

**MANIFESTATIONS OF SOCIAL CLOSURE IN  
INTEGRATING STATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

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**BY**

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## ABSTRACT

This study considers the manifestations of social closure attitudes by pupils in the open white and Indian state secondary schools in the Durban and greater Durban areas. This study is contextualised with reference to the state's move towards semi-privatisation of the white state schools in South Africa, thus indicating a gradual shift from race to class subjectivities. Therefore, an argument is offered for the use of Parkin's social closure model which explains both race and class phenomena within the same explanatory framework. A multiple research strategy was used, with questionnaires being administered to 240 pupils, while interviews were held with 40 pupils. The viewpoints of both principals and teachers were also considered. Analyses of the results indicated that pupils of all three race groups (Africans, Indians and whites) displayed exclusionary attitudes. Furthermore, the admissions criteria used by the open schools were found to be operating under racist effects and served as an exclusionary device. The African pupils in this study formed part of a larger subordinate majority grouping and as such, displayed usurpationary attitudes, in terms of their aspirations and goals. "Speaking English" was found to be a salient category and served as a credential to gain access to advantages, and was also used as a justificatory basis for excluding other African pupils. This indicates evidence of dual closure. Finally, the middle class background of most of the African pupils within these open schools indicates that the open schools are catering for a very small sector of the African population. This will result in a small social category of "eligibles", while the majority of the African population will form part of the "ineligibles" or "outsiders", thus widening class inequalities within South African society.

**DECLARATION**

I, RUKSANA PATEL, declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science in the Department of Sociology, University of Natal, Durban. This dissertation has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

NAME OF CANDIDATE: \_\_\_\_\_



SIGNED ON THE \_\_\_\_\_

25

day of \_\_\_\_\_

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"Whenever I come to Cape Town, I make two little pilgrimages. One is to the University of Cape Town, my old Alma Mater, where the coffee is cheap; the other is to that other great seat of learning, the University of Western Cape. I don't go to the Vice-Chancellor's office or to the Dean of Education's office, I go to the student's toilets because there, I think, is the real seat of learning! On the walls of these toilets - and I can't help observing that even in that open institution I am excluded from at least 50 percent of the facilities - are pearls of wisdom, and I want to quote for you just one which I observed the other day. Written in a very neat hand, in a very strategic place were the words: "Education is the key". And in a somewhat less tidy hand was the question: "Then who made the bloody lock?" Below that was the reply: "The same bugger who made the key!" The point is that the education system is about exclusion as much as it is about access, and whenever we talk about schooling we have to bear that in mind".

**Peter Buckland**

**Transforming an Education System**

**"Schools for the future"**

**Conference**

**Cape Town**

**September, 1990**

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 PREAMBLE

February 2, 1990, marked a turning point in South African history with President De Klerk's "winds of change" speech revealing the state's inability to maintain power through coercion and repression. Reforms, restructuring and wider political change indicate the shift in political discourse from suppression to negotiation.

As part of the process of restructuring, reforms were initiated by the state in the educational sphere. These state reform initiatives permitted white, Indian and coloured state schools to open their doors to African children from the beginning of 1991. For most African children with a history of learning rooted in Bantu education, these reforms are regarded as a gateway to a better education and a better future. For political and community-based organisations, on the other hand, these reforms are viewed merely as an attempt by the state to restructure apartheid education by "giving it a new face". (Nzimande, 1991:3)

Furthermore, it has been claimed that the rigorous and unrealistic admissions selection procedures, together with the high fees being charged by the Model C schools, will result in the majority of African pupils being excluded, with only a handful who are deemed socially and academically

acceptable being admitted. This serves to create a majority of excluded "ineligibles" while the minority form part of a co-opted group of "eligibles". It is the contention of this study that this situation will merely serve to perpetuate and widen existing race and class inequalities within South African society.

## **1.2 THE AIM AND FOCUS OF THIS STUDY**

The main aim of this research is to examine the perceptions of white, Indian and African pupils within the open (desegregated) state schools in order to elicit evidence of social closure. A related aim is to examine the admissions criteria used by principals within these schools in order to establish whether these admissions criteria are used for exclusionary purposes.

In this study, an attitude is understood to be a latent or underlying variable that is assumed to guide or influence behaviour. Therefore, this study attempts to establish whether:

- (i) White and Indian pupils, as the dominant group within the open white and Indian state schools, display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.

- (ii) African pupils, as the co-opted group within the open state schools, display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.
- (iii) The attendance of African pupils at open state schools can be regarded as usurpationary social closure.
- (iv) African pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting dual closure.
- (v) Admissions criteria as implemented by principals within open state schools serve as a form of exclusionary social closure.

### **1.3 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS**

Since the opening of state schools in South Africa is a relatively recent phenomenon, research projects are still being conducted and most of these studies have not yet been published. Therefore, published literature with an academic orientation has been limited to the opening of the private schools in South Africa. The definitive work in this area is Christie's (1990) study which focuses on the private Catholic school in South Africa as a reform venture under apartheid. Using a Gramscian theoretical framework, Christie sought to examine the views of pupils on race and social change in South Africa. In her study, Christie used both qualitative



and quantitative research procedures to explore the extent to which the experience of attending a racially mixed school had challenged pupil's hegemonic racial assumptions. Christie found that while pupils favoured racial mixing, they tended to accept various state policies as legitimate. Therefore, Christie argues that simply opening the school and bringing pupils of the different race groups together does not challenge existing hegemonic assumptions, nor does it bring about a clearer understanding of the dynamics of race. Christie's work is important for this study for two reasons. Firstly, she predicted that state schools would be desegregated in 1990, a prediction which has been realised. Secondly, Christie suggested that issues which were outlined in her study, such as parent preferences, curriculum development and admissions tests, would be pertinent for the open state schools which would undergo a similar pattern of incremental change. (1990:135)

Another scholarly study which proved useful, especially in its theoretical orientation, was Gaganakis's (1990) study on the perceptions of African pupils in private schools. In the light of claims that these pupils are becoming "culturally" alienated and will form part of a co-opted black middle class, Gaganakis used an ethnographic method to conduct interviews with 30 African pupils. These interviews revealed themes such as "being black" adaptation at a social and academic level and future role choice and political views. Gaganakis's study is also theoretically innovative in that she analysed her data using both the interactionist/culturalist perspective and Parkin's social closure model.

Using Parkin's social closure model, Gaganakis concludes that the pupils in her study "constitute a usurpatory, exclusionary and excluded group in the transitory phase of becoming an elite". (1990:i)

The recent book on open schools by Freer (1992) is a collection of articles focusing solely on the private school system. Furthermore, Bot's (1990) book, "The blackboard debate", which traces the hurdles, options and opportunities for school integration, contains only brief references to the opening of state schools, concentrating rather on the private school system.

There are, however, two notable reports by the Education Policy Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand which deal with the issue of open state schools. The first report is by Metcalfe (1991) which focuses on the opening of white state schools in the Transvaal region. Metcalfe's study provides insightful statistics on the open schools and attempts to underpin the strategies of the state's desegregation policy. The second report by Carrim (1992) focuses on the open Indian and coloured state schools in the Transvaal region. Carrim's study is a brief attempt to locate the Indian and coloured school structures within the wider open schools debate. Both studies, however, are limited in that their treatment of open schools fails to look specifically at the dynamics operating within these schools.

This particular study differs from all of the above-mentioned literature in the following respects: firstly, this study was undertaken specifically in the

open state schools, thus departing from the previous emphasis on the open private schools. Secondly, the focus is on both the white and Indian schooling structures. Thirdly, the geographic location for this study was the Durban (Natal) region which differed from other studies which were located primarily in the Transvaal region. Fourthly, this study sought to investigate the perceptions of pupils from the African, Indian and white race groups, and the viewpoints of principals and teachers were also considered. Finally, with the exception of Christie's study, most studies tend to rely heavily on only one research procedure. This study, however, uses both qualitative and quantitative research procedures to elicit data.

The theoretical basis of this study draws on Frank Parkin's (1979) theory of social closure, with specific usage of his concepts of exclusionary social closure, usurpationary social closure and dual closure. These concepts will be dealt with in detail in Chapter Three. Using Parkin's social closure theory, the central question of this study deals with the extent and forms of social closure which are manifested by pupils of the different race groups within the open state schools. With the exception of Gaganakis's (1990) study which was discussed earlier, Parkin's social closure theory has not been used in an analysis of the education system or of credential closure, especially in South Africa. Therefore, this study addresses a lacuna in the existing literature.

It is intended that the importance of this research will be to highlight the issues and problems arising in open state schools which might prove useful

for educationalists and educational planners. This study looks at attitudes that could prove problematic for education in the near future. However, it is important to note that this research is exploratory and limited in terms of the number of open schools studied, the population of the study and the geographical location. Therefore, one cannot state that any significant results or relationships emerging from this study actually reflect the attitudes of all open school pupils or the policies of a typical open school. This is especially noteworthy since the open schools are operating in a fluid and ever-changing political context with the present small numbers of African pupils set to increase dramatically in the future. Furthermore, the different open schools in this study are characterised by a diversity of practices and there is also a lack of contact between these institutions.

South Africa has a unique educational system, one which is characterised by social inequalities. Most of the African pupil majority form part of an excluded group and are subjected to a disabling education system which is also deemed inferior. As a result, this study aims to focus solely on the South African context. International debates on the desegregation of education, for example, the American schools desegregation issue with the 1954 *Brown versus the Board of Education* debate that separate education could not be equal education, or the issue of bussing will not be addressed by this study.

The term "black" is generally used to refer globally to the African, Indian and coloured communities within South Africa. Tyson, Schlater and Cooper (1988) argue that the use of this broad term is appropriate since the major dichotomy in South Africa is a black-white dichotomy and as a result of the rejection of ethnicity by many politicised "blacks", a unity has developed amongst them. However, in this study, the specific ethnic group terms "African", "Indian" and "coloured", are used. This distinction is deemed necessary for two reasons: firstly, as this study focuses on both African and Indian pupils, the term "black" would merely create confusion. Secondly, it is the contention of this study that Africans and Indians are culturally and attitudinally different. Naidoo (1990) argues that observations of inter-racial interactions revealed that "African and Indian students did not automatically behave as a common group although they may have a common political ideal and similar political justifications". (1990:202) Therefore, Naidoo suggests that in future inter-racial work, especially with students with low inter-group identification, this global term should not be used. Furthermore, it has been claimed that a collective or global racial term serves to hide racial differences between the different ethnic groups.

Carrim and Mkwanzazi (1992) argue that

racism is not simply a white versus black issue. There are variations in experiences in racism within the black group and graduations of racism among them too. As a result the tendency to

homogenise all black people into the category of black not only crucifies the phenomenon of racism but also obfuscates the precise racist dynamics within the black population itself. (1992:21)

The term "open schools" is used in this study to refer to those schools which have a multiracial pupil population. However, the extent to which these schools are in fact "open" is debatable, and it was therefore decided to retain the dominant identity of the school - namely, white or Indian - for discussion purposes.

#### **1.4 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

Changes in the educational sphere were initiated subsequent to the announcement by the Minister of Education, Piet Clase (10 September, 1990), that the state had decided to open white state schools to all South Africans. On the other hand, Indian and coloured state schools had been "silently" open since 1985 and the Clase announcement merely served to increase the intake of African pupils. For the first time in the history of South African education, white state schools were given the opportunity of moving away from their racial heritage by allowing a small number of black (African, Indian and coloured) South African children the opportunities and privileges of white education.

The Clase proposals gave white parents the choice of voting for one of three models outlined as follows: Model A allows the state school to close

and re-open as a private school; Model B allows the school to remain a state school and allows the admission of blacks subject to admissions policies; Model C schools are semi-private with state aid and allow the entry of blacks subject to specific admissions criteria.

Clase attached certain provisions to the three models outlined above: firstly, all schools had to have a 51 percent white majority. Secondly, the national Christian character and ethos of the school had to be maintained. Thirdly, the management of the school would have to introduce appropriate selection criteria. Fourthly, the school did not have to initiate curriculum changes. Fifthly, the presence of black pupils did not necessitate the employment of black teachers. Finally, the financing of blacks would be the sole responsibility of the black parents. (Carrim and Sayed, 1991:22) Furthermore, in order for a particular model to be adopted, an 80 percent percentage poll and a 72 percent affirmative vote was required from the white parents.

By 1991, 209 (8 percent) of the 2537 white schools in South Africa had adopted one of the three models and had admitted 6059 black children, a mere 0.09 percent of the African school-going population. (SAIRR, 1991-1992:200) A breakdown of the 209 schools indicates that 206 schools adopted Model B, while only 3 schools in the Transvaal region adopted Model C and none of the schools adopted Model A. The predominance of Model B as a choice can be attributed to the low fees and compulsory schooling this model offered.

Metcalf, however, projected that

the tendency to adopt Model C may increase as greater understanding of the implications of this model is developed. While Model C status is financially more demanding of parents, it may be that the possibility of relative autonomy is an attractive option to parents faced with uncertainty over the nature of future educational reforms. Adopting Model B does not guarantee desegregation. All it does, is give a school the right to determine its own admissions policy. This could be more limiting than opening. (1991:24)

By the end of 1991, an additional model, Model D, was introduced. Model D is similar to Model B but places no restrictions on the number of black pupils enrolled. According to Carrim and Mkwanazi (1991:14), Model D was initiated for two reasons: firstly, despite opting for Model B, certain state schools were unable to enrol a sufficient number of pupils to avoid closing. Secondly, these schools could not enrol black pupils only since they were legally "white" schools. Therefore, the introduction of Model D allowed these schools to enrol more black pupils, while at the same time remaining economically viable.

By the beginning of 1992, the education scenario had once again changed with state pressure on Model B schools to convert to Model C status. The new Minister of Education, Org Marais, argued that white schools would



have to change to Model C as the government could no longer afford to fund white education. Furthermore, it was argued that under the old system of "own affairs" education, 11 000 teachers would be retrenched while under Model C, only 4000 teachers would be retrenched. (Carrim and Mkwanazi, 1992:15) Indian and coloured schools have also been threatened with Model C conversions, but this has so far been met with resistance from the Indian and coloured education departments. (Carrim and Mkwanazi, 1992:15)

Model C status requires the school's parent community to pay for the maintenance of buildings and administrative costs, while the state pays only teachers' salaries. In order to meet running costs, schools would have to drastically increase school fees, hire out school facilities, organise fundraising events and enlist the aid of the private sector. Therefore, Model C schools would engage in market relations with parents who would be the clientele. Furthermore, the semi-privatised nature of the Model C schools would ensure ever-increasing fees, thereby controlling access to these schools. Thus African pupils in particular would be excluded on economic rather than racial grounds.

This move towards privatisation of state education actually serves to widen the existing racial, class and social divisions within South African society. It has met with vehement criticism, as illustrated by Carrim and Sayed's protests that

in keeping with the state trends of deregulation and decentralisation, the Clase proposal's insistence on the school communities taking on the future of their schools, denationalises education and rids the state of most of their responsibility as they have done in the economy, housing, on regional and local council levels and in health services. (1991:23)

It is against this background that this study focuses on the open white (Model C) and Indian state schools in the Durban and greater Durban area.

This chapter has attempted to introduce the phenomenon of the opening of state schools by briefly locating it historically within the South African educational context. The next chapter considers the critiques of state policy on open schools and the evidence of race and class inequalities within the educational sphere. Chapter Three deals with social closure as the theoretical framework of this study. Chapter Four traces the research procedures used in this study. Chapter Five deals with the analysis of results, while Chapter Six interprets the results using Parkin's social closure model. In Chapter Seven, the conclusion, the results and implications for further research within open state schools are considered.

## CHAPTER TWO

### STATE REFORMS AND EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES

#### 2.1 EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AND INEQUALITIES

It has been argued that education, given the integral role it plays in both the political and economic processes, is equipped to either maintain the existing social order or to promote educational change. Education is also regarded as playing a redistributive role in shaping social inequalities of wealth and income. For Nasson, "the realities of power and social class and the organisation of socio-economic structure are perhaps nowhere more clearly revealed than in a country's educational institutions." (1990:1)

However, education on its own cannot reshape wealth and income distribution. It "needs to be integrated within a range of radical social policies which address distributive rules and unequal economic relations of the market order." (Nasson, 1990:2) Therefore, while education can play a role in the reproduction of the racial order and the relations of production in the transformation of a stratified system and redistribution of occupational opportunities, it should not be regarded as an autonomous social force. In other words, educational change must be linked to changes in the social, economic and political sphere.

The perception that the education system is an autonomous social force was held by the South African liberalist perspective during the 1960's. This liberalist perspective regarded education as being responsible for the placing of individuals in the occupational structure and for the shaping of the racially stratified system. Educational change was viewed as leading to social change which ensured equal access to educational opportunity and provided the means of entry into skilled, well-paid and high status employment. (Unterhalter and Wolpe, 1991(a):7-8)

Unterhalter and Wolpe (1991(a):8) argue that this liberalist perspective ensured that Bantu education was the mechanism for reproduction of white domination and inequality. No consideration was given to conditions external to the education system, such as the political and economic power held by white South Africans. This perspective is criticised for being narrow in focus as all societies have mechanisms of exclusion based on criteria other than education, for example, race, class, gender and religion.

Another theory which was advanced during the 1960's was the Human Capital Theory which advocated that educational investment would increase skills and productivity, and would generate wealth and economic development, thereby increasing life chances. The education system was also regarded as engaging with a free market for labour. Therefore, if there is a supply of skilled, well-paying jobs, the education system regulates the supply of labour with those who have the ability acquiring

educational credentials and gaining better paid jobs. This theory asserted that the expansion of educational opportunities would result in all sections of the population being able to acquire educational rewards which had been appropriated by the privileged elite groupings within society.

However, the notion that educational investment and expansion leads to a reduction in income disparities has been refuted by theorists such as Nasson (1990:88) who argued that expanded schooling within the United States and the United Kingdom has had little impact on income inequality. This argument is extended by Collins (1979) who suggested that beyond a general increase in overall literacy rates, there is no evidence of increased schooling guaranteeing increased earnings. Young, in his essay "The rise of meritocracy" (1961), questioned the assumption that equal educational opportunities would increase opportunities of social mobility and occupational positions. He argued rather that this situation could create further social stratification. Furthermore, Jencks (1972) argued that formal education does not necessarily result in increased occupational status and income levels. Therefore, while at the micro level there may be marginal mobility and individual advantage, at the macro level equal, educational opportunities and expanded schooling do not seem to reduce the unequal distribution of income and wealth.)

Nasson (1990:103) argues that since a more equal distribution of education cannot be expected to precipitate major changes in structures exhibiting economic and social inequality, South Africa, with its legacy of

segregation and unequal distribution of resources, cannot assume that investment in schooling will increase occupational and income opportunities. Research within the South African labour market by Gilmour and Roux (1984:40) indicated that job opportunities were not significantly improved by the acquisition of education. Furthermore, Unterhalter and Wolpe (1991(a):9) assert that the "deracialisation" of the education system would not necessarily alter the entry of individuals into occupations within the South African labour market since white monopoly over certain types of occupation would continue to exist.

### **2.1.1 Educational change and unequal class relations**

For some theorists, a more equitable social order is often regarded as being impossible to achieve through educational reform in a capitalist society which is structured by unequal relations of class, race and gender. According to Nasson

education is not a neutral force. It is a product of and is conditioned by the capitalist political economy of which it is an integral cultural component. As such the form, content and distribution of education mirror the distribution of power and autonomy in an unequal and hierarchical class society. (1990:95)

Kallaway (1984) argues that the South African education system should be viewed in terms of the needs of the dominant capitalist class. Therefore,

education should not be perceived as a means of social mobility but instead as a mechanism of the capitalist relations of production which leads to division within classes.

Social reproduction theorists argue that schooling reproduces the class structure of capitalist society with its inequalities of status, income and power. The work of such theorists, namely, Bernstein and Bourdieu who regard the primary role of schooling to be the reproduction of a class-based society will be discussed in this chapter.

Both Bernstein (1971) and Bourdieu (1977) argue that the education system perpetuates patterns of class relations through the transmission of established cultural traditions. They argue that knowledge is organised within educational institutions in order to reproduce class privileges.

✕ Bourdieu states that the organisation of knowledge ensures that only those with the requisite "cultural capital" will succeed. Bernstein (1971:239-241) further extends this argument by stating that class-based language codes are reinforced by schooling to reproduce a particular class structure. Therefore, by disguising the process of social reproduction with a system of certification which rewards merit, success and failure are regarded as natural patterns. Thus, both Bernstein and Bourdieu believe that the perpetuation of class power is not a direct consequence of the control exercised by dominant classes over the organisation of knowledge, but more of the way knowledge is structured to value certain cultural

characteristics. This ensures that the reproduction of class structure is disguised and legitimised.

For Bourdieu, the process of social reproduction is further legitimised by teachers. Teachers, as the managers and distributors of knowledge, play an important role in the reproduction and legitimation of social inequality. This point is reiterated by Keddie (1971:155) who argues that teachers categorise pupils largely on the basis of social class judgements of their social, moral and intellectual behaviour. Finally, both Bernstein and Bourdieu argue that the organisation of knowledge within schools will only change once different forms of cultural capital are valued. Therefore, any \*change in the education system would require a restructuring of class relations and power structures. However, Salter and Tapper (1981:26) argue that while social reproduction theorists such as Bernstein and Bourdieu consider the pressures which could stimulate educational change, they do not analyse the dynamics of the change process itself.

### **2.1.2 Educational change, ideology and legitimation**

Educational change is often regarded as having a dual function of legitimising a specific power grouping while acting as an agent of social control. According to Salter and Tapper

educational change must be viewed as a phenomenon which is negotiated in an institutional context under pressure from



economic, social and bureaucratic dynamics. Furthermore, that this negotiation of change is constrained by education's need to generate an ideology to legitimate both its own power and the social inequalities it helps to perpetuate. (1981:8)

Therefore, ideology and legitimation can be regarded as key components of the state's reform process in the educational sphere. For Weber (1968:953) "legitimacy is the generally observable need of any power or even of any advantage in life to justify itself". Furthermore, Van den Berg (1981:83) argues that the debate in education is not ultimately about equality or inequality; rather, it is about legitimacy. With regard to ideology, Berger and Luckmann (1971:141) argue that "ideology is the necessary instrument of legitimation. Legitimation cannot occur unless a particular definition of reality comes to be attached to a concrete power interest." Therefore, the function of ideology is to legitimise particular group interests both to members of the group and to outsiders.

For Marxists, legitimation, ideology and hegemony are based on ideas which are class-based. They serve to legitimise the economic and political power of the ruling class while suppressing the aspirations of the subject class. Carnoy (1982:81) argues that Marxists regard schooling as being reproduced in the interests of a particular social class. This implies the existence of class antagonism and the potential for class struggle and, therefore, class struggle forms the basis of a Marxian theory of educational change.

Gramsci (1971:3), expanding on Marxian educational theory, made a distinction between two types of intellectuals, namely, the "traditional" professional intellectuals whose function it is to build the hegemony of the dominant class and the "organic" intellectuals who are the thinking and organising elements of any social class. According to Gramsci (1971:12), the dominant classes, together with their own traditional intellectuals, reach into the subordinate classes for a certain number of traditional intellectuals. This serves to legitimise the dominant group while creating an ideology which transcends classes. For Gramsci, these working class traditional intellectuals cease to be organically linked to their class of origin and instead become agents of the bourgeoisie class.)

Gramsci divided capitalist society into two parts: political society and civil society. Political society refers to the state and its coercive apparatuses such as the army, police and prisons, while civil society refers to the private domain of churches, families and the education system. In both types of society, the state attempts to exercise control. In political society, control is based on violence, while in civil society, it operates through ideology. For Gramsci (1971:5), the state school is class structured and also serves as part of the state ideological device. Schools are regarded as creating intellectuals, maintaining bourgeois hegemony and serving as an important base for the maintenance of class-based power relations. Therefore, for Gramsci, proletarian hegemony or counter-hegemony can only be established outside of state schools, for example, through teacher unionisation. (Carnoy, 1982:90-91)

According to Salter and Tapper

education is therefore the critical institution in the social control function of the state because it can help to produce and to legitimise patterns of social inequality and mobility through a provision of a suitable rationale. (1981:7)

## **2.2 EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND STATE STRATEGY**

Social control by the state is evident in South Africa with its apartheid ideology which has generated a set of socio-economic problems and, together with the operation of race and class, has created a highly stratified society. The state's use of education as a tool in socially engineering a white-dominated society is manifested in the 8.3 million African children of school-going age who are out of school, the 814 562 (10 percent) school dropouts out of a total of 7 924 991 school-going African pupils and the growing unemployment rate among African youth. (SAIRR, 1991-1992:200-212)

These discrepancies in African education are a direct result of the apartheid system with its historical inequalities resulting in a higher teacher-pupil ratio; under-qualified teachers; overcrowded conditions; inadequate facilities; shortages of textbooks; high failure and dropout rates; and insufficient schools. White education, on the other hand, has been characterised by a low teacher-pupil ratio; highly qualified teachers;

and better facilities. According to Nasson (1990), the South African state with its apartheid education system has failed to provide a suitable rationale to legitimise its social order. Nasson (1990:48-49) therefore argues that genuine legitimacy can only come when education reform and strategies are linked to democratic political forces and when transformation of class inequalities is placed at the centre of its analysis.

The recent educational reforms in South African education can be linked to the ideological stance of the policy makers. The differences in policy formulation are illustrated by two policy initiatives. The educational policy emanating from the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) which was drawn up by a government committee in June, 1991, argued that race should no longer feature in the provision of education while a new education model should promote national unity. This policy document also proposed a decentralised education system which would depend on local community resources for its development. This is, however, contradictory, since residential segregation by race still exists, albeit despite legislative changes, and the unequal distribution of wealth and income would be reproduced. On the other hand, policy emanating from the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) which was adopted by the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) at the end of 1990, offers a contrasting proposal. This policy initiative states that policies must be judged against "their capacity to evade racial and gender inequalities, promote democracy in education,

reduces historical imbalances and produce a unitary education system."  
(Unterhalter et al, 1991(b):X1)

For Kallaway

the very act of planning and policy-making constitutes a political action which includes value judgements and statements of interest based on political or ideological foundations. Educational policies are an aspect of the struggle between different classes in society.  
(1984:2-3)

This ideological and political foundation is also evident in the recent educational reforms by the state, as illustrated by the following extract from President F.W. de Klerk's opening address to parliament on 1 February, 1991:

the government was fully aware of and deeply concerned about problems in education and recognised that renewal in education was essential... The present educational system shall and must be challenged... we are determined that our ultimate system of education shall enjoy the acceptance and support of the majority of the population. Education affects the future of everyone of us. If we wish to create a future South Africa without discrimination and with equality of opportunity, this will have to be true of education as well." (Hansard, 1991:15-16)

The above statement indicates that the goal of the ruling political party (the Nationalist Party) was no longer to maintain a racially-based education system. The desire to maintain white group domination is evident in the following statement by President de Klerk that

equality in education would be necessary to ensure South Africa was free of discrimination, but "autogenous" or own group education would have to remain an option ... distinctive or autogenous education, conducted with government assistance within a single system by those who desire it, has to remain an option.  
(Hansard, 1991:16)

Therefore, this adherence to the principle of segregated education despite public declarations about dismantling apartheid education is evidence of the contradictory policies being formulated by the state.

### **2.2.1 The Clase proposals as state strategy**

It has been argued that the Clase proposals which were initiated as part of the state reform strategy are merely an "attempt to modernise apartheid and give it a new face." (Nzimande, 1991:3)

In order to understand the nature of the Clase proposals, one needs to distinguish between the processes of reform and transformation. According to Carrim and Sayed

reformism refers to the strategy of the apartheid state to incorporate the black population into government without fundamentally restructuring the system as a whole. It also is an overt acknowledgement that the state can no longer continue to stifle the demands of the black population through force and brutality (while) transformation refers to a position that argues for a restructuring of the apartheid system itself, particularly with regard to the legacies of oppression, racism, sexism and exploitation. It regards an accommodation within the apartheid system as fundamentally inadequate primarily because historical inequalities are not effectively redressed. (1991:22)

In the light of the above definition, the Clase proposals can be viewed as an attempt by the state to reform conditions within the existing apartheid constitution without any fundamental changes occurring within the education system. This is reflected in the 1991 enrolment figures of 6 059 African pupils at open white state schools. This is a mere 0.09 percent of the total African school going population. (SAIRR, 1991-1992:200) The figures for the Indian and coloured state schools have not as yet been released. According to Carrim and Sayed, the Clase proposals are

more telling in their silence than their utterances. At best they are an attempt at reform, at worst they are administrative changes aimed at excluding the possibility of a single education department

being established and ensuring that most of apartheid education remains unchanged. (1991:22)

According to Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992), since the Clase proposals were recommended within the framework of the existing apartheid constitution, the opening of schools should be regarded as an attempt to deracialise schools but not as a structural attempt to desegregate schools. For Carrim and Mkwanazi, desegregation has a specific meaning whereby "a unitary non-racial and democratic education system for all South Africans should be the underlying basis of segregation." (1992:16) Furthermore, desegregation needs to be implemented at both the macro and micro-structural levels of the education system. At the micro level, the racial composition of staff; number of pupils of different race groups; nature of the curriculum; and the community to which the school is accountable, are important contributing factors towards desegregation.

Since less than 0.10 percent of the African school-going population have been admitted to white state schools (SAIRR, 1991-1992:200), one can assume that the school ethos, curriculum and methods of operation will not be challenged. African pupils are forced to become part of the dominant school structure, one whose ethos does not include their world views. This assimilatory approach has the effect of legitimising the dominant cultural framework, thereby seeming to protect white and, to a smaller extent, Indian and coloured privileges.



For Metcalfe (1991), the Clase proposals must be understood in their political context since

with the imminent prospect of the repeal of the population registration act<sup>1</sup>, schools will no longer be able to refuse a child entry on the basis of race alone. The Clase model schools, however determine admission not on the basis of race but on an assortment of criteria which in any dispensation will allow these schools to operate selectivity. (1991:44)

While objected to in the main, the Clase proposal is deemed significant in that it

creates the space for the progressive educational movement to meaningfully intervene in the white schooling process and provides the opportunity to further the struggle for a single, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic education department. (Carrim and Sayed, 1991:22)

Furthermore, Metcalfe (1991:42-43) argued that the significance of the Clase proposals becomes apparent in the following ways: firstly, this is the first sign of previously white state schools being allowed to house different

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<sup>1</sup> The Population Registration Act has subsequently been repealed - 1992.

racess under the same roof. Secondly, the Clase proposals provide an indication of the attitudes of white parents towards desegregation, with the politically conservative Afrikaans-medium state schools resisting desegregation. Thirdly, since only 8 percent of white schools have opted to open and the number of African children accepted into these open schools is minute, it is clear that the process of desegregation will occur very gradually in most of the white state schools. This situation differs, however, for the Indian state schools which have accepted larger numbers of African pupils. The Indian schools in this study had a higher African pupil enrolment than the white schools. (Refer to Tables 34 and 35, Appendix E.) Finally, the fact that many African parents have gone to great lengths to secure a place for their children at these white schools is an indication of the great crisis in African education and the high regard given to white schooling.

However, by associating privileged schooling with white education, Metcalfe (1991) warns that African parents have the

potential to be a conservative influence within the school as it is likely that having gained access to this highly valued resource, they might guard against further increased access of pupils who they might perceive to be a threat to the status and quality of this privileged schooling (while) those who have been selected are likely to believe themselves to have earned that right because of

the purportedly non-racial and meritocratic acceptance of students.  
(1991:43)

Carrim and Sayed (1992) argue that by accepting Model C status, white schools have become semi-privatised and insulated themselves

from any future redistribution of educational resources. A future government would be unable to take control of white schools because they would then be owned by a plurality of actors, both in the private sector and civil society. (1992:29)

Furthermore, it has been argued that Model C schools are subject to market forces with the preferences of the parents as the clientele being of the utmost importance. Therefore, greater parental involvement would on the one hand ensure that the state did not use the school for its own ideological propagation while on the other hand, such power might be abused by parents who could, for example, dismiss radical teachers and prevent the employment of African teachers. Therefore, Model C poses a threat to teachers who are totally accountable to the whims of the school's management council and parent body. According to Carrim and Sayed (1992), by shifting the control of education from the state to the school, the state manages to shift any educational conflict onto teachers and parents whilst increasing "its legitimacy by appearing to give parents more choice." (1992:29)

It has also been argued that the ever-increasing fees within the Model C schools will eventually lead to only a privileged few being able to afford such education. Most working class children would be denied access to these schools. Therefore, while the school would be portrayed as "deracialised", existing social inequalities would be maintained. Carrim and Sayed argue that

Model C conversions attempt to place class at the centre of the stage while deracialising educational provisions. In this way inequality is perpetuated in the name of "choice" and "democracy".  
(1992:29)

### **2.2.2 Modern racism and the open schools**

For Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992), racism under apartheid can be termed "old-fashion" racism. This refers to the "systematic oppression of people of colour which occurs at the individual, interpersonal, institutional and/or cultural levels". (1992:1) "Modern" racism on the other hand, is implicit and is characterised by the use of non-race related reasons to continue to deny blacks equal access to opportunity". (Carrim and Mkwanazi, 1992:2) Conscious or unconscious attitudes which serve to uphold the superiority of one's own race group would therefore constitute a form of "modern" racism.

The opening of state schools, with their limited access to Africans, the maintaining of a white, Indian or coloured majority within the school and the use of entrance criteria such as entrance tests which exclude most of the African applicants, indicates a shift from "old-fashion" racism to "modern" or "inferential" racism.

Furthermore, institutional forms of racism occur within open schools in the form of cultural assertions of identity which serve to protect particular social class or racial patterns. Therefore, an Indian school wishing to maintain its Indian heritage could opt to remain Indian by means of restrictive admissions policies. This form of cultural exclusivity effectively disguises racial exclusivity. For Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992:19), modern racism within the open schools is reflected on the level of staff interactions, teacher-pupil interactions, pupil-pupil interactions and through the cultural assertions of identity on the part of the majority of the school community.

### **2.3 ADMISSIONS POLICIES**

Prior to opening to all race groups, state schools had operated on a first-come first-served basis, whereby all pupils (of the appropriate race group) in that particular geographic region were admitted. However, with the introduction of the Cluse proposals and the envisaged entry of a wide range of pupils from different schooling backgrounds, a need for admissions policies arose.

Both white and Indian state schools' anxiety around issues of "standards"; English as a second language; the different cultural backgrounds of pupils; age of pupils; lack of exposure to the conceptual scheme of a particular subject; and the nature of teacher-pupil and pupil-teacher relations have justified the use of admissions policies.

Admissions policies are usually in the form of entrance tests which are used to screen prospective pupils on the basis of academic ability. These entrance tests range from formal examinations and standardised tests to essay writing and interviews. It has been argued by educationalists that the purpose of entrance tests is to establish whether pupils can cope with the curriculum. This implies that the curriculum and "standards" by which coping is measured are those of the dominant white or Indian education system, thus indicating an assimilatory approach.

Christie (1990:133), writing in relation to the open private schools, argued that these schools were reluctant to "lower" what they saw as "worthwhile standards", while in an extreme form, an admissions policy could mean that maintaining standards would result in very few African pupils being admitted to open schools. Furthermore, by simply accepting the academic reports of the Indian and white pupils and subjecting only the African pupils to entrance tests, open schools are demonstrating racist admissions policies.

### **2.3.1 Admissions policies and meritocracy**

These entrance tests which result in the exclusion of most African applicants on the basis of objective test performance, ignore the unequal starting points of Africans within the education system and are indicative of meritocracy. Christie and Butler (1988) state that

meritocracy assumes that individuals are free and equal and should be given an equitable opportunity to prove their worth. They are not to be prejudged because of their racial classification group, rather they are to be given an opportunity to establish their suitability as individuals. If individual children do not meet the required criteria then meritocratic principles provide just and reasonable grounds for excluding them from the schools. (1988:47)

Therefore, by acknowledging that state education for the different race groups is grossly unequal in quality, it becomes apparent that meritocratic entrance testing should not be enforced since a focus on individual children ignores the fact that their social situations are diverse.

While entrance tests may be effective in selecting individuals, they do not address initial inequalities. Christie (1990) argues that

by claiming equity of treatment in a situation where people do not have equal chances, the use of admissions test sidesteps initial

inequalities without confronting political reasons for failure. Thus they offer an individual level response to a structural social problem. (1990:134)

This is reiterated by Bourdieu (1977) who argued that

in fact to penalise the underprivileged and favour the most privileged the school has only to neglect in its teaching methods and techniques and its criteria when making academic judgements, to take into account the cultural inequalities between children of different social classes. In other words, by treating all pupils, however unequal they may be in reality, as equal in rights and duties, the educational system is led to give de facto sanction to initial cultural inequalities. (1977:113)

Therefore, the formal education system can be regarded as the protector of social privilege by means of cultural inequalities which are in effect class inequalities. Thus, admissions policies may ironically serve to

increase initial inequalities between black children by favouring those who are already able to succeed in reaching white performance levels in admissions tests. Those whose education backgrounds are poorest in relation to white education are the very students whom open schools exclude because of inadequate performance on entry tests. (Christie and Butler, 1988:49)



### **2.3.2 Admissions policies and assimilationism**

In addition to judging whether pupils would fit in academically, entrance tests are used to discern which pupils would fit most easily into the existing social framework of the school. For Christie (1990:134), this is an assimilatory approach which takes white (also Indian) education to be the norm and seeks to assimilate African children into this norm.

Assimilatory admissions criteria include age and language.(Christie and Butler, 1988:50-51) By using age as a criterion in order to admit African pupils, one finds that the average age of the dominant group is regarded as the norm. However, this age criterion ignores the fact that many African pupils are older than their white or Indian counterparts, due to their protracted educational experiences. This serves to place them well outside the age limit imposed by these state schools.

