committee elected by the staff, and it was representative of teachers and management.

The Head of Department explained that Polygala began to admit black pupils from about 1990 due to a declining intake of Indian pupils, and that parents resisted the admission of the black pupils by enrolling their children at other schools in the area. Ultimately this resulted in the school catering primarily for black children and a few Indian pupils who were unable to obtain enrolment at other schools in the area.

While all the interviewees indicated that they were happy with the process of admitting black pupils, some members of the staff had, according to the interviewees, expressed reservations about their competence in teaching the newly-admitted black pupils. This lack of confidence arose as a result of their initial teacher training and experience of teaching Indian pupils only. Teachers were also concerned about the medium of instruction as many of the newly admitted pupils could not speak English.

Internally Organised INSET
There were no school initiated INSET programmes.

Personal Initiative
The questions in this section of the interview schedule obtained data about the sources of teacher knowledge around the issues of policy on the racial desegregation of schools and the teachers' understanding of cultural diversity (see Appendix A, p.84).

Newspapers, teacher union circulars/activities, informal discussions and staff meetings had the most influence on the interviewees' understanding of the education department's policy on racial desegregation (see Table 3, p.104).

Television, radio, newspapers, teacher union circulars/activities and informal discussions had the most influence on the interviewees' understanding of cultural diversity (see Appendix C, Table 4, p. 104).

Policy
The interviewees were divided over whether the KZNDEC had a policy on non-racialism, and where the interviewees indicated that such a policy existed, they were unable to explain the policy.

With reference to a school based policy on non-racialism, the principal indicated that the school did not have a formal policy but that the staff had discussed the issue and were aware of the informal policy. All four of the other interviewees indicated that the school had no policy on non-racialism.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPARISON OF THE THREE SCHOOLS

The portraits of the three schools were compiled by using the themes of the teacher interview schedule as well as selected data from the pupil questionnaires. The portraits of the schools were thereafter compared by using the research questions to ensure that the analysis kept within the parameters of the research design, as well as to ensure that a comparison to the Verma *et al* (1994) study was possible. The comparison of the three schools will be followed by a discussion of the similarities and differences identified during the comparison.

How well do the teachers know themselves, their students and colleagues?

None of the schools kept records of the ethnicity of their pupils. Strelitzia used a file system for its pupils that included photographs of the pupils which made it easy for teachers to identify the pupils. The teacher interviewees at all three schools believed that no useful purpose was served in keeping records of the ethnicity of pupils. The teacher interviewees at all three schools consequently found it difficult to give an accurate description of the ethnic profile of the pupils at their schools because of the lack of records pertaining to ethnicity.

None of the interviewees at the three schools could (in terms of the research criteria) claim to know their pupils sufficiently well enough as they clearly had no recourse to information that could assist them in making informed descriptions of the ethnicity of their pupils.

The staff composition, whether by previous employment stipulations or through deliberate practice as suggested at Strelitzia, was not in keeping with the pupil composition. One of the interviewees at Strelitzia very aptly summed up the anomaly between the staff and pupil composition and the message that is portrayed to the pupils:

> I mean, the children need to see teachers of all race groups teaching them, because even the black kids here, the sort of sub-conscious message they're getting is they can be here, but only white people are really capable of teaching them, and I love it when we get non-white student teachers coming, it does wonders for the kids, it really does, it's just so exciting, especially for the white kids who come and sit there, and think this can't be happening to them, they don't really know how to relate to um, because of the black staff here are cleaning staff, or administrative staff who - and they know that, so it's marvellous when they get a non-white student teacher coming in, and it's got to be Sir or Miss, and that teacher is teaching them, because it really rocks their perceptions (interviewee, Strelitzia).

Whilst the above quotation is from a teacher at Strelitzia, the message that schools have to provide an appropriate socializing site, applied equally to Polygala and Protea at which the pupil populations were predominantly black, yet the ethos of the host communities were enforced.

The profiles of the schools presented thus far create the illusion of homogeneity especially when considering the teacher and pupil components. Polygala was described as having a predominantly Indian teaching staff, Protea as having a predominantly coloured teaching staff and Strelitzia a predominantly white staff. An illusion of homogeneity is created in that in-group differences are not acknowledged and difference only becomes acknowledged when

reference is made to inter-group contact. This is supported by Carrim (1998) who argues:

> It is only when so-called coloureds, Indians and Africans come into contact with whites
> that cultural differences are highlighted (p 315).

The above quote from Carrim needs to be further developed as it seems to create the impression that only whites make reference to cultural difference. The Indian teacher interviewees made reference to difference when speaking about having to adapt to teaching black pupils (as did the coloured teacher interviewees). None of the interviewees mentioned difference when making reference to the teaching composition of their respective schools yet observation of the teacher staffroom at Strelitzia (by the researcher) revealed that there were distinct groupings of teachers :
- men and women sat separately;
- the younger men and women further sat separately from the older men and women;
- the groups further seemed to be constituted along language lines ie; English and Afrikaans.

No distinct groupings of teachers were identified at Polygala and Protea. The groupings observed at Strelitzia clearly indicate that making reference to white teachers, creates an illusion of homogeneity and actually masks difference be it along gender, language or age groupings. Similarly, when reference is made to Indian teachers, Muslim, Hindu Tamil and Christian teachers are lumped together as one. Needless to say, the same applies to coloured teachers.

To summarise then, the lack of pupil ethnic record keeping and the teacher interviewees' failure to identify teacher and pupil difference (by the teachers' own admission), implies that the interviewees could not claim to know their pupils and colleagues sufficiently well enough.

What if any policy frameworks did they operate with, and how widely were these internally known and acknowledged?

Given the apartheid history, the pupil admissions policy of each school was scrutinised to determine:

- the admissions policy of the school,
- the criteria used to determine whether a pupil was to be admitted/refused admission,
- the school decision-making process of pupil admission,
- when and why the school began to admit pupils of diverse ethnic backgrounds.

The above were deemed important by the researcher, in order to determine how willing the schools were to desegregate.

At Polygala and Protea, the interviewees indicated that the most important criteria used in deciding admission, was the availability of accommodation. The criteria of race and competency tests for admission had long been discarded and at both schools, and in instances when tests were administered, it was for placement rather than for admission. No interviews were conducted with the pupils, and the schools relied on reports from the previous schools to determine the admission of the pupils. At Strelitzia, one dissenting interviewee indicated that officially race was not used as criteria, but that on an unofficial level black pupils were discriminated against by their needing to satisfy a particular competency in English and Afrikaans. The responsibility for pupil admission at Polygala rested with an admissions

committee that comprised members of management and subject teachers. This committee was seen by the interviewees as performing a very administrative function in that it entailed the processing of applications to check whether all the required information for admission was available. This was also the case at Protea, but the principal was called upon to make a decision if the committee could not reach a decision. At Strelitzia, the principal made the final decision about admission after reviewing the results of the aptitude test that a pupil had to write as well as using an interview conducted by the principal. None of the schools had their admissions policy formally stated in a school policy document, a practice which could be interpreted in one of two ways:

- first, that the schools did not engage with the creation of policy at school level and merely implemented the policies determined by the Education Department as in the case of Polygala and Protea which treated the admission of pupils as a purely administrative exercise or,
- second, that the schools were guarded about their policies being scrutinised.

The interviewees at both Polygala and Protea acknowledged that their schools began to admit black pupils before 1990 as a response to a declining pupil intake from their respective constituencies and also stated that they saw the admission of black pupils as a means of maintaining the status of the schools in terms of the teacher-pupil ratios. The interviewees at both schools indicated that the staff at the respective schools were generally happy about the desegregation of the schools. At Strelitzia, the interviewees indicated that the general staff were split between those who were for and those who were against the desegregation of the pupils. The older conservative teachers were identified as being unhappy about the changes to the extent that some of them had left the teaching profession when the school changed its admissions policy because they had reservations about teaching pupils whom they perceived to lack discipline, had poor hygiene, and were noisy. Howard Becker's (1971) research with 60 teachers in Chicago focussed on the way in which teachers observe, classify and react to social class typed differences in the behaviour of children with whom they work. One of Becker's observations is related to the reaction of the teachers at Strelitzia who resigned rather than teach integrated classes. In his research, Becker mentions that different social classes (upper, middle and lower) of children elicit different reactions from teachers. Of particular significance is Becker's description of the reaction of the middle class teachers to 'slum' children:

> It is, however, the 'slum' child who most deeply offends the teacher's moral sensibilities; in almost every area mentioned about these children, by word, by action, or appearance, manage to give teachers the feeling that they are immoral and not respectable. In terms of physical appearance and condition they disgust and depress the middle class teacher (page123).

Substituting the word slum with black (lowest socio-economic class in apartheid South Africa) and taking into consideration Tikly's (1993) reading of the Nationalist/Conservative description of race, together with the conservative teacher training background, then we can infer that the Strelitzia teachers' actions in resigning were made on the basis of their belief that they (whites) were superior to blacks and that their impressions of blacks were based on apartheid stereotypes. The often unintended and un-noticed effects of teachers' attitudes and classroom practices on inter-group relations, argue Schofield and Sagar (1979), demonstrates that although most teachers are generally not aware of it, their attitudes and decisions have a major influence on the relations that develop between black and white

students. The unintended and often un-noticed effects of teacher attitude is also raised by Smith (1981) who argues that the level of white intolerance of school desegregation in American schools decreases as the proportion of blacks in desegregated schools increases.

It is interesting to note that the teacher interviewees at all three schools acknowledged that their admissions policies were relaxed when they faced the threat of a declining pupil intake. The admission of black pupils as a means of maintaining the status of schools was also identified by Naidoo (1996) and Zafar (1998). The claims of one of the interviewees at Strelitzia that there was entrenched racism, seems to be borne out if the following are considered:

- The policy of excluding failures (which is in conflict with the South African Schools Act of 1996) could be perceived as a means of excluding previously disadvantaged black children from former township schools;
- The opportunity to replace those teachers who had resigned rather than teach integrated classes with suitable black teachers, was not used if we are to believe the interviewee that the resignees were replaced by Afrikaans speaking teachers;
- The use of aptitude tests designed at the school before desegregation began and which consequently did not take into consideration ethnicity and lack of exposure by black pupils to stimuli that white pupils experienced in their daily lives and;
- The fact that the principal made the final decision on admission after personally interviewing the applicants lends credence to the interviewees' perception that there was also an unofficial policy to exclude pupils who did not display a proficiency in English and Afrikaans.

None of the schools had any policy that dealt with multi-cultural or anti-racist matters. Surprisingly, only the principal of Protea, made specific reference to the South African Schools Act of 1996 when questioned about knowledge of Education Department policy on multi-cultural or anti-racist matters. The South African Schools Act of 1996 indicates that:

> The Schools Act recognises that there are many cultures and languages in our country. This Act creates a school system in which the various cultures and languages are respected, protected and advanced (*Understanding the South African Schools Act,* 1997:8).

Those interviewees (all three schools) who indicated that the Education Department had policy on multi- cultural or anti-racist matters were unable to explain the policy or parts of the policy. The Strelitzia principal's view of the effectiveness of the KZNDEC's policy was contradicted by the Head of Department of Strelitzia who stated that the KZNDEC needed to be praised for attempting to implement policy under very difficult circumstances. This difference of opinion among two members of the school management team at Strelitzia, clearly indicates the difficulty of encouraging teachers to implement policy when it is clear that the management of the school differed over policy that was meant to be implemented. The attitude of the principal of Strelitzia towards the KZNDEC officials' understanding of diversity reinforces the opinion of Tinashe Makoni (cited in Frederikse, 1992:115) who stated that:

> There needs to be more regular contact with Government Education officers, to make sure that teachers aren't busy sabotaging education policies that seek to combat racism and sexism.

The intention is not to suggest that the principal was deliberately embarking on a course to undermine policies that sought to combat racism and sexism. What is clear though is that the

lack of clear guidance to teachers, has made it extremely difficult for teachers to cope with the results of school desegregation. Attempts by teachers to cope with the situation, result in teachers making changes that they individually perceive to be appropriate.

None of the schools had specific policy to deal with racial incidents. None of the schools reported incidents of a racial nature but the following pupil responses indicate the contrary:

- People fight a lot. There's a lot of racial problems around the school. The teachers can't stop it, because they don't understand it and don't know about it (Strelitzia, grade 9 pupil).
- Indian pupils and their teachers discriminate against other races (Polygala, grade 9 pupil).
- The teacher does nothing except discriminating against us (Protea, grade 9 pupil).

Data from the pupil questionnaire (Appendix B, question O2, p. 100) revealed 29 instances of racist behaviour cited by the pupils at Strelitzia, 7 instances at Protea and 2 instances at Polygala. Whilst these figures are statistically very small, they clearly indicate that inter-ethnic tension is prevalent at the schools even if the incidents have not been openly exhibited in the form of reported incidents. The pupil reports support Troyna's (1991) criticism of the Kelly (1990), and Smith and Tomlinson (1989) studies, in that the absence of overt racism does not necessarily negate claims about the prevalence or seriousness of racist behaviour (also see Zafar, 1998).