The language criterion stipulates that all prospective pupils should be fluent in English. This serves to exclude most African pupils who have been taught English as a second language or, in some cases, not at all. Therefore, both the age and language admissions criteria serve to uphold the norms of the dominant race group within the schools. Furthermore, by rejecting those who, because of age and language would require adjustment, these open schools are using an assimilatory approach.

### 2.3.3 Changes in admissions policies

Butler and Kriel (1991:4-5) argue that entrance tests merely serve to filter out pupils from an educationally disadvantaged background without ascertaining the intellectual or social potential of these individuals. Therefore, certain open schools have attempted to avoid the problem of testing by using intelligent quotient tests to test for ability rather than achievement. However, these tests have been vehemently opposed due to their cultural and linguistic bias which allows certain pupils with the requisite cultural capital to be at an advantage. Other open schools have chosen to avoid testing altogether and, instead, principals interview both the prospective pupils and their parents. Selection is then based on impressions gained from these interviews. This process is also problematic since clear criteria would still be required for selecting one pupil over another.

According to Butler and Kriel (1991:2) admissions policies should change in response to a changing environment. They emphasise that admissions policies should not be regarded as the end point of admissions since curriculum changes and other internal changes need to accompany broader, changing admissions patterns.

Butler and Kriel (199:6) offer the following guidelines for admissions policy. Firstly, any criteria which can be construed as racist should be avoided. Secondly, criteria which are educationally justifiable need to be

used. Thirdly, criteria which are too detailed or quantified should be avoided as they do not allow for flexibility. Finally, an annual review of admissions policy is required in order to accommodate changing circumstances.

It can be concluded that by selectively admitting a small number of African pupils, the admissions policies implemented by white and Indian state schools become effective agents against any fundamental changes occurring within the school. This allows white and Indian schools to continue to exist, together with all their privileges, under the guise of open schools.

#### **2.4 EDUCATION, REFORM AND SOCIAL CLASS**

While previous sections of this chapter have pointed to the critical role the state plays in legitimating inequalities in the educational sphere, the nature of the reforms by the South African state indicates the need for a shift in focus from the state to the people; hence, the move towards semi-privatisation of state control of educational structures and control by the dominant groups within these state schools. This study attempts to illustrate, through the use of social closure as an explanatory framework, how the behaviour of different classes is manifested through their social class practices, irrespective of the state's role.

Furthermore, the view that the state schooling system within South Africa is uniform and monolithic needs to be contested. Morris's study (1986:26-30) on the relationship between social class and school performance indicates a substantial difference in matric results obtained at a selection of white schools in the Cape Town region. Morris (1986:31) argues that these results confirm the crucial importance of social class as a factor in differentiating state schools from each other.

The recent moves by the state towards privatisation (in the form of the Cluse reforms) and the proposed streaming of education into academic and vocationally-based secondary education have been strongly objected to on the grounds that they serve to reproduce and enlarge class divisions and inequalities within the occupational order. Levin (1988) argues that fee-paying and privatisation create a class-based education system, while streaming allows the children of the petty bourgeoisie to acquire a more academically-based education and enter into professional occupations or acquire managerial skills, whereas working class children of all race groups would be compelled to follow a vocationally-based education due to the high fees at academic institutions. Nasson (1990:71) argues that this would result in white education becoming a "site of fitful class conflict", with pupils from working class families attending schools with lower provisions while rich middle class communities maintained better facilities. This move by the state towards limiting funds to basic services within the education sphere is a further indication of the state's intention to reduce its social welfare role within South African society.

Furthermore, by creating opportunities and benefits for a limited number of Africans to enter open state schools, the state is seeking to further the creation of an African middle class which will serve as a buffer between white and Indian minority privileges and the militant demands of the African majority. This argument is reiterated by Nkomo (1990) who states that the South African government has introduced a reform program which

does not address the essentials of apartheid but merely seeks to forge a new coalition incorporating a stratum of blacks who will serve as junior partners in a governance system in which white dominance remains fundamentally intact ... This "depoliticisation" of blacks through "deracialisation" aims at subordinating race to class - in other words, the extension of truncated economic concession to a small fraction of blacks without extending congruent political rights would seduce them enough to divert attention from collective black political rights and instead concentrate on the protection of their economic class interests. (1990:13)

The state's education reforms therefore attempt to eliminate prescriptive white racial privilege and African deprivation by supplanting this type of institutional racism with a greater legitimation of class stratification and social inequality. Hence, differential material gains will be legitimised by party meritocracy and equal opportunity ideologies in the belief that the

unequal distribution of wealth mirrors the unequal distribution of competencies and talents in society. According to Nasson

the goals of state education reform are not to roll back dominant class privileges, but to try to use refurbished black schooling system as a legitimising agency for a reconstituted social order in which the market and not the stigma of colour may increasingly be seen to be determining inequalities of income, wealth and other rewards on the basis of individual merit or talent. Education reform is a staple ingredient of state strategy to recast and rearticulate apartheid within the imperative of "reform" and "modernisation" so as to create conditions in which a more technocratic and less overtly racial discourse prevails. (1990:3-4)

## **2.5 RACE AND CLASS**

Previous discussion within this chapter on the work of various social reproduction theorists and those working within a Marxist tradition indicates a disregard for racial factors. Therefore, while formal class divisions form the centre of their analysis of the education system, social cleavages such as racial divisions are not accounted for.

Wolpe (1988:48) attempts to draw a link between race and class by arguing that there is a contingent but unnecessary relationship between the capitalist social order and racism within South Africa. For Wolpe

(1988:58), theoretical explanations of the social order which regard race and class as operating in isolation from one another are reductionist. Therefore, the acceptance of racial considerations enters into the structuring of class relations, while class relations are regarded as influencing the structuring of racial factors. This leads to an elimination of the distinction of race as a purely political phenomenon and class as an exclusively economic phenomenon, and would result in race being interiorised under specific conditions within class struggles in both the economic and political spheres. Hall observes that "race is thus the modality ..in which class is 'lived', the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and fought through..." (1980:341)

Gaganakis (1990:39) argues that while Wolpe's work provides a theoretical insight into the debate on race and class, it does not provide the kind of concepts which would illustrate the day-to-day experiences of the African pupils in her study. Gaganakis argues, therefore, that Frank Parkin's theory was appropriate for her study as it provided an adequate explanation of how groups were constituted in their interaction with other groups. Furthermore, Gaganakis (1990:47-48) argues that while Parkin's social closure theory is a truncated theory of social class, it is useful as it explains social cleavages such as race and class within the same framework.

Therefore, with race and its relationship to class being located within the same explanatory framework, it was decided to use Parkin's social closure theory as the theoretical framework for this study. While similar in its use of social closure theory as an explanatory framework, this study differs from Gaganakis's study in both its location and methodology. This study focuses on the state schooling structures which have recently opened and considers the perceptions of white, African and Indian pupils within these state schools in the Durban and greater Durban area. Parkin's social closure theory is discussed in detail in the next chapter.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Weber introduced the concept of social closure as the "process of subordination whereby one group monopolises advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of outsiders beneath it, which it defines as inferior and ineligible". (1968:342)

For Weber, status groups are formed on the basis of race, ethnicity, forms of hereditary prestige, formal education and occupation. These status groups maintain their exclusivity by monopolising opportunities while excluding outsiders from competing for resources. Therefore, Weber's theory of monopolisation, closure, class and status groups is a theory of power and domination. (Murphy, 1988:9)

Drawing on Weber, Parkin defines social closure as the

process by which social collectivities seek to maximise rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles. This entails the singling out of certain social or physical attributes as the justificatory basis of exclusion ... any group attribute - race, language, social origin, religion - may be seized upon provided it can be used for the monopolization of specific, usually economic opportunities. (1979:44)

For Parkin, the closure model is not a theory of class but a way of conceptualising class which differs from other conceptualisations, such as the liberal theory which considers interests and harmony as necessary factors, and Marxian theory, which considers conflict as a necessary factor in contributing to the collapse of the system.

Neo-Weberian theories such as Parkin's theory differ from the above-mentioned theories in that the relationship between classes is "one of mutual antagonism and permanent tension." (Parkin, 1979:112) For Parkin, the closure model "highlights the fact of communal cleavage and its relationship to class and seeks to analyze both within the same conceptual framework." (1979:112) Furthermore, Parkin argues that closure strategies are not restricted to capitalist societies and can be found in all large-scale societies, including Soviet society.

For Parkin, the difference between the bourgeoisie and proletariat classes lies not in relation to their place in the productive process, but more in relation to the mode of closure exercised by these classes. (1979:113) Parkin distinguishes between two main modes of closure, namely, exclusion and usurpation. Each of these modes of closure are regarded as different means of mobilising power in order to engage in distributive struggle over access to resources and will be discussed separately.

### 3.1 **EXCLUSIONARY SOCIAL CLOSURE**

Parkin states that exclusionary closure is the

attempt by one group to secure for itself a privileged position at the expense of some other group through a process of sub-ordination. That is to say, it is a form of collective social action which, intentionally or otherwise, gives rise to a social category of ineligibles or outsiders. Expressed metaphorically, exclusionary closure represents the use of power in a "downward" direction because it

necessarily entails the creation of a group, class or stratum of legally defined inferiors. (1979:45)

According to Parkin, the bourgeoisie exercise exclusionary closure through the institutions of property and academic or professional credentials. Parkin states that while

property ownership is a form of closure designed to prevent general access to the means of production and its fruits; credentialism is a form of closure designed to control and monitor entry to key positions in the division of labour. (1979:48)

For Parkin, "...it is necessary to regard credentialism as a form of exclusionary social closure comparable in its importance for class formation to the institution of property" (1979:58), since both credentialism and property ownership have the legal support of the state in restricting access to resources, thereby creating a subordinate class. Thus, the dominant class would be those who control the means of production and exert legal monopoly over the professions. This dominant class would also share a largely similar political and ideological outlook. It is credentialism as a means of exclusion that is of relevance to this study and will be discussed further.

### 3.1.1 Weber on credential closure

By stating that "... the universal clamour for the creation of educational certificates in all fields make for the formation of a privileged stratum in bureaus and offices" (1945:241), Weber saw skills and educational credentials as two of the basic elements in the formation of classes.

### 3.1.2 Parkin on credential closure

Parkin supports the above claim by Weber and asserts that by using credentials, many white collar occupations have been able to attain the status of professions. Professionalism is seen as a device which limits and controls entry to professional occupations by raising the minimum standards as increasing numbers obtain formerly unattainable qualifications. (1979:54-55)

Parkin argues that while the aim of restricting entry to professions is to safeguard and enhance their market value, professions justify the use of credentials by pointing to the complexity of tasks being performed and the need for tests to ascertain an individual's abilities. Parkin refutes this claim by referring to Berg's (1973) study on education and training which found no + evidence of a relationship between differences in the level of education and actual performance at work.

Parkin argues that entrance tests measure class-related attributes rather than practical skills and aptitudes. Therefore, children of professional parents fare

much better in examinations due to the investment of 'cultural capital' by their parents. (1979:55)

Credentials also carry the added advantage of ensuring that a professional qualification enables the individual to practice his or her skills without any further testing or retesting of abilities. Parkin argues that while other occupations, for example, manual trades, do restrict entry in order to regulate supply, as in the case of certain forms of closed shop or the apprenticeship system, the difference is that the professions are a legally privileged group whose exclusionary activities have the support of the state. (1979:56-57)

Historically, the consolidation of the dominant class has occurred through monopolistic control over land and knowledge with closure being characterised by the automatic transmission of privileges to family descendants. However, bourgeoisie forms of exclusion do not rely on descent; instead, Weber argues that exclusion occurs through the "use of qualifying tests, election of new members by ballot... or (admission) by virtue of achievements open to everyone." (1964:141)

Therefore, exclusionary devices such as property and credentialism are reliable for securing class interests but are not regarded as reliable for securing family reproduction of privileges. Parkin illustrates the above assertion by using Marceau's (1974) study on education and social mobility in France which indicated a 55 percent downward mobility of sons whose

fathers belonged to the propertied classes while only 28 percent of sons had reproduced their father's occupational status.

Credentials are also regarded as risky for establishing family privilege since, by raising standards of entry, children from professional families might not necessarily make the grade. This risk can largely be reduced by 'cultural capital' investments in the form of expensive schooling and other socially advantageous ventures. However, Parkin argues that intelligence should not be disregarded as a factor since

dense children of the professional middle class, despite heavy investments of cultural capital will continue to stumble on the intellectual assault course set up largely for their parent's own protection. Conversely large numbers of bright children of the culturally dispossessed will sail through to claim the prize of professional entry. (1979:61)

For Parkin, by placing the interests of one's class above the interests of individual members, the bourgeois display what Weber (1968) referred to as a "rational commitment to values". Parkin does, however, acknowledge that while self-recruitment might not be the aim of the bourgeois, self-perpetuation through one's family does occur, as illustrated by Goldthorpe and Llewellyn's (1977) study in Britain where almost 50 percent of boys from professional families were able to reproduce their father's professional status, although reproduction along family lines does not occur automatically.

Instead, the bourgeois family has to adapt to the demands of the institution with rigorous effort on their part since the risk of losing their class privileges poses a serious threat. Therefore, Parkin contends that the bourgeoisie can be seen to "promote a class formation biased more in the direction of sponsorship and careful selection of successors than of hereditary transmission." (1979:63)

This desire to transmit privileges to one's kin while promoting class interests above family interests creates a tension and points out differences in the interpretation of bourgeois ideology. Parkin argues that the classical liberal doctrine of ideology which rejected association with status groups arose among the emerging bourgeoisie who felt insecure with aristocratic practices of lineage, nepotism and patronage. This classical liberal doctrine contained a rejection of principles which evaluated people on the basis of group or collectivist criteria and instead promoted a doctrine of individualism. According to Parkin the merit of this doctrine became questionable once the bourgeoisie had consolidated their position. (1979:64)

Parkin argues that this liberal doctrine actually adopts collectivist criteria which cater for class reproduction, although it differs from reproduction through the lineage system. Parkin states that in the educational field, liberal ideology would assert individual merit and performance in examinations as the only criteria for selective entry. However, the maintenance of academic standards and traditions of excellence would result in all other factors besides the individual's measured ability being disregarded. According to Parkin, this

results in entrants coming disproportionately from middle-class families, while working class children were excluded because of their implied low intellectual abilities. Parkin finds, therefore, that this liberal doctrine uses "... ostensibly individualist criteria to produce a pattern of social closure that quietly discriminates through the collectivist criterion of class or racial membership." (1979:65)

Another version of liberal ideology operates on purely individualist criteria and denounces all socially inherited advantages. Therefore, educational selection tests are acceptable only if the children subjected to these tests are culturally equal to each other. This version holds that since all class related disadvantages need to be removed before children are made to write selection tests, a practical solution would be to introduce interventionist programmes such as remedial programmes and bridging classes. Such programmes are being implemented by certain open state schools in this study. These programmes are seen as an attempt to raise the aspirations and cultural level of socially handicapped children while neutralising the cultural advantages of bourgeoisie children. This version of liberal ideology states that exclusionary closure is acceptable on condition that individual abilities are tested without any reliance on social inheritance of cultural and material resources. (Parkin, 1979:66) Therefore, Parkin discounts this version of liberal ideology by arguing that all forms of exclusion irrespective of the criteria used are exploitative and discriminatory.



### 3.1.3 Collins on credential closure

Another theorist who has contributed greatly to the work on credential closure is Randall Collins, who used the term "conflict theory" to refer to the process of closure. For Collins, education, like ethnicity, race and social class, is regarded as a form of status culture and serves as a criterion for membership of status groups. Educational credentials allow for the selective entry into organisational positions, which results in the monopolisation of positions and rewards. Collins asserts that education serves the purpose of cultural exclusion since it is unrelated to actual work performance. (1975:45-48)

Collins refers to education as "pseudo ethnicity" and argues that the

interaction of status group cultures with occupational classes and political power is the main dynamic of stratification in all societies ... the education itself is a kind of surrogate ethnic group setting up job requirements in its own favour and discriminating against those who do not use its vocabulary and do not refer to the same literacy classics or technicist ideals. (1975:86-87)

According to Collins, schools are the locale for the socialisation of an elite culture. Those who have achieved lower levels of education are indoctrinated into respecting this elite culture. High educational requirements for entry into positions is due more to the increasing supply of educated applicants than to

any demands for new technical skills. Collins argues that educational requirements are raised to maintain the exclusivity and respectability of the professions. Therefore, people are pushed to acquire higher credentials resulting in an "educational status escalator." (Collins, 1975:87)

Collins contends that the increasing number of people acquiring school credentials has led to their entry into organisational positions and to the monopolisation of rewards resulting in the propertyless educational status groups benefiting more than the capitalist class by means of political labour. This entails the imposition of one's own definition of reality and superior knowledge onto other, professional monopolies created by government bodies and which Collins terms "sinecures" (1979). These professions or "sinecures" exert political pressure in order to secure their privileges and justify their monopoly of skills especially through the support of the state. (1975:417-423)

For Collins, the most important form of property is "property in positions" as this determines the distribution of income and class formation and creates inequalities through the struggle for monopoly resulting in restraints in the labour market.

### 3.2 USURPATIONARY SOCIAL CLOSURE

For Parkin, usurpation is the collective effort by

... a group in response to its outsider status and collective experiences of exclusion... (with) the aim of biting into the resources and benefits accruing to dominant groups in society - a range of possibilities extending from marginal redistribution to complete expropriation. (1979:74)

Metaphorically speaking, usurpation entails the use of power in an upward direction with this power being mobilised by the excluded group against the dominant group.

Usurpationary closure differs from exclusionary closure in that usurpationary activities usually involve strikes, demonstrations and politically motivated public initiatives. Therefore, usurpationary closure does not have the support of the state and is often regarded as unlawful. (1979:74)

When usurpationary activities become effective, a serious threat is posed to the system of justice based on exclusionary rules and institutions, since rewards accruing to the owners of property and possessions of credentials are instead gained by those involved in usurpationary activities. According to Parkin, while liberal economists and Marxists may argue that there are definite limits which can be imposed on usurpationary efforts, labour trends

in Britain have illustrated how militant action can result in gains being made by labour. (1979:75-80) Parkin does, however, concede that while organised labour has the power to withhold its services to society, it is highly unlikely that in a society dominated by exclusionary institutions of property and credentials, rewards would be permitted to decline too much due to successful closure from below.

Parkin states that when the quality of life and living standards improves for the disadvantaged class, then economic and political inequalities are conditionally accepted and the desire for usurpatory claims subsides.

Therefore, Parkin argues that capitalism has set itself the task of ensuring that economic growth is sustained in order to ward off claims for redistribution. However, problems arise when the needs of the disadvantaged class fail to be met and the transferral of resources from privileged groups to less privileged groups usually results in confrontation by prospective losers. Parkin argues that while the disadvantaged class may not contest privileges accruing to the bourgeoisie during periods of economic growth, they tend to make usurpatory claims during periods of economic crises even though the bourgeoisie may also be affected. These economic crises within capitalist societies lead to discontent amongst both the bourgeoisie and proletariat, and this results in class conflict. (1979:83)

Usurpation also occurs in the form of collective efforts by women, and racial and ethnic groups who attempt to mobilise power against a state-supported

dominant group. The above-mentioned social groups differ from an exploited class in that they do not have the power to impose sanctions in order to assert usurpationary claims. (1979:85-86) Rather, these social groups have been able to manipulate the belief systems of the liberal bourgeoisie by using moral persuasion and pointing to inconsistencies between liberal ideology doctrines and actual bourgeoisie practices. However, in situations where the liberal bourgeoisie are not committed to principles of equality, subordinate groups have to achieve social closure by forming a common political identity and a sense of collective consciousness in order to gain usurpationary demand. (1979:85-86)

### 3.3 DUAL CLOSURE

Parkin states that

...exclusionary social closure is an aspect of conflict and cleavage within social classes as well as between them. That is to say, exclusion strategies... (are) frequently employed by one segment of the subordinate class against another, most usually on the basis of race, sex, ethnicity, or some other collectivist attribute. (1979:89)

Dual closure would, therefore, entail usurpationary activities by a subordinate and excluded group against the state and other interest groups, and exclusionary activities against other less privileged groups.

Parkin states that the above-mentioned exclusionary strategies do not fit into the Marxist definition of exploitation as the appropriation of surplus value by owners of capital. However, Parkin argues that if property is seen as one form of exploitation, then the possibility exists of other monopolistic practices being regarded as exploitative. Therefore, exploitation for neo-Weberians entails the use of power in a downward direction, thereby creating a stratum of socially excluded inferiors. For Parkin, "it is not, then, the social location of those who initiate collective action that determines whether the action is exploitative or not but the location of those against whom it is directed." (1979:90)

According to Parkin, collective exclusionary action by one subordinate group against another subordinate group does not always occur directly, as the exclusionary subordinate group can gain rewards from exploitative activities exercised by the state and other vested interest groups. However, direct action by one subordinate group against another usually entails militant action due to the threat of a deterioration in their own exploited situation.

These attempts at exclusionary closure are, however, usually secondary strategies, with the primary aim being to usurp resources from the privileged group. This is because usurpationary activities usually yield more rewards than exclusionary activities. If exclusionary practices were as beneficial as usurpationary practices, then the group exercising exclusion would form part of the dominant class. Parkin cites the example of white South African workers whose primary source of reward is from exclusionary activities

against black workers, resulting in the white workers forming part of the dominant class. (1979:93-94)

Therefore, Parkin regards racial closure to be an important component of closure based on property and credentials. (1979:94) Parkin argues that the large black working class population in South Africa ensures that sufficient surplus is produced to support both the exploitative white working class and the dominant class, resulting in the white working class joining the ranks of the bourgeoisie instead of sharing usurpatory gains with the black working class. For Parkin, the struggle between white and black workers in South Africa is evidence of "internal class cleavages", which refers to the phenomenon of ethnic, racial, national or religious dimensions manifesting themselves between members of the same class. (1979:29)

Parkin criticises Weber's claim that exclusionary criteria are arbitrary, arguing instead that exclusionary closure by one group against another is usually facilitated by past state policies. However, problems arise when the state retracts such policies and reinstates previously excluded groups into civil society. This results in conflict between the state and the stronger elements within the subordinate class. To illustrate the threat felt by the lower strata, Parkin cites examples of physical resistance by white working class groups towards integrationist measures such as bussing and power sharing. (1979:95-99)

The removal of exclusionary policies by the state is usually advanced by concerns among the liberal bourgeoisie who find such exclusionary criteria to be morally discriminating. However, the bourgeoisie act with the assurance that by removing such "irrelevant" exclusionary criteria, their exclusive rights to property and credentials are not threatened. (1979:97)

Dual closure is also found among the semi-professions comprising occupations such as teaching, nursing and social work to which are attached formal qualifications but which lack the status of full professions such as medicine. (1979:102) These semi-professions make usurpationary claims by resorting to acts of solidarity while using the exclusionary device of credentialism to limit entry. The full professions, on the other hand, only resort to strike activity and trade union membership in an attempt to ensure their middle class identity and secure their income scales.

### **3.4 CRITIQUE OF SOCIAL CLOSURE THEORY**

While much criticism has been levelled at Parkin's social closure model, some favourable critiques have emerged from, for example, Mackenzie (1980) who states that "the usefulness of the concept of social closure lies not in its ability to replace the framework of Political Economy but in the ease with which it can be incorporated by it." (1980:584) Giddens (1980) also argues that while



(t)he reformulation of class formation as social closure, (which is) the main thrust of Parkin's argument should be rejected, it does not, of course, follow that the notion of social closure is of no interest to class theory; it seems to me to be a necessary idea to what I have elsewhere called class structuration. (1980:888)

Furthermore, Rex (1979) states that

Parkin's discussion of closure ... and his notion of dual closure seems to me to be a theoretical notion of the first importance. I believe that the importance of this concept in the field of ethnic and race relations is enormous and can be developed even further than Parkin thinks it can. (1979:201)

Several unfavourable criticisms have emerged as illustrated by Mackenzie's statement that Parkin's book is a savage but witty attack on a carefully chosen group of Marxists such that

as a piece of satire "Marxism and class theory" has few equals in the sociology literature. Above all it is clever, real creme brulee, Taylor '49 and a stroll through the deer park stuff. At the end of the day, however, it doesn't deliver the goods. (1980:583)

Mackenzie asserts that Parkin's concept of social closure is descriptive but not explanatory since it avoids coming to grips with the inner logic and laws

of motion which characterise capitalism. Parkin's theory, therefore, lacks an analysis of the relationship between different forms of exclusion such as those based on property, credentials, race, ethnicity and language. Therefore, Mackenzie states that the question should not "simply be how one groups, excludes or usurps another but on what basis." (1980:583)

Murphy (1988) criticises the perception of usurpation as the opposite mode of closure to exclusion. He argues that this perception of usurpation ignores the fact that exclusion exists within usurpation, as the biting into the resources of the higher groups is accomplished individually through the use of power to exclude even lower groups. Cohen (1980:12), on the other hand, finds the concept of usurpationary closure problematic. He argues that if closure means restricting access to resources and usurpation means biting into those resources, then how can usurpation be regarded as closure either as normally used or as Parkin defines it? Cohen argues furthermore that excluding and usurping should not be regarded as means of restricting access to resources but as means of maximising rewards.

For Cohen, Parkin's definition of classes being identified by their mode of closure is an inversion of the truth since

the dominant class is exclusionary because it is dominant, because it possesses the privileges attached to its structural position. And the subordinate class is usurpationary because it occupies an inferior position. (1980:12)

Cohen also takes issue with Parkin's total reliance on agency as defining class and his abandonment of structure. For Cohen, "classes are structural before they are anything else" (1980:12) and as such, he argues that any analysis of class should include its structural underpinnings.

Cohen also contests Parkin's assertion that domination or exploitation is predominantly racial in one society and of a class nature in another. Cohen argues that "racial exploitation and class exploitation are not two species of one genus. Racial exploitation is (largely) relegation to an exploited class because of race." (1980:13) He contests Parkin's assertion that racial closure is equivalent to property closure (Parkin, 1979:44) arguing instead that

unlike racism, property is not in the first instance a means of protecting privilege. It is privilege, although like any privilege, it offers those who enjoy it ways of protecting the very privileges they enjoy. (1980:13)

Mackenzie takes issue with Parkin's claim that white workers in South Africa form part of the dominant class and argues instead that these white workers are still at the behest of "Capital and its representatives". (1980:583) Murphy also contests the above-mentioned claim made by Parkin and suggests that within South Africa, apartheid and property should be regarded as the principal forms of exclusion which have created a class cleavage beneath the property class, such that black people form an underclass which is separated from the white working class. For Murphy (1988:74), in South

Africa both the white and black working class form part of the subordinate class. However, the former are subordinated by the principal form of property exclusion while the latter are subjugated by both apartheid and property exclusion. Cohen (1980:13) reiterates Murphy's assertion by pointing out that Parkin neglects to consider South Africa as a unique case, with a black underclass who lack the rights of the ordinary proletariat.

For Murphy (1988:179-180), Parkin's distinction between collectivist and individualist criteria of exclusion is merely descriptive without explaining why some individualist criteria of exclusion are more efficient than others in protecting advantage. Murphy does, however, tend to agree with Parkin's assertion (1979:65) that individualist criteria also tend to have a collectivist side which results in a significant amount of transmission of privilege across generations.

According to Murphy (1988), an important limitation of closure theory is the neglect of a relationship between the different forms of closure and its structures. Murphy states that this is evident in Weber's claim that the highest social classes are those "privileged through property and education". (1968:302) For Murphy, property and education are not equal in gaining access to a privileged class as "education by itself rarely gives entry into the most privileged class and the market dominated by property classes determines the necessity, value and nature of the credentials required for positions thus structuring the very nature of credentialed groups." (1988:66) For example, in capitalist societies, the only legal credential for a position in

a company is the legal right of property owners to manage their companies as they choose. (Murphy, 1988:71)

Furthermore, Murphy disagrees with Parkin's assertion (1979:58) that there is no cleavage of interest between the propertied classes and credentialed groups. Murphy argues instead that property is the principal form of exclusion and credentials are a derivative form if they are derived from private property or a contingent form if they are not. This results in credentialed groups being excluded and dominated by property forms of closure and any attempt by these groups to usurp the advantages of the propertied class will result in cleavage.

Murphy outlines a number of problems associated with credential exclusion. Firstly, problems arise on the question of whether exclusion is based on skills or on status cultural barriers. Theorists such as Collins (1979) argue that credential exclusion is a device set up by the educated classes with the aim of monopolising resources and privileges, yet these credentials are unrelated to actual work performance. Departing from the above interpretations, theorists such as Parkin argue that expertise in the market place is a key determinant of the monopoly of skills and occupational rewards. Murphy does, however, contend that by focusing exclusively on one aspect of credential exclusion, the other is neglected. Therefore, credential exclusion should be regarded as consisting of two elements, namely, "status cultural barriers and the monopolisation of skills necessary for a given level of production". (Murphy, 1988:171)

Secondly, Murphy states that theorists such as Collins regard credential and organisational monopolies as being analogous to monopolisation on the basis of economic capital. Murphy finds such an analogy restrictive since it only looks at monopolisation and exclusion under capitalism. Murphy argues instead that credential and organisational exclusion should be viewed as "being based on processes of bureaucratisation and formal rationalisation". (1988:175)

Thirdly, Murphy contends that closure theorists have neglected to look at the credential strategies of disadvantaged groups. According to Murphy

credential requirements are two-edged swords, used by dominant groups to protect and reinforce exclusionary privilege and by disadvantaged groups to diminish other exclusionary barriers in the market and to usurp privilege. (1988:181)

Finally, Murphy argues that ambiguities exist in the meaning of credential closure itself; hence, Parkin's definition of credentialism as the use of exclusionary rules which are enshrined in law and upheld by the state (1979:88) is regarded as being narrow since it neglects most forms of credentialism which only require the possession of certain certificates but are not enshrined in law. Therefore, Murphy asserts that credential closure needs to be defined adequately and the distinction between the different types of credentialed groups needs to be clarified.

### 3.5 EXTENSIONS TO THE SOCIAL CLOSURE FRAMEWORK

Murphy contends that the limitations of closure theory can be overcome by extending the conceptual framework to distinguish between principal, derivative and contingent forms of exclusion in society. The principal form of exclusion would refer to

a set of exclusion rules backed by the legal apparatus of the state which is the main determinant of access to or exclusion from power, resources and opportunities in society. (1988:70)

Examples of principal forms of exclusion would be legal title to private ownership of property in capitalist societies and exclusion as exercised by the Communist Party within state socialist societies.

According to Murphy, other exclusionary forms can be classified according to their relationship with the principal forms of exclusion. Therefore, derivative forms of exclusion would be rules for monopolistic control derived directly from the principal form of exclusion. An example here would be credential requirements for entry into organisational positions. This derivative form of exclusion gains legal support from the principal form of exclusion. (1988:79) On the other hand, contingent forms of exclusion, for example, professional, credential and licence requirements, rely on the principal form of exclusion for their existence. Murphy adds that rules of exclusion, such

as credentials, can comprise both derivative and contingent forms of exclusion. (1988:72)

For Murphy,

credentials are a set of rules of exclusion which consists of a claim to valuable skills which places the claimant in line for special opportunities and privileges not granted to those who are unskilled in that way and declared ineligible. (1988:72-73)

Murphy also acknowledges that some rules of credential exclusion are directly derived from the principal form of exclusion, private property, while other rules of credential exclusion do not form part of the principal form and are instead contingent.

Murphy (1988:73) distinguishes between three types of exclusionary closure structures. The first type of exclusion structure is evident in most societies which have both derivative and contingent sets of exclusionary rules attached to the principal form of exclusion. Examples of such societies would be aristocratic societies based on lineage; capitalist societies based on private ownership; and state socialist societies governed by the Communist Party monopoly. The second type of exclusion structure comprises two principal forms of exclusion and other complementary exclusion rules. The example that best characterises this type of structure would be South African society which uses both apartheid and property as its two principal forms of



exclusion. The third type consists of a polar structure which has two principal but opposing sets of exclusionary rules. The world system characterises such a polar structure with capitalist exclusion based on private property in opposition to exclusionary forms exercised by the Communist Party in state socialist societies.

Murphy also distinguishes between two different forms of usurpation. The first form is called "inclusionary usurpation" which

refers to the struggle of the excluded group to become included as incumbents represented in the present structure of positions in proportion to its number in the population ... (This) involves the struggle for equality of opportunity and the shift from collectivist to individualist criteria of exclusion. (1988:77)

The second form is called "revolutionary usurpation" and is a "direct attempt to change the structure of positions in society". (1988:77) Murphy argues that the success of a revolutionary usurpation movement can modify the positional structure of society by the removal of exclusionary barriers. Murphy (1988:51) cites the civil rights movement in the United States of America and the trade union movement as examples of revolutionary usurpationary movements. Furthermore, Murphy argues that this struggle for immediate benefits in the distributive system is in fact a struggle for future resources, benefits and power which is "the very stuff of which the positional structure is made." (1988:51)

With reference to Parkin's concept of dual closure, Murphy argues that this is a clear indication of the way in which Parkin mistakenly conceives of the processes of exclusion and usurpation as mutually exclusive. For Murphy, this obscures the fact that exclusion can be involved in usurpation. Therefore, usurpation is a subtype of exclusion which can create a group of outsiders or inferiors. This coincides with Parkin's concept of dual closure whereby an excluded group mobilised power in a downward direction to exclude even lower groups.

Murphy concludes his extension to Parkin's social closure theory by stating that while real weaknesses and ambiguities exist within the social closure model, they are correctable and hence

closure theory becomes a promising and powerful framework for integrating the analysis of property, of credentials, of communal divisions between racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious groups, of the relations between the sexes, of the exclusionary praxis which has resulted from the official adoption of Marxism in society and of the countervailing struggle emanating from these exclusionary practices.

(1988:61)

### **3.6 LEVELS OF CLOSURE ANALYSIS USED IN THIS STUDY**

The different forms of social closure, namely, exclusion, usurpation and dual closure discussed in this chapter will be used in this study to establish whether:

- (1) White and Indian pupils as part of the dominant group within the open white and Indian state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.
- (2) African pupils as part of a co-opted group within the open state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.
- (3) The attendance of African pupils at open state schools can be regarded as usurpationary.
- (4) African pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting dual closure.
- (5) Admissions criteria as implemented by the principals within the open state schools serve as a form of exclusionary social closure.

These above-mentioned levels of analysis of social closure will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six, following an analysis of results emanating from the questionnaire and interview research procedures used in this study (Chapter Five). These research procedures will be discussed in the next chapter (Chapter Four).

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND PROCEDURES**

#### **4.1 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

##### **4.1.1 Multiple research strategy**

Multiple operationism was employed as a research strategy for this research. This implies that wherever possible, at least two research methods are used with respect to a particular research problem. Denzin (1970:298) makes the point that research methods are not "atheoretical tools" and that they usually represent different ways of acting on the environment. These methods, when used together, serve as mutual checks upon one another, such that a second or third method may produce findings not revealed by the first, thereby adding a richer texture to the findings.

Webb et al (1966) argue that

every data-gathering class - interviews, questionnaires, observation, performance, records, physical evidence is potentially biased and has specific to it certain validity threats ..no single measurement class is perfect, neither is any specifically useless ... when a hypothesis can survive the confrontation of a series of complementary methods of testing it contains a degree of validity unattainable by one tested within the more constricted framework of a single method ... Once

a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent processes, the uncertainty of the interpretation is greatly reduced.

(1966:3)

It therefore becomes necessary to choose a set of research procedures which would serve as complementary to one another. With this in mind, the questionnaire as the quantitative procedure was used in conjunction with the interview as the qualitative procedure. It is the contention of this study that the questionnaire which provided for the collection of grouped data will indicate general trends among the different groups of pupils, while the interview which was less structured will elicit in-depth responses and contradictions, thereby verifying or contradicting the trends elicited from the questionnaire procedure.

#### **4.1.2 Methodological issues**

Many researchers operating within the social science tradition have strongly opposed the use of quantitative methods which are usually associated with a positivist epistemology. Qualitative methodologies on the other hand, have been favoured, with ethnographic interviews currently "in vogue".

Christie (1990:147), however, argues that quantitative methods should not a priori be judged positivist while qualitative methods should not be deemed non-positivist. Drawing on the methodological approach in her study on private schools, Christie (1990:146-147) argues that qualitative methods such

as social surveys enable the researcher to go beyond the empirical data for explanations of the social actor's social world. A research method cannot speak for itself and requires the researcher's theoretical interpretation.

Wright (1987:25) argues that the importance of empirical research in the development of theory is clearly revealed in the process of "joining systematic research with conceptualisations". Therefore, empirical research can prove useful in understanding and exploring the theoretical process while enabling new theory to be generated.

Christie (1990:146) suggests that survey questions should as far as possible be grounded in interview discourse and the researcher should not attempt to deduce some other form of consciousness (such as class consciousness) from survey responses.

Therefore, this study used both quantitative and qualitative methods, thereby ensuring that the focus was on establishing theoretical relationships from the pupil's discourse without defining any patterns which emerged as a priori and non-contextual categories. The underlying assumption of this study was that irrespective of the research procedure used, the pupils would answer according to context.

## 4.2 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH PROCEDURES USED

As mentioned earlier (refer to Introduction, p.3), the opening of the state schools in South Africa is a relatively new area of research and thus most research in this area is still in the pipeline.

Due to the large-scale nature of this study, it was decided to select research procedures which would cater for the large size of the sample while eliciting in-depth individual responses. These research procedures would also have to complement one another and generate data which could be replicated by other researchers in their own geographical region. Therefore, the questionnaire and interview research procedures were chosen as the research instruments for the study.

Webb et al (Lewis, 1975:145) argue that "the questionnaire and the interview are particularly good methods because they permit the investigator to replicate his own or someone else's research". Furthermore, once the data is collected, it can be analysed in different ways in order to test various theories, including unanticipated aspects of exploration emerging during the research. This flexibility is a valuable feature of the research as the research is then not bound to a rigid research design. (Blalock, 1970:35)

The use of the questionnaire proved to be restrictive in some ways. Firstly, it had to be shortened, as extensive questionnaires lead to low response rates and selective answering of the questions. Secondly, the researcher was unable

to follow up on any interesting viewpoints expressed by pupils; as a result, the use of the questionnaire did not facilitate any in-depth probing. Finally, responses elicited were subject to extraneous factors such as the school environment and impending examination results.

It was hoped that qualitative procedures would facilitate in-depth probing and hence more discursiveness of social relations. While the expectation of richly textured responses emanating from the interviews was in fact realised, the interview procedure had its own limitations. The interview which involves a process of social interaction between the interviewer and subject is governed by the rules and restrictions of such an interaction. Thus, the most important limitation of the interview was the interviewer bias emanating from this social interaction. The possible form of interviewer bias in this particular study is related to the interviewer's race group which is Indian. It is highly possible that inhibitions on the part of the African interviewees in Indian open schools could be attributed to the interviewer's race group.

The research design of the study was found to be restrictive in the following ways. Firstly, the study did not consider perceptions of coloured and Indian respondents in open "white" schools. Secondly, coloured schools in the Durban area which are also open did not form part of the sample of schools. Finally, due to time constraints and cost factors, only two research procedures were employed and the sample for the questionnaire was greatly reduced, as were the number of interviews with pupils and teachers.



### 4.3 INSTRUMENTS USED

#### 4.3.1 The questionnaire

In accordance with Goode and Hatt's (1952:135) concern that "every item in a questionnaire ideally constitutes a hypothesis or part of a hypothesis itself", the questionnaire was designed for the most part to take into consideration the specific hypotheses for this study. (Refer to Section 5.3.1, pp.101-103.)

With regard to the overall design of the questionnaire, Backstrom and Hursh (1963:92) have asserted that the model questionnaire is designed in four parts: "the introduction, warm-up questions, the body of the study, and demographic questions".

In the questionnaire designed for this study, the introduction was taken care of in the covering letter positioned on the first page of the questionnaire. It proved feasible to place demographic questions concerning the pupil's gender, age, standard, year of entering his/her present school, mother tongue, mode of transport to school, and mother's and father's occupation, immediately after the introduction instead of at the end of the questionnaire as Backstrom and Hursh (1963) suggest. The reason for this arrangement was that the open-ended questions may possibly have offended the pupils, resulting in him or her refusing to complete the questionnaire. Demographic variables, on the other hand, are generally considered routine for pupils

within educational institutions and are, therefore, inoffensive, leading the pupil well into the body of the questionnaire, and thus making withdrawal all the more difficult.

The above argument is reiterated by Stacey (1970:81) who argued that "one question which offends at the beginning may lead to a refusal to answer the whole schedule". Therefore, potentially offensive questions dealing with racial and cultural attitudes, such as whether the respondent perceived cultural differences as influencing relations between the different race groups within the school, were placed after the warm-up questions which followed the first section on demographic variables.

Oppenheim (1966) defines a closed-ended question as one in which the respondent is offered a choice of alternative replies whilst open or free answer types of questions are those which are not followed by any kind of choice and the answers have to be recorded in full. (1966:40-41) Oppenheim argued that

closed questions are easier and quicker to answer, they require no writing and qualification is straight-forward. This often means that more questions can be asked within a given length of time. Disadvantages of closed questions are the loss of spontaneity and expressiveness, we shall never know what the respondent said or thought of his own accord, and the introduction of bias by forcing him to choose between given alternatives. There may also be the loss

of rapport if respondents become intimidated because they feel the choice of answers fails to do justice to their own ideas. (1966:43)

Open-ended questions, on the other hand, are regarded as being more advantageous. Oppenheim argues that the

chief advantage is the freedom that it gives the respondents. Once he has understood the intent of the question, he can let his thoughts roam freely, unencumbered by a prepared set of replies, we obtain his ideas in his own language, expressed spontaneously, and this spontaneity is often extremely worthwhile as a basis for new hypotheses. (Oppenheim, 1966:44)

The first section of the questionnaire consisted of demographic variables which consisted of simple closed-ended questions while the remainder of the questionnaire consisted of open-ended or "free answer" questions. A significant number of the open-ended questions formed part of a contingency series with initial "yes" or "no" responses leading to the second part of the question. There, open-ended questions dealt with potentially contentious issues, such as whether pupils should write an entrance examination before being admitted to their school, whether pupils who were unable to pay their school fees should be allowed to attend their school and probable factors affecting the standard of education at the school.

Therefore, the schema employed for the questionnaire schedule for this study (refer to Appendix A for questionnaire schedule) was as follows:

- (i) Introduction - covering letter.
- (ii) Demographic questions.
- (iii) Warm-up questions.
- (iv) Open-ended questions.

#### **4.3.2 The interview**

Denzin (1970) distinguished three basic types of interviewing techniques based on the amount of structuring given to each:

- i) The first type is referred to as the "standardized schedule interview", in which the same schedule (i.e. with identical questions), is administered to each and every respondent in the sample. This makes for a highly structured interview.
- ii) The second type is referred to as the "non standardized schedule interview". Here, certain types of information are desired from all respondents, but the particular phrasing of questions, and their order, is redefined to fit the characteristics of each respondent. The reason for this, Denzin adds, is that "the non standardized schedule interview indicates an awareness that individuals have unique ways of defining

their world. To meaningfully understand that world researchers must approach it from the subject's perspective." (Denzin, 1970:125)

For the purpose of this study, it was deemed appropriate to employ an interviewing technique which combined both the "standardized schedule interview" (i) and the "non standardized schedule interview" (ii) for the following reasons: it was considered necessary to maintain a level of consistency at least with respect to certain of the dependent variables. (Refer to Section, 5.2.2, p.99.) Therefore, the standardised schedule interview was used. This also enabled a measure of comparability across the qualitative and quantitative research procedures. The object of using the less structured interview schedule (ii) was to either enrich or contradict the data obtained from the quantitative research procedure. Therefore, a combination of the standardised schedule interview and non-standardised schedule interview seems most appropriate since the variables can be maintained constant for comparison purposes while the data obtained from the quantitative method can be enriched.

In this study, interviews were conducted with pupils from three different races, namely, white, Indian and African, as well as with principals and English and mathematics teachers. These interviews were flexible and enabled the researcher to examine the different constructs and meanings pupils of the different race groups might impute to the same issue. Furthermore, more probing was possible and this facilitated in-depth responses. Also, sensitive issues such as socio-economic issues and racial

friction at school were dealt with on a more personal basis, thereby allowing pupils to recount unpleasant and controversial issues with a greater degree of ease.

#### **4.4 THE SAMPLING DESIGN**

Sampling is defined by Smith (1975) as a "procedure by which we infer the characteristics of some groups of objects (a population) through experience with less than all possible elements of that group of objects (a sample)." Sampling is concerned with selecting a portion of the total population, in such a way that inferences and generalisations from the portion or sample can be used for the entire population.

In order to obtain a random sample of any population, it is necessary to have a complete list of the population concerned. This list is known as a sampling frame. (Stacey, 1970:90) The sampling frame used for this study was the school registration list of all pupils attending the school.

By means of lists of all the white and Indian schools in the Natal region which were supplied by the relevant education departments, a total number of ten secondary state schools were selected. Of a total of 22 former white secondary state schools under the control of the Department of Education and Culture (House of Assembly - Natal Education Department (NED)) which had initially accepted Model B and, subsequently, chose Model C, five schools were chosen on the basis of the following three criteria. Firstly, the

school had to have an adequate number of African pupils in standards 6, 7, 8, and 9 for sampling purposes. Secondly, these schools had to be located in the Durban or greater Durban area. Initially, it had been decided to choose the schools on the basis of the socio-economic area in which it was located. However, statistics pointed to inconsistent patterns with upper, middle and lower socio-economic groups residing in the same area throughout the white and Indian suburbs. Therefore, schools were chosen instead on the basis of their location from the central Durban area. Two schools were located in the outer-lying suburbs, two on the periphery of Durban catering for children from several neighbourhoods, and was located in a well-established suburb close the city centre. Finally, the co-operation of the principal of the school was a vital factor when selecting the different schools. Furthermore, of the five white schools chosen, two schools were all-girls schools, one was an all boys school and two were co-educational. The high prevalence of single sex white secondary state schools in the Natal region can be traced to the preferences of the white community in the early decades of the present century who wished to maintain the British tradition of single sex schools. (Randall, 1982)

Of a total of 75 Indian secondary state schools under the control of the Department of Education and Culture (House of Delegates (HOD)), five schools were chosen on the basis of the three criteria (above) which were applied when selecting the white schools. However, the selection of Indian schools differed to a certain extent. Certain Indian suburbs are extremely well-serviced in terms of the number of educational institutions, and as a

result, it was decided to randomly select one school from the total number of secondary schools in that specific area. Therefore, in an area such as Phoenix on the outskirts of Durban with 22 secondary schools, one school had to be randomly selected. Furthermore, of the five schools selected, one of the schools catered primarily for pupils of a certain religious background. It was decided to retain this school as part of the sample, especially since it met the requirements outlined above. It is important to note that the five Indian schools chosen differed from the white school sample as they were all co-educational. In fact, of a total of 75 Indian secondary schools, only one was an all-girls school. Furthermore, none of the Indian schools had adopted any of the Clase models; instead, most had been "silently" opened since 1985. Therefore, the opening of the state schools by the government in 1991 merely served to boost the intake of African children.

The final sample drawn from the sampling frame is usually known as a stratified simple random sample. This stratified sample is obtained by separating the population elements into overlapping groups called strata, and then selecting a simple random sample from within each stratum. (Bailey, 1978:78-79) Therefore, a stratified random method of sampling selects cases randomly but separately from sub-populations (strata) of the overall population. This is usually used when one needs to ensure sufficient representation of important subgroups for statistical analysis. (Eckhardt and Ermann, 1977:192-193)



For the purpose of this study, the population elements were stratified into layers or "strata" according to race group and standard. Within these layers, the final sample was randomly selected using a table of random numbers. (Lutz, 1983:478-482) Connolly and Sluckin state that "the essential condition to ensure that the sample is representative of the larger population from which it is drawn is that the individual items are selected in a random manner." (1971:91-92)

The time constraints imposed on this study affected the research design. Since fieldwork had to be conducted at the schools after examinations and before the schools closed for the winter vacation, it was decided to choose a smaller sample for both the quantitative and qualitative procedures. 240 pupils were chosen for the quantitative procedure (the questionnaire) and 40 pupils for the qualitative procedure (the interview). Furthermore, the principal and two teachers (from the English and mathematics disciplines) were selected from each of the schools. Therefore, in total, 10 principals and 20 teachers were also interviewed.

Of the 240 pupils selected for the quantitative procedure, 60 white pupils from the open white schools, 60 Indian pupils from the open Indian schools and 120 African pupils from both the open white and Indian schools were selected. The larger number of African pupils in the sample can be explained by the fact that since the African pupils were present in both the white and Indian schooling structures, it was decided to represent them in equal numbers with the white and Indian pupils at their respective schools.

Therefore, 60 African pupils from the white schools and 60 African pupils from the Indian schools were selected. Furthermore, the small numbers of Indian and coloured pupils at the open white schools were excluded from the sampling frame as it was decided to concentrate solely on the African pupils as a minority group within the open white schools.

Of the 240 pupils, 6 pupils (3 African, 3 white/Indian) were selected from Standards 6, 7, 8 and 9. Standard 10 pupils were excluded from the sample for the following reasons: firstly, for statistical purposes, equal numbers of pupils could be compared from the junior (Standards 6 and 7) and senior (Standards 8 and 9) phases. Secondly, the advice from the departments of education and the principals of the school was that pupils should as far as possible not be interrupted during their matriculation year. Finally, in most of the ten schools, there were no African pupils at matriculation level. Most open schools severely restricted the intake of African pupils in the senior phase, as it was felt that they would be unable to cope with the standard of education.

For the qualitative procedure, 40 pupils from the ten schools were randomly selected. A stratified simple random sample was employed with race group and standard as the relevant strata. Therefore, of the four pupils in each of the ten schools, two were African and two were white or Indian. Furthermore, those pupils were chosen in equal numbers from Standard 6 and Standard 8.

It is important to note that gender as a variable could not be controlled, since the majority of white schools were single-sex schools while all the Indian schools were co-educational, with the intake of African males being higher than African females in most of these schools. Furthermore, as per instructions from the departments of education, the names of the ten schools selected are not mentioned in this study.

#### **4.5 PRETESTING**

Pretesting is a methodological technique for the checking of an aspect or aspects of the research design before conducting the study proper. "Pretests will refer to initial testing of one or more aspects of the research design, the questionnaire, the sample design, a computer programme for analysis and so forth." (Babbie, 1973:205)

Backstrom and Hursh (1963) believe that pretests should be run under proper field conditions and should be administered to subjects in the actual community or population with whom the study will eventually deal. The pretest in this study involved the testing of the quantitative procedure and was conducted at an open white secondary school which did not form part of the sample of ten schools. The pretest could not be administered at an Indian school, as all the schools were in the process of examinations during this phase of the research. The pretest involved administering the questionnaire, in the same manner as the final questionnaire, to 12 white and 12 African pupils.

The main aim of pretesting was to test for ambiguities, incorrect phrasing of questions, disjointed sequence and, more importantly, to test for response rates to the questions. The pretests showed that all 24 pupils completed the questionnaire, indicating that a high response rate could be expected. However, several questions were in need of rephrasing and the sequence of questions had to be altered in some instances in order to improve the flow. Furthermore, the length of the questionnaire had to be reduced primarily because the African pupils took a much longer time to complete the questionnaire than did the white pupils. This can be attributed to the questionnaire being in English, a second language for most of the African pupils. It was thus also necessary to simplify the questionnaire.

The interview procedure did not form part of the pretest owing to its unstructured nature. The pretest phase was important for this study to ensure that the questionnaire could be understood by all pupils, irrespective of the standard in which they were.

## **4.6 PROCEDURES OF ADMINISTRATION**

### **4.6.1 Initial contact**

Upon receiving approval for the research to be undertaken in the ten schools chosen from the relevant departments of education, each of the 22 white schools which had accepted Model C had to be contacted telephonically to determine the number of African pupils admitted to the school. Some

principals were extremely reluctant to disclose numbers of African children at their school, regarding this as a discriminatory or racialistic practice. Other principals did not know the exact numbers of African pupils and agreed to calculate the total numbers in each standard. Certain principals refused permission to allow any research to be conducted at their school; these schools had to be eliminated from the sample. Once this initial contact was established and it was clear that certain white schools had adequate numbers of African pupils for the purpose of the study, five white schools were randomly selected.

For the Indian state schools, the contact process was slightly different. Telephonic contact was unnecessary since a list containing the exact number of African and Indian pupils in each standard in all the Indian primary and secondary schools in the Natal region was available to the researcher. (Refer to Appendix G.) Five secondary schools were randomly selected from this list.

Once the ten schools had been selected, appointments for a preliminary visit were made with the principals. This preliminary visit entailed meeting with the principal or, in certain cases, the vice-principal to discuss issues such as the aim and purpose of the research, the research sequence and times and venues for the fieldwork. Finally, a suitable date was arranged for fieldwork at each of the ten schools. Dates had to be arranged in advance, since examinations and sporting activities had to be taken into consideration.

Furthermore, it was arranged that the questionnaire session which involved a large group of pupils be held prior to the individual interviews. Thereafter, interviews with the two teachers and, finally, the principal completed the fieldwork at each school. Only one day was required at each school to complete the fieldwork. However, certain principals, due to unforeseen circumstances, could not be interviewed on the same day, and as a result, the fieldwork phase, which included the administration of the questionnaire and all the interviews at the ten schools chosen, spanned 12 days. This excludes the telephonic contacts and preliminary visits to each school.

#### **4.6.2 The questionnaire**

The questionnaires were administered at a single session, usually lasting 45 minutes. In each of the ten schools, the 24 pupils who had been randomly selected for the questionnaire procedure were informed prior to the day of the fieldwork that they were required to participate in a research project the following day. However, it was found that some pupils, since they had completed their examinations, were not attending school regularly. For this reason, a substitute list of randomly selected pupils had to be drawn up to ensure that the total number of pupils was available. The co-operation of the schools meant that the response rate to the questionnaire was 100 percent.

After the preliminary introductions the aim and nature of the research project was explained to the pupils. In order to obtain maximum co-operation and ensure confidentiality, pupils were told not to write their names on their

questionnaires and the school staff were not associated with the questionnaire. Pupils were encouraged to make additional comments on their questionnaire.

Pupils were urged to ask for assistance if they did not understand the questions. It was, therefore, necessary to remain with the pupils for the duration of the session as questions did arise around concepts such as race and mother tongue. On the whole, most pupils finished well within the allocated time. However, certain African pupils required extra time owing to English language difficulties. In certain instances, the researcher had to enlist the aid of other African pupils to translate the questions into Zulu, thereby enabling the pupils to answer the questionnaire. Upon collecting the questionnaires, a number was allocated to each questionnaire and a label indicating the name of the school was affixed to the questionnaire for statistical purposes.

#### **4.6.3 The interview**

Interviews were conducted individually and usually lasted 25 minutes. The physical setting was usually the student counselling centre where people were able to relax and privacy was ensured. At each of the ten schools, four interviews were conducted.

The purpose of the research project was explained to each of the four pupils. Thereafter, once pupils were made to feel comfortable, the researcher proceeded with the interview. The interviews were flexible and quite

conversational, with pupils discussing certain issues of interest to them at length and recounting their own experiences at their school in detail.

#### **4.7 DATA ANALYSIS**

Labovitz (1976:128) suggests that the analysis of data involves both descriptive and inference statistics. Descriptively, the data are summarised and reduced to a few statistics for the actual sample, whilst inference statistics are used to make statements about the different populations represented. This study makes use of both descriptive and inference statistics due to the emphasis on both qualitative and quantitative research procedures.

A spreadsheet file was created in Quattro Pro (a computer spreadsheet programme) to hold the coded data from the 240 questionnaires. Each question was coded using a numeric code. (Refer to Appendix A for the questionnaire and Appendix B for the codebook.) For questions with a finite choice, a simple numeric code was assigned to each alternative while for questions with an ordinal range, the numbers 1 and 2 were used as codes. For open-ended questions, a list of generic responses was created and codes allocated to each. If a question was not answered or was not applicable, a code of 0 was used.

The spreadsheet file was imported into the Statgraphics programme for statistical analysis and presentation. Frequency histograms were constructed for most of the variables to check the validity of the range of values in the



data and to investigate the efficacy of the sampling. Up to five diagrams were placed on a page to allow for inter-group comparison. Histograms are presented in this study for only those variables which yielded a significant difference.

Cross-tabulations of most variables by gender within each race group were constructed. Variations from random associations were tested using the CHI-squared test. Those variables showing no gender variations within race groups were then tested for inter-group variations. Variations between African pupils in white and Indian Schools and the socio-economic background of the pupils were also tested. Finally, all contingency tables were tested using the CHI-squared test. The CHI-squared test will be discussed further in Section 5.1 of the next chapter.

The interviews which formed part of the qualitative procedure required a different method of data analysis. These interviews were, therefore, analysed qualitatively using the content analysis method. "Content analysis refers to means of summarizing, standardizing and comparing or otherwise systematically transforming already existing records." (Smith, 1975:147) Content analysis of the interview data involved certain themes or topics being selected. If a theme appeared more than twenty times (50 percent) this theme was recognised as a conceptual category. Due to fixed interpretation and subjectivity of interpretation, an independent coder was asked to perform a content analysis on the same data. The themes selected by the independent

rater were compared with the themes selected by the researcher and few differences were found.

#### **4.8 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

Research is always dependent on measurement and, as such, every instrument of measurement should be both reliable and valid. According to Sellitz et al, "validity refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure; and reliability is the extent to which a measuring device is consistent in measuring whatever it measures." (1976:148) The two instruments of measurement used in this study, namely the questionnaire and interview schedule, were both assessed for validity and reliability.

Three types of validity can be distinguished, namely, content validity, criterion-related validity, and construct validity. For the purposes of this study, only content validity was found to be applicable. Content validity refers to the extent to which an instrument represents the content of the study. (Ary et al, 1979:214) Content validity was established by two research advisors who assessed the items in both the questionnaire and interview schedules, for the measurement of the theoretical aspects of the study. Validity was also ensured by making the replies of the study as interesting and personalised as possible for the pupils. Furthermore, since the pupils were assured of their anonymity, a higher degree of honesty was expected, although no claims of truth were made by this study.

According to Webb et al

internal validity asks whether a difference exists at all in any given comparison. It asked whether or not an apparent difference can be explained away as some measurement artifact. External validity is the problem of interpreting the difference, the problem of generalization. So that other populations, occasions, stimulus objects and measures may be applied the obtained results. (1966:10-11)

External validity in this study is limited as the study focuses only on white and Indian open state secondary schools, and therefore cannot be applied to private schools or Model A schools, coloured and African state schools or be generalised to include the total African population. Instead, this study has a greater degree of internal validity, as the inference statistics comparing each variable with the race and gender group of the pupils indicated coherence between explanation of actions and the research content, and few contradictions were found in the responses. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that the validity of the interview data could have been affected by the interviewer's race group. According to Best and Kahn (1986:199), interviewers of the same ethnic background as the subjects seem to be more successful in establishing rapport with the subjects while ethnic differences lead to some suspicion and withdrawal of information. Best and Kahn (1986) also suggest that social status, clothing, age and gender of the interviewer are factors which affect the validity of the interview.

Reliability was established by checking for internal consistency in both the interview and questionnaire schedules. This involves building some redundancy into the instruments by means of rephrasing or repeating certain themes. Other procedures for ensuring reliability, such as having two different interviewers interview the same individual over a period of time (Babbie, 1982:71-72) were not employed for this study as they would have proved too expensive and time-consuming. Certain items which required answers dependent on the pupil's socialisation process, such as the question on cultural differences between the different race groups, were less likely to change over time and therefore ensured reliability for future research.

The results emanating from this study will be analysed in the following chapter (Chapter Five).

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **ANALYSIS OF RESULTS**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

To recap briefly, the data for this study was gathered using both quantitative (the questionnaire) and qualitative (the interview) research procedures. The data obtained from these research procedures were analysed as follows:

The analysis of the questionnaire data involved coding the 240 questionnaires received (refer to Codebook, Appendix B) and subsequently transferring the coded data onto a computer spreadsheet. Thereafter, the data were subjected to computerised statistical analysis in order to test statistically the relationship between the specific variables outlined in Section 5.2.

Statistical differences were determined by means of the CHI-squared test of significance. In this regard, contingency questions not requiring a response in the second part of the question were given a value of 0. The value was disregarded as a category during statistical analysis so as to prevent the inflation of the CHI-squared value. The Yates-corrected CHI-squared test was applied in 2X2 contingency tables where necessary, whilst in larger tables, the CHI-squared value was computed without correction, even though the expected frequency in any cell was less than desired. (Blacock, 1960: 221)

When using a CHI-squared test, statistical significance is determined by a

specific alpha level. There are only three alpha levels in common usage in the social sciences, namely, the .10, .05 and .01 levels. The .10 level is restricted to very exploratory studies which have a high degree of uncertainty surrounding their theory and methods, while the .01 level is used in more sophisticated studies where little uncertainty prevails. The vast majority of studies fall in between and these use the .05 level. Lutz states that

using the .05 level of significance means that we only reject null hypotheses when we get sample results whose sampling error probabilities are as low as or lower than .05. Otherwise we fail to reject the null hypothesis. This gives the null hypothesis a real opportunity to be kept, even though we may not have much faith in it. If we are successful in rejecting it anyway, we can have considerable confidence in that decision. (1983: 272-273)

For this study, significance was generally accepted at the 5 percent level while the 1 percent level was accepted where necessary.

The analysis of the qualitative data gathered from the interviews with pupils, teachers and principals involved the use of themes around issues which arose during the interviews. Therefore, the data was organised into thematic categories which attempt to depict broader social relations in the form of emerging race and class patterns among both the pupils and educators interviewed.

## 5.2 INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Lutz argues that "an independent variable is a variable that is thought to influence or predict another variable, but no outside or previous influence on itself is being investigated. A dependent variable is a variable that is thought to be influenced or predicted by another variable." (1983: 47)

### 5.2.1 The independent variable

For the purpose of this study, the independent variables used are race, gender, department of education and socio-economic category. Department of education was used primarily to test for any statistical differences between African pupils in white schools and African pupils in Indian schools. The socio-economic category was arrived at by analysing both the father's and mother's occupation of each pupil and choosing the occupation which was most likely to produce a higher income. Thereafter, the occupation selected was placed under a particular socio-economic category. This is illustrated in Table I below.

**Table I: Socio-economic categories and corresponding occupational categories**

Socio-economic category	Occupational category (see Appendix C)
One	(i) Professional, technical and related workers (ii) Self-employed ie. small business, factory owner (iii) Management and administration
Two	(iv) Skilled workers (v) Clerical and related workers
Three	(vi) Semi-skilled workers and unskilled labourers (vii) Unemployed
Four	(viii) Retired, pensioners (ix) Deceased, whereabouts unknown (x) Housewife (xi) Student

Socio-economic category four in the above table included situations where the pupils' parents were not earning a salary or where the income level could not be ascertained. Furthermore, while occupations were used to determine the socio-economic background, there are limitations in using this approach since occupations which are placed high on the job hierarchy may not necessarily generate an equally high income. Therefore, income level and occupational categories may be quite disparate from each other, making correlations difficult. The limitations in the use of occupational categories as an indication of social background are discussed further in Section 6.4.

### **5.2.2 The dependent variables used**

The dependent variables used were selected from a wide range of questions within both the questionnaire and interview-research procedures. Only the questions which were considered to be reflective of some form of social



closure or contained an element of exclusion were selected. The dependent variables selected are outlined in Table 2 below. (For the correct sequence and numbering of these questions as they appear in the questionnaire schedule, refer to the questionnaire schedule, Appendix A.)

**Table 2: The dependent variables used for analysis of data**

No.	Variable category	Actual question
1	Entrance examinations	Do you think that pupils should write an entrance exam before being admitted to your school? Yes/No
2	Stricter entrance examinations	If yes, should these entrance exams be made more strict? Please explain why...
3	Payment of school fees	Should pupils who cannot afford to pay school fees and other school costs be allowed to attend your school? Yes/No
4	School fee requirements	If no, please explain why...
5	Increase in fees	Do you think it is fair to increase school fees in order to provide a higher standard of education?
6	Lowering of standards	In your opinion, what factors would lead to a drop in the standard of education you receive?
7	Decision to leave this school	What circumstances would lead you to decide to change your present school? Please explain why...
8	Living close to the school	Would you prefer your school to only admit pupils who live close to your school? Yes/No
9	Living close to school requirements	If yes, explain why...
10	Communication problems	Have you experienced any problems communicating with fellow pupils of different race groups in terms of language and different lifestyles? Yes/No
11	Communication and lifestyle	If yes, please explain...
12	Cultural differences	Do you believe that there are deep cultural differences (such as traditions, values, beliefs) that distinguish you from pupils of different race groups? Yes/No
13	Cultural influences	If yes, how do you think that these cultural differences have influenced the way pupils of different race groups relate to each other at your school?

### **5.3 THE HYPOTHESES**

Goode and Hatt believe that hypotheses are a necessary prerequisite before any sociological research can begin. They argue that "as difficult as the process may be, it is necessary for the student to see the fundamental need of a hypothesis to guide sound research. Without it, research is unfocused, a random empirical wandering... the hypothesis is the necessary link between theory and investigation which leads to the discovery of additions of knowledge." (1952:57) There is, however, an alternative viewpoint, namely, that research need not begin with hypotheses but that these hypotheses can be formulated afterwards based on the findings.

Sellitz et al (1959:39) acknowledge both the above-mentioned standpoints: "scientific research can begin with well formulated hypotheses or it can formulate hypotheses as the end product of the research." For the purposes of this research, both views are acceptable and useful. Firstly, specific hypotheses were formulated at the outset and secondly, other significant hypotheses of value may emerge from the findings and may be useful for future research.

#### **5.3.1 The hypotheses for the study**

##### **5.3.1.1 Questionnaire hypotheses**

1. White pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.

2. Indian pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.
3. African pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.
4. Male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than female pupils at open state schools.
  - (i) White male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than white female pupils.
  - (ii) Indian male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than Indian female pupils.
  - (iii) African male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than African female pupils.
5. African pupils at open white state schools display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than African pupils at open Indian state schools.

6. Pupils from a higher socio-economic background display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than pupils from a lower socio-economic background.

#### **5.3.1.2 Interview hypotheses**

7. African pupils at open state schools display dual closure.
8. Admissions criteria implemented by open state schools serve as a form of exclusionary social closure.

### **5.4 ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA**

The four independent variables, namely, race, gender, department of education and socio-economic category, will each be correlated with the dependent variables outlined in Section 5.2.2. (Refer to Table 2, p.100.)

#### **5.4.1 Effect of pupil's race group on attitudes supporting social closure**

**To test the following three hypotheses:**

1. **White pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.**
2. **Indian pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.**

**3. African pupils at open state schools display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure.**

In relation to the above hypotheses, cross-tabulations of the dependent variables and the race group of pupils were analysed. The CHI-squared test of significance was applied and the following variables were found to be statistically significant:

1. Entrance examinations
2. Stricter entrance examinations
3. Payment of school fees
4. Lowering of standards
5. Decide to leave this school
6. Communication and lifestyle
7. Cultural differences

**1. Entrance examinations**

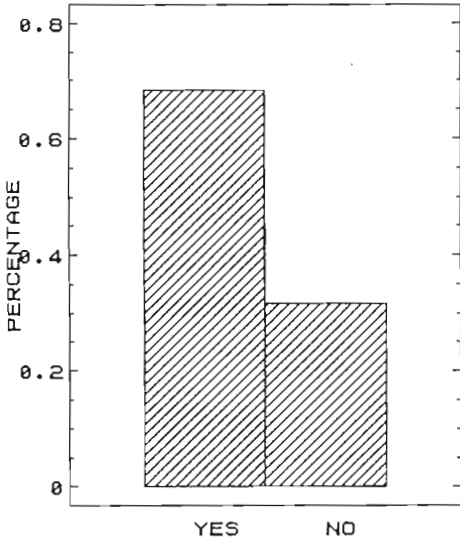
Question 1: Do you think that pupils should write an entrance exam before being admitted to your school? Yes/No

**Table 3: Distribution of responses towards writing entrance examinations according to respondents' race group (n=240)**

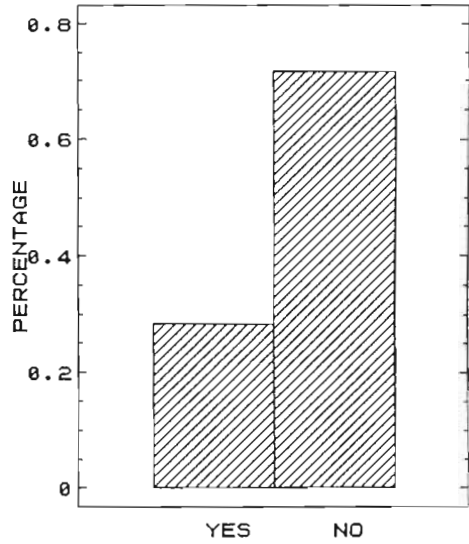
Response category	Whites		Indians		Africans	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	41	68	17	28	66	55
No	19	32	43	72	54	45

Table 3 (above) indicates that the majority of white (68%) and African (55%) respondents expressed a desire for pupils to write entrance examinations before being admitted to the school. However, the majority of Indian respondents (72%) felt that pupils should not be required to write an entrance examination before being admitted to the school. These significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure I) on the following page.

ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS REQUIRED BY  
WHITE RESPONDENTS

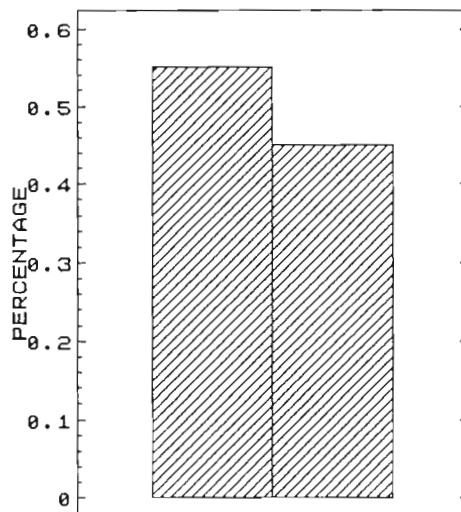


ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS REQUIRED BY  
INDIAN RESPONDENTS



**FIGURE I - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY PUPILS OF THE DIFFERENT RACE**  
**GROUPS TOWARDS ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS**

ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS REQUIRED BY  
AFRICAN RESPONDENTS



## 2. Stricter entrance examinations

Question 2: If yes, should these entrance exams be made more strict?

Please explain why.

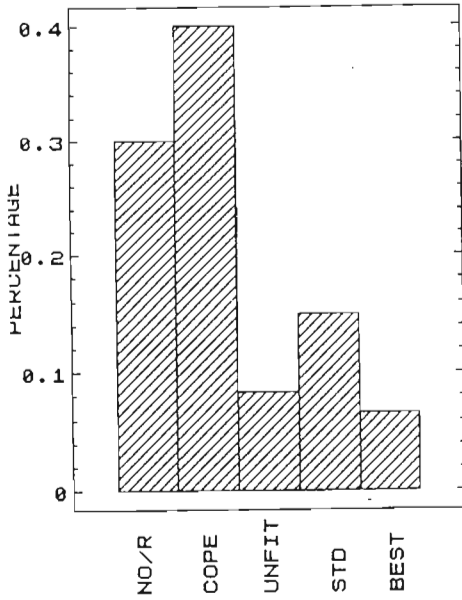
**Table 4: Distribution of responses towards stricter entrance examinations according to respondents' race group (n=124)**

Response category	Whites		Indians		Africans	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Coping with work	24	58	5	29	51	77
Do not deserve to be at the school	5	12	5	29	7	11
To keep standards high	9	21	6	35	2	3
To pick only the best	4	9	1	6	5	8

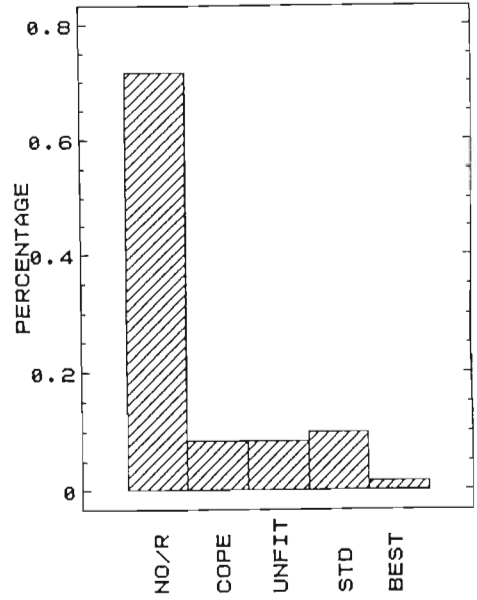
Only the views of the 124 respondents who responded in the affirmative to the first part of the contingency question (refer to Question 2 in Table 2, p.100) were considered for the above question. Table 4 (above) indicates that most of the white (58%) and African (77%) respondents cited coping with work as the reason for having entrance examinations. Indian respondents (35%), on the other hand, felt entrance examinations would keep standards high. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure II) on the following page.