The interviewees at both Polygala and Protea were unanimous in indicating that in the event of policy being drawn up at school level, then all the role players ie: the teachers, pupils and the parents should be involved. The participatory democracy style of the management at both Polygala and Protea, was in sharp contrast to that at Strelitzia where the opinion of the members of management seems to suggest that management should be central to all decision making by virtue of their experience.

The level one interviewees (at all three schools) were united in believing that policy would only be effective if people believed in it and that participation in the policy formulation was crucial for teachers to feel that they were part of the process. Many of the interviewees believed that policy was important as it provided clear guidelines and set parameters within which to work.

What emerged clearly from the data was that teachers wanted to be part of the process of policy formulation and it is therefore important for the school management style to create the opportunities for teacher participation. The fact that teachers had been given this right as part of the South African Schools Act of 1996 by virtue of their representation on school governing bodies and was not known to some of the teacher interviewees, implies very little professional development at school level around policy issues.

To what extent was the school equipped by knowledge, experience, training and disposition to contribute to good pupil inter-ethnic relations?

With the exception of two interviewees at Strelitzia, all the interviewees had been trained at teacher institutions that were set up in terms of apartheid legislation which meant that the interviewees were only trained to teach a particular racial group. Personal initiative and

participation in community activities had contributed to the limited experience and understanding that some interviewees had of other cultural groups. The desegregation of the schools had also provided some experience of teaching multi-ethnic groups.

Data pertaining to both external and internal INSET were analysed to gain an understanding of teachers' knowledge pertaining to the promotion of pupil inter-ethnic relations. The data from Polygala and Protea indicates that a deliberate effort had been made by the respective schools to assist the teachers to cope with the changing circumstances created by the pupil desegregation. In both instances, it could be argued that the attempted language mediation was geared toward assisting particularly the black pupils to cope with the new situation of learning at a school where the medium of instruction was English rather than focussing on INSET that was directed at assisting teachers with strategies aimed at multi-cultural education or anti-racist education. The issue of bridging classes that are offered by schools who wish to help children who have had less access to resources and are not up to the established standards of the host school is criticised by Eybers *et al* (1997) who argue that:

> This argument sounds convincing but may prevent its protagonists from questioning the standards they are upholding. It is focussed on getting the child to fit into a system rather than trying to change the system itself to suit all the children it must serve (p. 41).

Similarly, in Britain schools adopted the notion of integration as a more sensitive form of assimilation with the key to successful integration being linguistic integration as the precondition of social integration (Barker, 1981).

Teachers attending externally organised INSET from Protea were afforded the opportunity to report back to the whole staff, yet at Polygala and Strelitzia this was not the case:

> It is not common practice for teachers attending courses to report their experiences to the whole staff (first year teacher, Strelitzia).

The data from all three schools reveals that very little if any INSET around the issue of school desegregation took place at either external or internal INSET levels. The little INSET that took place at Polygala and Protea could be referred to as attempts at coping with desegregation rather than in any way being attempts at making a very concerted effort to cope by ensuring that the teachers as well as the pupils were prepared for the desegregation. Strelitzia's workshop on discipline seemed to lend credence to the alleged stereotypes that some members of the staff had that black pupils were not disciplined. The principal and two of the other interviewees had mentioned that noise (ill-discipline?) had increased with desegregation and therefore pupils had to be reminded about being quiet and respecting the rights of other learners to be able to study in quiet conditions.

The teacher interviewees at both Polygala and Protea indicated that the respective staffs were generally happy with the process of desegregation. This would imply that the teachers at the two schools were well disposed to promoting pupil inter-ethnic relationships by virtue of their acceptance of desegregation. The problem faced by the teachers though is that they, by their own admission, lacked sufficient knowledge on how they could promote inter- ethnic relationships. The data from the pupil questionnaire (Appendix B, question C31, p. 99) reveal that the teachers generally do not know how to handle pupils' problems and generally referred

the problems to the principal. At Strelitzia, the opinion expressed by interviewees that some members of the staff were opposed to desegregation would imply that those teachers opposed to desegregation would not be well disposed to promoting inter-ethnic relationships. Comments from the Strelitzia pupils support the notion that the teachers would not be well disposed to promoting inter-ethnic relationships:

- You see the school teachers are racist and some of the children....
- This school the teachers are not right, some of them are prejudice and don't like black pupils being the one who are successful
- In this school when a white fights with a black and a black wins he gets a warning and if the white wins the teachers look and talk and start laughing

Similar comments from pupils are highlighted by Zafar (1998) which therefore suggests that the ill- disposition of teachers towards promoting inter-ethnic relationships is not confined to Strelitzia. The interviewees at the three schools were not adequately sensitised to consider the impact of their attitudes and behaviour on pupil inter-ethnic relations. The issue of staff attitude was also identified by Massey (1991) who argues that:

> The attitudes of staff also need to be examined, especially the ways in which they related to expectations and stereotyping of ethnic minority pupils, with the possible result of a self-fulfilling prophesy (p.24).

Many researchers (Schofield and Sagar, 1979, Christie, 1990, Gaganakis, 1990, Bot, 1990, Freer , 1992) argue that it is apparent that simply desegregating schools is not sufficient to ensure positive social learning. Teachers are at the forefront of the battle of desegregating schools yet very little if any assistance is given to them in the form of Inset in order that they may adequately prepare for the desegregated schooling. Teachers are so busy meeting the demands placed on them to produce immediate gains in academic performance that they hardly even have time to consider the ways in which the children's social experiences may promote or inhibit their academic development. The effects of the lack of teacher preparation was also identified by Akhurst (1998) and argued that due to the lack of clear guidelines for teachers in the changing education system much teacher practice is developed in a 'trial and error' way rather than being based in sound educational theory. Akhurst's point of view is supported by the Children's Legal Centre Report which recommended that UK teachers be trained in multi-cultural awareness and that mechanisms be put in place to provide guidance and support for teachers to help them prevent racism in schools. Compounding the lack of guidance for teachers is the fact that the teachers at the three schools had received their teacher training at ethnic institutions which had not prepared teachers for desegregated schools. Interestingly enough, teachers in Britain in 1986 (almost 30 years after desegregation began) were identified as needing staff development to address the issues of racism, cultural diversity, or the kind of curriculum needed if change to anti-racist multi-cultural education was to be successful. The following quotation from Lynch (1986) aptly sums up the importance of internal and external Inset:

> However good the policies and policy statements, it is the people who implement them who determine their effectiveness (cited in Massey , 1991:106).

Given the complexity of addressing difference, it must also be noted at this stage that all teachers, whatever their race, ethnic group or social class background, will not benefit to the same extent from identical training strategies (Banks,1981 cited in Massey, 1991)) which

clearly adds to the problems faced by education authorities in planning Inset programmes for culturally, ethnically, or racially diverse teachers. The issue of Inset and ways of approaching school based Inset are dealt with in great detail by Massey (1991), but will not be dealt with further as it falls beyond the scope of the Pietermaritzburg study.

What approach was used to cater for pupils from diverse cultural backgrounds?

In order to comment on the approach adopted by each of the schools to the process of accommodating pupils of diverse cultural backgrounds, it becomes necessary once again to focus on:
* the staff composition at each school,
* modifications to the curriculum (if any) to adapt to the changed classroom demographics and,
* the special provisions (or lack there of) made to accommodate the pupils from diverse cultural backgrounds.

The teaching staff composition at Polygala was, with the exception of one black teacher, entirely Indian. The possibility of the staff composition changing seems limited, given the principal's stated view that if the ethnicity of the staff became a crucial issue, then the possibility existed that the children would not necessarily get the best in terms of education. An attempt at assisting pupils to cope in an English medium school had been made via the LILT programme was not favourably received by the interviewees. Except for an extended lunch break to allow Muslim pupils to attend mosque, no special provisions were made for any of the other ethnic groups. The newly admitted black pupils at the school therefore had to:

* Accept the behaviour codes implemented at the school;
* adapt to the curriculum (formal and informal) of the school;
* accept the English medium of instruction policy;
* accept the norms, attitudes and beliefs of the teachers.

Given that the majority of pupils (as indicated by the interviewees) at Polygala were black and:
* that the teaching staff was almost entirely Indian,
* no adaptations had been made to the curriculum and;
* the school rules, norms and standards that had been deemed appropriate for Indian education, were still being applied,

then one can argue that the school had adopted an assimilationist approach as Watson (1992) explains, the immigrant groups (substitute with black pupils) or ethnic groups are expected to be absorbed, over a period of time, into the mainstream of the dominant group in society (dominant group by virtue of power at the school being the Indian teachers).

At Protea, the teachers were, with the exception of three, all coloured. Unlike Polygala, at Protea a deliberate effort had been made to modify the curriculum to assist the black pupils to cope with an English medium of instruction school, but the effort to assist pupils with English was by no means a unique feature, as Gillborn (1990) states that the teaching of English as a second language was in fact the first area of education that seriously attempted to address the presence of minority children in Britain. Similarly, in South Africa recent research confirms this trend (Pillay,1995; Carrim, 1992; Johnstone, 1992). In her research on English Second Language Teaching, Chundra (1998) argues that a minority language

(isiZulu in the case of Protea) is often connected with the problems of poverty, underachievement in school, minimal social and vocational ability and with a lack of integration with the majority culture. She further argues that in this perspective, language is thus perceived as a partial cause of social, economic and educational problems, rather than as an effect of such problems. The language mediation effort together with the following indicate that the assimilationist approach had been adopted at Protea:

- the majority of the pupils (as indicated by the interviewees) were black;
- the teaching staff was almost entirely coloured and;
- the school rules, norms and academic standards that had been deemed appropriate for coloured education, were still being applied.

At both Polygala and Protea, diversity was acknowledged by the teacher interviewees, but they were unable to state how the diversity was taken into consideration by themselves or their colleagues in their interaction with the children or in actual classroom practice, which implies that the status quo (pre desegregation) existed. At both the schools, teachers admitted that they were beginning to adapt to different mannerisms that they were encountering due to their interaction with the black pupils in the classroom and that their new-found experiences were beginning to influence the way they perceived their pupils. The interviewees' acknowledgement that they were beginning to notice 'difference' indicates that a possible shift away from assimilation would be possible if the teachers received INSET to prepare them to teach ethnically diverse classes.

At Strelitzia, the teaching staff was entirely white and would require Education Department intervention to change as the principal's views about black teachers clearly limited the possibility of their being employed at the school. All the interviewees indicated that all the pupils were treated as equals. However, assimilation was definitely the approach adopted at Strelitzia and the following points allude to this:

- The Christian ethos of the school was stressed by the principal during assembly as stated by one of the interviewees:

  > And the principal has always made very clear that whatever background you come from, when you come to this school, you will be in Christian assemblies, you will listen to English and Afrikaans, and so on. You know, it's made very clear to kids;

- no special provisions are made for any ethnic group except for a group of pupils who belong to the Jehovah's Witness faith;
- the views of the majority counted in determining policy (white pupils);
- the lack of any modifications to the curriculum to cater for pupils from diverse ethnic backgrounds and;
- no INSET around the issue of teaching multi-ethnic classes.

The comparison of the three schools reveals that the primary approach to desegregation adopted by the three schools, was one of assimilation.

To what extent did school/community links affect the pupil inter ethnic relationships?

Only Protea via its community outreach programme in the form of an adult education programme had a definite community link. At Polygala and Strelitzia, the school link with the community was restricted to the parents' committee. At the time of the interviews, all the

schools were preparing for the formation and election of governing bodies in terms of the South African Schools Act of 1996.

What cannot be ignored though is that whilst the schools did not have direct links with the various communities that they served, the indirect links had an influence on pupil relationships as stated by one of the interviewees at Strelitzia:

> I think it would be tremendously beneficial if, as well as our trying to get the pupils and the kids to integrate with one another, if we could try and get the parents too, because obviously kids - they internalise what they're getting from home, and in lots of discussions in the classroom you can actually hear white kids, for example, mouthing exactly what their parents have said, without very much understanding. And of course, when you argue with the kids, you're also arguing with the parents in the background, and so on.

The above point of view is supported by the reported resistance of parents of children at Polygala to desegregation. Attempting to get parents to integrate as suggested above would be ideal but the stark reality is that parental participation was largely determined by the location of the school. Interviewees at all three schools at some stage or the other mentioned the difficulty presented by apartheid group areas in getting parents to participate in school activities due to many parents (especially black) living great distances away from the school (no public transport after working hours). In fairness to the schools and the criticism of the ethos of the school not reflecting the pupil composition, one must acknowledge the difficulty faced by governing bodies and teachers in determining policy and trying to implement policies that they think are appropriate.

What are the similarities and differences in terms of teacher perceptions of pupil inter- ethnic relationships among the teachers at the three schools?

None of the teacher interviewees at Polygala and Protea saw any link between ethnicity and academic ability, but the interviewees at both schools identified the medium of instruction (English) as being a major problem area for the black pupils. Teachers therefore pinpointed the "language problem" as being primarily responsible for poor academic results by the black pupils (also see Chundra, 1998; Zafar, 1998; Carrim, 1998; Eybers, 1997).

The interviewees at all three schools indicated that generally, there was very little mixing among the different ethnic groups on the play fields during breaks. The following are some of the reasons forwarded by the teacher interviewees:

- The teacher interviewees at Polygala believed that pupils mixed with children whom they knew by virtue of the pupils travelling together to school, living in the same area, sharing a common language and culture;
- At Protea, the interviewees believed that there was very little mixing at the lower standards with an improvement in the higher standards, yet at Strelitzia the opposite was the case with two of the interviewees stating that they had noticed an increase in inter-ethnic relations at the lower standards, which they ascribed to teacher intervention.

The above points indicate that whilst teachers generally agree that there is very little inter-ethnic mixing, the reasoning for the lack of relationships and even their perceptions of

relationships at the different standard levels differ.

The interviewees at all three schools generally felt that making special provision on the basis of pupil or parental requests, would be quite difficult to accommodate. None of the interviewees believed that making special provision for any ethnic group would assist in promoting inter-ethnic relations.

The teacher interviewees at both Polygala and Protea believed that the pupils knew very little about each other's cultures . At Strelitzia, two of the interviewees who taught the junior classes, believed that the pupils were beginning to learn about each other's cultures due to an increase in interaction among the pupils. All the other interviewees at Strelitzia indicated that the pupils knew very little about each other's cultures.

All the interviewees without exception believed that teachers had a role to play in promoting better inter-ethnic relationships, but that this process was hampered by the fact that the teachers themselves knew very little about the ethnic backgrounds of their pupils. The pupils (67,5%) at Polygala believed that most teachers did a lot in promoting understanding. This belief (73,2%) was shared by the pupils at Protea. The pupils at Strelitzia (54,6%) also believed that the teachers helped to promote understanding between the different ethnic groups. What is noticeable though, is that pupil belief in teacher promotion of understanding was the lowest at Strelitzia. This indicates that a little less than half of the grade 9 pupils did not believe that their teachers promoted understanding.

Newspapers, teacher union activities/circulars, informal discussions and staff meetings were acknowledged by the interviewees at all three schools as contributing to their understanding of the Education Department's policy on the racial desegregation of the schools. Television, newspapers and informal discussions were identified by most of the interviewees at the three schools as having an influence on their understanding of cultural diversity. The Education Department's lack of influence on the teachers' understanding of the policy on racial desegregation as well as on the teachers' understanding of cultural diversity is notable, but the process of disseminating the contents of Education Department circulars was not explored at the three schools.

The data from question K1 of the teacher interview schedule (Annexure A, p. 89) were analysed to identify common concerns of teachers about education in general or their specific schools. No common themes were identified when the responses of the interviewees at the three schools were compared, but the following were significant:

- At Polygala, three of the five interviewees believed that the education department should have played a greater role in preparing teachers for the integrated classrooms.
- Teachers needed to be retrained in order to promote inter-ethnic relationships. This was identified at Polygala and at Protea.
- Greater community participation in the activities of the school was also identified as a concern at all three schools so that parents also became sensitised to the changes taking place.
- Pupils coming together from primary school integrated more easily as the pupils were more comfortable with the medium of instruction. This was stated at both

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Protea and Strelitzia.
-     The need to change the staff composition to reflect the pupil composition was identified at both Polygala and Protea.

The disillusionment of the teachers at Polygala about the lack of Education Department support was also identified by Chundra (1998) who stated:

> All teachers unreservedly condemned the educational management within their respective departments (HOD, HOR and NED) for the lack of support around ESL (English Second Language) and multicultural issues. They felt that the educational authorities should have taken a leading role in helping them deal with their problems (p.143).

Discussion of findings

The research questions (see p.14) were used as a framework for the discussion to limit the possibility of discussing many other emergent issues that lend themselves to further detailed study.

The teachers (all 16) who were interviewed **did not know their pupils' ethnic backgrounds** since no records were kept of ethnicity. Schools, and teachers in particular, have the responsibility to prepare pupils for integrated classes since pre 1994 residential segregation forced pupils to have their first relatively intimate and extended inter-racial experiences in schools. Whether racial hostility and stereotyping grow or diminish may be critically influenced by these first experiences. It is therefore vitally important that schools provide a socialising site that will assist pupils to interact in a non-racial school environment. This can only be done if the school and teachers specifically know enough about the backgrounds of the pupils to ensure that racial stereotyping is not promoted (also see du Toit, 1995). The possibility of stereotyping arising from teachers' lack of knowledge is also identified by Eybers *et al* who argue:

> Racists are frequently seen as people who do not know any better. People who hold this view believe that racists have not had the opportunity to meet and get to know people who are different from them. Their attitudes arise from their ignorance. As a result they tend to generalise about, and stereotype, other groups and form biased judgements (1997, p.20).

The teachers' lack of knowledge therefore nurtures the possibility of conflict arising between pupils and teachers in instances where pupils perceive the uninformed actions of teachers as being racist and vice versa. Teachers who categorize pupils on stereotypical lines demonstrate their own ignorance and put their pupils at risk. It is not to be expected of certain pupils that they should disprove the applicability to them of a stereotype based on their class, gender, or, particularly, race, but it is often a hidden agenda in the interaction between the white (Indian, coloured, black) teacher and ethnic minority/majority pupil (Klein, 1993:43). In this instance, the stereotype is a construct by the dominant group about the group which they wish to dominate. Stereotyping is not restricted to teachers, as pupils also stereotype teachers on the basis of their experiences.

A possible reason for the lack of information about the ethnicity of pupils at the schools in Pietermaritzburg was the race-less (colour-blind) approach adopted by schools. The idea that race was not considered by teachers could possibly be interpreted in the following way:

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- first, it could be a genuine attempt by teachers (schools) to accord pupils equal status to ensure that no pupils are made to feel inferior;
- second, teachers (schools) were attempting to ensure that terminology that racially categorised pupils was rejected;
- third, teachers quite simply did not know that there were other approaches (anti-racist approach) for dealing with integration and;
- fourth, the creation of ethnic profiles could be construed as an attempt by schools to ensure that racial quotas of pupils as required by the Clase models were maintained.

Teachers in some instances attempt to shield the stereotypical images that they had of students of different ethnic groups by professing not to see colour (Sleeter cited in McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993:131). The raceless approach adopted by the three schools in this study was similar to the approach adopted by schools in KwaZulu Natal researched by Carrim (1992), Penny *et al* (1993) and Zafar (1998). Whilst the number of schools researched is minute, it is clearly evident that the approach to catering for diversity has not changed in the desegregated schools. Desegregated schools in South Africa, in the main, favour children who are able to discard their ethnic affiliations and become raceless (Zafar, 1998:13). The raceless approach adopted by the desegregated schools ignores the existence of racism in South Africa and in the schools themselves by merely attempting to modify educational techniques and curricula without challenging the racist fabric of the educational system and the role players within that educational system.

The raceless approach adopted by the schools and the expectation that mere desegregation would promote positive pupil inter-ethnic relationships is sharply contradicted by the responses of the pupils (see appendix E , p.111).

None of the schools in the Pietermaritzburg study operated with any policy frameworks with specific reference to either the promotion of inter-ethnic relationships, or the handling of racial incidents or racism in general. All three schools had desegregated because of the declining pupil admission, hence desegregation was used as a means of maintaining the existence of the schools and the jobs of the teachers, rather than as a result of any policy on desegregation. The lack of institutional policy with reference to desegregation and the economic expediency of desegregating schools was also identified by Zafar (1998).

Data from the pupil questionnaires, indicate that simmering racial tension exists in varying degrees at the three schools. Strelitzia, on the basis of the teacher and pupil data, was most likely to experience open racial conflict and yet, as with the Polygala and Protea, did not have any policy on how to deal with racial conflict (see appendix E, p. 111). A major implication of the lack of policy, is that the schools would have to adopt crisis management strategies in the event of conflict arising.

Fifteen of the sixteen interviewees were generally unable to explain the education department's policy on the racial desegregation of schools yet the Verma *et al* (1994) study reported that virtually all the teachers were aware that their Local Education Authority had a policy on equal opportunities and anti racist/multi cultural education. This implies that the teachers in the Verma study were relatively better informed about policy issues as compared to the teachers in the Pietermaritzburg study.

A second finding of the study around policy was that none of the schools in the Pietermaritzburg study had their admissions criteria formally stated in a school policy document. This lack of official documentation around the admissions policy creates the possibility for the admissions criteria to be manipulated to include some applicants and exclude others purely on the whims and fancies of those in control of pupil admission. The South African Schools Act of 1996 sets out the official policy on admission of pupils. The South African Schools Act allows a high level of autonomy for school governing bodies to determine the nature and policies of their schools. The governing bodies in determining school policy, have to take into consideration the national legislation which upholds the rights of a child to basic education. The approach to pupil admissions at the three schools indicates that Polygala and Protea whilst not having formal admissions criteria, the approach adopted was in keeping with the provisions of the South African Schools Act in that admission was strictly on the basis of availability of accommodation. At Strelitzia on the other hand, the practice of admissions tests and interviews was in keeping with the approach adopted by Model C schools in 1990. All Model C schools used selection tests (Carrim, 1998). According to West *et al* (1998), there should be no pre-admission interviews (as at Strelitzia) as interviews provide an opportunity for schools to 'select' and 'select out' pupils using a range of different criteria which cannot be audited and so do not enable the admissions process to be transparent.

None of the schools in the Pietermaritzburg study were equipped by knowledge, experience, training or disposition to contribute to good pupil inter-ethnic relations for the following reasons:

- **Knowledge**: By their own admission, the teachers did not know enough about the ethnic backgrounds of their pupils. The lack of internal and external INSET around the issue of promoting pupil inter-ethnic relationships has also limited the teachers' knowledge of possible approaches to teaching multi- cultural classes.
- **Experience**: Fourteen of the sixteen teachers interviewed had been trained to teach specific race groups. Chundra (1998:178) argues that it is clear that teachers have to simultaneously confront opposing sets of challenges that result from the apartheid past which determined educational patterns of fragmentation (training), inequality and inefficiency, and the need to transform schools by incorporating key elements of anti-racist, multi-cultural policy.
- **Disposition**: The teachers' lack of knowledge pertaining to the teaching of multi-ethnic classes or the promotion of inter-ethnic relationships implies that they are not disposed to managing inter-ethnic conflict or to making curricular changes that could have a positive effect on inter-ethnic relationships. By implication, they were also unable to promote inter-ethnic understanding by virtue of their own lack of knowledge. The picture created about the teachers' disposition is purely on the basis of their lack of knowledge concerning multi-ethnic classes and the promotion of inter-ethnic relationships, yet in fairness to the interviewees, none of the interviewees expressed any hostility or adverse comments about desegregation to suggest that the interviewees were ill-disposed to the teaching of multi-ethnic classes or the promotion of inter-ethnic relationships. Teacher attitudes play a crucial role in determining the classroom environment as indicated by Gerard and Millar (1975) who refer to the work of Bandura and Sarason who suggest that modelling or imitation may be the mechanism mediating the relationship between the attitude of the adult authority figure and the child's behaviour. This would imply then

that a prejudiced teacher would, by his actions, induce a negative disposition in his pupils towards other ethnic groups. The opposite is also true, that a teacher seen to be making constructive efforts at promoting inter ethnic relationships, would motivate his pupils to relate to one another as in the case of the two teachers at Strelitzia who believed that their attempts at promoting interaction among ethnically diverse pupils in the lower standards, was actually promoting positive inter-ethnic relationships among the pupils.

All three schools in the Pietermaritzburg study attempted to assimilate the black pupils. All three schools had adopted a colour blind approach in that they emphasised the equality of pupils but at the same time ensured that the ethos of the school and community within which the schools were located, was enforced. All the interviewees (as in the Verma study) rejected crude racism but by their very actions of not acknowledging difference, they actually reinforced stereotypes such as using terms like 'disadvantaged' when describing either social status or academic achievement.