STRICTER ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS BY  
WHITE RESPONDENTS

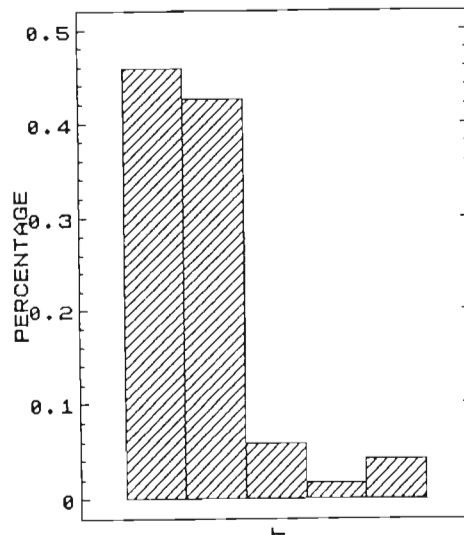


STRICTER ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS  
INDIAN RESPONDENTS



**FIGURE II - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY PUPILS OF THE DIFFERENT RACE**  
**GROUPS TOWARDS STRICTER ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS**

STRICTER ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS BY  
AFRICAN RESPONDENTS



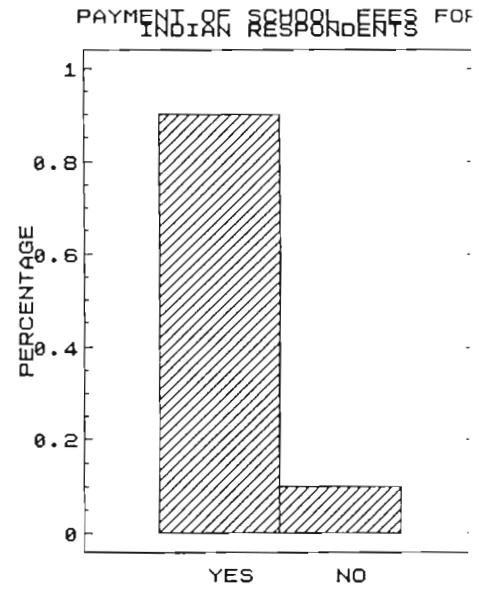
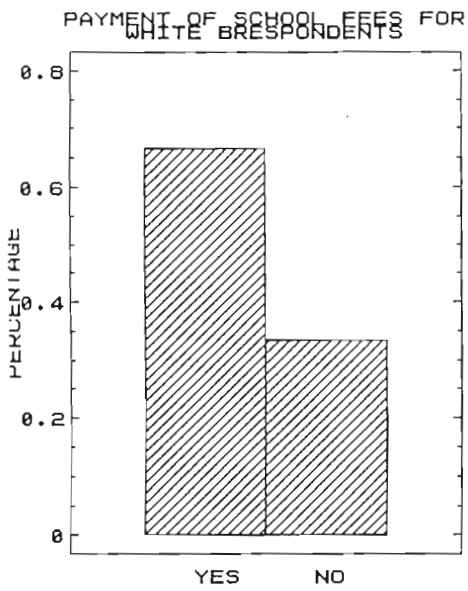
### 3. Payment of school fees

Question 3: Should pupils who cannot afford to pay school fees and other school costs be allowed to attend your school? Yes/No

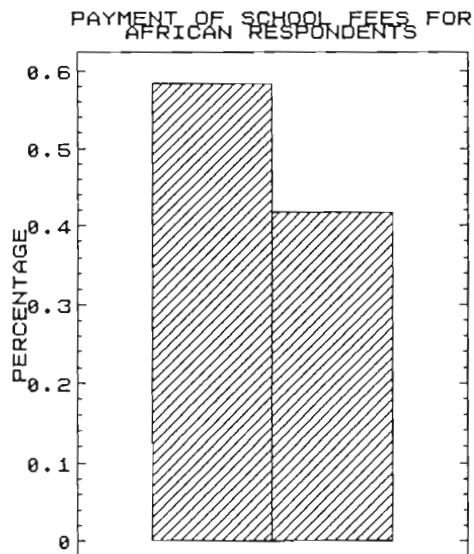
**Table 5: Distribution of responses towards payment of school fees according to respondents' race group (n=240)**

Response category	Whites		Indians		Africans	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	40	67	54	90	70	58
No	20	33	6	10	50	42

In response to the above question, Table 5 (above) shows that respondents across all three race groups responded favourably towards admitting pupils who could not afford to pay school fees. In particular, the Indian respondents (90%) responded overwhelmingly in this regard when compared to the white (67%) and African (58%) respondents. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure III) on the following page.



**FIGURE III - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY PUPILS OF THE DIFFERENT RACE**  
**GROUPS TOWARDS PAYMENT OF SCHOOL FEES**



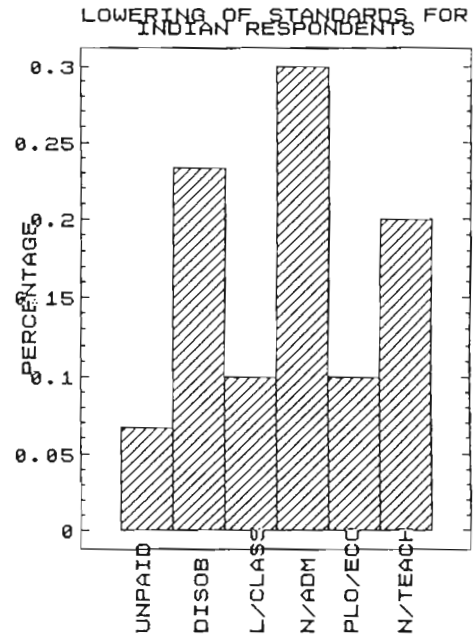
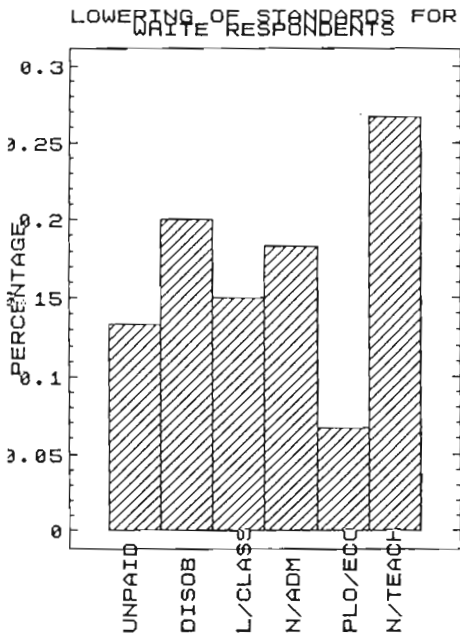
#### 4. Lowering of standards

Question 6: In your opinion, what factors would lead to a drop in the standard of education you receive?

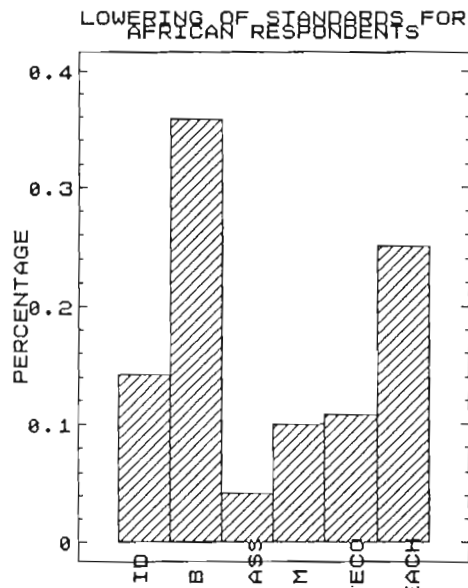
**Table 6: Distribution of responses according to respondent's race group towards factors contributing to a low standard of education (n=240)**

Response category	Whites		Indians		Africans	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percent-age
Non-payment of school fees	8	13	4	7	17	14
Not following school rules	12	20	14	23	43	36
Large classes	9	15	6	10	5	4
Non-selective admissions	11	18	18	30	12	10
Political/economic climate	4	7	6	10	13	11
Lack of good teachers	16	27	12	20	30	25

In response to the above question, Table 6 (above) shows that 36% of African respondents felt that not following school rules would lower standards. Furthermore, both white (27%) and African (25%) respondents felt that the lack of good teachers would lead to a drop in the standard of education. 30% of Indian respondents, on the other hand, felt that non-selective admissions would lead to a drop in the standard of education. This is evidence of a bimodal distribution as most Indian respondents stated that pupils should not write entrance examinations (a form of selective admissions). (Refer to Table 3, p.105.) However, in Table 6 (p.111), Indian respondents advocated a need for selective admissions in order to maintain standards. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure IV).



**FIGURE IV - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM  
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY PUPILS OF THE DIFFERENT RACE  
GROUPS TOWARDS LOWERING OF STANDARDS**



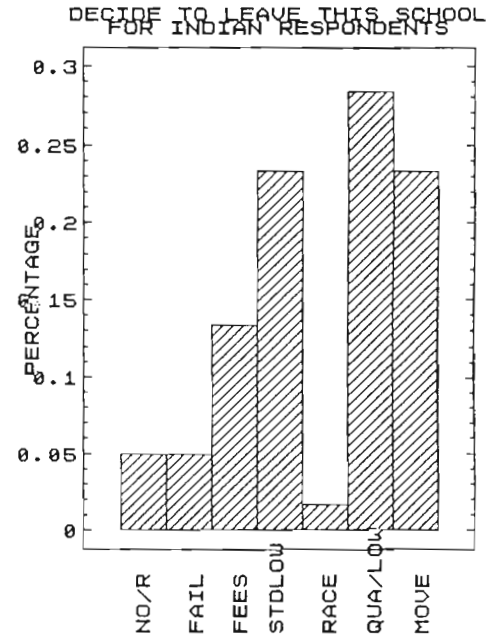
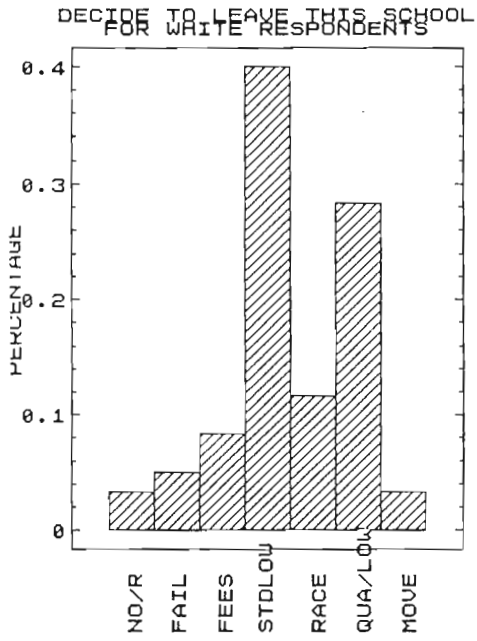
## 5. Decision to leave this school

Question 7: What circumstances would lead you to decide to change your present school? Please explain.

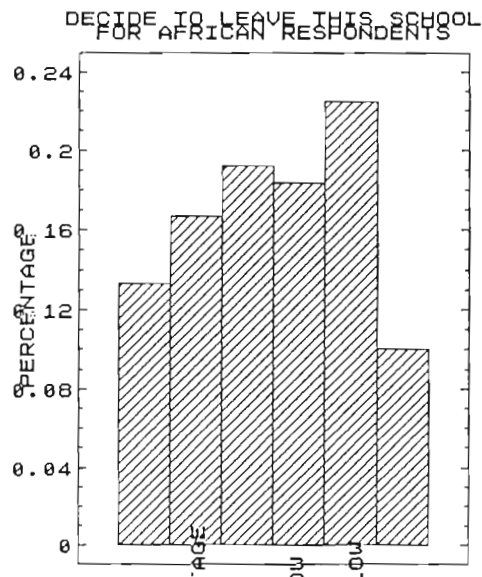
**Table 7: Distribution of responses according to respondents' race group towards decision to leave their present school (n=219)**

Response category	Whites		Indians		Africans	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percent-age
Not coping	3	5	3	5	20	19
High school fees/costs	5	9	8	14	23	22
Standard of education dropped	24	41	14	25	22	21
Majority African or Indian in school	7	12	1	1	0	0
Poor teacher attitudes; subjects not offered	17	29	17	30	27	26
Family moved	2	3	14	25	12	12

Only the views of the 219 respondents who answered this question were considered for analysis purposes. Table 7 (above) shows that 41% of white respondents stated that they would leave the school if the standard of education dropped. This was found to a smaller extent with Indian (27%) and African (21%) respondents. Both Indian (30%) and African (26%) respondents felt that poor attitudes on the part of teachers and particular subjects not being offered would contribute to their decision to leave the school. It is also notable that 22% of African respondents felt that high school fees would serve as a factor prompting them to leave the school. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure V).



**FIGURE V - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY PUPILS OF THE DIFFERENT RACE**  
**GROUPS TOWARDS DECISION TO LEAVE THE SCHOOL**



## 6. Communication and lifestyle

Question 11: If yes, please explain (any problems you have experienced with fellow pupils of different race groups in terms of language and different lifestyle).

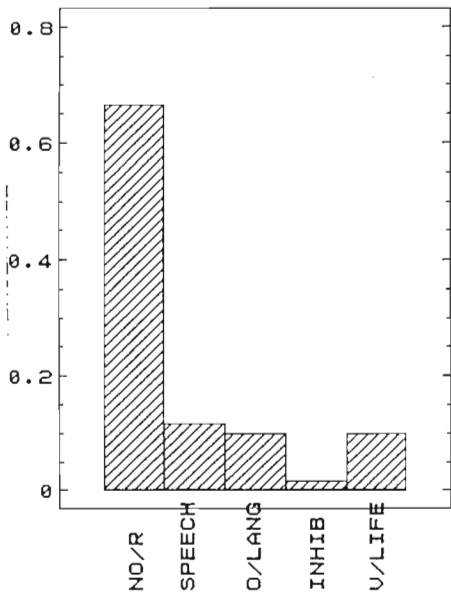
**Table 8: Distribution of responses towards communication and lifestyle problems experienced by respondents according to their race group (n=90)**

Response category	Whites		Indians		Africans	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percent-age
Bad speech /pronunciation	7	35	4	18	24	50
Speak another language	6	30	16	73	11	23
Inhibited	1	5	0	0	1	2
Varied lifestyle	6	30	2	9	12	25

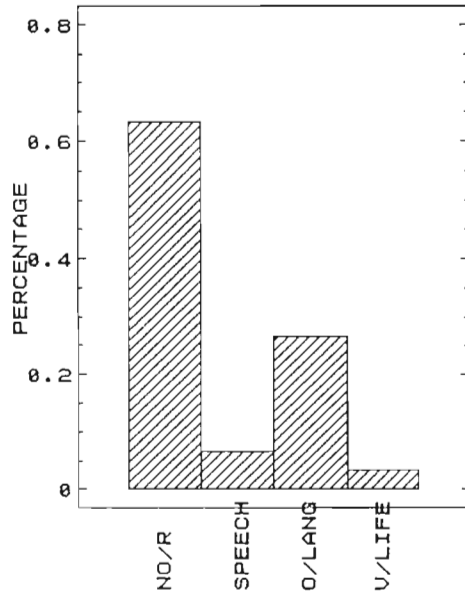
Only the views of the 90 respondents who answered in the affirmative in the first part of the contingency question (Refer to Question 3, Table 2, p.100) were considered for the above question. Table 8 (above) indicates that of the 22 Indian respondents, 73% (n=16) felt that pupils speaking another language while at school was a factor affecting communication among pupils of different race groups. Of the 48 African respondents, 50% (n=24) felt that both speech and pronunciation contributed to communication problems. Varied lifestyle was also seen as a contributory factor affecting communication for 30% of the white respondents and 25% of the African respondents. The above significant differences are represented graphically on the frequency histogram (Figure VI) on the following page.



COMMUNICATION AND LIFESTYLE FOR WHITE RESPONDENTS

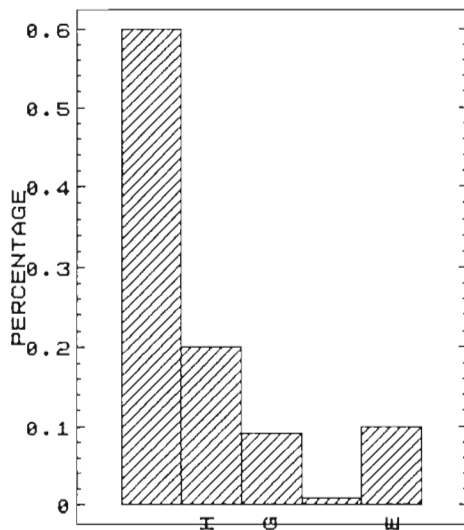


COMMUNICATION AND LIFESTYLE FOR INDIAN RESPONDENTS



**FIGURE VI - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY PUPILS OF THE DIFFERENT RACE**  
**GROUPS TOWARDS COMMUNICATION AND LIFESTYLE DIFFERENCES**

COMMUNICATION AND LIFESTYLE FOR AFRICAN RESPONDENTS



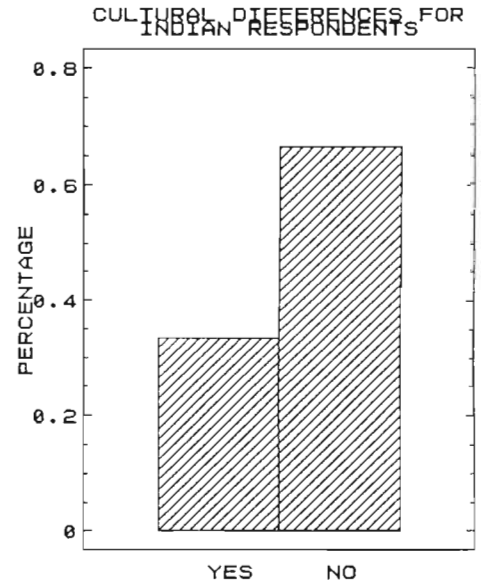
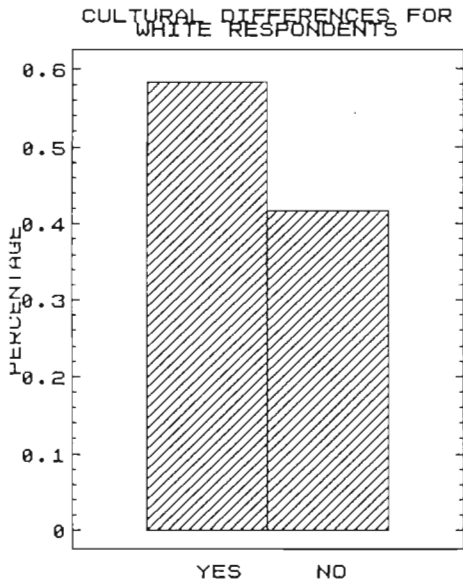
## 7. Cultural differences

Question 12: Do you believe that there are deep cultural differences (such as traditions, values, beliefs) that distinguish you from pupils of different race groups? Yes/No

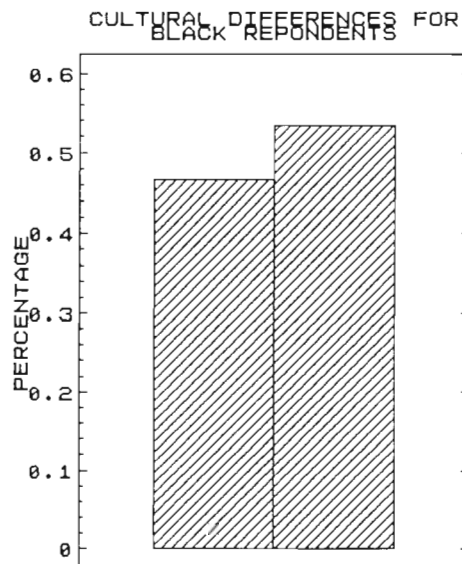
**Table 9: Distribution of responses towards cultural differences by respondents according to their race group (n=240)**

Response category	Whites		Indians		Africans	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	35	58	20	33	56	47
No	25	42	40	67	64	53

In response to the above question, Table 9 (above) shows that most of the Indian (67%) and African (53%) respondents felt that there were no cultural differences among pupils of the different race groups. More white respondents (58%), on the other hand, felt that cultural differences existed among the different race groups. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure VII) on the following page.



**FIGURE VII - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY PUPILS OF THE DIFFERENT RACE**  
**GROUPS TOWARDS CULTURAL DIFFERENCES**



#### **5.4.2 Effect of pupils' gender group on attitudes supporting social closure**

**To test the following hypotheses:**

- 4. Male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than female pupils at open state schools.**

In relation to the above hypotheses, cross tabulations of the dependent variables and the respondents' gender group were analysed. The CHI-squared test of significance was applied and only the following two variables were found to be statistically significant:

1. Entrance examinations
2. Cultural influences

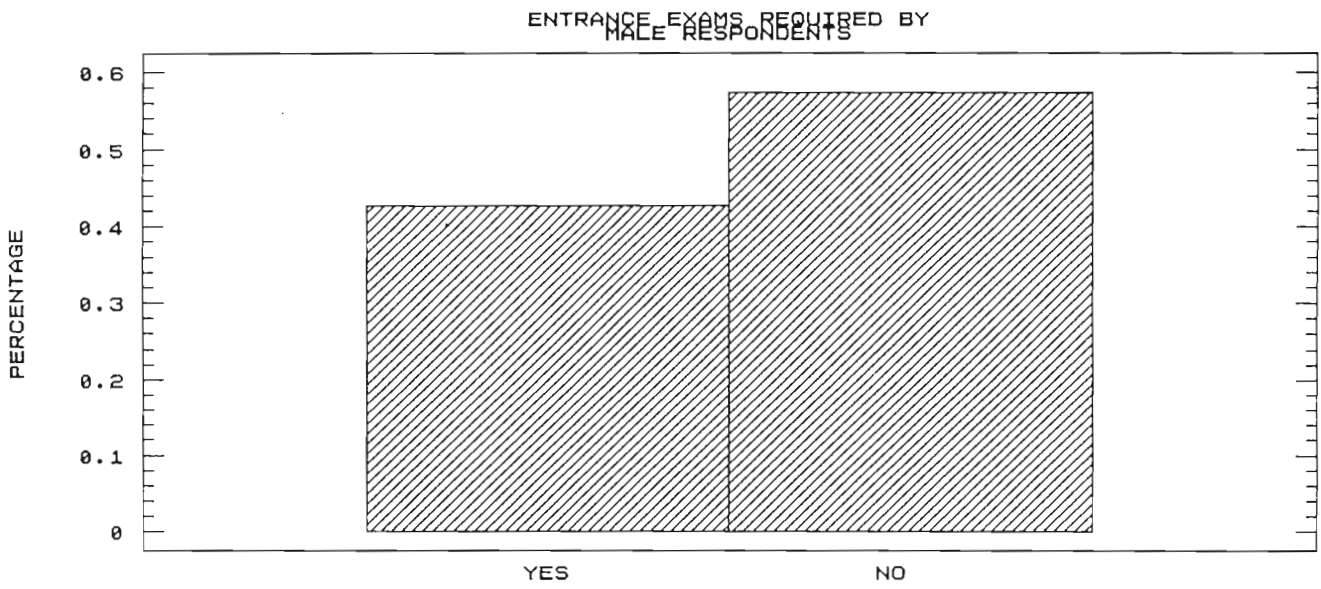
1. **Entrance examinations**

Question 1: Do you think that pupils should write an entrance exam before being admitted to your school? Yes/No

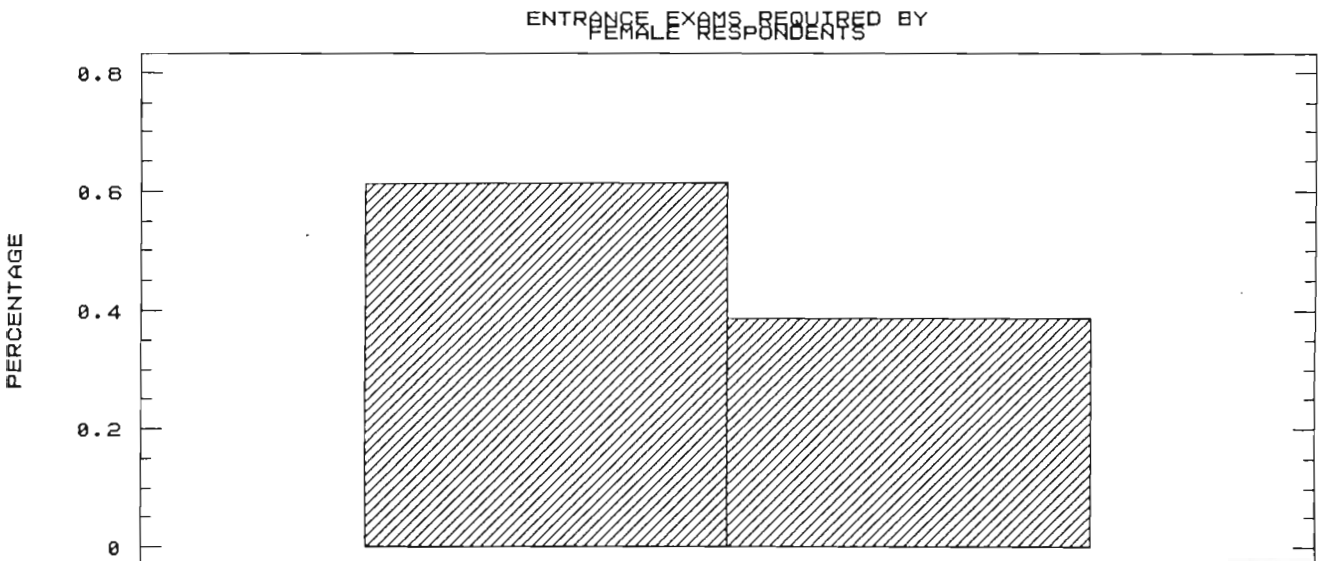
**Table 10: Distribution of responses towards writing entrance examinations according to respondents' gender group (n=240)**

Response category	Males		Females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	53	43	71	61
No	71	57	45	39

In response to the above question, Table 10 (above) shows that a higher percentage of females (61%) wanted entrance examinations to be implemented as compared with male respondents (43%). The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure VIII) on the following page.



**FIGURE VIII - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS TOWARDS**  
**ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS**



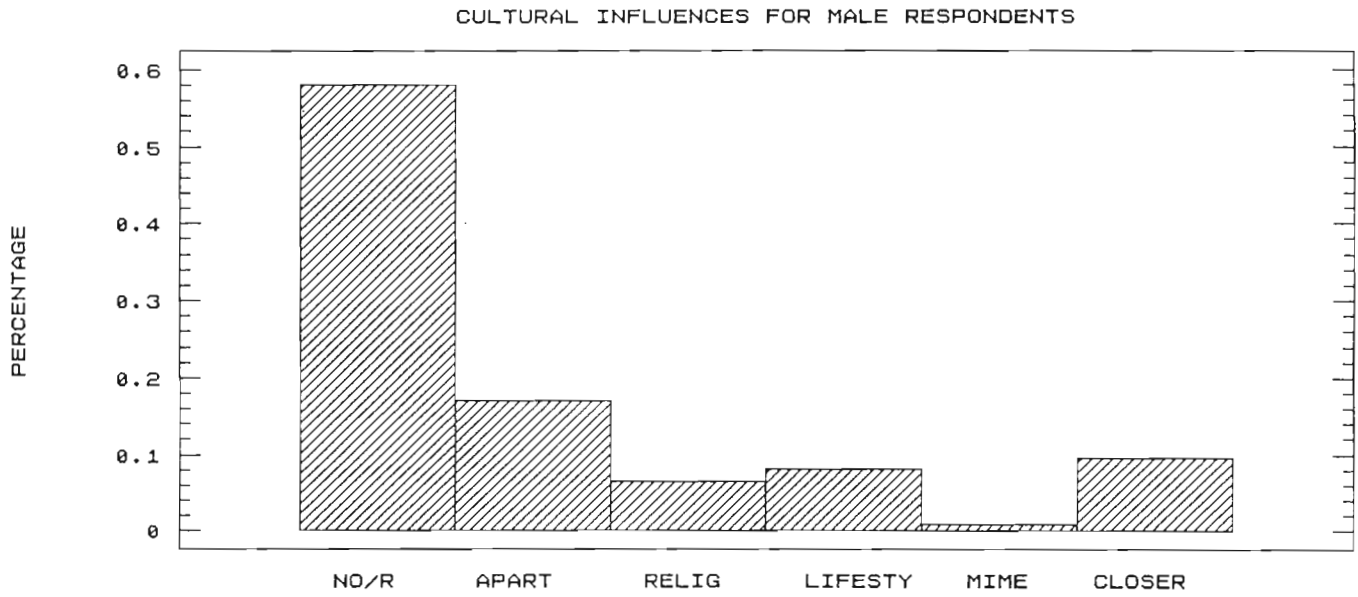
## 2. Cultural influences

Question 13: If yes, how do you think the cultural influences have influenced the way pupils of different race groups relate to each other at your school?

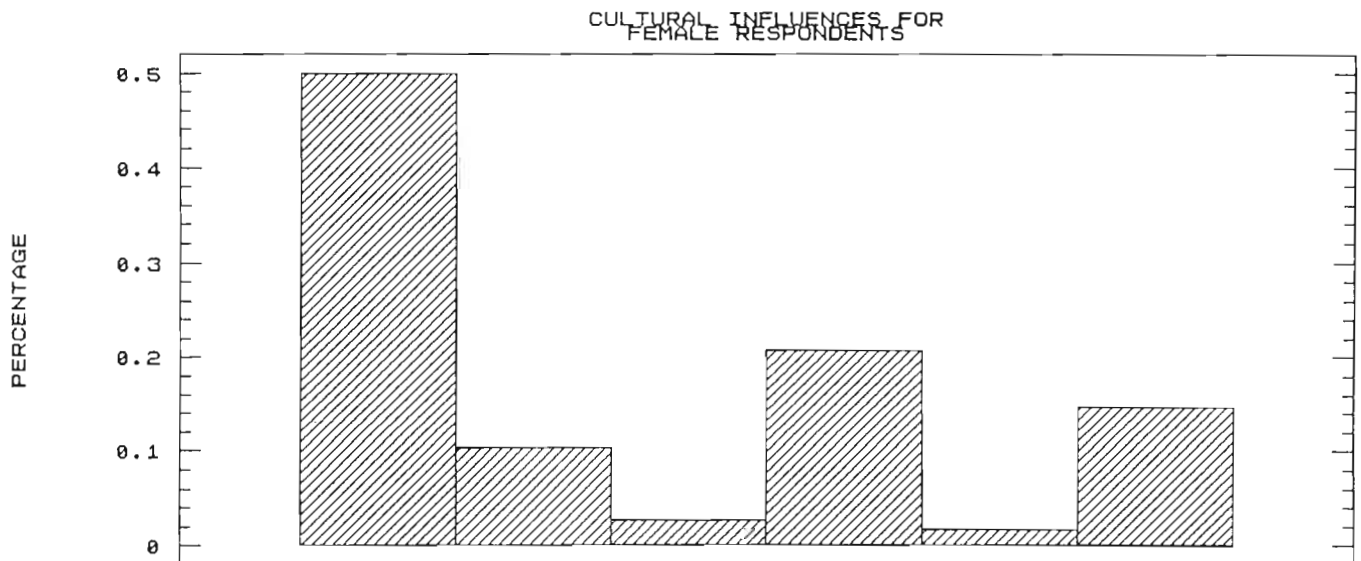
**Table 11: Distribution of responses towards cultural influences by respondents in terms of their gender group (n=168)**

Response category	Males		Females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
No mixing of different race groups	21	40	12	21
Religious friction	8	15	3	5
Different ways of doing things	10	19	24	41
Loss of one's culture	1	2	2	3
Understanding being created	12	23	17	29

Only the views of the 168 respondents who responded in the affirmative to the first part of the contingency question (refer to Question 1, Table 2, p.) were considered for this question. Table 11 (above) shows that 40% of male respondents as opposed to 21% of female respondents felt that lack of social mixing among the different race groups was a result of cultural differences. Female respondents (41%), on the other hand, felt cultural differences led to different ways of doing things while only 19% of male respondents felt this way. Furthermore, more female (29%) than male (23%) respondents felt that understanding of the different cultures was being created. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure IX) on the following page.



**FIGURE IX - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS TOWARDS**  
**CULTURAL INFLUENCES**





**5.4.3 Effect of pupil's race and gender group on attitudes supporting social closure**

To test the following hypotheses:

- 4(i) White male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than white female pupils.**
  
- (ii) Indian male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than Indian female pupils.**
  
- (iii) African male pupils display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than African female pupils.**

In relation to the above hypotheses, cross-tabulations of the dependent variables (refer to Table 2, p.100) and the race and gender group of pupils were analysed. The CHI-squared test of significance was applied and the following variables were found to be statistically significant:

1. Entrance examinations - between African male pupils and African female pupils.
2. Increase in fees - between white male pupils and white female pupils.
3. Lowering of standards - between Indian male pupils and Indian female pupils.
4. Decide to leave this school - between white male pupils and white

female pupils.

5. Living close to school requirements - between African male pupils and African female pupils.
6. Cultural influences - between white male pupils and white female pupils.

1. **Entrance examinations**

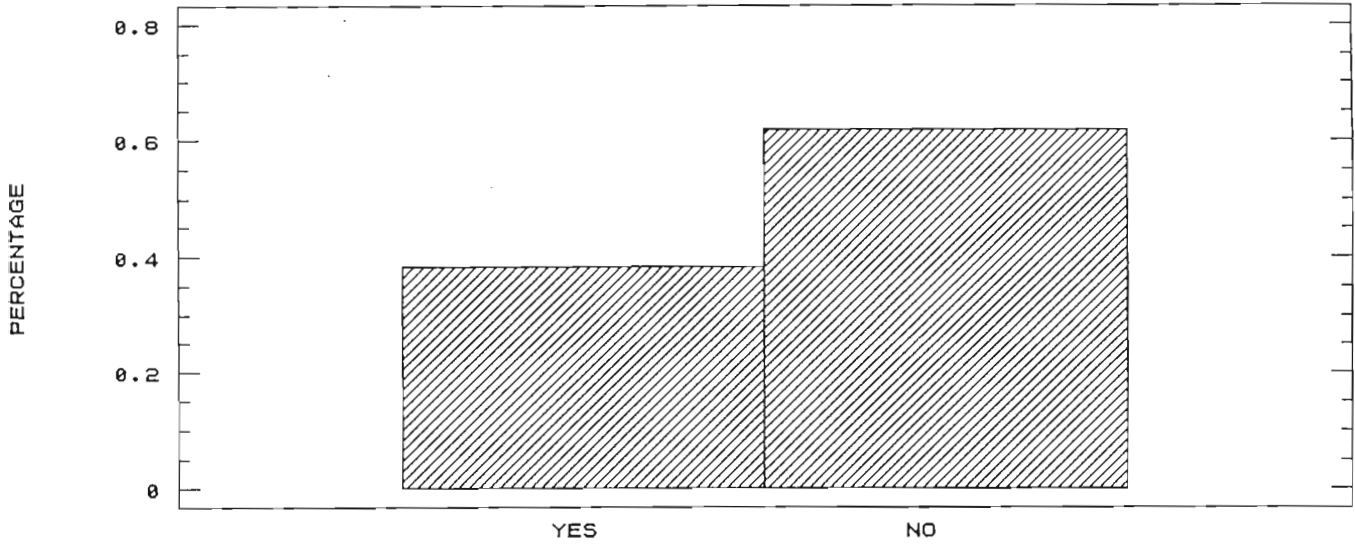
Question 1: Do you think that pupils should write an entrance exam before being admitted to your school? Yes/No

**Table 12: Distribution of responses by African male and female respondents towards writing entrance examinations (n=120)**

Response category	African males		African females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	23	38	43	72
No	37	62	17	28

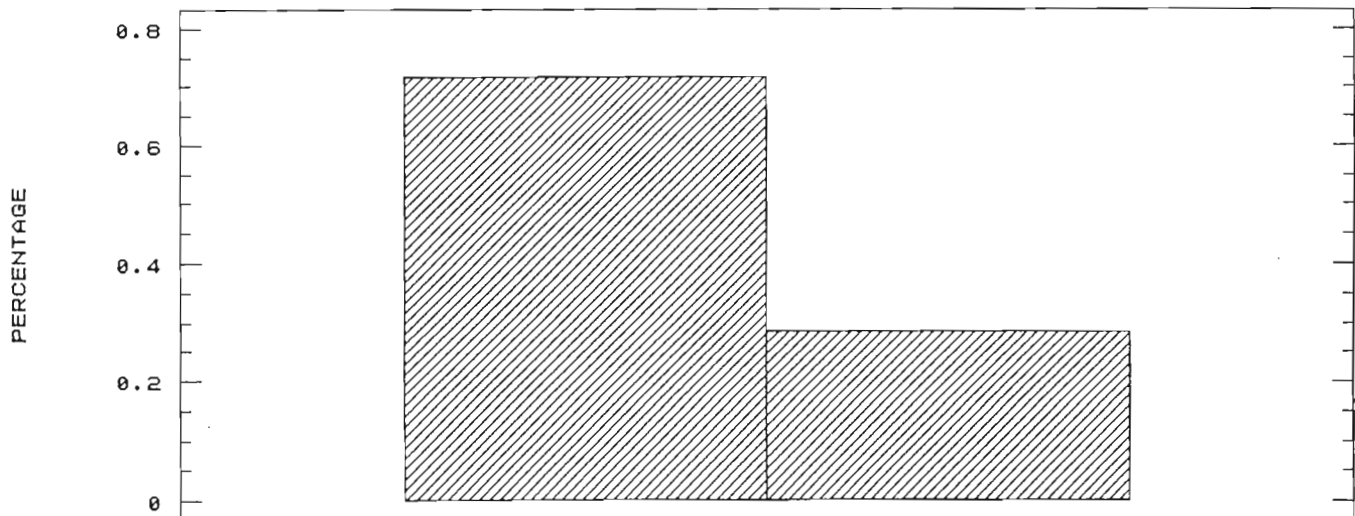
In response to the above question, Table 12 (above) indicates that more African females (72%) than African males (38%) felt that entrance examinations should be written by pupils entering the school. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure X) on the following page.

ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS FOR  
AFRICAN MALE RESPONDENTS



**FIGURE X - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY AFRICAN MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS**  
**TOWARDS ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS**

ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS FOR  
AFRICAN FEMALE RESPONDENTS



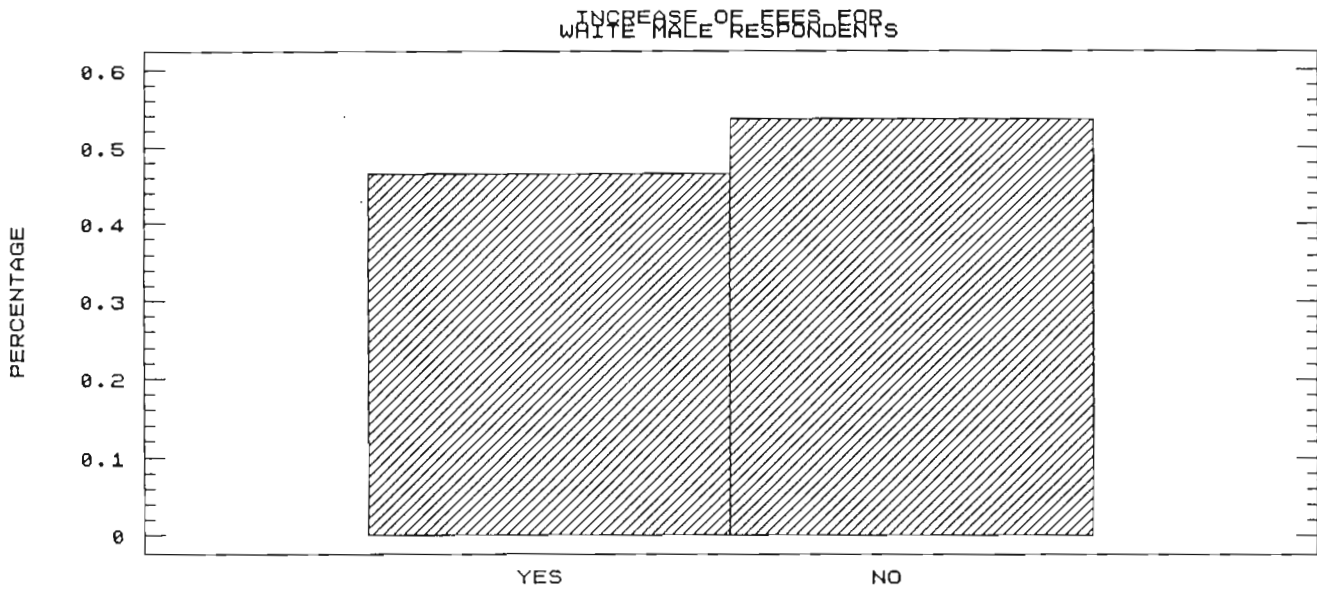
## 2. Increase of fees

Question 5: Do you think it is fair to increase school fees in order to provide a higher standard of education?

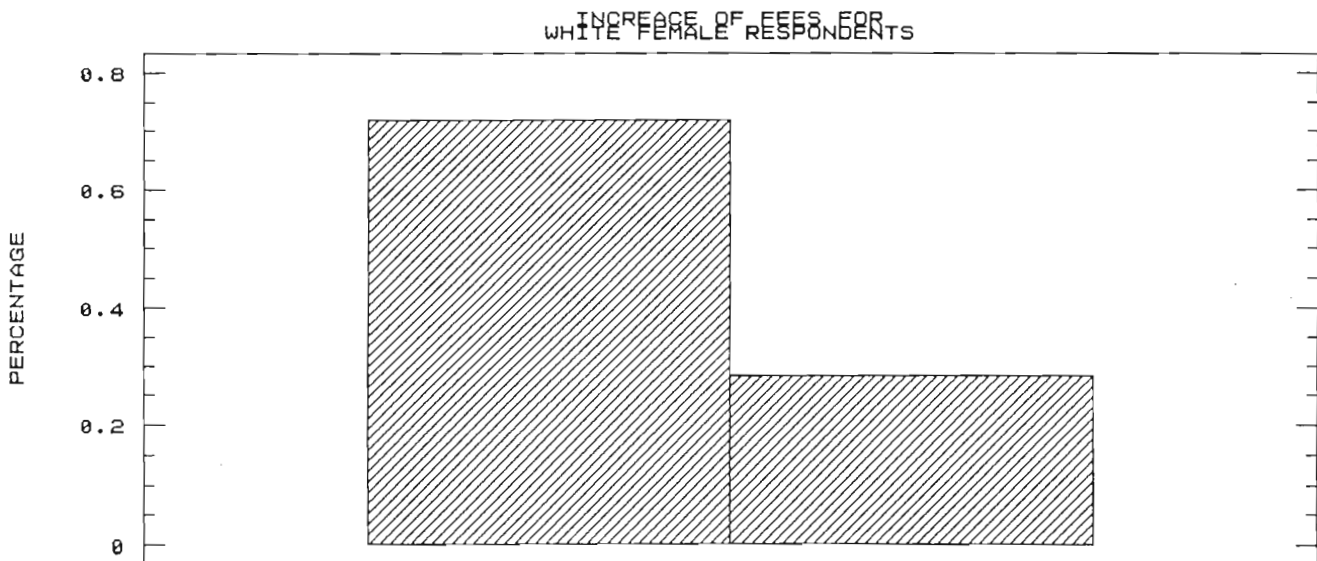
**Table 13: Distribution of responses by white male and female respondents towards an increase in fees (n=60)**

Response category	White males		White females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Yes	13	46	23	72
No	15	54	9	28

In response to the above question, Table 13 (above) shows that more white females (72%) than white males (46%) felt that fees should be increased in order to maintain a higher standard of education. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure XI) on the following page.



**FIGURE XI - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY WHITE MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS**  
**TOWARDS THE INCREASE IN SCHOOL FEES**



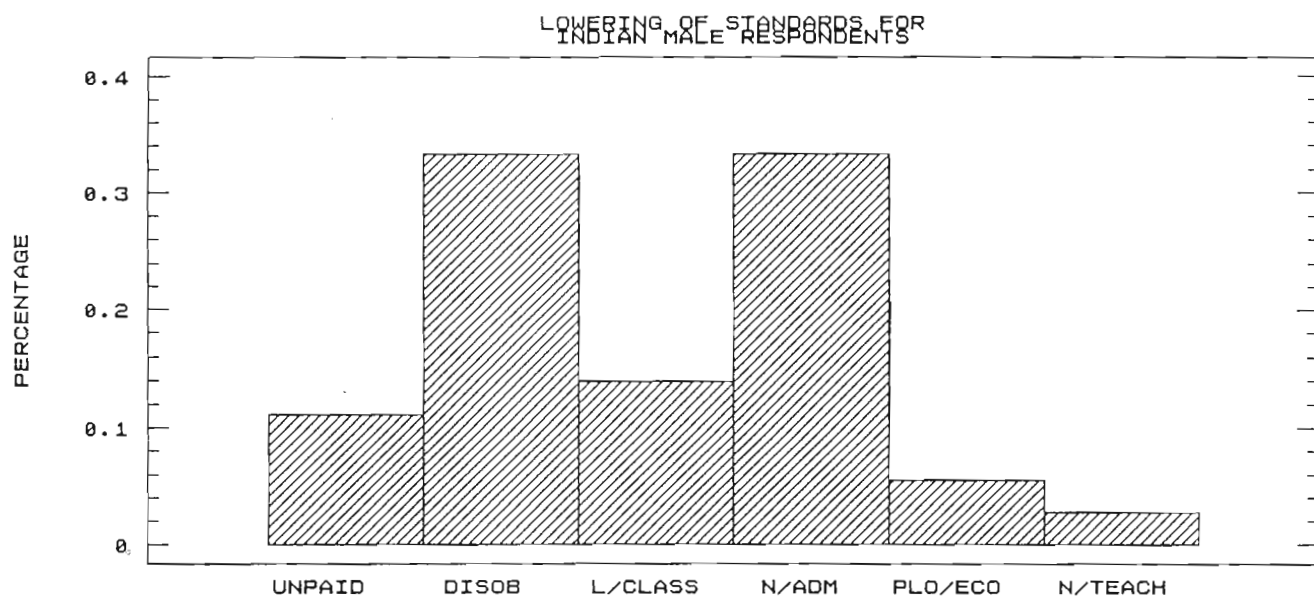
### 3. Lowering of standards

Question 6: In your opinion, what factors would lead to a drop in the standard of education you receive?

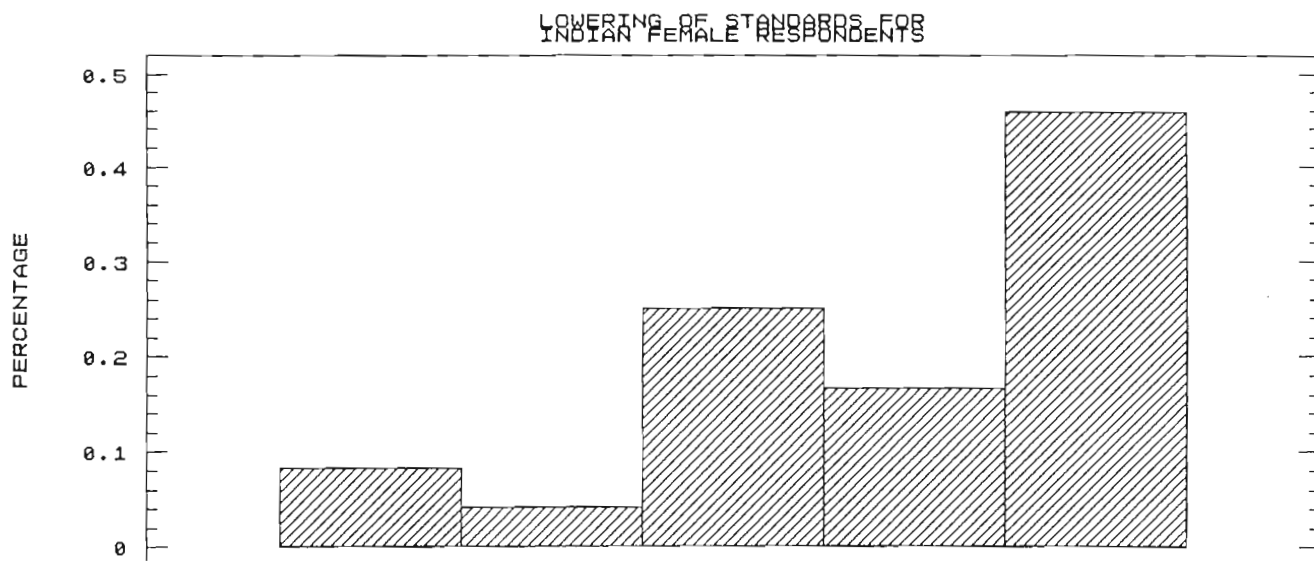
**Table 14: Distribution of responses by Indian male and female respondents towards factors contributing to a lowering of standard of education (n=60)**

Response category	Indian males		Indian females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Non-payment of school fees	4	11	0	0
Not following school rules	12	33	2	8
Large classes	5	14	1	4
Non-selective admissions	12	33	6	25
Political/economic climate	2	5	4	17
Lack of good teachers	1	3	11	46

In response to the above question, Table 14 (above) shows that more Indian males (33%) than Indian females (25%) felt that non-selective admissions would lead to a drop in the standard of education. Furthermore, more females (46%) than males (3%) stated that a lack of good teachers would lead to a drop in the standard of education. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure XII) on the following page.



**FIGURE XII - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS**  
**TOWARDS THE LOWERING OF STANDARDS**



**4. Decision to leave this school**

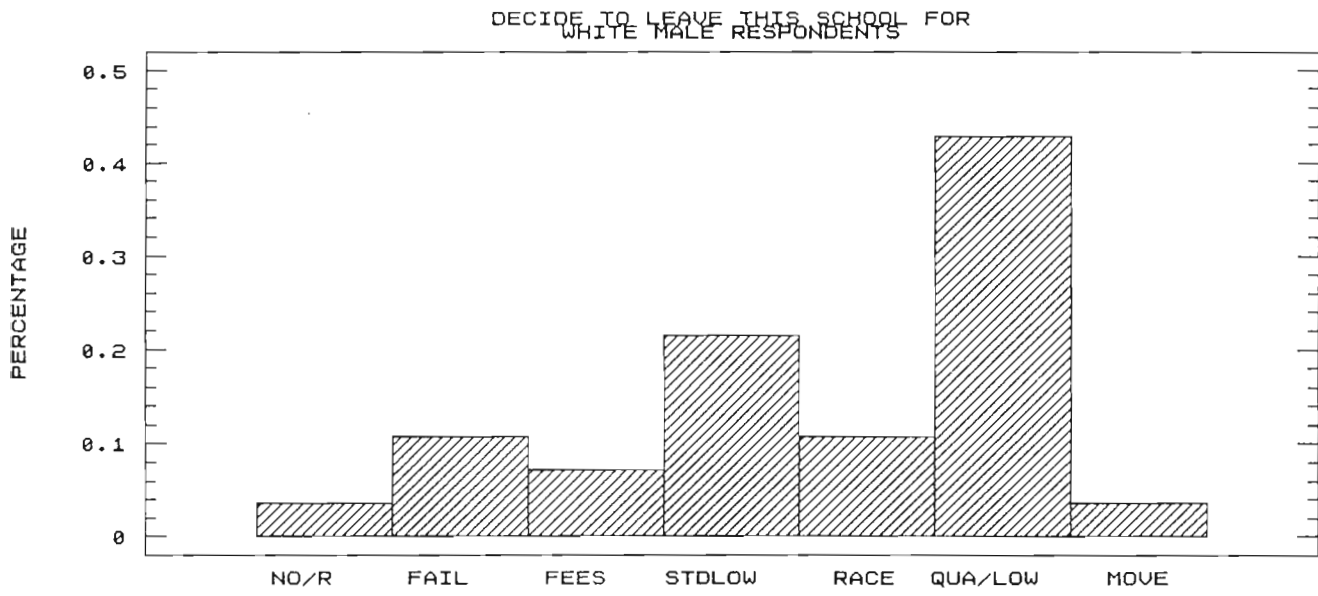
Question 7: What circumstances would lead you to decide to change your present school? Please explain.

**Table 15: Distribution of responses by white male and female respondents towards decision to leave the school (n=58)**

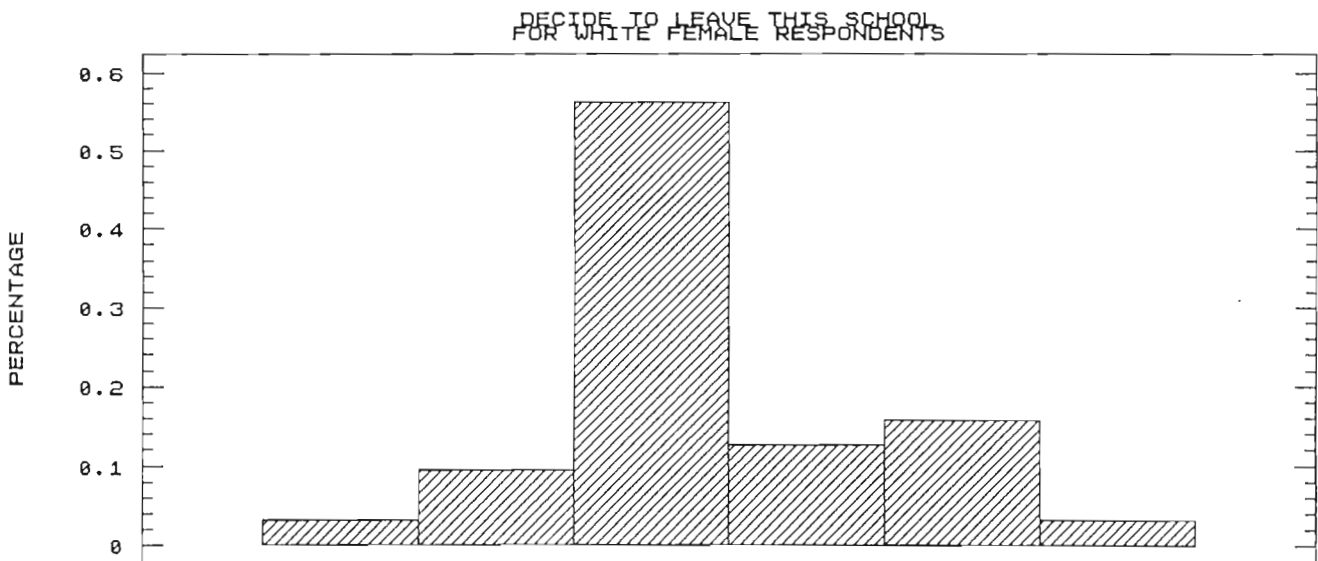
Response category	White males		White females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Not coping	3	11	0	0
High school fees/costs	2	7	3	10
Standard of education dropped	6	22	18	58
Majority African/Indian in the school	3	11	4	13
Poor teacher attitudes Subject not offered	12	44	5	16
Family moved	1	3	1	3

Only the views of the 58 white respondents who responded to question 7 (above) were considered. Table 15 (above) shows that 44% of white males as opposed to 16% of white females stated that poor attitudes on the part of teachers or subjects not being offered were factors which would prompt them to leave the school. On the other hand, 58% of white females as opposed to only 22% of white males stated that they would leave if the standard of education dropped. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure XIII) on the following page.





**FIGURE XIII - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY WHITE MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS**  
**TOWARDS DECISION TO LEAVE THE SCHOOL**



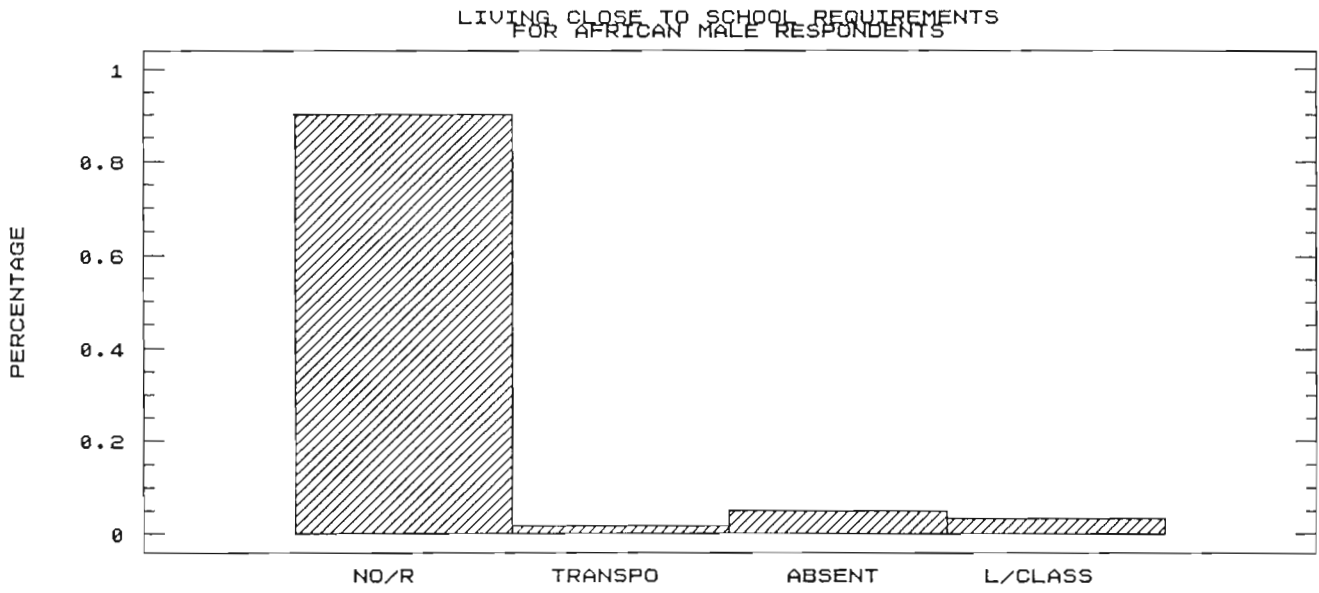
**5. Living close to school requirements**

Question 9: If yes, please explain why (you prefer only pupils living close to your school to be admitted).

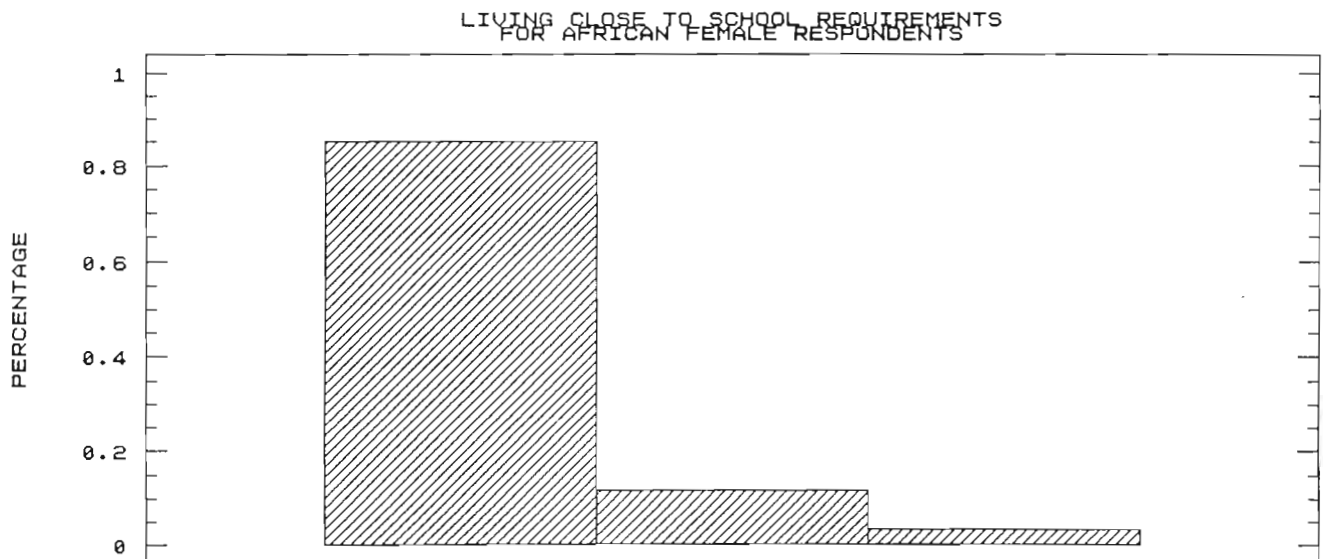
**Table 16: Distribution of responses by African male and female respondents towards admitting only those who live close to school (n=15)**

Response category	African males		African females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Transport problems	1	17	7	78
Absenteeism	3	50	2	22
Bigger class	0	0	0	0
Higher travelling costs	2	33	0	0

Only the views of the 15 African respondents who responded in the affirmative to the first part of the contingency question (refer to Question 7, Table 2, p.100) were considered for the above question. Table 16 (above) shows that more African females (78%) than African males (17%) stated that transport problems were the main reason for wanting only pupils who live close to the school to be admitted. Furthermore, 33% of African males as opposed to no African females felt that high travelling costs featured as a reason for wanting only pupils who live close to the school to be admitted. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure XIV) on the following page.



**FIGURE XIV - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY AFRICAN MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS**  
**TOWARDS LIVING CLOSE TO SCHOOL**



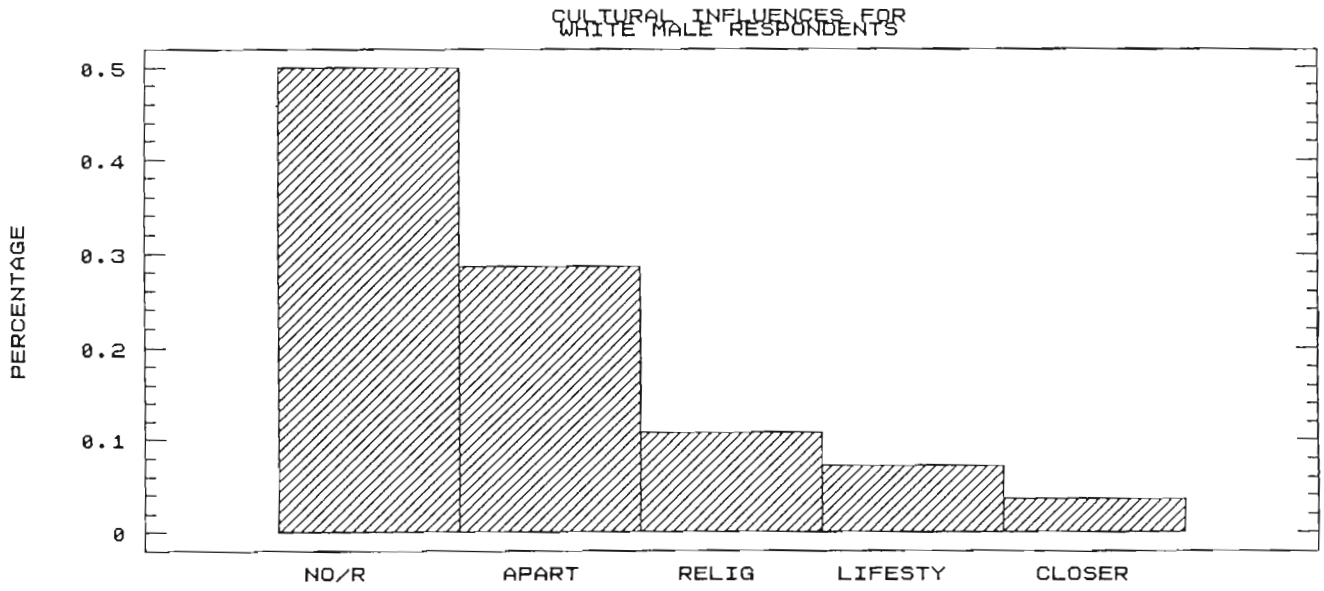
## 6. Cultural influences

Question 13: If yes, how do you think these cultural influences have influenced the way pupils of different race groups relate to each other at your school?

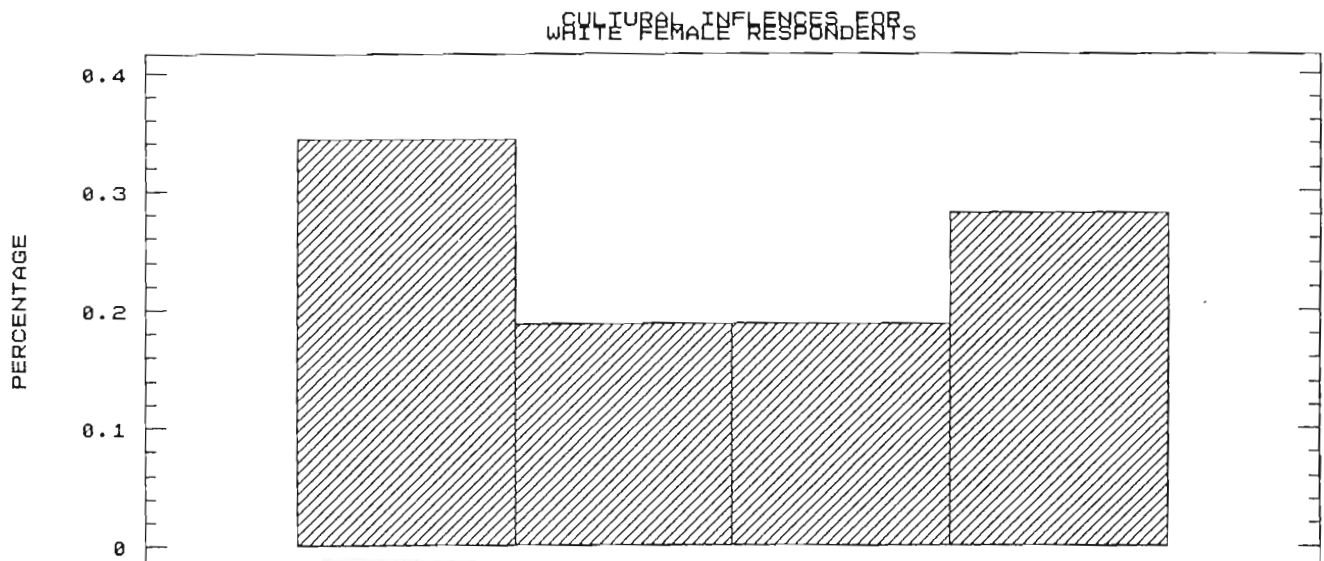
**Table 17: Distribution of responses by white male and female respondents towards cultural influences (n=35)**

Response category	White males		White females	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
No mixing of different race groups	8	57	6	29
Religious friction	3	21	0	0
Different ways of doing things	2	14	6	29
Loss of one's culture	0	0	0	0
Understanding being created	1	7	9	42

Only the views of the 35 white respondents who responded in the affirmative to the first part of the contingency question (refer to Question 1, Table 2, p.100) were considered for the above question. Table 17 (above) indicates that more white males (57%) than white females (29%) felt that cultural differences led to a lack of mixing among the different race groups. On the other hand, more white females (42%) than white males (7%) felt that understanding was being created among pupils of the different race groups within the school. The above significant differences are represented graphically in the frequency histogram (Figure XV) on the following page.



**FIGURE XV - FREQUENCY HISTOGRAM  
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY WHITE MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
TOWARDS CULTURAL INFLUENCES**



**5.4.4 Effect of the type of education system on African pupils' attitudes supporting social closure**

To test the following hypotheses:

- 5. African pupils at open white state schools display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than African pupils at open Indian state schools.**

In relation to the above hypotheses, cross-tabulations of the dependent variables and the department of education African pupils belonged to were analysed. The CHI-squared test of significance was applied and none of the variables were found to be statistically significant.

**5.4.5 Effect of pupils' socio-economic background on attitudes supporting social closure**

To test the following hypothesis:

- 6. Pupils from a higher socio-economic background display a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure than pupils from a lower socio-economic background.**

In relation to the above hypothesis, cross-tabulations of the dependent variables and the pupils' socio-economic background were analysed. The

CHI-squared test of significance was applied and none of the variables were found to be statistically significant.

## **5.5 ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA**

Interviews were conducted with 40 pupils, 20 teachers and 10 principals. As a result of the different interview schedules used, each of the above-mentioned sets of interviews will be analysed separately.

### **5.5.1 Analysis of pupils' interviews**

The characteristics of the 40 pupils interviewed are outlined in Table 33 (refer to Appendix D). The interviews were essentially unstructured but contained certain open-ended questions which also appeared in the questionnaire schedule, namely, Question 7(b), 8(b), 13(b), 15, 16(b) (Refer to questionnaire schedule - Appendix A). These questions were used to ensure a measure of comparability between the questionnaire and interview research procedures. In addition to the above-mentioned questions, a further three questions from the interview schedule were selected for analysis purposes. These questions contained elements of exclusionary closure and were considered crucial for analysis purposes.

The following questions were selected from the interview schedule for analysis:

1. Do you think that pupils should write an entrance exam before being admitted to your school and should these entrance exams be made more strict? Please explain.
2. Should pupils who cannot afford to pay school fees and other school costs be allowed to attend your school?
3. In your opinion, what factors would lead to a drop in the standard of education you receive?
4. Have you experienced any problems communicating with fellow pupils of different race groups in terms of language and lifestyle? Please explain.
5. Do you believe that there are deep cultural differences (such as traditions, values, beliefs) which influence the way pupils of different race groups relate to each other? Please explain.
6. Do you think education is a right or a privilege?
7. Do you think that the government's policy of integration should occur gradually or immediately?



8. Would you feel comfortable if your school population became majority African?

**Question 8 (above) was specifically used to test the following hypothesis:**

- 7. African pupils at open state schools display dual closures.**

Question 1: Do you think that pupils should write an entrance exam before being admitted to your school and should these entrance exams be made more strict? Please explain.

Tables 18(a) (p.141) and 18(b) (p.142) record the comments of the interviewees with regard to whether pupils should write an entrance examination before being admitted to the school. Of the 40 interviewees, 16 (40%) stated that pupils should not have to write an entrance examination before being admitted to the school, one of the reasons being that the purpose of entrance examinations was to keep Africans out of the school. Of the remaining 24 interviewees who felt there should be entrance examinations, 11 interviewees across all three race groups stated that entrance examinations would indicate whether pupils would be able to cope. Furthermore, 3 white female interviewees felt that entrance examinations would keep standards high while 5 interviewees across all three race groups stated that entrance examinations would enable the school to pick only the best pupils. Note: In Tables 18 - 25, the following key is used: W = white; A = African; I = Indian; M = male; F = female.

**Table 18(a): Responses within white state schools towards the writing of entrance examinations**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	Coping with work	"Yes, so that they can cope and understand what is going on in the classroom."
2	W	M	Do not deserve to be at the school	"Entrance tests will control the influx of blacks, most of whom the school cannot accept as they will fail."
3	A	M	Coping with work	"So that they can understand the work once they are in the school."
4	W	M	Coping with work	"So that problems will be recognised earlier. Also with the number of blacks increasing the school will know if they need bridging."
5	W	F	To keep standards high	"To ensure that the academic standard will not be lowered."
6	A	F	To keep standards high	"So that they can fit into the standard of work at school and cope and maintain the standard of education."
7	W	F	To keep standards high	"Pupils need to know if they can cope. Academic standards need to be maintained."
8	A	F	To keep standards high	"All those blacks who are not living in the area should have to write an entrance exam as they come from different educational backgrounds and might not cope with the work and lower the standards of our school."
9	A	F	-	No.
10	W	F	To keep standards high	"Entrance tests should be given to only those pupils who have immigrated to South Africa and to those coming from different educational departments, as they might lower the standard of the school."
11	A	F	-	No.
12	W	F	Do not deserve to be at the school	"Especially needed if they are entering higher levels. Furthermore, to ensure the level of education and the standard of education does not get affected as African pupils are slowing down the pace of the entire class."
13	A	M	Coping with work	"Need to know if they can cope."
14	W	M	-	No.
15	A	M	-	No. - "These entrance exams are designed to keep Africans out."
16	W	M	To pick only the best	"To see if they are well-suited to the tradition and standards of education of the school."
17	A	M	Coping with work	"Because most pupils don't know how to speak English, they get disgusting results. If there are strict entrance requirements, then the few good ones will be able to cope at school."
18	W	M	Do not deserve to be at school	"Only for those who are daft as they could be wasting their time here."
19	W	M	Do not deserve to be at school	"A lot of people find out that they are wasting their time at the school; instead they are having fun and should therefore be eliminated."
20	A	M	To pick only the best	"Schools need to check out what type of pupils are coming into the school."

**Table 18(b): Responses within Indian state schools towards the writing of entrance examinations**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	Coping with work	"To see if they will cope with the high standard of work."
22	I	F	Coping with work	"To find out if they can cope with the work."
23	A	M	-	No. - "Designed to keep blacks out."
24	I	M	Coping with work	"It will show if they can cope with the work."
25	A	M	-	No. - "Our black schools do not have much work, examinations are not on what they know. Pupils will fail and will not be accepted at the white or Indian schools, if they have to write entrance exams. If they actually enter these schools they will learn more."
26	A	M	To pick only the best	"To see if they qualify to be in the school, they should be strict as many African children are failing."
27	I	F	-	No.
28	I	M	To keep standards high	"Schools need to maintain a certain standard of education, therefore entrance examinations are necessary."
29	I	F	To pick only the best	"To maintain a good academic standard the school needs to accept only the best students who are willing to make the school better."
30	A	M	Coping with work	"Because schools will then know what knowledge the pupils possess and whether they need to drop a standard."
31	A	M	Coping with work	"Need to know what standard one is going to enter; also it is important to understand the school work."
32	I	M	-	No.
33	A	F	-	No.
34	I	M	-	No.
35	A	M	-	No.
36	I	M	-	No.
37	A	F	-	No.
38	I	M	-	No.
39	A	F	-	No.
40	I	F	-	No.

Question 2: Should pupils who cannot afford to pay school fees and other school costs be allowed to attend your school?

In response to whether pupils should be allowed to attend the school if they are unable to pay school fees, Table 19(a) (p.144) and 19(b) (p.145) illustrate that 32 (80%) interviewees overwhelmingly felt that pupils should be allowed to attend even if they are unable to pay school fees. This is especially notable amongst Indian interviewees, none of whom stated that pupils should not be allowed. Of the 8 (20%) interviewees who felt that only pupils who were able to afford school fees and other school costs should be allowed to attend the school, 3 African males stated that non-payment of school fees would lead to a shortage of equipment and other necessities, while 3 African females argued that it was unfair for those pupils who paid school fees to shoulder the burden for those who could not afford to pay. Finally, only 1 white male interviewee stated that non-payment of school fees would allow just anyone to attend the school which would lead to chaos.

**Table 19(a): Responses within white state schools towards payment of school fees**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	Shortage of equipment, etc	"No, as we need money for good facilities and better teachers."
2	W	M	-	"Yes, everybody needs education."
3	A	M	Shortage of equipment	"No, money is required for toilets, books, sports equipment."
4	W	M	-	"Yes, as this would merely impose a vicious cycle."
5	W	F	-	"Yes."
6	A	F	-	"Yes."
7	W	F	-	"Yes, everybody should have education; without education, can't get jobs/money."
8	A	F	Unfair	"No, should not get education if you cannot pay for it, as unfair on those who do pay for their education."
9	A	F	Unfair	"No, not fair to those who do pay fees."
10	W	F	-	"Yes."
11	A	F	-	"Yes, government should contribute to funds."
12	W	F	-	"Yes."
13	A	M	-	"Yes - everyone wants and needs a good education."
14	W	M	Non-selective entry	"No, only those who are able to contribute to fees should be allowed to attend, if the fees are very cheap, just anybody of a lower class can come into the school; however, if there are higher fees only the good people can come."
15	A	M	-	
16	W	M	-	
17	A	M	-	
18	W	M	-	
19	W	M	-	
20	A	M	-	

**Table 19(b): Responses within Indian state schools towards payment of school fees**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	Unfair	"No, unfair if some pay and others don't."
22	I	F	-	"Yes."
23	A	M	-	"Yes."
24	I	M	-	"Yes."
25	A	M	-	"Yes."
26	A	M	-	"Yes."
27	I	F	-	"Yes."
28	I	M	-	"Yes, not their fault if they are poor and everyone wants education in order to be successful."
29	I	F	-	"Yes."
30	A	M	-	"Yes."
31	A	M	-	"Yes."
32	I	M	-	"Yes."
33	A	F	-	"Yes."
34	I	M	-	"Yes."
35	A	M	-	"Yes."
36	I	M	-	"Yes."
37	A	F	-	"Yes."
38	I	M	-	"Yes."
39	A	F	-	"Yes."
40	I	F	-	"Yes."

Question 3: In your opinion, what factors would lead to a drop in the standard of education you receive?

In response to the above question, Table 20(a) (p.147) and 20(b) (p.148) indicate that for most of the African and Indian interviewees, not following school rules on the part of the pupils would lead to a drop in the standard of education. A further 7 African interviewees stated that a lack of good teachers would contribute to the lowering of the standard of education. Only 2 Indian interviewees stated that non-selective admissions would lead to a drop in the standard of education. Most white respondents stated that large classes would contribute to a lowering of the standard of education.