An assimilationist strategy allows the presence of different racial, cultural or ethnic groups within a single institution (Carrim and Mkwanazi, 1993) with the groups remaining distinct and separate with very little change in the behaviour of the dominant group and with minimum inter-group contact. The data analysis of the Pietermaritzburg study supports Carrim's description of the assimilationist strategy. At Polygala and Protea, the vast majority of the pupils were black, yet they had to adopt the ethos of the schools which were determined by the teachers who were predominantly Indian and Coloured respectively. Similarly, at Strelitzia, the principal made a point of informing pupils that they had to accept the Christian ethos of the school. The Strelitzia approach is typical of the approach identified by Carrim (1998) as an assumption consistent in white (Indian, coloured) supremacist logic, that the white (Indian, coloured) cultural ethos was superior, one that needed to be maintained and into which others needed to assimilate (also see Carrim and Sayed, 1991; Metcalfe, 1991; Muller,1992; Badat, 1992). The language of "us" and "them" used unconsciously by the interviewees at the three schools indicates that the teachers identified a difference between them and their pupils (black) who sought admission at the schools in order to obtain a better education. The teachers were reinforcing the notion of the host school's ethos being superior and that the pupils therefore had to adapt in order to succeed.

The Carrim (1992), Zafar (1998) and Pietermaritzburg (1999) studies clearly indicate that the assimilationist approach was the primary approach adopted by desegregated schools that were studied. These studies further reveal that apartheid reinforced identities (see Wedekind, 1992 ; Carrim, 1998) still played a significant role in terms of how the teachers described themselves and their pupils. Allied with the identities were stereotypes that the groups had about others.

Very few links existed between the schools and the communities that they served. This meant that the norms and standards of the communities that the schools traditionally served, applied (see discussion on page 69).

The state of pupil inter-ethnic relationships was perceived by the teachers as being poor. Justification for this assessment by the interviewees was that pupils tended to mingle

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with pupils who spoke their language, they travelled together or because they lived in the same neighbourhood. Verma *et al* state that in their study, they found a correlation between the quality of inter-ethnic relationships and the extent to which senior management were able and prepared to set a strong, positive and active tone. Verma *et al* state that on the other hand, there appeared to be an association between the quality of inter-ethnic relationships and the degree to which staff as a whole were actively and persistently engaged in monitoring them.

In the case of Strelitzia, the principal is reported as emphasising the Christian ethos of the school. This therefore would retard inter-ethnic relationships as a perception among some pupils of the superiority of the Christian faith could very easily develop and be seen by the pupils to be supported by the principal. The Strelitzia hostel master's alleged refusal to allow a black boy to be in charge of the hostel can also be cited as evidence of a lack of a whole school attempt at promoting inter-ethnic relationships. No evidence could be found at either Polygala or Protea of senior management taking an active role in promoting inter-ethnic relationships. The promotion of inter-ethnic relationships would therefore be left to activist teachers who had an individual desire to promote relationships. Verma *et al* argue that schools should be concerned that their teachers become inter-culturally literate, at least to some extent and in some areas and that cultural knowledge permeate all INSET programmes to avoid the temptation to devolve such matters to support staff or particular multi-cultural enthusiasts.

To summarise then, the key findings emerging from the Pietermaritzburg study are that:
- The teachers did not know their pupils' ethnic backgrounds.
- None of the schools operated with any policy frameworks with specific reference to either the promotion of inter-ethnic relationships, or the handling of racial incidents or racism in general.
- None of the schools were equipped by knowledge, experience, training or disposition to contribute to good pupil inter-ethnic relations.
- Assimilation was the primary approach adopted in response to desegregation.
- Very few links existed between the schools and the communities that they served.
- The state of pupil inter-ethnic relationships was perceived by the teachers as being poor.

The key findings of the Pietermaritzburg study were compared to the findings of the Verma study. We now refer to the comparison in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX
REFLECTING AND CONCLUDING

Introduction
The heading "Reflecting and Concluding" creates the impression of some sort of finality, but if anything, the discussion that follows indicates that desegregation of schools is a process and that in comparison to the USA, UK and Zimbabwe, the process has just begun in South Africa. A significant portion of the discussion revolves around a comparison of the Pietermaritzburg and Verma (1994) studies due to the replication of the latter, but pertinent information derived from other studies cited in the literature review (Chapter Two , p) were also used in an effort to highlight significant similarities and differences.

Headings were used in an effort to organise the discussion, but a great degree of overlap exists in terms of the key points discussed under the headings. The key findings of the Pietermaritzburg study were used to determine the headings.

Reflecting: Comparison of the Pietermaritzburg, Verma (1994) and other studies
The systematic replication of the Verma (1994) study revealed several important parallels and differences in terms of the process of desegregation at the schools in Pietermaritzburg and at schools in the UK, USA and Zimbabwe. Schools are part and parcel of communities and it was therefore necessary to reflect on the circumstances under which desegregation took place at Pietermaritzburg and the countries mentioned above. Understanding the context within which desegregation took place was considered necessary (by the researcher) in order to avoid unsubstantiated generalising.

At the time of school desegregation, Zimbabwe, South Africa and the USA had racially determined education policies. Schools therefore catered for specific racial groups in racially divided suburbs. The exception was the UK which had no racially determined education policies or segregated residential areas. Desegregation of schooling in the USA, Zimbabwe and South Africa in theory therefore attempted to remove racial restrictions on access to schooling.

The racial majority in the USA and UK was white, therefore blacks, Hispanics, Asians, West Indians etc were referred to as ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority children sought admission to schools of the ethnic majority. In the USA this meant that ethnic minority children were forced to travel to the schools that were located in the white suburbs. In the UK, the immigrants settled in the white suburbs and the immigrant children therefore attended schools in the suburbs where they resided. This also meant that white children remained in the majority at the schools in the UK. The case of South Africa was similar to that of the USA (children being bussed) in that black children seeking admission at white, coloured and Indian schools, had to travel great distances daily in order to attend schools in the former white, Indian and coloured suburbs. The geographic location of the schools and their feeder areas was the first significant difference between the schools in the Pietermaritzburg and Verma (1994) studies. The significance of this difference is discussed later in this chapter (School Community Links).

Desegregation

The circumstances under which desegregation took place in the USA, Zimbabwe and South Africa were to a degree similar. In the USA, the Supreme Court ruling (Brown vs Board of Education, 1954) resulted in segregated school provision being outlawed. In Zimbabwe, former white schools attempted to control desegregation during the period prior to independence (pre 1980) by applying exclusionary criteria in an effort to maintain the position of privelege. In South Africa, schools were forced to desegregate due to:

- declining pupil admissions at former white, Indian and coloured schools;
- the changing political climate of the early 1990s;
- the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the resultant change in demographics with whites moving from the inner cities to suburbs and blacks filling the vacuum created by the departing whites in the inner cities (Naidoo.1996:18);
- the emergence of informal settlements in and close to former restricted residential areas;
- opposition to 'gutter education' and parents' desire that their children obtain a reasonable standard of education (Hindle and Morrell, 1993:80) and;
- the South African Schools Act of 1996 which effectively banned segregated schooling in South Africa.

The points listed above have been deliberately repeated to show how the circumstances under which desegregation took place affect teacher perceptions of the process of desegregation. It is clear that teacher initiative in terms of promoting desegregation were minimal (overseas and local studies cited in literature review) and that teachers were effectively forced to react to the changing circumstances that they found themselves in. Data from the Pietermaritzburg study and other studies cited indicate that very little if any guidance was given to teachers by education authorities to prepare them for the multi-cultural classes. Teachers in the UK therefore reacted to the changed circumstances by resorting to the status quo that existed before desegregation, believing that the new pupils to the school had to make the adjustment to cope in the school. The deficit model which viewed the ethnic minority pupils as educationally disadvantaged by focussing on the recipients of education, the pupils and their communities and not the providers (Klein, 1993) was adopted. When looking at the process of desegregation at a broad level, it is clear that as in the UK, schools in South Africa (Zafar, 1998; Carrim, 1998 ;Akhurst,1998; Chundra, 1997) responded to desegregation by adopting assimilationist approaches. The consequence of the assimilationist approach is that :

> ...while many black students successfully enter white schools, they encounter a hostile, anti-cultural environment in which assumptions are fixed about what constitutes good schooling, appropriate language policy and the like. In such schools children learn a powerful not-always hidden curriculum: that English has status, Zulu not; that good teachers and role models are white; that appropriate history is European; and that failure is something that happens to nonwhite children (Jansen, 1998:102).

The quotation above does not make reference to Indian and coloured schools at which black pupils receive the same kinds of messages. In comparing the Pietermaritzburg and Verma (1994) studies, it is clear that the schools in Pietermaritzburg are at the stage of integration through compensation whilst the schools in the Verma (1994) study were grappling with multi-culturalism and anti-racism (using the six stages identified by Massey,1991:9-20). The

implication of this is that the schools in Pietermaritzburg were at a stage where they were still focussing on the perceived deficiencies of the recipients of education whilst the schools in the Verma (1994) study were focussing on both the recipients and providers of education.

In addition to assimilation, another interesting parallel in terms of desegregation, was the use of the colour blind approach adopted by desegregating schools in the UK and South Africa. What must be remembered is that teachers are products of their societies and that they are conditioned by the historic views of their societies. In the South African context, this would refer to differentiation race wise and the privileges that were coupled with race in terms of state funding prioritisation. The position of the researcher is that it would be naive to expect teachers (coming from a racist past such as that of South Africa) not to have stereotypical views. As was the case at the Pietermaritzburg schools, teachers in the UK in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, almost all were sincerely of the opinion that they were giving their ethnic minority pupils all the educational opportunities that they were already giving to white (coloured, Indian) pupils. This was clearly not the case as the teachers and the education system in particular had not made the transition from privileged education to education for all. The commonly expressed sentiment that teachers see pupils and not colour (Penny *et al*, 1992 ; Jansen,1998; Massey, 1991; CERI,1985) can have serious racist implications. Such an approach denies the relevance of minority groups' experiences, which usually includes racism.

It is worthwhile focussing on the main recommendations of the Swann Report (1985) which attempted to shift the focus of education in the UK away from assimilation to an education for all. These recommendations are important because they were attempting to remedy a phase of the desegregation process in the UK at which the Pietermaritzburg schools were at, at the time of the research. The main recommendations of the Swann report were:

- The fundamental change that is necessary is the recognition that the problem facing the education system in not how to educate children of ethnic minorities, but how to educate all children.
- Britain is a multi-racial and multi-cultural society and all pupils must be enabled to understand what this means.
- This challenge cannot be left to the separate and independent initiatives of LEAs and schools; only those with experience of substantial numbers of ethnic minority pupils have attempted to tackle it, though the issue affects all schools and pupils.
- Education has to be something more than the reinforcement of the beliefs, values and identity which each child brings to school.
- It is necessary to combat racism, to attack inherited myths and stereotypes, and the ways in which they are embodied in institutional practices.
- Multi-cultural understanding has also to permeate all aspects of a school's work. It is not a separate topic that can be welded onto existing practices.
- Only in this way can schools begin to offer anything approaching the equality of opportunity for all pupils which must be the aspiration of the education system to provide (Massey, 1991:20).

The Swann Report was commended by Verma (1989) for identifying for the first time that the issues and needs of ethnic minorities were tied up with the education of white children (supported by the findings of the Children's Legal Centre Report, 1999) , and that the notion of diversity in unity, which the Swann Report was promoting, was a bold challenge to the education system as a whole. The recommendations of the Swann Report make clear the understanding that tinkering with the education system is doomed to fail and that a clear

understanding of the need to cater for all childrens' needs to permeate all strata of the education system. The failure of that understanding was reflected in the process of desegregation at the schools in Pietermaritzburg. The teachers' (interviewees) lack of inter-cultural understanding and the related influence that had on teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction was but one of the symptoms of the unco-ordinated desegregation process.

Teacher Influences

Teachers are at the chalk face and their reactions in many instances shape the views of pupils. Some of the teachers at Strelitzia were accused of taking sides with white pupils and ignoring the plight of black pupils. This kind of pupil perception therefore means that the actions of a possible few, taint all the teachers at Strelitzia. Whilst not specifically labelling Strelitzia as practising institutional racism, what must be clear is that where institutions, and in this particular case schools, operate to the continued advantage of the majority (Strelitzia) or minority (Polygala and Protea) population, either intentionally or unintentionally, then one could very easily make a well founded claim that certain sectors of students are victims of institutional racism. Schools would therefore have to be ultra vigilant to ensure that school practices do not in any way disadvantage some whilst at the same time advantaging others.