**Table 20(a): Responses within white state schools towards the lowering of standards**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	School rules - working hard	"If pupils don't work hard and obey the rules of the school."
2	W	M	Large classes	"Pupils are not coping with the standard of education, and the large classes due to the increasing numbers of blacks at our schools will surely lead to the lowering of standards in the future; therefore need to take only a small number of black pupils."
3	A	M	School rules - working hard	"Pupils who do not work hard will lead to a lowering of the standard."
4	W	M	Large classes	"No respect for teachers and standard of work will decrease if the work becomes easier. More importantly, the large classes, especially with the increase of African pupils, will lower the standards."
5	W	F	Lack of good teachers	"Teachers who are not good enough as teachers and who pass pupils who are actually failing."
6	A	F	Large classes	"The large number of pupils who are being admitted will lead to large classes and the standard will drop."
7	W	F	School rules/working hard	"If pupils do not listen to teachers and follow rules."
8	A	F	School rules/working hard	"If pupils do not study and follow the rules."
9	A	F	Lack of good teachers	"If teachers do not teach properly, absenteeism of teachers and constantly changing the teachers in the school."
10	W	F	Non-payment of school fees	"If pupils don't pay school fees, school fund, etc, there will be less education and the standard will drop."
11	A	F	School rules/working hard	"If people don't have the right attitude, if they fail and give up."
12	W	F	Lack of good teachers	"If there is no discipline on the part of teachers."
13	A	M	School rules/working hard	"Absenteeism by pupils and not listening to teachers."
14	W	M	School rules/working hard	"Drugs in school, not concentrating on important subjects."
15	A	M	Political/economic climate	"Inadequate facilities, not understanding teachers, political change, if government withdraws funds from the schools and schools become purely private the majority of whites would not be able to pay. They are not from very rich families as the only very rich go to private schools."
16	W	M	Lack of good teachers	"Teachers are not strict and if they do not enforce discipline."
17	A	M	School rules/working hard	"Not working hard since too much of white sports, eg. rugby, surfing."
18	W	M	Large classes	"Because of the large classes, the teachers will have to pay more attention to large numbers of weak pupils."
19	W	M	Large classes	"Overcrowding of classes, lack of concentration in such a set up will contribute to a drop in the standard of education."
20	A	M	School rules/working hard	"Too many pupils not obeying school rules."



**Table 20(b): Responses within Indian state schools towards lowering of standards**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	Non-selective admissions	"If pupils do not speak English and are simply accepted into the school without testing."
22	I	F	School rules/working hard	"Misbehaviour on the part of pupils."
23	A	M	School rules/working hard	"If pupils don't work hard enough."
24	I	M	Large classes	"Over-populated classes due to large numbers of pupils; equal attention is not paid by the teachers."
25	A	M	Lack of good teachers	"If teachers don't give blacks a fair chance; if teachers are not cooperating with them."
26	A	M	Lack of good teachers	"Teachers who don't concentrate on teaching."
27	I	F	School rules/working hard	"Pupils not working hard enough."
28	I	M	School rules/working hard	"Pupils who are rebelling and not working hard enough."
29	I	F	School rules/working hard	"If pupils are not concentrating on their school work and being attracted by the city instead."
30	A	M	School rules/working hard	"If pupils don't respect teachers and disrupt the class."
31	A	M	School rules/working hard	"If pupils don't cooperate with teachers and don't work hard."
32	I	M	Lack of good teachers	"If teachers don't teach properly."
33	A	F	Lack of good teachers	"If the school doesn't have good teachers."
34	I	M	School rules/working hard	"If pupils don't work hard enough and concentrate in class."
35	A	M	Lack of good teachers	"If teachers are not dedicated and helpful."
36	I	M	Non-selective admissions	"If the school just accepts anyone, the teachers would have to concentrate on the weak pupils instead and the standard would drop."
37	A	F	Lack of good teachers	"If teachers are not motivated and helpful to pupils who need it."
38	I	M	Political/economic climate	"If government subsidies to schools are cut drastically, therefore lower standards of education will prevail."
39	A	F	Lack of good teachers	"If teachers are not dedicated and go on continuous strikes."
40	I	F	Non-selective admissions	"Since the school has accepted a large number of African pupils, the teachers have found that these pupils cannot cope with the pace of the work and less gets done. This situation occurs when the school accepts just anyone; therefore we need careful screening."

Question 4: Have you experienced any problems communicating with fellow pupils of different race groups in terms of language and lifestyle? Please explain.

With regard to communication problems experienced by pupils, Tables 21(a) (p.150) and 21(b) (p.151) indicate that of the 40 interviewees, 25 (63%) interviewees across all three race groups stated that they did not experience any communication problems. The problem which affected most interviewees across all three race groups was that African pupils came from a different language background. Only 3 interviewees (2 whites, 1 Indian) stated that different lifestyles affected communication between pupils of different race groups.

**Table 21(a): Responses within white state schools towards communication problems**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	Speak another language	"We speak different languages; therefore language is the main barrier."
2	W	M	Varied lifestyles	"I understand Zulu, therefore language is not a problem; yet our lifestyles differ in that whereas whites have areas they can choose to live in, while blacks do not. Money is another important difference as we (whites) are able to lead a comfortable lifestyle. We have electricity in our homes because we can afford it."
3	A	M	Speak another language	"Africans have difficulty in understanding English and Afrikaans as in our previous school Afrikaans was not taught at all. We spoke in Zulu most of the time."
4	W	M	Speak another language	"We find it difficult to communicate with each other as we don't speak the same language."
5	W	F	-	No problems.
6	A	F	-	No problems.
7	W	F	-	No problems.
8	A	F	-	No problems.
9	A	F	-	No problems.
10	W	F	Varied lifestyle	"We don't really mix as the townships are far away from our areas which are closer to the city which leads to our lifestyles being very different. We (whites) are more modern while they (Africans) are rural."
11	A	F	-	No problems.
12	W	F	-	No problems.
13	A	M	-	No problems.
14	W	M	-	No problems.
15	A	M	Speak another language	"If you don't know English, you will suffer, yet some blacks come from bourgeois backgrounds and they think that because they speak English fluently they should be given respect."
16	W	M	Speak another language	"Chinese people have a totally different language and are very wealthy. They are of a higher socio-economic class."
17	A	M	-	No problems.
18	W	M	-	No problems.
19	W	M	-	No problems.
20	A	M	Speak another language	Not used to communicating with others in English as I speak Zulu most of the time.

**Table 21(b): Responses within Indian state schools towards communication problems**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	Speak another language	"English is very difficult to speak. I communicate well in Zulu."
22	I	F	Speak another language	"They speak in Zulu, therefore we (Indians) don't understand them and we don't communicate well."
23	A	M	Speak another language	"English is difficult to speak. I only spoke in Zulu in my previous school."
24	I	M	Speak another language	"They do not speak in English, therefore it is difficult to communicate with them."
25	A	M	-	No problems.
26	A	M	-	No problems.
27	I	F	-	No problems.
28	I	M	-	No problems.
29	I	F	Varied lifestyles	"Our lifestyles are very different. As Indians we are spoonfed. They (Africans), on the other hand, have to work much harder in order to get a better life for themselves."
30	A	M	Speak another language	"Language difficulties as I did not speak English in my previous school; therefore I am finding it difficult now."
31	A	M	Speak another language	"Have to cope with English - improving slightly now, yet it is difficult as Zulu is my mother tongue."
32	I	M	-	No problems.
33	A	F	-	No problems.
34	I	M	-	No problems.
35	A	M	-	No problems.
36	I	M	-	No problems.
37	A	F	-	No problems.
38	I	M	-	No problems.
39	A	F	-	No problems.
40	I	F	-	No problems.

Question 5: Do you believe that there are deep cultural differences (such as traditions, values, beliefs) which influence the way pupils of different race groups relate to each other? Please explain.

In response to Question 5 above, Tables 22(a) (p.153) and 22(b) (p.154) illustrate that 23 interviewees did not experience any cultural differences. Of the remaining 17 interviewees, only 1 white male stated that cultural differences led to a lack of social mixing among pupils of different race groups. This was reiterated by 3 African interviewees (1 male and 2 females) who felt that because they did not have much in common, they did not socialise with pupils of other race groups. None of the Indian interviewees stated lack of social mixing as a factor. Generally, interviewees across all three race groups stated that cultural differences led to different ways of doing things. Only 1 African male interviewee stated that the assimilation of different cultures within the same school would lead to African pupils losing their culture.

**Table 22(a): Responses within white state schools towards cultural differences**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	Religion	"We believe in different things, especially our beliefs and our religion. We are more accepting of other races than they (whites) are."
2	W	M	Different ways of doing things	"Different traditions exist among Africans. My friends usually say that Africans stand up for what they believe in by having mass meetings and toyi-toyi marches. They also have to be treated differently because of their violent background. However, those in Model B/C schools can sometimes be friendly although we have had incidents of fighting and arguments inside the school since they have opened to other race groups. Therefore I firmly believe that we should have our own schools."
3	A	M	Different ways of doing things	"Our cultures are very different; we believe in different things such as modern medicine and they (Africans) believe in witchcraft. Therefore we do things differently from them."
4	W	M	-	No differences.
5	W	F	Different ways of doing things	"We are brought up differently with things done differently at home."
6	A	F	Lack of mixing	"We can't just talk and understand each other as we do not have much in common. We cannot talk about people we know as we know different people from different backgrounds. We don't spend time together even at school."
7	W	F	-	No differences.
8	A	F	-	No differences.
9	A	F	-	No differences.
10	W	F	Different ways of doing things	"Here in the city they (Africans) are much more modern; however, they don't think the way we (whites) think."
11	A	F	Lack of mixing	"Not as close as we should be as differences between whites and blacks result in everyone living in separate worlds. I find that one's beliefs and values are not understood or taken seriously. I also feel very uncomfortable when girls swear which is common in this school."
12	W	F	-	No difference.
13	A	M	-	No difference.
14	W	M	-	No differences.
15	A	M	Loss of one's culture	"Model B/C has resulted in blacks not sticking to their own culture. They will therefore lose their culture here. They (whites) need to realise that the black man is a human being, not an inferior form of life. In school one finds that there are arguments about why there is violence in the townships, they don't understand the black man's way of life or the hardships involved. Misunderstandings, uninformed and they are propaganda (???) coming from a privileged background where the white man is treated as superior."
16	W	M	-	No differences.
17	A	M	Different ways of doing things	"When you speak English, they (whites) correct you often. When we play, we usually play different games and so on."
18	W	M	-	No differences.
19	W	M	Lack of mixing	"They act differently, their language is different. They (Africans) are quite reserved and keep to themselves in this school."
20	A	M	Different ways of doing things	"Some (whites) have tried to adjust themselves but to us when speaking to adults and teachers we stand up out of respect. Also we try to speak cautiously yet white people speak to adults/teachers as if they are speaking to friends."

**Table 22(b): Responses within Indian state school towards cultural differences**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	-	No differences.
22	I	F	Different way of doing things	"They (Africans) have different ways of doing things, are loud and boisterous."
23	A	M	-	No differences.
24	I	M	-	No differences.
25	A	M	-	No differences.
26	A	M	-	No differences.
27	I	F	-	No differences.
28	I	M	-	No differences.
29	I	F	Religion	"They have different religious beliefs, also communication in Zulu; therefore they can't relate to them."
30	A	M	Religion	"Our Muslim cultural and religious beliefs are different and have to be respected."
31	A	M	Different ways of doing things	"There are cultural differences because of our different backgrounds. Us blacks, we aren't used to swearing especially in Zulu as we find it very vulgar, yet we find it easier to swear in English as we have adapted to the school."
32	I	M	Religion	"We are different in terms of religion and we have different religious beliefs."
33	A	F	-	No differences.
34	I	M	-	No differences.
35	A	M	Lack of mixing	"We are very few Africans in the school and we tend to stick together because we find it easier to be with people who are the same as us. We believe in the same things and we have the same traditions and we come from similar backgrounds."
36	I	M	-	No differences.
37	A	F	-	No differences.
38	I	M	-	No differences.
39	A	F	-	No differences.
40	I	F	-	No differences.

Question 6: Do you think that education is a right or a privilege?

In response to the above question, Table 23(a) (p.156) and 23(b) (p.157) shows that the majority of interviewees (78%) felt that education is a right and that everybody should have access to education. However, 5 white and 4 African interviewees stated that education is a privilege and should be available only to those who can afford it.



**Table 23(a): Responses within white state schools as to whether education is a right or a privilege**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	Privilege	"Only for those who can afford it."
2	W	M	Right	"Should be for everyone."
3	A	M	Privilege	"Only for those pupils whose parents can afford to pay."
4	W	M	Privilege	"Everyone has to pay for the education they receive."
5	W	F	Right	"Everyone needs a chance to learn."
6	A	F	Right	"Education should be a right as everyone has to have some education, as we need education to get jobs and to be able to survive."
7	W	F	Right	-
8	A	F	Right	"While everyone should get education, they should still pay school fees."
9	A	F	Right	-
10	W	F	Privilege	"Should only be for those who are able to achieve."
11	A	F	Right	-
12	W	F	Privilege	"Not everyone is able to afford a good education."
13	A	M	Right	"Because everybody needs a sound education."
14	W	M	Privilege	"Would prevent low classes from coming to this school."
15	A	M	Right	"Has become a privilege due to high school fees but should still be a right."
16	W	M	Right	"Education should be a right and everyone needs education and no one should monopolise education."
17	A	M	Right	"Everybody needs education."
18	W	M	Privilege	"Education is a privilege and if they cannot pay they should not be able to get in."
19	W	M	Right	"The law states that everyone should be educated."
20	A	M	Privilege	"Education should really be for those pupils who really want it and are willing to make financial sacrifices. If education becomes free it will lose its value."

**Table 23(b): Responses within Indian state schools as to whether education is a right or a privilege**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	Right	"As everyone needs education to be able to live a good lifestyle."
22	I	F	Right	-
23	A	M	Right	"Education should be for everybody."
24	I	M	Right	-
25	A	M	Privilege	"Education is a privilege and should only be for those who can afford it. This would ensure a good class of people coming into the school."
26	A	M	Right	-
27	I	F	Right	-
28	I	M	Right	"Everyone has a right to an equal education."
29	I	F	Right	-
30	A	M	Right	"As we need education to be able to survive."
31	A	M	Right	
32	I	M	Right	"Everyone has a right to be educated."
33	A	F	Right	
34	I	M	Right	
35	A	M	Right	
36	I	M	Right	
37	A	F	Right	
38	I	M	Right	
39	A	F	Right	
40	I	F	Right	

Question 7 :Do you think that the government's policy of integration should occur gradually or immediately?

Tables 24(a) (p.158) and 24(b) (p.159) illustrate that the majority of interviewees (68%) felt that the government's policy of integration should

occur gradually. Only 13 interviewees (2 Indians and 11 Africans) stated that the government's policy of integration should occur immediately. However, none of the white interviewees stated that the policy of integration should occur immediately.

**Table 24(a): Responses within white state schools towards the rate of integration**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	Gradually	"Need time to adjust to the school."
2	W	M	Gradually	"There will be utter chaos if the changes are too sudden."
3	A	M	Gradually	"As most of the African pupils don't understand English, and the school would not be able to cope."
4	W	M	Gradually	"If sudden change, problems and chaos will arise."
5	W	F	Gradually	"Need to adjust and adapt to the behaviour of other race groups."
6	A	F	Immediately	"Need equality. Access to education should not be restricted."
7	W	F	Gradually	"Would need time to adapt to changes."
8	A	F	Immediately	"Equality is urgently required in the education system."
9	A	F	Gradually	"Everyone who can afford it for a fixed number of years should be let in slowly."
10	W	F	Gradually	"As we need to adjust to changes."
11	A	F	Gradually	"Africans need to adjust to new way of life at a white school."
12	W	F	Gradually	"Need time to adjust to having other race groups in the school."
13	A	M	Immediately	"As everyone needs to get an education."
14	W	M	Gradually	"The lower classes will get in and run the school."
15	A	M	Immediately	"Together with changes in education with one department of education and mixed group of teachers."
16	W	M	Gradually	"Need time to digest and comprehend changes."
17	A	M	Immediately	"Would like to be in a mixed school."
18	W	M	Gradually	"Whites need time to adapt to changes."
19	W	M	Gradually	"With sudden changes, whites would not be able to take it well."
20	A	M	Gradually	"Whites will need to get used to equality in schools as well."

**Table 24(b): Responses within Indian state schools towards the rate of integration**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	Immediately	"As many more African pupils want to come here."
22	I	F	Gradually	"If allow small number at a time, there will be less chaos."
23	A	M	Immediately	"Equal education for all."
24	I	M	Gradually	"Chaos if immediate change."
25	A	M	Gradually	"Africans need to learn to change; therefore slow change needed."
26	A	M	Gradually	"Have to learn to adapt to school's way of life."
27	I	F	Gradually	"Need to learn to get on with pupils from other race groups."
28	I	M	Gradually	"Would need time to adjust."
29	I	F	Gradually	"If sudden change, chaos sudden rush to schools and standards will drop drastically."
30	A	M	Immediately	"Everyone must work and play together. The government should allow everyone an equal chance of getting an education."
31	A	M	Immediately	"Because there is a need for integration especially in schools."
32	I	M	Gradually	"If moved too quickly, would be flooded with problems."
33	A	F	Immediately	"Everyone should get equal access to education."
34	I	M	Immediately	"Everyone has a right to an equal education."
35	A	M	Gradually	"Have to be able to learn how to integrate first."
36	I	M	Gradually	"Need to learn to interact with other races."
37	A	F	Immediately	"Should be able to come and learn English."
38	I	M	Immediately	"Everyone deserves a right to a good education."
39	A	F	Gradually	"Need time to learn the ways of Indian teachers."
40	I	F	Gradually	"To prevent utter chaos need slow systematic change."

Question 8: Would you feel comfortable if your school population became majority African?

In response to whether interviewees would feel comfortable if the school had a majority African population, Tables 25(a) (p.161) and 25(b) (p.162) illustrate that the majority of interviewees (n=31) would feel uncomfortable if the school became majority African in population. It is notable that of the 31 interviewees who stated that they would feel uncomfortable, 15 (38%) of these interviewees were African. Only 9 interviewees stated that they would feel comfortable as they were prepared to adapt to the changes.

**Table 25(a): Responses within white state schools towards the proportion of intake of African pupils**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
1	A	M	Uncomfortable	"Would not feel comfortable with too many blacks as the education will drop in this school."
2	W	M	Uncomfortable	"As they (Africans) live a different lifestyle from us and we (whites) would have to share as well as change many of our practices such as Christian traditions in this school to suit them (Africans)."
3	A	M	Uncomfortable	"Would feel uncomfortable if mostly Africans in the school as the violence will increase. There would be a change in the standard of education and facilities would be destroyed."
4	W	M	Uncomfortable	"Should be 50 percent of each race; however, if more blacks, they will try to rule the school."
5	W	F	Uncomfortable	"As they (blacks) are loud and boisterous, the standard of education will change and not much work will get done."
6	A	F	Comfortable	"As we (Africans) need to get a good education and a better lifestyle."
7	W	F	Comfortable	"Would have to learn to adapt to this situation."
8	A	F	Uncomfortable	"With too many blacks the standard of education will be lowered."
9	A	F	Comfortable	"Need to have education for everyone; however, those Africans that do come here must be able to pay school fees."
10	W	F	Uncomfortable	"Not comfortable if majority, as feel out of place; should be equal which will be much better."
11	A	F	Uncomfortable	"Would be uncomfortable if majority blacks as my previous school had lots of blacks who were rude to teachers. If this school became majority black, the standard of education will drop."
12	W	F	Comfortable	"As I am prepared to make the necessary adjustments and hence make myself comfortable in the situation."
13	A	M	Uncomfortable	"Would be uncomfortable if the school became majority African as we would speak Zulu again. I came to this school to learn English and get ahead with my studies. I feel that this school should only allow 20 percent African pupils."
14	W	M	Uncomfortable	"If we (white) let all the blacks and coloureds the lower class of pupils will dominate this school. A majority black pupil population will make me feel out of place as I need to talk to people of my own race."
15	A	M	Comfortable	"I am not happy coming to a 'whitey' school. I want others to have a chance of a good life as well."
16	W	M	Uncomfortable	"Would feel out of place, like a fish out of water."
17	A	M	Uncomfortable	"Will be unhappy as a majority black population will mean that we will only speak Zulu."
18	W	M	Uncomfortable	"As this majority will create trouble, they will go on marches, strikes and burn the school."
19	W	M	Uncomfortable	"Whites will become angry and more racist after such a change. The blacks will threaten to take over the school. Anarchy will rule."
20	A	M	Uncomfortable	"Not comfortable as African people are not motivated. Find that if the government wants to do something, they invent a way. African people do not; therefore, if there are whites in the school, pupils will respect each other."

**Table 25(b): Responses within Indian state schools towards the proportion of intake of African pupils**

No.	Race	Gender	Response category	Comments by interviewees
21	A	F	Comfortable	"African pupils are a majority and they desperately need education; therefore I would be happy."
22	I	F	Uncomfortable	"We (Indians) should only allow a certain number of blacks as Indian children will feel displaced. Also their behaviour is too terrible, they are immature and childish. As an Indian in the minority, I feel insecure around them - am scared, I guess."
23	A	M	Uncomfortable	"As too many blacks in this school, the high standard of education will drop."
24	I	M	Uncomfortable	"As certain children (especially Indians) will get displaced, uncomfortable if only blacks as blacks don't want to associate."
25	A	M	Uncomfortable	"If mostly Africans, they will only speak Zulu and will destroy the standard of education and the school."
26	A	M	Uncomfortable	"Would be uncomfortable with a majority; should rather be equal in numbers."
27	I	F	Uncomfortable	"Will feel uncomfortable as they (Africans) are very different from us, I need people of my kind."
28	I	M	Uncomfortable	"I am not used to having Africans in the school as I grew up with own kind, yet I suppose I would have to learn to accept these changes. Their (Africans) language is also different and therefore communication with them will be impossible."
29	I	F	Uncomfortable	"The standard of education shall drop and I will not stay in this school as I will feel out of place."
30	A	M	Uncomfortable	"If mostly Africans, they will speak in Zulu and the English standard of education will deteriorate. Therefore should only allow 40 percent blacks. Also as blacks we need to meet people of other races."
31	A	M	Uncomfortable	"Will feel uncomfortable with a majority as I came here to get a better education for myself. They will come here and speak Zulu and the education in this school will be destroyed."
32	I	M	Uncomfortable	"Will feel uncomfortable as I am used to being part of a majority in this school."
33	A	F	Uncomfortable	"If the school becomes majority African, they will only speak in Zulu and destroy the education standard."
34	I	M	Comfortable	"Will not bother me as long as my course of study is offered and I receive the same education."
35	A	M	Uncomfortable	"As I feel that the standard of education will drop."
36	I	M	Uncomfortable	"As I prefer being with people of my own kind."
37	A	F	Comfortable	"Will be comfortable as long as we all speak in English."
38	I	M	Comfortable	"Will be comfortable as long as the standard of education remains the same."
39	A	F	Uncomfortable	"I feel that the standard of education will be lowered."
40	I	F	Uncomfortable	"I feel the standard of education will change drastically."

### 5.5.2 Analysis of teachers' interviews

The 20 teachers interviewed were from both the white and Indian state schooling structures. These teachers were selected either from the English or mathematics faculties as it was felt that these two subjects would be most problematic for African pupils entering the school with a scant knowledge of English and only a rudimentary knowledge of algebra and geometry. The following two questions were selected from the interview schedules for analysis purposes:

1. If ability became a criterion for admission, would you approve of the displacement of white/Indian children?
2. Would you feel comfortable as a teacher when full integration occurs in the South African education system, whereby whites/Indians will become the minority and Africans will become the majority in the school?

Question 1: If ability became a criterion for admission, would you approve of the displacement of white/Indian children?

In response to Question 1 (above), Tables 26(a) (p.164) and 26(b) (p.165) indicate that most white (n=8) teachers would not mind the displacement of white children on the basis of ability. Indian teachers (n=6), on the other hand, argued that they would disapprove of such a displacement as Indian children would not have anywhere else to go.



**Table 26(a): Teachers' responses within white state schools towards displacement of white children**

Inter-viewees	Discipline	Teachers' comments
1	English	"Yes, approve as all children regardless of race should be allowed to exercise their potential, especially if they have the ability. However, in reality, this would not happen because of zoning."
2	Mathematics	"Yes, would approve as the deadwood amongst the whites needs to be eradicated."
3	English	"No, disapprove as whites should have a school to go to and with the number of blacks becoming far greater, they (whites) need more options."
4	Mathematics	"Yes, approve as children are children and as long as only ability is being taken into consideration, is fine with me."
5	English	"Yes, the brighter children should have a chance of getting the best education."
6	Mathematics	"Yes, but the ability measured should be academically inclined, and not be based on an array of factors."
7	English	"No, as where would whites go? This would merely result in conflict."
8	Mathematics	"Yes, approve as it would be much better to have children who are bright and keen to learn."
9	English	"Yes, approve as those white pupils (quite a few, I might add) who are not interested in learning should be got rid of."
10	Mathematics	"Yes, definitely approved, as having only interested and bright pupils in one's class should make the teacher's task an enjoyable one."

**Table 26(b): Teachers' responses within Indian state schools towards displacement of Indian children**

Inter-viewees	Discipline	Teachers' comments
11	English	"No, disapprove as the Indian community would respond negatively; besides, zoning under the only recently changed Group Areas Act would pose a significant problem."
12	Mathematics	"Yes, approve as long as it is based purely on ability."
13	English	"Yes, would appreciate having to teach only keen and bright children."
14	Mathematics	"Yes, would be a refreshing change, could stimulate discussion within the classroom."
15	English	"No, Indian children as a minority in South Africa need to have a good education and secure a good future for themselves."
16	Mathematics	"No, this is a Muslim school and as such preference should be given to Muslim children regardless of their ability."
17	English	"No, as the Indians in this area particularly need to be given a good chance of a solid education. This would help those coming from a low socio-economic background (highly prevalent in this area) to break out of the vicious cycle of poverty."
18	Mathematics	"No, disapprove as slow learners are often motivated when they are with others who are brighter."
19	English	"Yes, would welcome this policy as it would make the teacher's task a more pleasant one whilst shaking the complacency of Indian children."
20	Mathematics	"No, disapprove as while I believe in the present transition phase, my responsibility lies with my community. Once all the Indian children in the area are accepted, then the school should accept the deserving African children."

Question 2: Would you feel comfortable as a teacher when full integration occurs in the South African education system, whereby whites/Indians will become the minority and Africans will become the majority in the school?

With regard to whether teachers would feel comfortable under a fully integrated education system, Tables 27(a) (p.167) and 27(b) (p.168) indicate that almost half of the teachers (both white and Indian) would not feel comfortable with a majority African pupil population. Indian teachers argued that their own race group would affect their relations with African pupils, while white teachers stated that they did not understand the various African cultures and felt that this would affect their performance in the classroom. Of the 11 teachers who stated that they would feel comfortable, almost all expressed a desire for language difficulties to be addressed.

**Table 27(a): Teachers' responses within white state schools towards full integration**

Inter-viewees	Discipline	Teachers' comments
1	English	"Yes, would feel comfortable as children are children and should be treated equally and justly."
2	Mathematics	"Yes, would feel comfortable with the only worrying factor being the language problem."
3	English	No, would feel uncomfortable as I am quite familiar with white children and am totally in the dark when it comes to understanding African culture."
4	Mathematics	"Yes, feel comfortable and am prepared to make the necessary changes and adjustments on my part as a teacher."
5	English	"Yes, feel comfortable and am prepared to adapt."
6	Mathematics	"No, would feel uncomfortable as have not interacted with Africans within the school environment."
7	English	No, uncomfortable on a personal level and also needs too much indepth change as a teacher. Need to understand their culture, which is extremely complex. Communication has already proven to be a major stumbling block."
8	Mathematics	"Not quite sure how I would feel, need to know exactly what such a change would entail for me as a teacher."
9	English	"Yes, would feel comfortable as the African children in my class are a pleasure to teach."
10	Mathematics	"Yes, would feel comfortable but would need courses in English."

**Table 27(b): Teachers' responses within Indian state schools towards full integration**

Inter- viewees	Discipline	Teachers' comments
11	English	"No, would not feel comfortable especially with the enormous changes that would be required of teachers."
12	Mathematics	"No, uncomfortable but would eventually have to resign oneself to the inevitable."
13	English	"Yes, comfortable and feel capable of making the necessary adjustments."
14	Mathematics	"Yes, comfortable, but feel ill-equipped to handle the enormous changes."
15	English	"No, would feel uncomfortable, particularly with my own race group affecting classroom interactions with pupils of another race group."
16	Mathematics	"Yes, would have to learn to be comfortable and purge oneself of any prejudices, etc."
17	English	"No, uncomfortable as different forces at play with race of teachers affecting attitudes of pupils."
18	Mathematics	"Yes, would feel comfortable as since schools have opened, have established wonderful rapport with African children."
19	English	"Yes, would feel comfortable eventually; initially would be a culture shock."
20	Mathematics	"No, would feel uncomfortable especially if most African pupils insisted on communicating with each other in Zulu."

### 5.5.3 Analysis of principals' interviews

The 10 principals interviewed were from the 10 white and Indian state schools selected for the sample. Four questions were selected from the principal's interview schedule for analysis purposes. These questions were selected on the basis that they contained exclusionary elements which would contribute to the discussion on social closure.

Furthermore, the following questions will contribute in testing the following hypothesis:

8. **Admissions criteria implemented by open state schools serve as a form of exclusionary social closure towards African pupils.**

The following questions were selected for analysis purposes:

1. What admissions criteria are used for admitting pupils of the different race groups at this school?
2. Do you think that these methods of admission which are used at your school are fair, realistic and effective?
3. What factors would lead you to limit the number of pupils of other race groups at your school?
4. If ability became a criterion, would you allow the displacement of white/Indian children?

Question 1: What admissions criteria are used for admitting pupils of the different race groups?

In response to the above question, Tables 28(a) (p.170) and 28(b) (p.171) indicate that age, zoning and results from the previous school are common criteria used by both white and Indian school principals to admit African pupils. Entrance examinations as a criterion for admission were used by 4 of the white school principals while only 2 Indian principals made use of

entrance examinations to admit African pupils. White and Indian pupils, however, were automatically accepted into the school provided they lived in the geographic zone.

**Table 28(a): Responses of principals within white state schools towards admissions criteria**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
1	<p>For whites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- age</li> <li>- zoning</li> </ul> <p>For Africans</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- age, zoning</li> <li>- "Entrance exams use past exam papers, test papers."</li> </ul>
2	<p>For whites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "No criteria used unless they live outside the area, in which case the academic record from the previous school is taken into consideration."</li> </ul> <p>For Africans</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- age, report card</li> <li>- "Entrance exams, must pass the dictation test which is usually from a newspaper or magazine."</li> <li>- "Zoning also applies with few exceptions."</li> </ul>
3	"Same for all race groups - interview everybody and financial considerations are also important."
4	<p>For whites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Only whites outside the zone have to bring their academic records from their previous school."</li> </ul> <p>For Africans</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Zoning - although does not always work."</li> <li>- Pass previous standards.</li> <li>- "Interview every child, potential to cope and try to discern whether wrong/right type for the school."</li> <li>- Dictation passage</li> </ul>
5	<p>For whites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "No criterion if live in the area."</li> </ul> <p>For Africans</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Main criterion would be English - must be articulate."</li> <li>- "Entrance exam in English, Afrikaans and Mathematics - based on potential to cope."</li> <li>- "Age - unhappy with this criterion as prejudiced against blacks."</li> </ul>

**Table 28(b): Principals' responses within Indian state schools towards admissions criteria**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
6	For Indians - "No criterion as they don't have any communication problems." For Africans - Available space. - "Area they live in must be convenient for travel." - "Personal interview with both parent and child in order to establish child's ability to communicate, study of background and living standards." - Zoning, age, report card.
7	For Indians - "No criterion as they are accepted directly from feeder school." For Africans - "Physical size, standard of entry." - "Entrance exams in English, mathematics and general science."
8	For Indians - "Religion - first preference to Islamic students regardless of race - decision of grantees." For Africans - "Space, religion, decision of grantees on number of African children to be accepted."
9	For Indians - "No criterion - simply accepted into the school." For Africans - "Report card from previous school; age."
10	For Indians - "Accepted those from feeder school first." For Africans - "Available space, number of workshops/facilities." - "Entrance test - proficiency test in English, usually dictation passage." - "Science and mathematics marks for trade subjects."

Question 2: Do you think that these methods of admission which are used at your school are fair, realistic and effective?

In response to whether methods of admissions used were regarded as fair, Tables 29(a) and 29(b) (p.172) indicate that equal numbers of Indian and white principals (n=3) argued that their methods of admissions were unfair. The remaining 4 principals argued that their methods of admissions were unfair and ineffective. Entrance examinations were regarded as operating on a racialist basis.



**Table 29(a): Responses of principals within white state schools on the fairness of their admissions criteria**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
1	"Fair, but not realistic as only a fraction of African pupils are being accepted. Experience since the past year has taught us that entrance exams need to be made more strict so that only those who can cope will be accepted."
2	"Realistic as have admitted only those who will be able to cope, but definitely not fair."
3	"My methods (as outlined in Table 28(a), p.170) are fair, but some schools use entrance exams which are definitely racist."
4	"Not fair; how can anything be fair under apartheid; however, it is realistic under the changing South African political climate. The degree of affirmative action employed has to be surveyed with caution as white schools are the centres of excellence and cannot afford a drop in its standard of education."
5	"Fair - actually quite lenient; in fact, have admitted pupils who cannot cope with the work."

**Table 29(b): Responses of principals within Indian state schools on the fairness of their admissions criteria**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
6	"Fair, as we don't use entrance exams at this school because of the racist implications behind these entrance exams."
7	"These admissions criteria are unfair and ineffective. The entrance exams used are not very difficult and are used simply because of the large influx of Africans which forces us to be selective. If only ten African pupils applied for admissions we would not use an admissions test. If entrance exams were given to everyone including the Indian pupils, this would create a public outcry. Personally, I feel selection should not be based on entrance tests, but on a first come, first served basis."
8	"Fair, as this is a religious school and admission is based solely on religion and not on race."
9	"Fair, yet feel quite lenient. Feel weakness in admissions, therefore have made some mistakes. Need affirmative action strategies yet don't have clear ideas. Don't have entrance exams as leads to tokenism with few Africans in the school. Why should Indian pupils not be subjected to entrance exams as well? One can view entrance exams as a mechanism of the middle class which favours their own children."
10	"Can be argued that admissions criteria are fair, but more needs to be done in order to allow the maximum number of children to benefit."

Question 3: What factors would lead you to limit the number of pupils of other race groups at your school?

In response to the above question, Tables 30(a) (below) and 30(b) (p.174) indicate that most white principals argued that the legal limit of 49% as instructed by the Clase proposals and the inability of African pupils to cope would lead them to limit numbers. For Indian principals, on the other hand, physical space was seen as the most important factor affecting the intake of African pupils.

**Table 30(a): Responses of principals within white state schools towards limiting pupil numbers**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
1	"If we find that African pupils are not coping. Furthermore, we are duty-bound to provide Christian education facilities. As a result, we cannot change the traditions and education and we are prepared to accept only those who are willing to assimilate."
2	"Available physical space. As the number of whites diminishes, African numbers will increase - slow process of increasing small samples."
3	"No factors really - at the moment the legal requirement is 50% white population at the school. Otherwise, would accept anyone who could manage."
4	"Would limit African numbers if we found that they cannot cope. Also, would limit number of Chinese pupils due to major discipline problems. The traditions of the school will have to be maintained."
5	"With Model B, the parent committee only wanted 30% African pupils while with Model C, this no longer applies. Therefore, have more freedom to admit African pupils. In the future, foresee no cut-off point. At present, however, the legal limit of 49% will have to be adhered to. Numbers of African pupils will be curtailed if we find that they are coming in large numbers and require special attention."

**Table 30(b): Responses of principals within Indian state schools towards limiting pupil numbers**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
6	"Available physical space. Also if African pupils are unable to communicate adequately in English, further restrictions in terms of level of entry. Therefore, while comfortable with accepting them at Standards 6 and 7, acceptance at Standards 8, 9 and 10 is problematic."
7	"Space, and would depend on the number of Indian pupils coming from feeder schools who have to be accepted first."
8	"Depends on space and grantees' decisions. Furthermore, would limit numbers if Muslim parents demanded it."
9	"Space and whether the child is able to cope. Also reluctant to accept at Standard 8, 9 and 10 levels."
10	"Available physical space and would accept Indian pupils first before accepting African pupils."

Question 4: If ability became a criteria, would you allow the displacement of white/Indian children?

In response to the above question, Tables 31(a) and 31(b) (p.175) indicate that 30 percent of Indian principals (n=3) stated that they would not mind the displacement of Indian children especially if it was based on ability. White principals (n=3), on the other hand, argued against the displacement of white children and stated that the Christian ethos and culture of the school had to be maintained by retaining a majority white pupil population within the school.

**Table 31(a): Responses of principals within white state schools towards the displacement of white children**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
1	"No, this school is traditionally white and in reality we find that the African pupils are not fitting in academically. Usually they need a year of bridging. The school has to maintain its Christian ethos."
2	"Would not mind, as we have whites who are deadwood and do not deserve to be at this school. However, the hyperaspirations on the part of the African pupil frightens me and it does not correspond well with their ability."
3	"No, as the ethos and character of the school has to be maintained and we actually are situated among a white community."
4	"No, the geographic zone needs to be adhered to and am not prepared to tamper with the ethos and character/traditions of the school."
5	"Yes, do envisage this happening. Also need to operate on the basis of affirmative action by looking for potential rather than ability."

**Table 31(b): Responses of principals within Indian state schools towards the displacement of Indian children**

Interviewee	Principals' comments
6	"No, unfair as Indian child will not have any place to go to; we do not have a unitary system as yet and as such displacement cannot occur."
7	"No, have accepted the fact that the purpose of the school is to serve the neighbouring community and this means accepting all the feeder school pupils first, regardless of ability."
8	"Would not mind, if this was an ordinary school; however, as a religious school, the religious preference applies."
9	"Yes, personally have no qualms in turning away a child regardless of race; however, the outcry from the Indian community would be enormous."
10	"Would not mind, as all facilities should be open to those who have the ability to perform well, regardless of their skin colour."

**CHAPTER SIX****DISCUSSION OF RESULTS****6.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous chapter, the results emanating from both the quantitative and qualitative research procedures were analysed. This chapter attempts to discuss these results in terms of Parkin's social closure theory outlined in Chapter Three.

To recap briefly, Parkin states that social closure is the process whereby social collectivities maximise rewards by restricting access to resources to a limited circle of eligibles, and by using attributes such as race or gender to close off opportunities to outsiders. (1979:44) Exclusion and usurpation are the two main modes of closure used for the mobilisation of power for engaging in struggles over the distribution of access to social groups. For Parkin, classes may be defined according to their collective social action or their prevailing modes of social closure. (1979:113)

While it has been argued that Parkin's conception of class is truncated, his social closure model does attempt to explain social cleavages such as race and its relationship to class within the same framework. Parkin disagrees with the view that "...a sense of identity with or membership of a class or ethnic group is essentially an either/or affair such that a moral commitment to one precludes involvement in the other." (1979:34) Instead, Parkin argues that

"...class and ethnic identities can be held simultaneously and activated as it were, according to situational exigencies ..." (1979:34)

This chapter considers the pupils', teachers' and principals' viewpoints in terms of Parkin's concepts of exclusionary social closure. The viewpoints of African pupils as an historically subordinate group will also be considered in terms of Parkin's concepts of usurpatory social closure and dual closure.

What follows is the argument that white and Indian pupils within open state schools form part of the dominant group and display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure. African pupils, on the other hand, form part of an excluded or subordinate group within the larger South African society; however, within open state schools they form part of a co-opted group who display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure. Furthermore, it will be argued that the attendance of these African pupils at open state schools can be viewed as usurpatory. These African pupils exhibit attitudes supporting dual closure which entails both exclusionary closure by a subordinate group (African pupils within open state schools) towards a lower subordinate group (other African pupils outside the open state schools or in the township schools) and usurpatory closure by the subordinate group towards the dominant group within these open state schools. It will also be argued that admissions criteria, as implemented by the principals within the open state schools, serve as mechanisms of exclusionary social closure.

This chapter begins by discussing exclusionary social closure as exhibited by pupils, teachers and principals at these open state schools (6.1) followed by the argument that African pupils within the open state schools constitute a usurpationary group (6.2). Finally, it will be argued that African pupils within the open state schools display dual closure (6.3).

## **6.2 EXCLUSIONARY SOCIAL CLOSURE**

To recap, briefly, Parkin states that

Exclusionary closure is the attempt by one group to secure for itself a privileged position at the expense of some other group through a process of subordination. That is to say, it is a form of collective social action, which intentionally or otherwise gives rise to a social category of ineligibles or outsiders. Expressed metaphorically, exclusionary closure represents the use of power in a 'downward' direction because it necessarily entails the creation of a group, class or stratum of legally defined inferiors. (1979:45)

For Parkin, exclusionary closure is usually legalistic in nature and, more often than not, has the support of the state. Parkin makes a distinction between two types of exclusion, namely, exclusion based on collectivist and individualist criteria. Collectivist types of exclusion are responsible for the transmission of privilege to members of the same group. Examples are exclusion based on class, caste, race and religion. (Parkin, 1979:65)

Individualist types of exclusion, on the other hand, denounce all socially inherited advantages and argue that all class-related disadvantages should be removed before individual abilities are tested. An example is "Nomenklatura", which is a selection procedure adopted by Soviet society for evaluating a person's political capabilities and performances without any reliance on technical competence. (1979:67) Parkin, however, rejected both forms, arguing instead that all forms of exclusion are inherently exploitative. (1979:46)

According to Parkin, exclusion occurs through two main forms of "master closure", namely, the institutions of property and academic or professional credentials. Property ownership involves exclusionary closure through closing off access to the means of production and its fruits. Credentialism, on the other hand, realises exclusionary closure by controlling access to key positions within the labour market. (1979:48) Credentialism as a form of exclusionary closure is of relevance to this study and will be further discussed in this chapter.

Credentialism usually refers to the inflated use of certificates which are usually in the form of professional qualifications. The work on credential closure by Parkin, Collins and Weber, as outlined in Chapter Three, focuses on the world of work and occupations. This study differs in that the pupils are non-economic agents; in other words, they are not economically active. Furthermore, they do not generate an income or have an occupational status. Therefore, this study chooses to concentrate instead on the possible



exclusionary implications of acquired educational credentials. The pupils in this study can be regarded as part of an aspirant middle class grouping seeking to acquire educational credentials which would create a gateway for them to acquire professional qualifications and occupational status. In addition, these pupils can be regarded as part of a potentially or assumptive exclusionary class since educational credentials would allow for their selective entry into occupational positions resulting in their monopolising positions and rewards.

The admissions criteria used by the open white and Indian state schools in this study to admit African pupils were similar with age, zoning and the academic record from the previous school being the common criteria. White and Indian pupils, on the other hand, gained automatic entry into their respective schools unless they lived outside the geographic zone, in which case they were required to present their academic records from their previous schools.

From interviews with principals, it was evident that the admissions guidelines from the relevant departments of education were arbitrary, with each school being responsible for its own admissions policy. These admissions policies and the specific admissions criteria were legalistic in nature and had the support of the state. The use of specific admissions criteria to admit African pupils into the open state schools was justified by most principals as a way of maintaining the academic standards of their schools. This would mean that maintaining standards by using stringent admissions policies would result in

very few African pupils being admitted into the school. Therefore, the admissions policies and the specific admissions criteria used by the open state schools in this study were investigated in order to ascertain whether they resulted in exclusion.

Entrance tests as a specific admissions criteria are used by the open schools to screen African pupils academically and socially. These entrance tests range from formal interviews to dictation passages and standardised tests. The main aim of these entrance tests is to test proficiency in English. Entrance tests were also held for other subjects such as mathematics, general science and Afrikaans.

From discussions with African pupils who had just entered the open state schools, it was apparent that most came from an education background fraught with deprivation. Most stated that they found it difficult to cope with the work as they were required to speak, write and read in English, a language they had used infrequently in their previous schools. Afrikaans also proved to be a major stumbling block for most of the African pupils. With regard to mathematics, most pupils stated that they had concentrated primarily on arithmetic in their previous schools; their knowledge of algebra and geometry was rudimentary.

This became increasingly apparent during interviews with mathematics teachers who argued that the main problem faced by African pupils in mathematics was that they lacked the basic knowledge required for algebra

and geometry. Despite this acknowledgement, most mathematics teachers wanted the African pupils in their classes to exercise critical thinking and sophisticated logic when dealing with mathematical riders. Therefore, while most teachers expressed a desire for language courses in an attempt to solve the language difficulties experienced by most African pupils, it was evident from interviews with both white and Indian teachers that they lacked an insight into the tremendous difficulties faced by African pupils both academically and socially.

The findings from the questionnaire procedure indicate that the majority of white and African pupils wanted pupils to write entrance tests before being admitted into the school. In contrast, the majority of Indian pupils opposed the idea of entrance tests. This was expected as Indian pupils historically have not been subjected to any form of entrance tests or even interviews before being admitted to the Indian state schools. The situation differs for white pupils who undergo interview selections prior to entering secondary school. From the above discussion, it would seem that entrance tests in whatever form pose a threat to Indian pupils as they would prevent easy entry into the Indian state schools. However, the few Indian pupils who approved of pupils writing entrance tests before being admitted to the school argued that entrance tests would ensure that high academic standards were maintained. As argued earlier, the maintenance of standards will result in the majority of African pupils being excluded with very few African pupils gaining entry. Therefore, entrance tests serve as a filter mechanism ensuring that only a certain number of pupils with the requisite knowledge will enter

the school. The use of entrance tests seems to legitimate the exclusionary process. This serves to confirm hypothesis 2 (refer to p.102).

Most white and African pupils argued that the use of entrance tests would ensure that only those who would be able to cope with the work would be admitted into the school. While regarding the academic standards of the white and Indian education system as the norm may seem a practical consideration, the underlying assumption is one of assimilation of only those pupils who would fit easily into the school's academic practices. This is further evidence of exclusionary closure and lends support for the acceptance of hypotheses 1 and 3 respectively (refer to pp.101-102).

In terms of gender, more female than male pupils wanted entrance tests. This is further exemplified by the 78 percent of African females who wanted entrance tests. In both instances, females seemed to express a higher degree of exclusionary closure than males. Therefore, hypotheses 4 and 4(iii) are rejected (refer to p.102).

The findings from the interview procedure indicate that 28 percent of pupils across all three race groups wanted entrance tests, the main reason being that entrance tests would ensure that only those pupils who could cope with the work would be admitted to the school. As mentioned earlier, both the notions of 'coping' and 'maintaining standards' contain an underlying logic of assimilation which serves as a justification for exclusion. Furthermore, pupils across all three race groups argued that entrance tests would ensure that only

the best pupils would be admitted to the school. This would result in the exclusion of most pupils coming from an 'inferior' education system and, therefore, provides evidence for exclusionary closure. Key references include the following:

"Entrance tests will control the influx of blacks, most of whom the school cannot accept as they will fail." (Pupil 2)<sup>2</sup>

"Furthermore, to ensure the level of education and the academic standard of the school does not get affected as African pupils are slowing down the pace of the entire class." (Pupil 12)

"Because most pupils don't know how to speak English, they get disgusting results. If there are strict entrance requirements then the few good ones will be able to cope at school." (Pupil 17)

The maintenance of high academic standards also served as a justification for the use of entrance tests. The following responses were made by female pupils:

"Entrance tests should be given to only those pupils who have immigrated to South Africa and to those coming from different

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<sup>2</sup> Pupils interviewed are referred to numerically; for example, Pupil 2 refers to the second pupil interviewed.

education departments, as they might lower the standard of the school." (Pupil 10)

"All those blacks who are not living in the area should have to write an entrance test as they come from different educational backgrounds and they might not cope with the work and lower the standard of this school." (Pupil 8)

While the question posed to pupils did not refer to the implementation of entrance tests for a specific race group, it was evident from both the questionnaire and interview findings that a large number of white and Indian pupils referred to entrance tests specifically intended for African pupils. Of the African pupils who favoured entrance tests, a small number did state that these entrance tests should be implemented specifically for African entrants. This is an indication of dual closure which will be discussed in Section 6.3.

For both white and Indian principals, the main aim of any admissions criteria is to ascertain the African pupil's proficiency in English and his or her ability to cope. However, by subjecting only the African pupils to specific admissions criteria such as entrance tests, these open schools are operating along racial lines. Furthermore, by using proficiency in English as a basis for the admission of African pupils, the vast majority of Africans who received elementary or no instruction in English at their previous school would be excluded. This presents clear evidence of the role entrance tests play in exclusion.

By using objective test performance as a measure of worth, entrance tests operate under a meritocratic principle. This principal is evident in that the white and Indian education systems are regarded as the norm to which African pupils are supposed to conform. Therefore, the use of entrance tests ignores the unequal starting points of African pupils and serves to confirm Christie's statement that "in a situation of obvious structural inequality, admissions tests may well be effective in sorting and selecting individuals but they do not address questions of initial inequality." (1990:134)

Thus, while entrance tests are based on individualist criteria as discussed by Parkin (1979:66), they do not cater for the elimination of socially inherited disadvantages before testing for individual abilities. In terms of intervention programmes, only three of the ten schools had initiated extra remedial classes in English and Afrikaans while only one school had a year of 'bridging' for African pupils which attempted to narrow the educational gap.

When both white and Indian principals were asked whether their admissions criteria were fair and realistic, much ambivalence was noted. Sixty percent stated that their admissions policies were fair but were not realistic or effective. The following comment clearly depicts this ambivalence:

"Fair, but not realistic as only a fraction of African pupils are being accepted. Experience since the past year has taught us that entrance

tests need to be made more strict so that only those who can cope will be accepted." (Principal 1)<sup>3</sup>

The above comment indicates a contradictory stance with the acknowledgement on the one hand that admissions criteria have resulted in the exclusion of the majority of African pupils, while on the other hand, there is a demand for strict entrance tests which would result in further exclusion.

For those principals who stated that their admissions criteria were unfair, entrance tests were seen to be operating on a racist and class-based premise. This is clearly illustrated by the following comment:

"...(we) don't have entrance tests as this leads to tokenism with few Africans in the school. Why should Indian pupils not be subjected to entrance tests as well? One can view entrance tests as a mechanism of the middle class which favours their own children." (Principal 9)

For this principal, entrance tests are viewed as a collectivist type of exclusion based on race and resulting in privilege being transmitted to members of one's own group.

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<sup>3</sup> Principals interviewed are referred to numerically; for example, Principal 1 refers to the first principal interviewed.



Furthermore, admissions criteria, in particular entrance tests, serve the purpose of carefully screening prospective African pupils in order to ascertain whether they would fit into the school's academic and social framework. This assumes assimilation by regarding the white and Indian education systems as the norm and seeks to accept only those pupils who can most easily assimilate into this norm. Therefore, those African pupils who are accepted into these open state schools become part of the legitimate grouping or the "group of eligibles" while the large numbers of African pupils who do not fit into the school structure at a social and academic level are justifiably excluded and form part of the "social category of ineligibles or outsiders". (Parkin, 1979:45) Therefore, it is evident from the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative research procedures that the admissions criteria used by the open state schools serve to exclude the vast majority of African applicants. This lends support for the acceptance of hypothesis 8 (refer to p.103). In conclusion, the admissions criteria as implemented by the open white and Indian state schools serve to legitimate the exclusionary process.

In terms of the criteria affecting the intake of African pupils into the school, most white principals stated that the legal limit of 49 percent as instituted by the Clase proposals would be the most important factor affecting the intake of pupils. However, the statistical findings of this study indicated that the highest percentage of African pupil intake was only 17 percent at the white schools in this study. (Refer to Table 34, Appendix E.) While the Clase restrictions were not imposed on the Indian schools, statistics indicate that the highest percentage of African pupils evident was 21 percent at the open

Indian schools in this study. (Refer to Table 35, Appendix E.) Therefore, statistical findings indicate that none of the schools in this study had reached an intake percentage which could be regarded as significant or in proportion to the school's population.

White principals also argued that they were only prepared to accept those pupils who would fit most easily into the existing framework of the school without hampering the Christian character and ethos of the school. This is clearly illustrated by the following comment:

"If we find that African pupils are not coping. Furthermore, we are duty bound to provide Christian education for whites. As a result, we cannot change the traditions and education of the school and we are prepared to accept only those who are willing to assimilate."

(Principal 1)

The above comment clearly illustrates the assimilationist logic underlying the admissions policy of the school, whereby the perspectives and ethos of the dominant group are regarded as the norm. This would result in the majority of African pupils being excluded on the grounds that they do not fit into the established norms and traditions of the school. This lends further support for the confirmation of hypothesis 8 (refer to p.103).

For Indian principals, on the other hand, available physical space and the ability to cope on the part of the African pupils served as the main criteria

affecting the intake of African pupils. Only one Indian principal stated that "own group eligibility" would serve as a factor affecting the intake of African pupils. This principal argued that all the Indian pupils who applied would have to be accepted prior to any decision being taken on the number of African pupils to be accepted.

When principals were asked whether they would allow the displacement of Indian/white pupils in favour of African pupils on the basis of ability, three Indian principals and two white principals representing 50 percent of the sample argued that they would favour this displacement. Key references include the following:

"Would not mind as we have whites who are deadwood and do not deserve to be at this school. However, the hyper-aspirations on the part of the African pupils does frighten me and it does not correspond well with their ability." (Principal 2)

"Yes, personally have no qualms in turning away a child regardless of race; however, the outcry from the Indian community would be enormous." (Principal 9)

Therefore, while both of the above responses indicate a favourable attitude towards the displacement of white/Indian pupils in favour of African pupils, a certain degree of reservation was exhibited with regard to hyper-aspirations and reactions from the dominant group toward such a displacement.

Of the 50 percent of principals who opposed the displacement of the dominant group within their school, three white principals argued that the ethos and character of the school would be destroyed and that African pupils would threaten "the essential heritage of the school". (Randall, 1982:97) Key references include:

"No, this school is traditionally white and in reality we find that the African pupils are not fitting in academically. Usually they need a year of bridging. This school has to maintain its Christian ethos at all costs." (Principal 1)

"No, the geographic zone needs to be adhered to and I am not prepared to tamper with the ethos and character/traditions of the school." (Principal 4)

A protectionist attitude was exhibited by the two Indian principals who opposed the displacement of the Indian child. They expressed fear about the plight of the Indian pupils. This fear is clearly illustrated by the following responses:

"No, unfair, as the Indian pupils will not have any place to go. We do not have a unitary system as yet and as such this displacement cannot occur." (Principal 6)

"No, have accepted the fact that the purpose of the school is to serve the neighbouring community and this means accepting all the feeder schools pupils first, regardless of ability." (Principal 7)

It is evident from the findings that since 50 percent of the principals favoured and 50 percent opposed displacement, no conclusive statement on the nature of exclusionary strategies exercised by principals towards full integration can be established.

In contrast, interviews with both white and Indian teachers indicated more conclusive findings, with the majority of white teachers favouring the displacement of white pupils in favour of African pupils on the basis of ability. This is illustrated by the following comments:

"Yes, would approve as the deadwood among the whites need to be eradicated." (Teacher 2)

"Yes, definitely as having only interested and bright pupils in one's class would make the teacher's task an enjoyable one." (Teacher 10)

The majority of Indian teachers, on the other hand, strongly opposed the displacement of Indian pupils, expressing similar fears to those of the Indian principals.

The protectionist attitude on the part of Indian teachers towards their own race group is clearly illustrated by the following comments:

"No, Indian children as a minority in South Africa need to have a good education and to secure a good future for themselves." (Teacher 15)

"No, as the Indians in this area particularly need to be given a good chance of a solid education. This would help those coming from a low socio-economic background (highly prevalent in this area) to break out of the vicious cycle of poverty." (Teacher 17)

"No, disapprove as while I believe in the present transition phase, my responsibility lies with my community. Once all the Indian children in the area are accepted, then the school should accept the deserving African children." (Teacher 20)

The above responses clearly illustrate the eligibility of their own race group by Indian teachers. It is obvious that these teachers vehemently opposed the displacement of the Indian pupils while ignoring the educational needs of the majority of African pupils who are excluded from these schools and from "a good chance of a solid education".

Teachers were also asked whether they would feel comfortable teaching in a school that was fully integrated with a majority African pupil population.

Findings indicated that almost 50 percent of Indian and white teachers would feel uncomfortable. For white teachers, the lack of understanding of African culture seemed to pose a major problem, as illustrated by the following responses:

"No, would feel uncomfortable as I am quite familiar with white children and am totally in the dark when it comes to understanding African cultures." (Teacher 3)

"No, uncomfortable on a personal level and also need too much in-depth change as a teacher; need to understand their culture which is extremely complex. Communication has already proven to be a major stumbling block." (Teacher 7)

Indian teachers, on the other hand, stated that they would feel uncomfortable because they felt that their own race group would affect their interaction with African pupils especially if they formed the majority of the school population. This is illustrated by the following comment:

"No, would feel uncomfortable particularly with my own race affecting classroom interaction with pupils of another race group."  
(Teacher 15)

Since 50 percent of the teachers favoured and 50 percent opposed full integration, no conclusive statement on exclusionary closure strategies can be drawn.

School fees have emerged as a contentious issue, especially in the open white state schools which have accepted Model C status and have had to drastically increase their school fees, with most white state schools in the Durban region charging an annual fee of between R1500 to R1800. While there has been pressure by the government for Indian state schools to accept Model C status and thereby increase their school fees, such a change has met with resistance. (Refer to Introduction, p.12) This resistance is understandable when one considers the amount that Indian parents pay towards school fees: between R15 and R20 annually - a mere pittance when compared with the high fees required by the white state schools under Model C. From interviews with Indian principals, it was apparent that while Indian parents contributed greatly towards upgrading facilities and creating recreational facilities such as swimming pools, they would resist paying high school fees as they considered education to be the state's responsibility. Indian principals also predicted that the wealthier Indian parents would send their children to expensive private schools, rather than paying for education at state schools.

Looking at the current school fees, it would seem that Indian pupils at Indian state schools are not greatly affected by the school fees issue. This became apparent from the findings of the questionnaire procedure, with 90 percent of the Indian pupils stating that pupils who could not afford to pay school



fees should be allowed to attend their school. This indicates a great degree of accommodation among Indian pupils and, therefore, does not provide support for the acceptance of hypothesis 2 (refer to p.102).

While the majority of African and white pupils also consented to non-fee-paying pupils attending their schools, their response was not as overwhelming as that of the Indian pupils. In fact, 33 percent of white pupils and 42 percent of African pupils stated that non-fee-paying pupils should not be allowed to attend their schools. This clearly illustrates the realistic attitude pupils paying high school fees have adopted, and should be regarded as a practical consideration instead of an attitude supporting exclusion.

However, in terms of gender a higher percentage of white female pupils than white male pupils stated that fees should be increased in order to maintain a high standard of education. This would result in large numbers of pupils especially from lower income families being unable to afford these school fees resulting in only a select few obtaining a good education. Therefore, education would become a highly priced commodity with access being limited to a privileged few. This finding indicates that white females tend to exhibit a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary closure than white males. Therefore, hypothesis 4(i) can be rejected (refer to p.102).

The finding from the interview coincides with the finding from the quantitative research procedure whereby the majority of pupils, in this case, 80 percent, stated that those pupils who could not afford to pay school fees

should be allowed to attend their school. This finding was especially prevalent for Indian pupils and mirrors the findings obtained from the questionnaire research procedure.

Of the 20 percent of pupils who stated that non-fee paying pupils should not be allowed to attend their school, almost all were Africans. Their reasons for not allowing non-fee paying pupils into their school was that it was unfair on those pupils whose parents did pay their fees. Furthermore, they argued that the non-payment of fees would lead to a shortage of equipment, books and facilities. Their reasons are understandable when one considers the immense difficulties endured by African pupils who form part of an economically subordinate majority and have deprived educational backgrounds. Furthermore, African parents go to great lengths to pay school fees and travelling costs to send their children to these open white and Indian state schools in the hope of securing a good education and a better future for their children. As a result, the African pupils generally held the attitude that nobody is entitled to a free education.

Only one white male pupil argued that non-payment of school fees would result in just anyone being able to attend the school and would lead to chaos. The following comment illustrates the exclusionary attitude held by the pupil:

"Only those who are able to contribute to fees should be allowed to attend. If the fees are very cheap just anybody of a lower class can

come into the school; however, if there are higher fees only the good people can come." (Pupil 14)

The above statement is an indication of exclusionary closure in terms of social class rather than race, with pupils from lower income backgrounds being the target group. This pupil argues that higher fees would secure access to only those who could pay and would thus result in a good class of people attending the school. This is a clear indication of how school fees can be linked to social class and acts as a mechanism for the exclusion of the lower economic stratum.

In contrast to the findings obtained on the school fees issue, 22 percent of pupils stated in interviews that education is a privilege and should only be available to those who can afford it. In other words, pupils from a lower socio-economic background would be unable to afford an education and would thus be excluded. This indicates evidence of exclusionary closure. Key responses include the following:

"Education is a privilege and if they cannot pay, they should not be able to get in." (Pupil 18)

"Education is a privilege and should only be for those who can afford it. This would also ensure a good class of people coming into the school." (Pupil 25)

It is important to note that 78 percent of pupils who were interviewed argued that education is a right and should be available to everyone. Key responses include the following:

"Education should be a right as everyone needs education and no-one should monopolise education." (Pupil 16)

"Education should be a right as everyone has to have some education, as we need education to get jobs and to be able to survive." (Pupil 6)

It is interesting to note that while the majority of pupils stated that education is a right, 78 percent of pupils argued that the government's policy of integration should occur gradually. This was especially prevalent among the white pupils, all of whom stated that integration should occur gradually since a sudden change would "create problems" and "result in chaos".

As mentioned earlier, the need to "maintain standards" serves as a justification for the exclusion of the majority of African pupils. Findings from the questionnaire procedure indicate that pupils across all three race groups feared a "lowering of standards". Both white and African pupils considered the lack of good teachers to be the main factor contributing to the lowering of the standard of education. Thirty percent of Indian pupils, on the other hand, argued that non-selective admissions would lead to a drop in the standard of education. This corroborates the findings on the issue of entrance tests, whereby 28 percent of Indian pupils stated that entrance tests should be

written by prospective pupils. Therefore, by calling for selective admissions in order to "maintain standards", Indian pupils display exclusionary closure, thus lending support for the acceptance of hypothesis 2 (refer to p.102). Furthermore, findings in terms of gender differences indicate that more Indian male pupils than Indian female pupils argued that non-selective admissions would lower the standard of education. This confirms hypothesis 4(ii) (refer to p.102).

The findings from the interview procedure coincide with the questionnaire findings, indicating that Indian pupils felt that non-selective admissions would lower the standard of education. Some of the responses made by Indian pupils are as follows:

"Since the school has accepted a large number of African pupils, the teachers have found that these pupils cannot cope with the pace; therefore, the teachers have had to slow the pace of the work and less gets done. This situation occurs when the school accepts just anyone. Therefore, we need careful screening." (Pupil 40)

"If the school just accepts anyone the teachers would have concentrate on the weak pupils instead and the standard will drop." (Pupil 36)

The above comments illustrate the exclusionary attitudes held by Indian pupils. For most white pupils, on the other hand, large classes seemed to

play a key role in the lowering of standards. Key references include the following:

"Pupils are not coping with the standard of education and the large classes, due to the increasing number of blacks at our school, will surely lead to the lowering of standards in the near future. Therefore, need to take only a small number of black pupils." (Pupil 2)

As the above comment illustrates, most white pupils argued that an increasing number of African pupils will lead to overcrowding and will contribute to a drop in the standard of education. However, small classes would result in the exclusion of the majority of pupils. Therefore, white pupils also exhibited attitudes supporting exclusionary closure.

When asked in the questionnaire procedure what factors would prompt them to leave their present school, 41 percent of white pupils and a smaller percentage of Indian and African pupils stated that they would leave if the standard of education dropped. As noted earlier, the lowering of the standard of education was usually associated with non-selective admissions policies for Indian pupils and large, overcrowded classes for white pupils. Since the lowering of the standard of education was the key factor which would prompt pupils from all three race groups to leave their present school, one can conclude that exclusionary attitudes were manifested by all three race groups, thus lending support for hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 (refer to pp.101-102). Furthermore, 58 percent of white female pupils, as opposed to only 22

percent of white male pupils stated that they would leave their present school if the standard of education dropped. In other words, white female pupils displayed a higher incidence of attitudes supporting exclusionary closure than white male pupils, resulting in the rejection of hypothesis 4(i) (refer to p.102).

Zoning was used as an admissions criteria by both white and Indian principals. Since most African pupils live in townships on the outskirts of the city, it would seem that zoning would affect their admission. Pupils were asked whether their school should only admit pupils living close by and the findings from the questionnaire indicate that 78 percent of African females argued that such a policy was required because of frequent transport problems experienced by pupils who travelled great distances to attend the school. Therefore, while zoning as an admissions criteria does serve to exclude a large number of pupils, in this instance, African females do not seem to be advocating deliberate exclusion. Instead, they seem to be advocating a practical consideration borne out of their own experience without realising the consequences of such a policy. Therefore, evidence of exclusionary closure is inconclusive and hypothesis 4(ii) cannot be refuted or accepted (refer to p.102).

Language emerged as a crucial barrier to effective communication among the pupils of the different race groups. Findings from the questionnaire procedure indicated that most Indian pupils felt that the use of another language other than English within the school affected communication between the different

race groups. This indicates that African pupils within the open Indian state schools communicated in Zulu despite protestations from principals that "African pupils were warned not to speak in Zulu" and "to speak in English at all times, even on the playground". Fifty percent of African pupils indicated that poor speech and pronunciation affected their communication with other race groups.

Speaking English also emerged as a salient category during interviews. Communication was regarded as a problem for pupils of the different race groups at the school, especially since most African pupils had an elementary knowledge of English and tended to speak in Zulu instead.

This is illustrated by the following responses:

"We find it difficult to communicate with each other as we don't speak the same language." (Pupil 4)

"Not used to communicating with others in English as I speak in Zulu most of the time." (Pupil 20)

"They speak in Zulu, therefore we (Indians) don't understand them and we don't communicate well." (Pupil 22)

One of the key reasons postulated by most African pupils for their scant knowledge of English was that they did not receive adequate instruction in



English at their previous schools which were largely African township schools. In fact, when African pupils were asked why they were attending the open white or Indian schools, most of them stated that they came to these schools in order to learn and speak in English.

It is evident from the findings from both the questionnaire and interview procedures that English is regarded as "the language of the future". This phrase recurred frequently in interviews, with most African pupils stating that English was a key factor in acquiring a good education and a better future. English was perceived by most African pupils to have a higher status value than their mother tongue, which in most cases was Zulu. Therefore, for African pupils, the possession of this linguistic capital would secure the necessary credentials and create opportunities for upward social mobility. In this study, 94 percent of the white pupils are English speaking. Furthermore, 90 percent of the Indian pupils regard English as their mother tongue, indicating their assimilation into the dominant language and the rapid erosion of the Indian vernacular among the younger generation of Indian people within South African society. (Refer to characteristics of the questionnaire sample, Appendix C.)

It is interesting to note that none of the pupils in this study questioned the efficacy of English as the medium of instruction. The "cultural alienation" argument contends that because English is the language of a European nation and a western culture, it cannot carry the associations and connotations of an African identity. Therefore, education in English is seen to alienate the

African child from his or her own cultural background. Furthermore, because English is generally only spoken by an educated elite in Africa, education in English provides children from an English-speaking background with an unfair advantage over the other children. (Schmied, 1991:104) However, Schmied does state that there is a counter to his 'cultural alienation' argument: since "English is still the stepping stone to well paid employment in many anglophone countries, the expansion of the English language teaching may be the only way to undermine its elitist character." (1991:104)

Findings from the interview procedure reveal that being able to speak fluent English serves as a symbol of prestige for African pupils. This is clearly illustrated by the following comment:

"If you don't know English, you will suffer, yet some blacks come from bourgeois backgrounds and they think that because they speak English fluently they should be given respect." (Pupil 15)

The majority of African pupils interviewed argued against the intake of large numbers of African pupils into the open white and Indian schools because of language difficulties. These pupils postulated that a large intake of African pupils would result in them speaking Zulu at school and would, therefore, negate their chances of a good education and a better future. This also serves as evidence of dual closure, which will be discussed in Section 6.3. The above finding lends support for the acceptance of hypothesis 7 (refer to p.103). Language can be regarded as an important mode of exclusionary closure.

According to Scotton (1990), "elite closure" refers to a situation where the preferred language of the elite is distinct from the language of the lower strata. Therefore, when an elite relies on a particular language for intra-elite communication and on a different lingua-franca for communication with the masses there is "downwards accommodation" which in itself helps to sustain elite closure. However, when the lower strata seek to use the language of the elite, there is "upwards accommodation," which tends to decrease the effects of closure. The language situation in South Africa exhibits elite closure, as described by Scotton above, with English being the lingua franca of the educated elite while the masses communicate in their mother tongue. "Upwards accommodation" does, however, occur on an individual basis. This is clearly illustrated by the small number of African pupils within open state schools who seek to learn the language of the elite.

Language and social stratification in South Africa are linked since although education for the majority of the African population is provided, managerial positions are withheld from the masses due to their limited fluency in the language of the market. Therefore, only the children learning the language of the educated elite become part of the economic elite. For Alexandre (1972)

herein lies one of the most remarkable sociological aspects of contemporary Africa ... that the kind of class structure which seems to be emerging is based on linguistic factors. This minority (who have facility in a European language), although socially and ethnically as heterogenous as the majority (who do not command facility in a

European language) is separated from the latter by that monopoly which gives it its class specificity the use of a means of universal communication, French or English; whose acquisition represents truly a form of capital accumulation." (as quoted in Laitin, 1992:51)

Therefore, the reliance on a universal language such as English for official purposes and technical tasks while the vernacular is used for communication with the masses leads to a system of stratification which is inherently non-egalitarian and creates extra barriers to social mobility. Thus by being excluded from the elite discourse, the majority of Africans face linguistic barriers to social mobility. It is such a situation in South Africa that African pupils within the open state schools regard English as the "language of education" and the "language of the future".

Drawing on Christie's study (1990:71-73), which found that pupils in private schools tend to relate race to culture and explained differences between race groups in this way, this study attempts to investigate whether pupils felt that cultural differences influenced the way pupils of different race groups related to each other. Furthermore, this study attempts to investigate whether cultural differences would justify the separation of the different race groups in terms of education.

Findings from the questionnaire procedure indicate that more white pupils than Indian and African pupils felt that cultural differences existed among the different race groups. Most of these white pupils argued that cultural

differences led to a lack of social mixing among the pupils of the different race groups. Therefore, cultural differences were viewed negatively by these pupils, with the relation between race and culture serving to illustrate the great differences between the race groups instead of minimising such differences. The above finding serves to confirm hypothesis 1 (refer to p.101).

In terms of gender differences with relation to cultural differences, 40 percent of males argued that cultural differences resulted in a lack of social mixing among the different race groups. Female pupils, on the other hand, argued that cultural differences within the same school environment created an understanding of these cultures. This indicates a positive attitude by females towards cultural differences within the school environment and serves to confirm hypothesis 4 (refer to p.102). A greater degree of tolerance was also found among white females, 42 percent of whom argued that understanding was being created among the different race groups. This serves to confirm hypothesis 4(i) (refer to p.102).

By comparison, the findings from the interview procedure indicated that most pupils felt that cultural differences led to pupils of different race groups doing things differently. This is illustrated by the following comments:

"Our cultures are very different. We believe in different things such as modern medicine and they (Africans) believe in witchcraft. Therefore we do things differently from them." (Pupil 3)

"Here in the city they (Africans) are much more modern; however, they don't think the way we (whites) think." (Pupil 10)

"Not as close as we should be as differences between whites and blacks results in everyone being in separate worlds. I find that our beliefs and values are not understood or taken seriously; also feel very uncomfortable when girls swear which is common in this school."  
(Pupil 11)

"...but to us (Africans) when speaking to adults and teachers we stand up out of respect. Also we try to speak cautiously, yet white pupils speak to adults (teachers) as if they are speaking to friends." (Pupil 20)

Only ten percent of the pupils interviewed argued that cultural differences led to lack of social mixing. The following comment is an example of the reasons postulated for the lack of social mixing:

"We are very few Africans in the school and we tend to stick together because we find it easier to be with people who are the same as us. We believe in the same things and we have the same traditions and come from similar backgrounds." (Pupil 35)

Cultural assimilation within the school was viewed negatively by a black male pupil who argued that it would lead to the loss of African culture.

"Models B and C has resulted in blacks not sticking to their own culture. They will therefore lose their culture here." (Pupil 15)

This negativity towards cultural differences was also expressed by a white male for whom such differences justified racially segregated schools. This pupil stated that:

"Different traditions exist among Africans. My friends usually say that Africans stand up for what they believe in by having mass meetings and toyi-toyi marches. They also have to be treated differently because of their violent backgrounds. However, those in Model B/C school can sometimes be friendly, although we have had incidents of fighting and arguments inside the school since the schools have opened to other race groups. Therefore, I firmly believe that we should have our own schools." (Pupil 2)

The above comment indicates a desire for "own schools" which would result in the exclusion of the majority of African pupils in search of a "better education". Therefore, this finding indicates exclusionary closure. The above statement by Pupil 2 also seems to concur with Whittle's claim that integrated schools will produce a "hot-bed of conflict" (1980:61) since there is a "divergence of values amongst the various race groups who think, act and believe differently". (1980:64) From the findings of both the questionnaire and interview procedures, it is evident that generally pupils across all three

race groups did agree with Whittle's findings that pupils of the different race groups within the same schools tend to believe in different things.

It is interesting to note that pupils in general treated cultural differences as fixed and unchanging. Furthermore, while pupils acknowledged that there was a lack of social mixing, there was very little evidence of effort on their part towards changing social and racial interaction patterns at their school.

### **6.3 USURPATIONARY CLOSURE**

For Parkin, usurpationary closure is mounted by a group in response to its outsider status and the collective experience of exclusion with the aim of biting into the resources of the dominant group. Usurpation can result in marginal redistribution or complete expropriation. (1979:74) Power is, therefore, directed in an upward direction.

Usurpationary activities differ from exclusionary activities in that they rely heavily on public displays of solidarity and on direct action such as strikes. Therefore, usurpationary activities do not have the support of the state and often stand in an uncomfortable relationship to the legal order. Usurpation also includes collective efforts by ethnic and racial groups to attain civil rights. (Parkin, 1979:84-85)

It will be argued in this study that the African pupils at open state schools form part of a larger subordinate social category which has been historically



excluded from social and civil rights on the basis of the collectivist exclusionary criterion of race. It will also be argued that African pupils at open state schools form part of a usurpationary group since their attendance at open white and Indian state schools constitutes a form of action supporting usurpation. Furthermore, it will be argued that these African pupils aspire to the same kinds of benefits and resources accruing to the dominant group of the school. However, this usurpationary activity differs from the usurpationary activities outlined by Parkin in that they are supported by the state and are legally endorsed. It will be argued that these African pupils do not engage in usurpation on a collective basis but more at an individual level.