In many instances, the teachers interviewed in Pietermaritzburg were quite positive about desegregation but stereotypes of their pupils emerged. The deficit model was used in describing the educational circumstances of predominantly the black pupils whilst no such "problems" existed when describing the Indian and coloured pupils at Strelitzia. Teachers often spoke about the fact that they had to adjust their "standards". Pupils were therefore seen as "problems" who needed remediation to bring them up to the standards of the host school. The attempted remediation took many forms such as the placement of black pupils in English Second Language classes at Strelitzia, the attempted implementation of the LIP programme at Protea and the LILT staff development programme at Polygala. Whilst recognising that teachers may have genuinely attempted to raise the educational standards of the educationally disadvantaged black children, the result was that the attempted remediation resulted in schools perpetuating segregation at classroom level. This attempted remediation was similar to the systems of referrals in Britain where pupils (predominantly West Indian) were referred to schools that catered predominantly for children who were identified as having a language "problem". Jansen (1998) argues that in many instances, children in the same class are segregated in reading groups which often turn out to be all white or all black. He further argues that the teachers' justification for such practices is likely to reflect on performance and ability rather than on race, thereby removing possible accusations of segregation from black parents while pacifying white parents that 'standards' will not drop as a result of the school accommodating black children. In fairness to the teachers, one needs to recognise the tremendous pressures placed upon the teachers in attempting to appease all parties but what must also be clearly identified is that such segregation has racial consequences for pupils in that they make assumptions based on race as they observe seating or reading group patterns in conjunction with other aspects of their schooling and daily lives.

The teacher interview schedule used in the Verma (1994) and Pietermaritzburg studies sought to elicit data to determine how knowledgeable teachers were about their pupils and whether the teacher's knowledge impacted on the teacher's practice and more importantly in promoting positive inter-ethnic relations among pupils. A striking similarity was that the

teachers in both studies admitted that they did not know enough about the backgrounds of their pupils and that in most cases the little that they knew stemmed from their own life experiences rather than from any staff development programmes. The teachers' lack of knowledge about their pupils was also referred to in the children's Legal Centre Report in which it was argued that when teachers and pupils were interviewed separately, it revealed a much greater awareness of racism among teachers.

Inset

The studies carried out by Zafar (1998) and Chundra (1998) highlighted the appeal of teachers for INSET around the issues of school desegregation and language policy. Similarly, the Pietermaritzburg study concluded that schools were simply left to their own devices with no support what so ever from the KZNDEC. INSET at school level and INSET initiated by the KZNDEC is vital for teachers have to be assisted to make the transition from the apartheid education system to that of the democratic South Africa. The point raised by Rosemary Gordan is especially important and warrants revisiting. Gordan argued that:

> I think that if you want to change an education system, you have to start with the teachers'. That's why I teach teachers how to teach. It's what I think is always neglected. It doesn't matter how much you change the curriculum, how much you alter the syllabus, if your teachers' attitudes and values are not changed, nothing's going to change (Frederikse, 1992:114).

The Pietermaritzburg study revealed that on the basis of pupil questionnaire reports, teachers were not really aware of the state of pupil inter-ethnic relationships. This would imply that teachers needed support to assist them in identifying potential inhibiters of positive pupil interactions in terms of teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil and curricular interventions. The problem facing the teachers at the Pietermaritzburg schools are not unique for the Verma (1994) study as well as the Childrens' Legal Centre Report also make specific reference to the need for more INSET to assist teachers to cope with the rapidly changing situation that they find themselves in. The lack of coping strategies coupled with the teachers' values that they carry from their apartheid past, makes a very strong case for intensive INSET.

The comparison of the Verma and Pietermaritzburg studies also revealed a significant difference in terms of policy formulation, policy application and Education Department support for schools and teachers. The significant role played by the LEA with reference to the schools in the Verma study, revealed that in instances where LEA's were pro-active when it came to anti-racist/multi-cultural policy formulation, then schools belonging to those LEAs' benefited. The Pietermaritzburg study on the other hand revealed that there was very little if any contact with KZNDEC officials with regard to such policy issues and yet teachers were looking to the KZNDEC to give them some sort of guidance.

School Community Links

No links of significance existed between the schools in the Pietermaritzburg study and the communities that the pupils came from. One has to remember that unlike the UK, many of the pupils did not reside in the immediate locality of the school. This therefore presented major difficulties for the schools to initiate meaningful links with the communities that they served. Practical difficulties such as poor transport infrastructure, working parents, parents reluctant to intervene because of historical inequality (race and education) and poor parental response to school meetings have made the creation of school-community links difficult. The difference

in terms of the locality of the school in relation to school community links between the schools in the Verma and Pietermaritzburg studies therefore preclude any possibility of meaningful lessons being learnt.

Macro vs Micro Education Policy
The teachers in the Verma study were on the whole more informed about education policies due to the LEA system. The LEA system made policy transmission much easier due to the relatively close working relationship between the LEA's and the schools and hence the similarity of approach to policy be it multi-cultural or anti-racist in nature. One must on the other hand remember that change in the UK has been taking place over a considerable period of time as compared to South Africa.

The teachers in the Pietermaritzburg study were on the whole ill informed about the link between macro and micro education policy. Possible reasons for the lack of knowledge stem from the following among others:
* change has been relatively recent;
* poor communication between the KZNDEC and schools;
* a lack of KZNDEC intervention in determining whether schools are applying macro policies;
* a lack of INSET programmes that tackle policy issues both on the part of school management and by the KZNDEC and;
* a lack of INSET around policy issues by teacher unions.

CONCLUSION
The teachers' perceptions of the process of desegregation at the three schools reveals a striking similarity to the literature on school desegregation locally and internationally in that changes to official education policy are often made without the participation of teachers. Policies are also implemented without preparing teachers for the resultant change that the policies imply. The management and teachers at the three schools were, as a result, left to their own devices to make sense of the changes taking place and thus made decisions on the basis of what they perceived to be correct in the circumstances.

The research findings will be presented to the three schools at which the study was located in an attempt to stimulate some form of INSET that would be directed at better preparing the teachers and pupils for the changes that are continuously taking place within the educational terrain. Hopefully, some mechanism would be initiated to involve the parents in the planning of and participation in programmes that seek to promote inter ethnic relationships.

The researcher attempted in as honest a way as possible, to present the opinions expressed by the interviewees on the issues around which the interview schedule was developed. The opinions expressed by the interviewees were on the whole very enlightening and made the researcher aware of the shortcomings inherent in the approach adopted by SADTU and the ANC in their promotion of desegregation. Whilst being a noble endeavour, more thought should have been given to preparing the teachers in particular for the changes that were being actively fought for. The lack of preparation was clearly evident in the sense that the researcher as an activist of both organisations was ill prepared for the change and yet there was an expectation that politically un-empowered teachers would adapt and make the transition to a desegregated system of education.

CHAPTER SEVEN
Limitations and Further Research

Limitations

The research on teacher perceptions of the process of school desegregation at three desegregated schools in Pietermaritzburg, worked within four important limitations:

- First, two of the Principals were recent appointments in an acting capacity and as such had not had the opportunity to impact in any significant way on many of the issues researched. Their 'containing role' was very temporary in nature and they were thus guarded about interfering with the status quo at the schools.

- Second, as indicated earlier, the criteria used for the selection of teachers during the Verma *et al* (1994) study could not be used due to the past teacher employment practices of the ex Education Departments.

- Third, the sample size was very small. The sample size had to be limited because the researcher was working alone, and yet at the same time had to ensure that the research sites were representative of the former Education Departments.

- Fourth, replicating research. The circumstances under which school desegregation took place in the UK (Verma *et al*, 1994) were very different to that of South Africa. The research instruments were therefore more suited to the UK although the modifications for local conditions, did to some measure allow for the comparative dimension. Attempting to replicate part of another research project is also very difficult as tampering with the research instruments would greatly reduce the comparative dimension and would introduce an element of researcher bias.

Areas for further research

The research findings very clearly highlighted the lack of interaction between the following role players:
- Education Department officials to whom teachers look for guidance;
- teachers who are at the chalk face and bear the brunt of change;
- parents who have to ensure that they keep abreast of educational reform;
- pupils who are faced with changing classroom dynamics;
- teacher unions that adopt policy which their members have to abide by.

The researcher believes that it is impossible to implement any form of educational reform without the participation of all the role players identified above.

Referring more specifically to the Pietermaritzburg study findings, the researcher believes that the following areas need immediate attention:
- Schools need to know their pupils better. This stems from the fact that teachers are unaware of the state of pupil inter-ethnic relationships and that the teachers could not really speak about their pupils due to a lack of knowledge. This implies that teachers have to begin looking at themselves and the resultant influence that their ideas and values have on the type of school that is presented to the pupils. Schools can only adapt to the pupils if the teachers are able to adapt to the changing circumstances and the researcher believes that the starting point to the adaptation

lies solely in the hands of the teachers.

- The department of Education also has to play its part in the transformation process by ensuring that it has the necessary infrastructure in place to support the initiatives of schools that are trying to transform. In addition, the Department of Education must play a more pro-active role of vetting the admission policies of schools to ensure that the schools are not perpetuating the process of segregation. The capacity building of school governing bodies is also an area of concern which is the responsibility of the Department of Education. School governing bodies have to be empowered to support the South African Schools Act which seeks to transform education provision. The duty of policing to ensure that the stipulations of the Schools Act are being practised is the sole responsibility of the Department of Education.

- Parents have been given wide ranging powers in terms of the Schools Act and concrete steps have to be taken by the Department of Education and school management to ensure that the rights of the parents are not eroded. parents have to be part of the transformation process for only then will they have an understanding of the problems facing schools and will therefore reinforce the transformation rather than undermine the process due to a lack of understanding that presently seems to be taking place. Schools will only be in a position to effect disciplinary and other school rules if they have the support and understanding of the school parent communities. This implies that schools have to begin a process of forging very strong ties with the communities that they serve. This is not going to be an easy process due to the vastness of the feeder area, but it nonetheless places the importance of schools understanding their pupils in perspective. If the school governing body together with the teachers is able to determine school policies that take into consideration the needs of all the pupils, then the vastness of the feeder area becomes secondary.

- Pupils need to be made aware that with rights come responsibilities. This implies that pupils need to play their part in the transformation process as well. Pupils will need to be presented with programmes that seek to put into perspective the balance that exists between rights and responsibilities by being made aware of how the democratic system works. The school curriculum must therefore be structured such that pupils are given an opportunity to influence yet at the same time respect and play their part in ensuring the ethos of the school works to the benefit of all the pupils and not just the values of particular communities.

Future research projects would therefore have to consider how the actions of the role players affect and influence one another be it at curriculum formulation or at policy development. A very valuable starting point is provided by the South African Schools Act which clearly states the roles and role functions of the various role players at the school. The researcher believes that if the South African Schools Act is used in conjunction with an anti-racist education programme, then schools would be better positioned to cater for diverse learners. Potential research could focus on the relationship between school based INSET and actual classroom practice. The body of research cited also identifies the need for research to move from a descriptive nature where the common descriptors are often assimilation, overt and covert racism, colour-blind approach and all students are equal etc. Research needs to begin focussing on actual classroom practice to determine how racism was addressed in lessons and how it was tackled as a problem among children. Hopefully, some idea of good practice would emerge and that this learning would be shared in promoting positive pupil interaction.

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Appendix A
Teacher Interview Schedule

INTER-RACE RELATIONSHIPS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
Teacher Interview Schedule

School _____ Date _____
A.1 Name_____ _____
_____

A.2 Sex M [ ] F [ ]   A.3 Age Under 26   26-35   36-45   46-55   over 55

A.4 Department and position held

A.5 Number of Years in the School   _____

A.6 How would you describe your race or racial group?

A.7   Do you speak any languages other than English?

Previous Experience and Initial Training
B.1 Have you had any previous teaching or other experience which has influenced your understanding of multi-racial or multi-cultural activities?
     Yes [ ] No [ ]
If yes : What kind of experience?

Initial Training
B.2 College/University and dates:

B.3 Main course subjects for initial training:

B.4 How effective was your initial training in preparing you for teaching in a multi-racial school?
     [   ] VERY   [   ] REASONABLY   [   ] NOT VERY   [   ] NOT AT ALL
     (Explore)

Externally Organised INSET

C.1   Please give brief details of any recent INSET or courses of further study attended <u>not</u> explicitly in multi-cultural or anti-racist issues and organised by <u>outside bodies</u> (e.g. Ed. Dept, Teacher Union, N.G.O). [Brief details of up to 2]

     a.

     b.

C.2 To what extent did the course(s) take account of multi-cultural/anti-racist matters?

	A LOT	SOME	VERY LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
a.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

C.3 Have you attended any externally organised INSET courses on multi-cultural or anti-racist   issues?
     (If 'No' go to D.1)   [   ] YES   [   ] NO

C.4 When was it? _____

C.5 Who provided it? _____

C.6 Describe briefly how the course was structured.

C.7 To what extent did the course affect:
   a. your understanding of different communities
   A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

   b. your awareness of multi-cultural/anti-racist issues in education
   A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

c. your self-awareness in such areas
   A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

   d. your ability to respond as a teacher
   A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

Any further comments on the course?

C.8 Did the school draw on your experiences gained on the course?
   A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

   Details of school response:

Admissions Policy
D.1 Is there an admissions policy at the school?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]   Don't know [ ]

D.2 Does the school have any particular admissions criteria for the different race groups?
   Yes [ ] (Explore)   No [ ]

D.3 Who makes the decision about whether a child is to be admitted/refused admission to the school?

D.4 When did the school begin to admit children from other race groups?

D.5 Why did the school begin to admit pupils from other race groups?

D.6 Were you personally happy about the process of admission of pupils from other race groups?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ] (explore)

D.7 What was the general opinion of members of the staff when the school began admitting pupils from other race groups?
   Happy [ ]   Unhappy [ ] (Explore) Don't know [ ]

Internally Organised INSET
E.1 Please give brief details of any recent INSET attended <u>not</u> explicitly on multi-cultural or anti-racist issues and organised by the school. [Brief details of up to 2]

   a.

   b.
E.2 To what extent did the course(s) take account of multi-cultural/anti-racist matters?

	A LOT	SOME	VERY LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
a.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

E.3 Have you attended any school-based INSET courses on multi-cultural or anti-racist issues?   (If 'No', go to F.1)   [ ] YES   [ ] NO

E.4 When was it? _____

E.5 Who was responsible for setting it up?

E.6 Describe briefly how the course was structured

E.7 To what extent did the course affect:
    a. your understanding of the different race groups
    A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

    b. your awareness of multi-cultural/anti-racist issues in education
    A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

    c. your self-awareness in such areas
    A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

    d. your ability to respond as a teacher
    A LOT [ ] SOME [ ]   VERY LITTLE [ ]   NOT AT ALL [ ]

Any further comments on the course?

E.8 Did the school use, develop or reinforce what you learnt on the course?

Personal Initiative
F.1 Please indicate whether any of the following have had an influence on your understanding of the policy on racial desegregation in schools"

	YES	NO
Television	[ ]	[ ]
Radio	[ ]	[ ]
Newspapers	[ ]	[ ]
Ed. Dept. Circulars/activities	[ ]	[ ]
Teacher Union Circulars/activities	[ ]	[ ]
Informal Discussions	[ ]	[ ]
Staff meetings	[ ]	[ ]

Other ?.................

F.2 Please indicate whether any of the following have had an influence on your understanding of cultural diversity:

	YES	NO
Television	[ ]	[ ]
Radio	[ ]	[ ]
Newspapers	[ ]	[ ]
Ed. Dept Circulars/activities	[ ]	[ ]
Teacher Union Circulars/activities	[ ]	[ ]
Informal Discussions	[ ]	[ ]

Staff Meetings [ ] [ ]

Other? ....

Policy

G.1 Does your Ed Dept have a policy on multi-cultural/anti-racist education or equal opportunities? (If 'No', go to G.3)

[ ] YES [ ] NO [ ] DON'T KNOW

G.2 What is your evaluation of the policy itself? (I'm going to ask you about the way it has worked in school later)

G.3 Does your SCHOOL have a policy on multi-cultural/anti-racist education or equal opportunities? (If 'No', go to E.7)

[ ] YES [ ] NO [ ] DON'T KNOW

G.4 Who was involved in its production?

ALL STAFF [ ] SENIOR STAFF [ ] HEAD ONLY [ ]
WORKING GROUP [ ]
OTHER [ ] (details) _____

G.5 What is your evaluation of the effectiveness of the policy?

G.6 How do you think other staff have responded to the policy:

G.7 If the school was to formulate a policy on multi-cultural/anti-racist education or equal opportunities, who would be responsible for drawing up the policy?

G.8 Are there sections of the general school policy which deal with similar issues?

G.9 What value do you think policies have in improving inter-ethnic understanding or relationships in the school?

[ ] NONE [ ] VERY LITTLE [ ] SOME [ ] A LOT (Explore)

Teacher's Role

H.1 How would you describe the racial composition of the teaching staff?

H.2 Is the racial composition of the staff in keeping with the racial composition of the pupils at the school?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Unsure [ ]

H.3 Do you consider it necessary for teachers to be aware of the cultural backgrounds of the pupils at school?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Explore

H.4 Are there any ways in which you see the <u>curriculum</u> contributing to the pupils' knowledge and understanding of other cultures or communities?

H.5 Are there any ways in which you see the curriculum contributing to better inter-ethnic <u>relationships</u> in the school?

(If 'Yes' ask for <u>evidence</u> and examples)

H.6 Does the school have a discipline problem?

Yes [ ] explore No [ ]

H.7 How would you describe the behaviour of the pupils of the different race groups?

H.8 Are there ways in which teachers are able to contribute to good inter-ethnic relationships in the school?

Pupils

I.1 Do you keep a record of the race of the pupils that you teach?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]
   If yes: How do you use these records?

If no: Why don't you keep such a record?

I.2 How would you describe the ethnic composition of the school?

I.3 Do you feel that children from any particular ethnic background do better or less well than others in some subject(s).   (If 'Yes' explore further)

1.4 Has the standard of education that is offered by the school been affected by the racial desegregation of the pupils?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]
   If yes how?
I.5 To what extent do children from the different ethnic groups mix with each other in school   (e.g. in class, school societies, playground etc.).
   [ ] A LO T [ ] TO SOME EXTENT   [ ] NOT MUCH[ ] NOT AT ALL
   (Explore)

I.6 Would you say that the degree of mixing is increasing or decreasing?
   [ ] INCREASING [ ] DECREASING   [ ] SAME
   (Reasons?)

I.7 Does the school make any particular provision for pupils from any ethnic, linguistic or religious groups?
   [ ] YES   [ ] NO [ ] DON'T KNOW

I.8 Have there been any requests for such provision from the community or pupils? (If 'Yes'   explore)
   [ ] YES   [ ] NO [ ] DON'T KNOW

I.9 To what extent can such provisions help or hinder inter-ethnic relationships in school?

I.10 How well do you think students in school know about each other's cultures or communities?

I.11 How would you describe the state of inter-ethnic <u>relationships</u> in this school in general?
   [ ] V. GOOD [ ] GOOD [ ] SATISFACTORY [ ] POOR [ ] V. POOR

I.12 Does the school have any policy for dealing with racial incidents? (If 'Yes' ask for details).
   [ ] YES   [ ] NO [ ] DON'T KNOW

I.13 What examples would you give which illustrate good inter-ethnic relationships in this   school?

I.14 Can you give any examples or illustrations of bad inter-ethnic relationships?

The Community

**J.1 Is the catchment area of the school restricted to it's immediate geographic location?   Yes [ ]
   No [ ]**

J.2 Would it be possible for you to briefly describe the communities that the school serves?

J.3 How would you describe the socio-economic background of the communities that the school serves?

J.4 What links does the school have with these communities?

J.5 How effective are these links in producing good relationships in school?

J.6 What are relationships like between different communities outside school?

J.7 To what extent do these relationships influence pupil relationships in school?

Additional Comments
K.1 Is there anything else you would like to add about your views on inter-ethnic relationships and education in general or in this school specifically?

Appendix B

<div style="border:1px solid">

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Relationships in School

Some Questions

</div>

This questionnaire is part of a research project being conducted by staff and students in the Department of Education at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

The Questions on this form are mainly about school and how people in school get on with each other. We would like you to think specifically about the people who are in your class and standard.

It is not an exam or test. There are no right or wrong answers.

Please answer each question by yourself as carefully and honestly as you can. Make sure that you understand the question being asked, and that you have read all the options that are given to you. Most of the questions require you to circle one or more numbers to indicate your choice. If you have any queries, as the person administering the questionnaire.

We do not want you to put your name on the form if you do not want to. Once you have handed it in, nobody will know that this is your form.

When you have finished, please read through your answers one more time in case you want to change or add anything.

</div>

Department of Education
University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg
P/Bag X01
Scottsville
3209
SOUTH AFRICA

Please turn to the next page

D	This section asks questions about you and the people you live with	
D1.	How old are you?	
D2.	Are you... **(Please circle a number)**	1♡ Female 2♡ Male
D3.	Do you stay in the school hostel?	1 Yes 2 No
D4.	Where do you live? **(Write down the name of the area where you live eg. Dambuza, Prestbury, Mountain Rise. If you live in the school hostel during term time, answer the these questions about the place where you stay during your school holidays)**	
D5.	Do you live in a .... **(please circle a number)**	1♡ House 2♡ Flat 3♡ Rented room 4♡ Shack/ Informal house
D6.	Who do you usually live with? **(Please circle number or numbers)**	1♡ Mother 2♡ Father 3♡ Sisters 4♡ Brothers 5♡ Grandmother 6♡ Grandfather 7♡ Aunt 8♡ Uncle 9♡ Cousins 10♡ Somebody (not a relative) 11♡ Alone 12♡ Other ....
D7.	At the house where you live does anyone have these things? **(Circle as many numbers as you need to)**	1♡ A toilet inside the house 2♡ A toilet outside the house 3♡ Electricity 4♡ A tap inside the house 5♡ Your own bed 6♡ Your own room 7♡ Your own desk/table 8♡ A radio 9♡ A television 10♡ A computer 11♡ Telephone 12♡ Fridge 13♡ Books 14♡ CD player 15♡ Bicycle 16♡ Motorbike 17♡ Car 18♡ Kombi

Please turn to the next page

D8.	Does your father work for money at the moment?	1♡ Yes 2♡ No >**Go to D10** 3♡ Don't know
D9.	What work does your father usually do?	....
D10.	Does your mother work for money at the moment?	1♡ Yes 2♡ No >**Go to D12** 3♡ Don't know
D11.	What work does your mother usually do?	....
D12.	Who else brings money into your home?	....
D13.	How do you usually get to and from school?	1♡ Walk 2♡ By bicycle 3♡ By parents' or friend's car 4♡ Hitch 5♡ By bus
D14.	How long does it usually take you to get to school?	1♡ Less than 15 minutes 2♡ Between 15 mins and 30mins 3♡ Between 30mins and 45mins 4♡ Between 45mins and 1 hour 5♡ More than 1 hour 6♡ More than 2 hours
D15.	These are some of the **languages** which are spoken in South Africa. Please circle the languages that you speak at home and with your friends. **(You may circle more than one number. Please do not circle numbers of languages you have only learnt as a school subject.)**	1♡ Afrikaans 2♡ English 3♡ isiMpondo 4♡ seSotho 5♡ siSwati 6♡ isiThonga 7♡ isiXhosa 8♡ isiZulu 9♡ Do you speak a language which is not in this list? If you do, please write the name here. ....
D16.	Which language do you mostly use when talking with your friends at school?	

95   **Please turn to the next page**

C	This section asks you to think about your classs and standard and the different types of pupils in it	
C1	These are some of the ways people in South Africa describe themselves. If you would describe yourself in any of these ways, please circle the number. **(You may circle more than one number)**	1♡ African 2♡ Afrikaans 3♡ Asian 4♡ Black 5♡ iBhaca 6♡ Coloured 7♡ English 8♡ European 9♡ Indian 10♡ iMpondo 11♡ moSotho 12♡ South African 13♡ mSwati 14♡ umThonga 15♡ muTswana 16♡ White 17♡ umXhosa 18♡ umZulu 19♡ Other: (Please write in the space) _____ _____

C2.	These are some **religious** communities in South Africa. If you feel that you belong to one, please circle the number.	1♡ African Traditional (amaDlozi)
		2♡ Buddhist
		3♡ Christian
		(please circle the denomination if applicable)
		  a♡ Anglican
		  b♡ Baptist
		  c♡ Catholic
		  d♡ Lutheran
		  e♡ Methodist
		  f♡ Pentecostal
		  g♡ Presbyterian
		  h♡ Shembe
		  i♡ ZCC (Zionist)
		  j♡ Other:
		
		_____
		
		4♡ Hindu
		5♡ Jewish
		6♡ Muslim
		7♡ Do you belong to a religious community or group not in this list? If so, please write the name here.
		
		_____
		
		8♡ I do not feel as if I belong to any religious community

Please turn to the next page

C3.	Think about your best friend or the person you would like to have as your best friend. Why do you like him or her the best?	
C4.	Think about your best friend or the person you would like to have as your best friend. Which of these things do you share in common with him or her? **(You may circle as many numbers as necessary)**	1♡ We speak the same language at home 2♡ We like the same music 3♡ We are both girls/boys (whichever you are) 4♡ We go to the same church/ mosque/ temple etc. 5♡ We are both from the same racial group 6♡ We play sport together 7♡ Our families know each other 8♡ We live in the same area
C5.	When do you and your friends see each other the most?	1♡ At school 2♡ After school 3♡ Over weekends 4♡ During school holidays
C6.	Where do you and your friends see each other?	1♡ At each others homes 2♡ At school 3♡ In the neighbourhood 4♡ At the shops/ mall 5♡ At church 6♡ At nightclubs 7♡ At sports clubs 8♡ In town 9♡ Other: (Please explain)
C7.	Are you part of any school clubs and societies?	1♡ Yes 2♡ No
C8.	Are you a member of a sports club or other society that is not connected to the school.	1♡ Yes 2♡ No
C9.	Please think about students in your standard who belong to communities or religious groups which are **different** from yours. How much do you think you know about the beliefs and the lifestyles of their communities or groups? **Please circle the number which is closest to your answer**	1♡ I know a lot about most of them 2♡ I know a lot about some of them but not others 3♡ I know quite a bit about most of them 4♡ I don't know very much about them 5♡ I don't know anything about them

Please turn to the next page

C10.	How much do you think students from other groups know about **your** beliefs and the way **you** live your life? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer)**	1♡ They know a lot 2♡ They know quite a bit 3♡ They don't know very much 4♡ They don't know anything
C11.	In general, how well do students from different beliefs, backgrounds, lifestyles or cultures get on with each other in school? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Usually they get on very well 2♡ Usually they get on quite well 3♡ Usually they don't get on well 4♡ Usually they don't get on at all
C12.	Do you sometimes get called names which you don't like in school? **(Please circle the number which is closest to you answer.)**	1♡ Never, > **If you circle this number please go straight to question C15.** 2♡ Not very often 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time
C13.	If you are called names which you don't like, what are they usually about? **(You may circle more than one number)**	1♡ Because I am a girl 2♡ Because I am a boy 3♡ Because of my religion 4♡ Because of my race or colour 5♡ Because of the language I speak 6♡ Because of the way I speak English 7♡ Because of my size 8♡ Because of where I live 9♡ Because my parents are poor 10♡ Because my parents are rich 11 Because of things that I do 12♡ Another reason. **If you want to,** write it here: _____ _____
C14.	If you are called names which you don't like, how does it make you feel? **(You may circle more than one number)**	1♡ It doesn't really bother me 2♡ I feel sad 3♡ I feel angry 4♡ I feel left out 5♡ I feel like getting my own back 6♡ I feel scared
C15.	In school, do **you** ever call other people names which **they** don't like? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Never. > **If you circle this number, please go straight on to question C18.** 2♡ Not very often 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time

C16.	If you do call other people names, what are they usually about? **(You may circle more than one number)**	1♡ Because they are a girl 2♡ Because they are a boy 3♡ Because of their religion 4♡ Because of their race or colour 5♡ Because of the language they speak 6♡ Because of the way they speak English 7♡ Because of their size 8♡ Because of where they live 9♡ Because their parents are poor 10♡ Because their parents are rich 11 Because of things that they do 12♡ Another reason. **If you want to,** write it here: _____ _____
C17.	If you do call other people names which they don't like, how do you think they feel? **(You may circle more than one number)**	1♡ It doesn't really bother them 2♡ They feel sad 3♡ They feel angry 4♡ They feel left out 5♡ They feel like getting their own back 6♡ They feel scared
C18.	Do people in school from backgrounds, cultures, communities or religions different from yours tell jokes about you or tease you? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Never. **If you circle this number, please go straight on to question C20.** 2♡ Not very often 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time
C19.	If people do tell jokes like this, how do you feel? **(You may circle more than one number.)**	1♡ I just ignore them 2♡ I usually find the jokes funny 3♡ I feel sad 4♡ I feel angry 5♡ I feel left out 6♡ I try to get my own back
C20.	Do **you** tell jokes or tease other students about their race or religion or colour or sex? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Never. **If you circle this number, please go straight on to question C22.** 2♡ Not very often 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time
C21.	If you do tell jokes like this or tease them, how do you think **they** feel? **(You may circle more than one number.)**	1♡ They just ignore them 2♡ They usually find the jokes funny 3♡ They feel sad 4♡ They feel angry 5♡ They feel left out 6♡ They try to get their own back

Please turn to the next page

C22.	Do you ever get bullied in school? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Never. **If you circle this number, please go straight on to question C24.** 2♡ Sometimes 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time
C23.	If you are bullied, what is usually the reason? **(You may circle than one number.)**	1♡ Because I am a girl 2♡ Because I am a boy 3♡ Because of my age 4♡ Because of my religion 5♡ Because of my race or colour 6♡ Because of the language I speak 7♡ Because of the way that I speak English 8♡ Because I am poor 9♡ Because I am rich 10♡ Because of the music they listen to 11♡ Another reason. **If you want to,** write it here. _____ _____
C24.	Do you ever bully other students in school? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Never. **If you circle this number, please go straight on to question C26.** 2♡ Sometimes 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time
C25.	If you do bully other students, what is usually the reason? **(You may circle more than one number.)**	1♡ Because they are a girl 2♡ Because they are a boy 3♡ Because of their age 4♡ Because of their religion 5♡ Because of their race or colour 6♡ Because of the language they speak 7♡ Because of the way they speak English 8♡ Because they are poor 9♡ Because they are rich 10♡ Because of the music they listen to 11♡ Another reason. **If you want to,** write it here: _____ _____
C26.	Do you ever feel excluded, sidelined or left out of activities in school? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Never. **If you circle this number, please go straight on to question C28.** 2♡ Sometimes 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time

Please turn to the next page

C27.	If you are excluded, sidelined or left out , what is usually the reason? **(You may circle than one number.)**	1♡ Because I am a girl 2♡ Because I am a boy 3♡ Because of my age 4♡ Because of my religion 5♡ Because of my race or colour 6♡ Because of the language I speak 7♡ Because of the way that I speak English 8♡ Because I am poor 9♡ Because I am rich 10♡ Because of the music they listen to 11♡ Another reason. **If you want to,** write it here.
C28.	Do you ever deliberately exclude, sideline or leave other students out of activities that you are involved with at school? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer.)**	1♡ Never. **If you circle this number, please go straight on to question C30.** 2♡ Sometimes 3♡ Quite a lot 4♡ All the time
C29.	If you do exclude, sideline or leave other students out, what is usually the reason? **(You may circle more than one number.)**	1♡ Because they are a girl 2♡ Because they are a boy 3♡ Because of their age 4♡ Because of their religion 5♡ Because of their race or colour 6♡ Because of the language they speak 7♡ Because of the way they speak English 8♡ Because they are poor 9♡ Because they are rich 10♡ Because of the music they listen to 11♡ Another reason. **If you want to,** write it here:
C30.	How much do you think your teachers understand the relationships between different groups in your standard?	1 They understand them a lot 2 They understand them quite well 3 They don't understand them very well 4 They don't understand them at all
C31.	Think about what your teachers do in situations where there is conflict or misunderstanding between pupils from different backgrounds, gender or culture. Do they...	1 Try to ignore or reduce the differences 2 Promote the differences as being good 3 Help you understand the differences 4 Another: **If you want to, write it here:**

Please turn to the next page

C32.	How much do you think most of your teachers do to help you understand about the different beliefs, lifestyles, backgrounds, or cultures of students in school? **(Please circle the number which is closest to your answer)**	1♡ Most teachers do a lot 2♡ Most teachers do quite a bit 3♡ Most teachers don't do very much 4♡ Most teachers don't do anything

O1. In this questionnaire we have focussed on some of the different groups in school. Please write here what you think are three main types of groups in your standard.

_____

_____

_____

_____

O2. If there is anything else you would like to say about your school or the different groups in it, please write it here.

_____

_____

_____

_____

There are no more questions to answer.

Thank you for filling in this form.

Before you hand in the form, please read through your answers one more time to check if you want to change any of them or add anything.

We would like to interview a few of the people who have responded to this

questionnaire. If you would be prepared to participate in an individual or group interview, please fill in your name below. Your name will not be made available to anyone other than the research team at the University of Natal and will not be made public.

I, _____ (Name) would be prepared to participate in a follow-up interview

Signed: _____

TEAR THIS SECTION OFF IF YOU WISH

APPENDIX C

The data presented in Table 3 resulted from interviewees being asked to indicate (yes) or (no) to the question:;

> Please indicate whether any of the following have had an influence on your understanding of the policy on racial desegregation in schools? (F1of Appendix A, p.104)

1 Television
2 Radio
3 Newspapers
4 Education Department Circulars/activities
5 Teacher Union Circulars/activities
6 Informal Discussions
7 Staff Meetings

Table 3: Sources of teacher's knowledge about policy on racial desegregation in schools.

	POLYGALA		PROTEA		STRELITZIA	
Question F1	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
1	2	3	5	0	3	3
2	1	4	3	0	2	4
3	5	0	4	1	4	2
4	2	3	2	3	3	3
5	5	0	4	1	3	3
6	4	1	5	0	6	0
7	5	0	5	0	6	0

The data presented in Table 4 resulted from the interviewees being asked to indicate (yes) or (no) to the question (F2 of Appendix A, page 81);

> Table 4: Please indicate whether any of the following have had an influence on your understanding of cultural diversity?

1 Television
2 Radio
3 Newspapers
4 Education Department Circulars/activities
5 Teacher Union Circulars/activities
6 Informal Discussions
7 Staff Meetings

Table 4: Influence on understanding of cultural diversity

	POLYGALA		PROTEA		STRELITZIA	
Question F2	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
1	4	1	5	0	4	2
2	3	2	2	3	2	4
3	5	0	5	0	5	1
4	2	3	1	4	0	6
5	4	1	1	4	2	4

6	4	1	2	3	6	2
7	2	3	5	0	4	2

Appendix D

Charts representing selected pupil questionnaire data

C9. Please think about students in your standard who belong t communities or religious groups which are **different** from yours. How much do you think you know about the beliefs and the lifestyles of their communities or groups?

**Chart1** below represents the pupil responses to question C9 of the pupil questionnaire for the three schools.
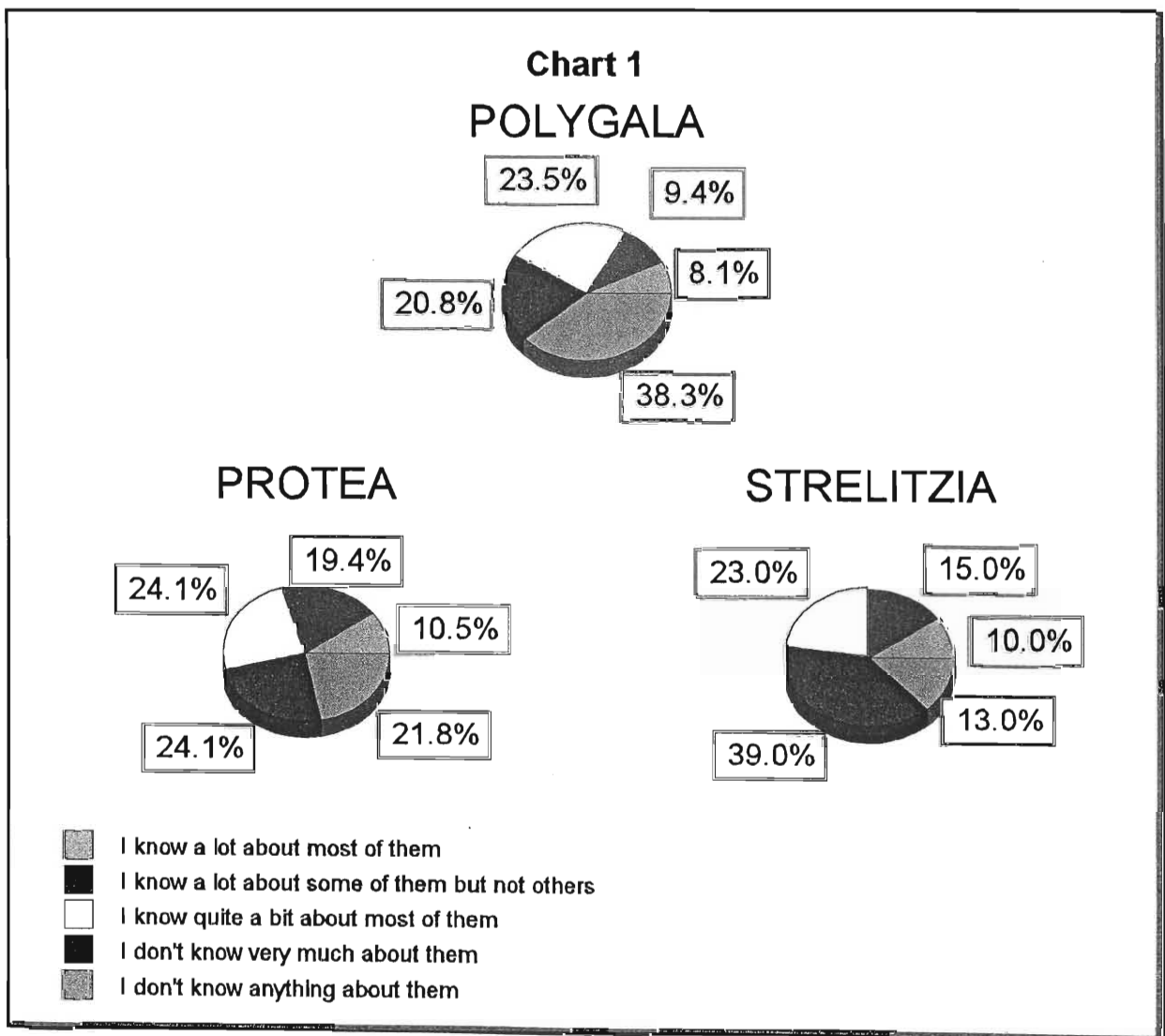
Chart 1

POLYGALA

23.5% 9.4%

8.1%

20.8%

38.3%

PROTEA

19.4%

24.1%

10.5%

24.1% 21.8%

STRELITZIA

23.0% 15.0%

10.0%

13.0%

39.0%

- I know a lot about most of them
- I know a lot about some of them but not others
- I know quite a bit about most of them
- I don't know very much about them
- I don't know anything about them

C10: How much do you think students from other groups know about **your** beliefs and the way **you** live your life?

Chart 2 below represents the pupil responses to question C10 of the pupil questionnaire for the three schools.

Chart 2:

POLYGALA

31.0%
14.6%
19.0%
35.4%

PROTEA

38.1%
17.9%
22.5%
21.5%

STRELITZIA

29.5%
12.4%
41.0%
17.1%
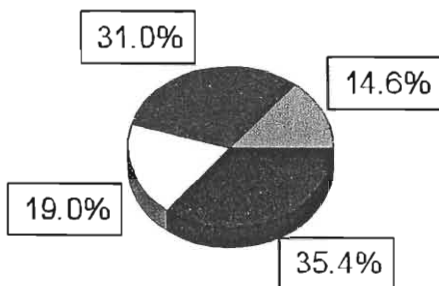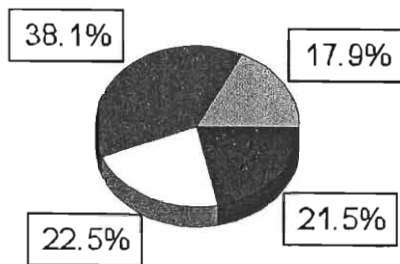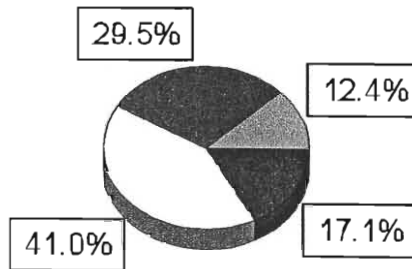
They know a lot
They don't know very much
They know quite a bit
They don't know anything

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C31: Think about what your teachers do in situations where there is conflict or misunderstanding between pupils from different backgrounds, gender or culture. Do they ......

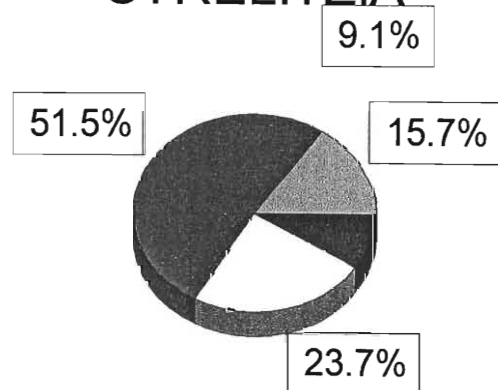**Chart 3** below represents the pupil responses to question C31 of the pupil questionnaire for the three schools.

Chart 3: Pupil interpretation of teacher management of conflict

POLYGALA

41.4%

14.4%

44.1%

PROTEA

35.3%

13.0%

51.6%

STRELITZIA

9.7%

20.6%

69.7%
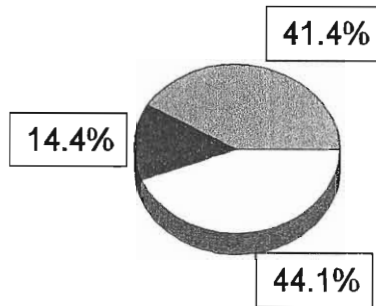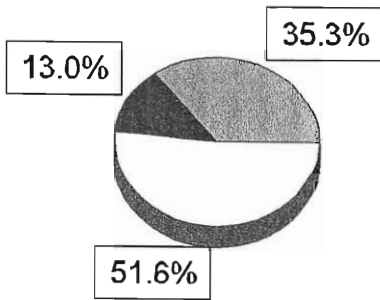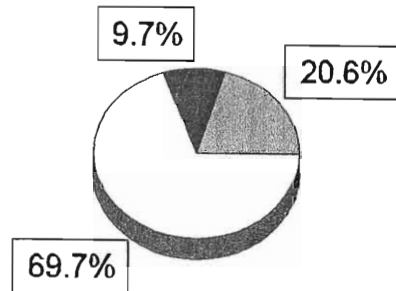
▒ Try to ignore or reduce the differences   ■ Promote the differences as being good

☐ Help you understand the differences

C30: How much do you think your teachers understand the relationships between different groups in your standard?

Chart 4 below represents the pupil responses to question C30 of the pupil questionnaire for the three schools.

Chart 4:

POLYGALA

37.6%

19.5%

15.8%

27.1%

PROTEA

28.4%

33.6%

19.2%

18.8%

STRELITZIA

37.7%

10.8%

16.7%

34.8%
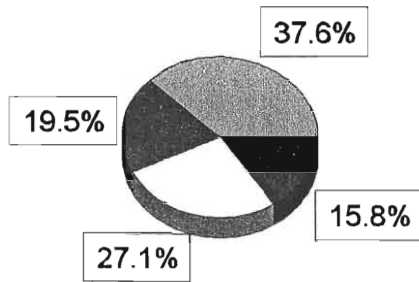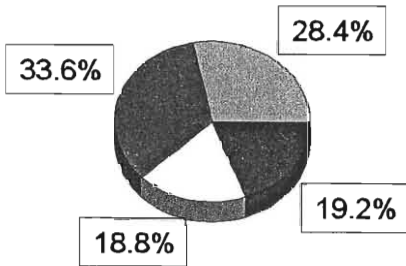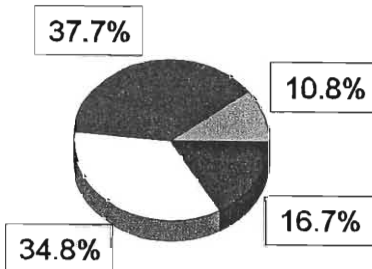
	They understand them a lot		They understand them quite well
	They don't understand them very well		they don't understand them at all

C11: In general, how well do students from different beliefs, backgrounds, lifestyles or cultures get on with each other

Chart 5 below represents the pupil responses to question C11 of the pupil questionnaire for the three schools.

Chart 5:

POLYGALA

29.6%

42.8%

7.9%

19.7%

PROTEA

23.0%

40.5%

2.9%

33.5%

STRELITZIA

9.1%

51.5%

15.7%

23.7%
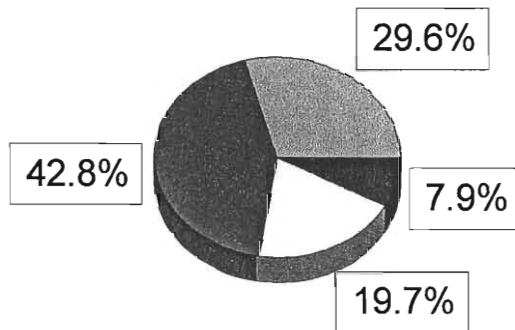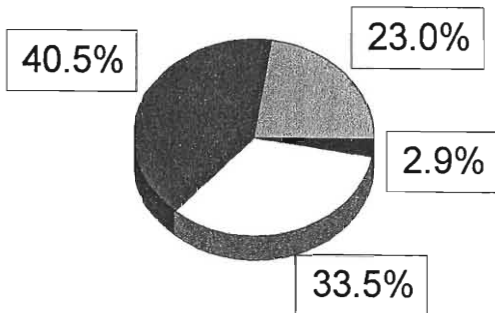
Usually they get on very well   Usually they get on quite well

Usually they don't get on well   Usually they don't get on at all

C32: How much do you think most of your teachers do to help you understand about the different beliefs, lifestyles, backgrounds, or cultures of students in school?

Chart 6 below represents the pupil responses to question C32 of the pupil questionnaire for the three schools.
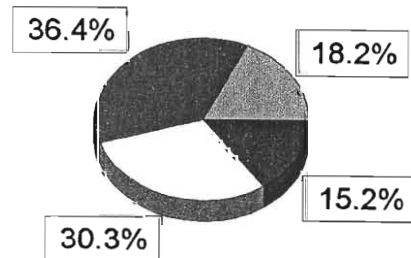
Chart 6:

POLYGALA

48.7%

18.8%

17.9%

14.5%

PROTEA

48.5%

11.3%

24.7%

15.5%

STRELITZIA

36.4%

18.2%

15.2%

30.3%
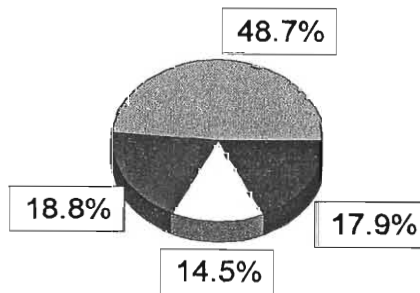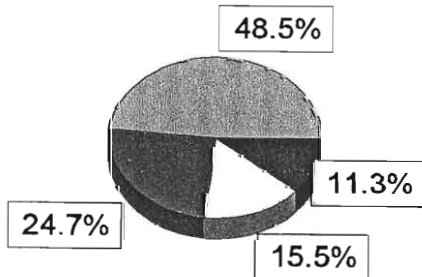
| | Most teachers do a lot | | Most teachers do quite a bit |
| Most teachers don't do very much | | Most teachers don't do anything |

APPENDIX E

Pupil responses to question O2 of the pupil questionnaire

PUPIL RESPONSES - (as stated by the pupils)
Strelitzia Secondary School
- The Afrikaners prefects don't treat us fair or in a polite way.
- Afrikaans prefects are very hostile to us blacks. They treat us like animals, they never care what we have to say about our side of the stories.
- Some prefects don't treat us well and some pupils are racist.

- People think they are big shots or cool. They tease you a lot. If they could just get rid of the blacks.
- Whites do not like blacks. (Wit mense hou nie van swartes nie)
- I think the moentus (moents) should go or they should become normal by thinking normal. The school should use the money they get and be more strict and lash all the naughty children.
- I would like to say that some teachers must stop to be prejudice because of our religion or because of where we live.
- The groups don't really get along.
- I think it is unfair for the whites to be blamed for litter and vandalism while the school does nothing to the blacks and coloureds who destroy and litter on school premises.
- Most groups do not want to interact with each other. They are scared or prejudiced towards one another.
- Most groups, for example different cultures, in fact colours don't get along. It's always blacks with blacks, whites with whites etc. Which is very unpleasant.
- The different groups keep to themselves.
- Most / some of the teachers are racialistic.
- You see the school teachers are racist and some of the children. If it werent good workshop I would'nt have come to this school. In this school if you black you stupid, poor and a thief.
- This school the teachers are not right, some of them are prejudice and don't like black pupils being the one who are successful. Since I've arrived theres never, been a deputy or head prefect, they make me sick.
- In this school when a white fights with a black and a black wins he gets a warning and if the white wins the teachers look and talk and start laughing.

- The back / colours people have a problem. They got attitudes and I wish someone would do something. They put their hands up your skirts and I don't appreciate it.
- There is often fights like different races for an example: black and white or black and coloured or white and coloured.
- The groups at school they don't get on at all.
- Sometimes it not a matter of groups it's a matter of colour racism and prejudice, people judge you because of your skin then fights start to arise at school.
- I also think that there is prejudice in our school, mostly are children or sometimes teachers.
- Teachers must take as the same Black or White.
- My school is a nice school, all the whites do nothing but, blacks do most of the trouble.
- The three groups usually fight in our school because of colour and differences and mostly because they think they are being racialistic. So when two people from different 'sides' fight everyone in the group help out because they think it's their fight as well, and just cause more conflict.
- The blacks think they own this school and they can do whatever they like. Well thats what it seems like.
- People fight a lot. Theres a lot of racial problems around the school. The teachers can't stop it, because they don't understand it and don't know about it.
- Most of the people are racist and say bad things about other cultures.
- The black boys and girls think they are going to get away with things because of the whole like new constitution.
- I think that it is wrong to call people names or insult them just because of the group they are in. I think English speaking people are much more friendlier than Afrikaans speaking.

Polygala Secondary School
- In our class we are only blacks.
- Indian pupils and their teachers discriminate against other races.

Protea Secondary School
- They (teachers) must not treat black people like dogs
- some teachers in my school if you don't understand they just don't care and some of them are discriminating the pupils. Some children should leave apartheid
- Our teachers still have apartheid
- some pupils discriminate others because of what they are
- Our school is divided
- The teacher does nothing except discriminating us.
- There are those who are racially segregative.