African pupils at the open white and Indian state schools in this study defined themselves as part of an excluded and subordinate majority. Furthermore, they acknowledged a cohesiveness within the African race group and were aware that they had historically been denied access to political power and other benefits due to the state-supported collectivist criteria of race and the two principal sets of exclusionary laws, namely, apartheid and property. However, it is important to note that while these African pupils identified themselves as part of a subordinate majority, they did not engage in collective struggles with the majority of the African population. In fact, their attendance at open white and Indian schools served to alienate them from their township peers attending African state schools. It is also apparent from interviews with African pupils that they do not identify with the policies of mass-based education organisations such as the Congress of South African Students (COSAS).

From interviews, it is evident that African pupils view the world of whites and Indians as "one of privilege" and "bountiful resources" while their own world was regarded as a "rollercoaster of hardships and difficulties". Therefore, by attending these open white and Indian schools, these African pupils seek to benefit from these "bountiful resources" and as such constitute a usurpationary group.

However, the attendance of African pupils at open schools can at best bring about marginal redistribution since pupils at these open state schools do not seek to challenge the existing power structures of the school. Furthermore, it is argued that in terms of their future aspirations, these African pupils usurp on an individual basis. This concurs with Murphy's argument that

usurpationary consciousness, for its part, can be oriented toward individual aspiration, or be reformist in orientation or aim at a more radical total change ... Whether the excluded form amorphous, associational, or communal status groups, and whether they develop an individualistic, a reformist or a revolutionary consciousness depends on their own creative action and on the historical conjuncture." (1988:127)

The majority of African pupils perceived the open white and Indian state schools as providing them with the necessary educational credentials which will enable them to acquire professional qualifications at a tertiary institution. Seventy-two percent of African pupils aspired to a professional career

requiring university training. When compared with white and Indian pupils, African pupils had fixed career aspirations and a planned future. Occupational goals were the most important factor, followed by material goals. Social goals were also important for African pupils, while satisfying private goals was the most important factor for white pupils. This seems to confirm Danziger's (1963) claim that white subjects value their own satisfaction while Africans value helping their community. It is interesting to note that family goals such as having a "wife/husband and two children; a beautiful home and car" formed part of a future self for pupils of all the different race groups.

African pupils also aspired to be rich and successful with 68 percent of African pupils arguing that "education was the key to success". Furthermore, successful people were distinguishable from unsuccessful people in terms of their educational level and their material possessions. Determination, motivation and hard work were cited as important factors by all three race groups. It is interesting to note that only a minute percentage of pupils argued that rich parents and a good background would contribute towards being rich and successful. Key references include the following:

"The unsuccessful and the poor don't work hard and have no education." (Pupil 3)

"The successful are usually doctors, engineers and social workers, while the unsuccessful are either unemployed or domestic workers."  
(Pupil 8)

"Depends on their environment as the successful are made from their environment, they need to have somebody to boost them. If you are poor and clever in white society, being white you have something to push you up; however, if you are born poor and African, there is no way to help you and therefore very few succeed." (Pupil 15)

"Successful people, some of them inherit success from their parents and others have opportunities for education and jobs. Unsuccessful people are not educated and also they form part of a community where not going to school has become normal." (Pupil 20)

Hard work emerged as a salient category with most African pupils arguing that the poor were uneducated and had to work harder. These pupils also strongly advocated a principle of meritocracy whereby individual achievement and success come about through hard work.

It is evident from the above discussion that African pupils regard their education at the open schools as an investment towards securing their future aspirations. They anticipate sharing professional and managerial positions with the dominant group. In terms of lifestyle, they aspire to the "world of privilege" with a good education and professional job status and "to be rich and successful and live in a big house in a nice area". These individualist aspirations indicate that African pupils at open state schools desire to usurp the resources and benefits accruing to the dominant group on an individual basis.

#### 6.4 DUAL CLOSURE

For Parkin, dual closure occurs when "... exclusion strategies (are) frequently employed by one segment of the subordinate class against another most usually on the basis of race, sex, ethnicity or some other collectivist attribute." (1979:89) Dual closure would, therefore, entail usurpatory activities by a subordinate and excluded group against the state and other vested interest groups, and exclusionary activities against other less privileged groups.

Parkin asserts that collective exclusionary action by one subordinate group against another does not always occur directly. In most cases, the exclusionary subordinate group can gain rewards from exploitative activities exercised by the state and other vested interest groups. It is important to note that the pupils in this group are not fully formed economic agents and do not hold specific positions in the labour market. Therefore, they do not engage in direct exclusionary action resulting in a lower category of ineligibles being excluded from the labour market.

It is argued in this study that African pupils display dual closure. During interviews, pupils of the three different race groups were asked if they would feel comfortable if the school became majority African. The responses of the African pupils only will be considered, since they form part of a large subordinate group. Findings from the interviews indicate that 75 percent of

African pupils argued that they would not feel comfortable if the school became majority African. Some of their reasons were as follows

"Would feel uncomfortable if mostly African in the school as the violence will increase. There would be a change in the standard of education and facilities would be destroyed." (Pupil 3)

"My previous school had lots of blacks who were rude to teachers. If this school became majority black, the standard of education would drop." (Pupil 11)

"Would be uncomfortable if the school became majority African as we would speak Zulu again. I came to this school to learn English and to get ahead with my studies. I feel that the school should only allow 20% African pupils." (Pupil 13)

"Not comfortable as African people are not motivated, find that if the government wants to do something they invent a way, African people do not. Therefore, if there are whites in the school, pupils will not respect each other." (Pupil 20)

The above responses clearly indicate a strong attitude of exclusionary closure being exhibited by African pupils towards other African pupils outside the open white and Indian schools. This is evidence of dual closure whereby the subordinate group (African pupils within the open school) seek to exclude or

deny access to the lower subordinate group (African pupils outside the open school). This lends support for the confirmation of hypothesis 7 (refer to p.103).

## **6.5 THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CLASS**

As discussed in the section on exclusionary social closure (6.1), race and gender differences clearly influenced pupils' views, while indicators on the education department and socio-economic background did not seem to have any significant effect. It seems that the lack of significant differences in responses between African pupils in open white state schools and African pupils in open Indian state schools can be attributed to both these state schooling structures drawing African pupils from a common pool.

Therefore, in an attempt to establish the socio-economic background of pupils and the effect of social class indicators on pupils' responses, pupils were asked about both their mothers' and fathers' occupations. Their responses were then grouped into broad occupational categories using the United Nation's International Standard Classification of Occupations. (Refer to Appendix C.) It is important to note that sociologically, the use of occupational categories to identify social class is deemed highly inadequate. This is clearly expressed by Christie who argued that "it is difficult to make conclusive statements about social class from information collected on parent's occupations without reducing class to static categories of occupational grouping." (1990:111) However, for this study the only

available avenue for determining social class indicators was through parents' occupations. Therefore, occupational categories are used with reservation in this study. From Table 36 (refer to Appendix F) it is evident that white fathers featured strongly in the managerial and skilled worker categories, while Indian fathers featured strongly in the managerial and small business categories. African fathers, on the other hand, featured strongly in the clerical/sales/services, professional and small business categories. African fathers were under-represented in the skilled worker category, while only 10 percent were in the labourer or working class category. Furthermore, an alarming 25 percent of African fathers were either deceased or missing.

From Table 37 (refer to Appendix F), it is evident that 48 percent of African mothers featured in the professional category with most belonging to the nursing and teaching professions. This desire by professional African women (a significant number in this study being single parents) to send their children to open schools warrants further research. The white mothers, on the other hand, predominated in clerical/sales services category, while the majority of Indian mothers were housewives.

From the above discussion, it is evident that the parents from all three race groups came largely from the middle class or the "service class" (Urry and Abercrombie, 1983), holding mainly professional, managerial and clerical positions. Furthermore, all these occupations require a matriculation certificate, indicating the high educational level of most parents in this study.



Therefore, since the African pupils within the open white and Indian schools come primarily from the middle class, this confirms that the open state schools have attracted only a small sector of the African population. However, social class indicators do not seem to have influenced pupils' responses. Thus, one can conclude that for the pupils in this study, social class is not a subjectivity in the same way that race and gender are. This finding seems to concur with Hall's claim that "race is thus the modality through which class is lived." (1980:341)

**CHAPTER SEVEN****CONCLUSION****7.1 SUMMARY**

This study has attempted to address the issue of open state schools by locating it historically within the South African educational context. The year 1991, which saw the opening of white state schools to other race groups, marked the end of an era of church and private schools being the only desegregated South African educational institutions. It has been argued that the opening of the state schools is distinct from the opening of the private schools which occurred during the period 1976-1986, since the opening of the state schools was legally sanctioned by the state, while the opening of the private schools was an act of opposition to the apartheid regime and its racist policies. Indian and coloured state schools have been silently opened since 1985 and thus the state's announcement to open its schools merely boosted the intake of African pupils at these schools.

Initially, most white state schools adopted Model B (refer to Introduction, p.10-11) which would allow them to remain under the control of the state; in other words, fees would remain low. However, the state, in its attempt to move away from a social welfare role, pressurised the Model B schools to convert to Model C status. By adopting Model C, the state schools would become semi-privatised, thus giving them more autonomy. Furthermore, fees at Model C schools would be much higher and thus more demanding for

parents. This move towards Model C has met with severe criticisms by the parent body, educationalists and democratic political organisations.

Statistics indicate that in 1991, only 8 percent of white state schools had opted to open their doors to other races. The total intake of African pupils was a mere 0,09 percent of the African school-going population. (SAIRR, 1991-1992:23) In this study, the maximum intake of African pupils at the white state schools was 17 percent and the maximum African pupil enrolment at the Indian state schools was 21 percent. (Refer to Tables 34 and 35, Appendix E.) Therefore, none of the schools in the study had reached the maximum of 49 percent laid down by the Clase proposals. Hence, in this study, the African pupils at both the white and Indian open schools constitute a minority.

It is the contention of this study that these African pupils, having undergone rigorous selection procedures, form part a of co-opted group within the open schools while at the same time forming part of a large subordinate and excluded majority within South African society. It is within this context that this study arose.

The main aim of this research was to examine the perceptions of white, Indian and African pupils within the open state schools in order to elicit any manifestations of social closure. A related aim was to examine the admissions criteria used by the principals at the open state schools to establish whether they serve as a form of exclusion.

It was argued in this study that white and Indian pupils form part of the dominant group and display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure. African pupils, as part of a co-opted group within the open state schools, would also display attitudes supporting exclusionary social closure. Furthermore, it was argued that the attendance of African pupils at these open state schools can be seen as usurpationary. These African pupils were regarded as supporting dual closure, which entails both exclusionary closure by a subordinate group (African pupils within open state schools) towards a lower subordinate group (other African pupils outside state schools) and usurpationary closure towards the dominant group within the open schools.

One of the problems associated with undertaking this research was the limited published literature available in this area. This can be attributed to the fact that the open schools issue is a relatively recent phenomenon. However, the following two studies, while located in the open private school did prove useful for this study. Firstly, Christie's (1990) study was useful in its analysis of the open school movement as a reform venture and its emphasis on race, gender and the hegemonic consciousness of pupils. Secondly, Gaganakis's (1990) study on the perceptions of African pupils within the open schools and her use of Parkin's social closure model for analysis purposes served as an important precedent for this study.

This study is distinct from the above-mentioned studies and other reports mentioned in earlier sections (refer to Introduction, pp.4-5) in the following ways: firstly, this study was undertaken in both the white and Indian state

schools. Secondly, the specific geographic location of this study was the Natal-Durban region. Thirdly, this study investigated the perceptions of pupils from the three race groups, namely, white, Indian and African. In addition, the viewpoints of principals and teachers were considered.

Chapter Two focused on the state's reform policies with regard to the opening of state schools to other race groups. Several objections were raised: it was suggested that since the state's reform policy was initiated within the existing apartheid framework, the opening of state schools should be regarded as an attempt to denationalise schools but not to desegregate. Furthermore, these state reforms were seen as a move towards a mere restructuring of the apartheid system. While elaborating on this critique, Chapter Two also considered the shift of power from the state to the people within the semi-privatised school. An argument was offered for a theoretical framework which would incorporate both race and class within the same framework.

In Chapter Three, Frank Parkin's theory of social closure was outlined. The different modes of closure, namely, exclusion, usurpation and dual closure were also discussed. For the purposes of this research, Parkin's social closure model allowed for the link between the different forms of closure and the pupil's racial identity.

In Chapter Four, the methodological research procedures used in this study were outlined. The questionnaire and interview research procedures were used for the following reasons: firstly, with the exception of Christie's (1990)

study, very few studies have used both of the above-mentioned research procedures within the same study. Secondly, the nature of the research problem with its large universe and, consequently, the large sample chosen, required the use of research procedure which would be able to capture the information from a large sample without being time-consuming or costly. Thirdly, both the questionnaire and interview procedures were used together as it was felt that they would complement each other and add a richer texture to the findings.

Five white and five Indian state schools were chosen for this study and 240 questionnaires were administered to a random sample of pupils. Furthermore 40 interviews were conducted with pupils who had been randomly selected. In addition, the principal and two teachers were interviewed at each of the ten schools. Once the data was collected, it was coded and analysed using the Statgraphics computer package. The CHI-squared test was used to determine significant differences, with significance generally accepted at the 5 percent level, although the 1 percent level was tolerated. Hypotheses were formulated in relation to specific independent variables, namely, race, gender, socio-economic category and type of education department. These hypotheses were tested using specific dependent variables selected from the questionnaire schedule.

The research design of this study has several limitations. Firstly, this study did not take the perceptions of the Indian and coloured pupils within the open white state schools into account. Secondly, the open coloured state schools

did not form part of the sample of schools. Thirdly, due to time limitations and cost factors, only two research procedures were used as part of the multiple research strategy approach.

The use of the questionnaire procedure was limiting as certain issues could not be probed further or elaborated upon. The use of the interview procedure, on the other hand, facilitated in-depth probing; however, this was subject to interviewer bias. Furthermore, the use of statistical analysis for the quantitative procedure was restrictive since only a limited number of categories could be created to cater for a vast array of responses. Therefore, the qualitative data was used to enrich the findings from the quantitative procedure. The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative procedures are discussed in the following section.

## **7.2 MAIN CONCLUSIONS**

The use of admissions criteria by the open state schools was investigated in order to establish whether they served as a form of exclusion. From interviews with principals, it was found that white and Indian pupils gained automatic entry into their respective schools, provided they lived in the geographic zones of the schools. African pupils, on the other hand, were subjected to an array of admissions criteria before being accepted into the open white and Indian schools. These admissions criteria ranged from the assimilationist criteria of age and language to entrance tests in the form of formal examinations and dictation passages.

Most principals stated that the main aim of admissions criteria such as entrance tests was to establish proficiency in English and the ability to cope. However, since most African pupils came from a disabling and inferior education system and possessed a very elementary knowledge of English, these proficiency tests in English would result in the majority of African applicants in the open schools being excluded. This seems to confirm the exclusionary nature of entrance tests and lends support for the acceptance of hypothesis 8 (refer to p.103).

Furthermore, principals also claimed that admissions criteria such as entrance tests are used in order to ascertain whether African pupils have the ability to cope. Thus "coping" was used as a justification to screen prospective pupils carefully so as to accept only those pupils who would fit most easily into the existing academic and social framework of the school. By accepting the white and Indian education systems as the norm and by accepting only those pupils who would assimilate easily into this norm, these open schools are operating under assimilationist assumptions. This assimilationist approach would lead to a large number of African pupils who do not fit into the existing framework of the school being excluded, and this would create a "social category of outsiders". Therefore, this lends further support for accepting hypothesis 8 (refer to p.103).

When pupils were asked if entrance tests should be written by pupils entering the school, it was found that the majority of white and African pupils approved of entrance tests being written. They argued that entrance tests



would ensure that the school would only accept those pupils who could cope. As mentioned earlier, "coping" can be associated with assimilationist assumptions which result in large numbers of "ineligibles"; therefore, the above finding lends support for hypotheses 1 and 3 respectively (refer to pp.101-102).

Generally, Indian pupils opposed the idea of writing entrance tests. However, a small percentage of Indian pupils argued that entrance tests would ensure that the academic standards of the school were maintained. By seeking to "maintain standards", a large number of prospective pupils would be denied access to the school. This finding lends support for hypothesis 2 (refer to p.102).

In terms of gender, it was found that more females than males favoured the use of entrance tests. Therefore, hypothesis 4 cannot be accepted. Furthermore, more African females than African males favoured the use of entrance tests. This results in the rejection of hypothesis 4(iii) (refer to p.102).

It is interesting to note that while the question on entrance tests posed to pupils was not race specific, almost all pupils who favoured entrance tests stated or assumed that these entrance tests would be written by the African pupils entering the school. Therefore, one can conclude that pupils generally held an exclusionary attitude towards a specific exclusionary target.

Findings also indicate that most principals argued that their admissions policies were fair but not realistic or effective. However, it is the contention of this study that these admissions policies are unfair and that by using meritocratic principles and assimilationist assumptions, the open schools are using their admissions criteria as filtering mechanisms for selecting only a few pupils. This is clearly illustrated by the low African pupil enrolment in both the white and Indian state schools in this study. (Refer to Tables 34 and 35 - Appendix E.) Furthermore, the socio-economic background of African pupils which was largely middle or service class, indicates that these open schools cater for a very small sector of the African population. This serves to create a small number of eligibles and a majority of "ineligibles" or "outsiders". In addition, by subjecting only the African pupils to specific admissions criteria such as entrance tests, these open schools are operating their admissions criteria with racist effects. Therefore, the admissions criteria used by the open schools in this study can be regarded as an exclusionary device used for the exclusion of a specific target group.

With regard to fee-paying, the majority of pupils from all three race groups argued that those pupils who cannot afford to pay school fees should be allowed to attend their school. There was, therefore, no clear evidence of exclusionary closure. However, the majority of white females argued that fees should be increased in order to maintain a high standard of education, which would result in most pupils from working class backgrounds being unable to afford to attend these schools, thus resulting in a large category of outsiders or "ineligibles". The findings indicate that more white female pupils

than white male pupils exhibit attitudes supporting exclusionary closure. This lends support for the rejection of hypothesis 4(i) (refer to p.102).

The fear of a drop in the standard of education was expressed by pupils, principals and teachers. Findings indicate that Indian pupils regarded non-selective admissions as an important factor contributing to the lowering of the standard of education. As mentioned earlier, by seeking to maintain standards, the majority of African pupils with a learning history rooted in Bantu education would be excluded. These Indian pupils exhibit exclusionary closure and this lends supports for hypothesis 2 (refer to p.102). In terms of gender, more Indian female pupils than Indian male pupils argued that non-selective admissions would lower the standard of education. Therefore, hypothesis 4(ii) can be rejected (refer to p.102).

The majority of white pupils, on the other hand, argued that an increased number of African pupils would lead to overcrowding and would thereby contribute to a drop in the standard of education. By having small classes, large numbers of pupils would be denied access to the school. This is evidence of exclusionary closure and lends support for hypothesis 1 (refer to p.101).

"Speaking English" emerged as a salient category for both the questionnaire and interview procedures. English was regarded as the "language of education" and the "language of the future" by most of the African pupils. The possession of this linguistic capital was seen as a gateway towards

securing the necessary credentials and opportunities for upward social mobility.

By extending Parkin's social closure thesis, it was found that language could serve as a mode of social closure. This became evident from the following findings. Almost all the African pupils in this study stated that their reason for attending the open white or Indian state schools was that they wanted to learn English so that they could have a better education and a better future. Therefore, these pupils have a common aim of biting into the resources of the dominant group. This serves as evidence of usurpationary closure.

Furthermore, with regard to English being regarded as the "language of the future" most African pupils argued against the intake of large numbers of African pupils into the open schools as they felt that this would lead to Zulu being spoken by the majority. This would ruin their chances of learning English and securing a better future for themselves. This is an indication of dual closure and lends support for hypothesis 7 (refer to p.103). Language in this study can be regarded as a credential which African pupils seek to acquire, in the process displaying both usurpationary and exclusionary strategies in the form of dual closure.

It is important to note that while African pupils exhibited usurpationary closure, this form of usurpation differs from Parkin's definition in that the attendance of African pupils at the open white and Indian schools was legally endorsed by the state. Furthermore, the African pupils in this study did not

seek to usurp on a collective level but more on an individual basis. This is evident from their aspirations which were individually orientated, for example, being "rich and successful and live in a big house in a nice area". Furthermore, most of the African pupils regarded "education as the key to success", with the open school providing them with the necessary educational credentials for securing professional qualifications and material wealth. This was borne out by findings on pupils' goals, with the majority of African pupils aspiring to a professional career and holding occupational and material goals.

Hypothesis 1 was formulated in the expectation that white pupils as the dominant group within the open white schools would display attitudes supporting exclusionary closure. The findings indicate that most white pupils displayed exclusionary closure in the following instances: firstly, they wanted pupils to write entrance tests in order to ascertain whether they would cope. In other words, "coping" gave legitimacy to the exclusionary process. Secondly, white pupils stated that they would leave the school if the standard of education dropped. Therefore, the desire to "maintain standards" would result in large numbers of pupils being excluded. Thirdly, white pupils viewed cultural differences negatively and argued that such differences seemed to enhance differences between the different race groups within the school. From the above findings, hypothesis 1 can be accepted.

Hypothesis 2 anticipated that Indian pupils as the dominant group within the open Indian schools would display attitudes supporting exclusionary closure.

The findings indicate that most Indian pupils displayed exclusionary closure in the following instances: firstly, certain Indian pupils argued that entrance tests would ensure that the academic standards of the school were maintained. As mentioned above, the desire to maintain standards results in exclusion. Secondly, Indian pupils argued that the standard of education would drop if a non-selective admissions policy was used by the school. Therefore, selective admissions would result in exclusion. Thirdly, Indian pupils also stated that they would leave the school if the standard of education dropped. By seeking to maintain standards, large numbers of pupils would be excluded. Therefore, hypothesis 2 was confirmed by the above-mentioned findings.

Hypothesis 3 was formulated in the expectation that African pupils as part of a co-opted group within the open state schools would display attitudes supporting exclusionary closure. The findings indicate that African pupils displayed exclusionary closure in the following instances: Firstly, the majority of African pupils wanted pupils to write entrance tests in order to ascertain whether they could cope. While this may seem a practical consideration, it results in exclusion. Secondly, African pupils stated that they would leave the school if the standard of education dropped. Therefore by seeking to "maintain standards", a large number of pupils would be excluded. The above findings lend support for the acceptance of hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4 anticipated that male pupils would display a higher incidence of exclusionary closure than female pupils. However, this hypothesis was

substantiated only with regard to the issue of cultural differences. Male pupils displayed a negative attitude towards cultural differences, while female pupils felt positively about cultural differences and favoured the interaction of different cultures within the schools as they felt that this would create a deeper understanding among the different race groups in the school.

Hypothesis 4(i) anticipated that white male pupils would display a higher incidence of exclusionary closure than white female pupils. This was substantiated by the issue of cultural differences, whereby white female pupils had a positive attitude towards the presence of different race groups in the same school.

Hypothesis 4(ii) asserted that Indian male pupils display a higher incidence of exclusionary closure than Indian female pupils. This was found in only one instance, whereby the Indian male pupils argued that non-selective admissions would lower the standard of education. Therefore, by having selective admissions, a large number of pupils would be denied access to the school. This confirms the exclusionary attitudes held by Indian male pupils.

Hypothesis 4(iii) stated that African male pupils display a higher incidence of exclusionary closure than African female pupils. However, with regard to the issue of entrance tests, it was found that most female pupils advocated the use of entrance tests. This indicates exclusionary attitudes held by African female pupils instead of African males pupils. Therefore, hypothesis 4(iii) can be rejected.

Hypothesis 5 anticipated that African pupils at open white schools would display a higher incidence of exclusionary closure than African pupils at open Indian schools. No statistical evidence was found to substantiate this hypothesis. This can be attributed to both white and Indian pupils being drawn from a common pool, with similar backgrounds and similar aspirations.

Hypothesis 6 was formulated in the expectation that pupils from a higher socio-economic background display a higher incidence of exclusionary closure than pupils from a lower socio-economic background. However, there was no statistical evidence to support this hypothesis. This can be attributed to pupils of all race groups coming largely from the middle or service class and social class indicators did not seem to influence their responses.

Hypothesis 7 stated that African pupils at open schools display dual closure. Findings indicate that the majority of African pupils who were interviewed argued against the intake of large numbers of African pupils into their school. They stated that this would result in Zulu being spoken and would minimise their chances of learning English (the "language of the future") and securing a good education and a better future. These pupils also argued that the standard of education would drop. This clearly illustrates the exclusionary attitude held by the subordinate group of African pupils within the open schools towards the lower subordinate group of African pupils outside the open state schools. Therefore, hypothesis 7 is confirmed.



Hypothesis 8 stated that the admissions criteria implemented by the open state schools serve as a form of exclusionary closure. Findings from interviews with principals confirmed that by subjecting only the African pupils to specific admissions criteria such as entrance tests, these admissions criteria served as an exclusionary device. Furthermore, by adopting an assimilationist approach and advocating a meritocratic principle of admissions, these admissions criteria serve as a filter mechanism for accepting a select few while creating a majority social category of "ineligibles" or "outsiders". This clearly indicates the exclusionary consequences of the admissions criteria adopted by the open state schools. Therefore, hypothesis 8 is substantiated.

### **7.3 COMPARABILITY ACROSS THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW PROCEDURES**

The questionnaire has the advantage of being able to deal with a larger sample than the interview would allow. Babbie (1973:276) argues that

...surveys are particularly useful in describing the characteristics of a large population ... a standardized questionnaire offers the possibility of making refined descriptive assertions about the student body, the city, a nation or other large populations.

With regard to the interview procedure, Sellitz et al (1959:242) assert that "in an interview there is the possibility of repeating or rephrasing questions to

make sure that they are understood, or of asking further questions in order to clarify the meaning of a response."

The above quotes indicate that both the questionnaire and interview procedures have their relative merits. They can be used to validate each other. Therefore, certain open-ended questions which were intrinsic to both the questionnaire and interview procedures revealed comparability across both procedures in the following instances: firstly, with regard to the issue of school fees, the majority of pupils stated that pupils who could not afford to pay school fees should be allowed to attend their school. This was especially prevalent among Indian pupils across both procedures. Secondly, in terms of factors affecting the standard of education, Indian pupils argued that non-selective admissions would affect the standard of education. Thirdly, "speaking English" emerged as a salient category across both procedures with African pupils viewing the learning of English as a credential which would help them in securing a better future for themselves.

There were also instances where the findings differed across both procedures. Firstly, with regard to the issue of entrance tests, the questionnaire procedure revealed that the majority of Indian pupils did not think there should be entrance tests. This was not evident from the findings of the interview procedure. Secondly, with regard to factors affecting the standard of education, the findings from the interview procedure indicated that the majority of white pupils argued that large classes would contribute to a drop in the standard of education. This was not validated by the questionnaire

findings. Thirdly, the findings from the questionnaire procedure indicated that white pupils generally felt that cultural differences among the different race groups led to a lack of social mixing within the school. The interview procedure, on the other hand, revealed that most pupils, including the white pupils, argued that cultural differences resulted in pupils of different race groups behaving and doing things differently.

Furthermore, certain areas could only be covered by the interviews, for example, the attitudes supporting dual closure held by African pupils and the educational background and experiences of African pupils. In terms of which procedure elicited more truthful data, the underlying assumption of this study was that pupils would answer according to their context. Therefore, no claims of 'truth' are made about the pupils' responses across both procedures. Thus, as Babbie (1973:277) states, "ultimately the researcher is on safest ground when he (she) is able to employ a number of different methods in studying a given topic."

#### **7.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

In the past, there have been a number of studies on open or multi-racial schools, but these studies have focused primarily on the private school. This is clearly illustrated by the following examples: Christie's (1990) study focused on hegemonic assumptions of private school pupils; Gaganakis's (1990) study focused on the perceptions of African pupils within the private school. Freer and Christie's (1992) study focused on pupil's views on non-

racial education at private secondary schools and Lit's (1992) focused on social interaction patterns among pupil at non-racial private schools.

These pioneer studies are invaluable in enhancing our knowledge of attitudes held by pupils within the open private schools. Nonetheless, due to their limited scope, these studies have left gaps in the research on open schools in South Africa. It is important to note that the opening of state schools in South Africa is a relatively recent phenomenon and research in this area is still in progress.

Therefore, scope for research on the opening of state schools does exist and this study attempts to fill the gap. This study, with its use of both the interview and questionnaire procedures and the specific types of questions asked, can be replicated in other parts of South Africa. Furthermore, certain issues such as the experiences of African pupils in the open state schools and comparisons between their present and previous schools; the pupils' social interaction patterns within the state school and the pupils' reasons behind their choice of three good schools in Durban (refer to Appendix B) raised valuable and interesting data which could not be used in this study because of its specific theoretical framework. These questions could be used in future research studies. An interesting area which requires research concerns the social and psychological effects on African pupils entering a different learning environment, such as the open state school. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the high prevalence among professional African women of sending their children to the open state schools warrants further research.

While the findings of this research indicate that race and gender were the major subjectivities, it is the contention of this study that with time, social class will supersede race as the major subjectivity within the open schools. In other words, there will be a shift from race to class especially within the semi-privatised state schools. Furthermore, Parkin's social closure theory with its emphasis on both race and class within the same theoretical framework will enable other researchers to elicit valuable data on both race and class subjectivities within the open state school.

Having concentrated on both the Indian and white state schools, it is the contention of this study that the impact of desegregation will be experienced to a greater extent by the Indian state schools. Therefore, further research is urgently required to enable educational planners and educationalists to adequately manage a large influx of pupil into the open Indian schools. In other words, further research is required into the integration of state schools in the hope that the "doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all." (Freedom Charter, 1955)

APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND TRANSITION PROCESSES  
IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE DURBAN AND GREATER DURBAN  
AREAS

THIS STUDY IS BEING CONDUCTED BY A MASTERS STUDENT FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NATAL FOR POSTGRADUATE DEGREE PURPOSES.

AS THERE HAVE BEEN MANY CHANGES IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM RECENTLY, IT IS IMPORTANT TO ASSESS THE DEGREE TO WHICH PUPILS AT SCHOOLS IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THEIR ENVIRONMENT.

YOU ARE ONE OF A SAMPLE OF PUPILS SELECTED AT RANDOM BY A COMPUTER FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE COLLECTION OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

**PLEASE NOTE:**

THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND ANONYMOUS. PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS HONESTLY.

THE SUCCESS OF THIS SIGNIFICANT STUDY DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON YOUR CO-OPERATION.

IT IS HOPED THAT THIS STUDY WILL LEAD TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE EDUCATION SYSTEMS AS THE PUPIL HIMSELF/HERSELF PERCEIVES IT.

**I THANK YOU IN ANTICIPATION...**

- 1(a) SEX (MALE/FEMALE) \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) RACE \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) AGE IN YEARS \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) WHAT STANDARD ARE YOU IN? \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) IN WHAT YEAR DID YOU FIRST ENTER THIS SCHOOL? \_\_\_\_\_
- (f) WHICH SCHOOL WERE YOU AT PREVIOUSLY?
  - (i) NAME OF SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) AREA/LOCATION OF SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_
- (g) WHAT IS YOUR FATHER'S OCCUPATION? PLEASE SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (h) WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER'S OCCUPATION? PLEASE SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (i) WHERE DO YOU LIVE? \_\_\_\_\_
- (j) WHAT IS YOUR MODE OF TRANSPORT TO SCHOOL? TICK CHOICE
  - (i) BUS
  - (ii) CAR
  - (iii) TAXI
  - (iv) BIKE
  - (v) WALK
- (k) WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER TONGUE? \_\_\_\_\_

2(a) WHICH IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE THREE BEST SCHOOLS IN THE DURBAN AND/OR GREATER DURBAN AREAS?

CHOICE ONE: \_\_\_\_\_  
CHOICE TWO: \_\_\_\_\_  
CHOICE THREE: \_\_\_\_\_

(b) WHAT ARE YOUR REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE ABOVE SCHOOLS?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3(a) HOW DID YOU COME TO KNOW ABOUT THE SCHOOL YOU ARE ATTENDING PRESENTLY?

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(b) WHY DID YOU CHOOSE THIS PARTICULAR SCHOOL? \_\_\_\_\_

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4. WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SCHOOL YOU WERE AT PREVIOUSLY AND YOUR PRESENT SCHOOL? \_\_\_\_\_

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5. WHAT CHANGES AND ADJUSTMENTS DID YOU HAVE TO DEAL WITH UPON ENTERING THIS SCHOOL? \_\_\_\_\_

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6(a) SINCE ARRIVING AT THIS SCHOOL HAVE YOU MADE FRIENDS EASILY?

YES

NO

(b) IF YES, WHERE DO MOST OF YOUR PRESENT SCHOOL FRIENDS LIVE? \_\_\_\_\_

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7(a) DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE DEEP CULTURAL DIFFERENCES (SUCH AS TRADITIONS, VALUES, BELIEFS) THAT DISTINGUISH YOU FROM PUPILS OF DIFFERENT RACE GROUPS?

YES   
NO

(b) IF YES, HOW DO YOU THINK THESE CULTURAL DIFFERENCES HAVE INFLUENCED THE WAY PUPILS OF DIFFERENT RACE GROUPS RELATE TO EACH OTHER AT YOUR SCHOOL? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8(a) HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED ANY PROBLEMS COMMUNICATING WITH FELLOW PUPILS OF DIFFERENT RACE GROUPS IN TERMS OF LANGUAGE AND DIFFERENT LIFESTYLES?

YES   
NO

(b) IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. WHAT DO YOU INTEND DOING AFTER COMPLETING MATRIC?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

10. WHAT IS YOUR ULTIMATE GOAL OR AMBITION IN LIFE?

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11(a) WHAT DO YOU THINK IS REQUIRED IN ORDER TO BE RICH AND SUCCESSFUL?

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(b) WHAT ARE THE MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL PEOPLE?

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12. WHICH TWO SUBJECTS ARE YOU EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTIES WITH?

1. 

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2. 

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13(a) DO YOU THINK THAT PUPILS SHOULD WRITE AN ENTRANCE EXAM BEFORE BEING ADMITTED TO YOUR SCHOOL?

YES

NO

(b) IF YES, SHOULD THESE ENTRANCE EXAMS BE MADE MORE STRICT? PLEASE EXPLAIN...

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14(a) WOULD YOU PREFER YOUR SCHOOL TO ONLY ADMIT PUPILS WHO LIVE CLOSE TO YOUR SCHOOL?

YES   
NO

(b) IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHY...

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15. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT FACTORS WOULD LEAD TO A DROP IN THE STANDARD OF EDUCATION YOU RECEIVE?

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16(a) SHOULD PEOPLE WHO CANNOT AFFORD TO PAY SCHOOL FEES AND OTHER SCHOOL COSTS BE ALLOWED TO ATTEND YOUR SCHOOL?

YES   
NO

(b) IF NO, PLEASE EXPLAIN...

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17. DO YOU THINK IT IS FAIR TO INCREASE SCHOOL FEES IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A HIGHER STANDARD OF EDUCATION?

YES   
NO

18. WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD LEAD YOU TO DECIDE TO CHANGE YOUR PRESENT SCHOOL? PLEASE EXPLAIN...

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19(a) DO YOU CONSIDER PRIVATE SCHOOLS TO PROVIDE A BETTER QUALITY OF EDUCATION?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>
NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

(b) IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN...

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20(a) ARE YOUR PARENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE OPENING OF SCHOOLS TO ALL?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>
NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

(b) IF NO, PLEASE EXPLAIN...

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21. WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN INTERESTS?

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**THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!!!**

**APPENDIX B****QUESTIONNAIRE CODEBOOK****TABLE 32: QUESTIONNAIRE CODING FOR STATGRAPHICS**

<b>VARIABLE NAME</b>	<b>VARIABLE</b>	<b>CODE</b>
1. CASE NO	QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER (1-240)	-
2. DEPT	1 = NED 2 = HOD	NED HOD
3. SEX	1 = MALE 2 = FEMALE	MALE FEMALE
4. RACE	1 = WHITE 2 = INDIAN 3 = AFRICAN	WHITE INDIAN AFRICAN
5. AGE	12 TO 20	-
6. STD	6 7 8 9	-
7. YRENTER	1988 - 1992	
8. OLDSCH1	1 = WHITE FEEDER PRIMARY 2 = WHITE SECONDARY 3 = BLACK PRIMARY 4 = BLACK SECONDARY 5 = INDIAN FEEDER PRIMARY 6 = INDIAN SECONDARY 7 = PRIVATE SCHOOL 8 = COLOURED PRIMARY 9 = COLOURED SECONDARY	WH/PRIM WH/SEC BL/PRIM BL/SEC IN/PRIM IN/SEC PRIV COL/PRIM COL/SEC

9.	FATHOCC	1 = PROFESSIONAL, EG. DOCTOR, NURSE, TEACHER	PROF
		2 = SELF EMPLOYED, EG. FACTORY OWNER, FARMER	SELF
		3 = MANAGERIAL POSITIONS	MANAG
		4 = ARTISAN, EG. BRICK- LAYER, ELECTRICIAN, PLUMBER	ART
		5 = CLERK, RECEPTIONIST, SALES REP	CLERK
		6 = LABOURER, FACTORY WORKER, DOMESTIC	LAB
		7 = UNEMPLOYED	UNEM
		8 = DISABILITY, PENSIONER	PEN
		9 = DECEASED, WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	DECEA
		10 = -	-
10.	MOTHOCC	1 = PROFESSIONAL, EG. DOCTOR, NURSE, TEACHER	PROF
		2 = SELF EMPLOYED, EG. FACTORY OWNER, FARMER	SELF
		3 = MANAGERIAL POSITIONS	MANAG
		4 = ARTISAN, EG. BRICK- LAYER, ELECTRICIAN, PLUMBER	ART
		5 = CLERK, RECEPTIONIST, SALES REP	CLERK
		6 = LABOURER, FACTORY WORKER, DOMESTIC	LAB
		7 = UNEMPLOYED	UNEM
		8 = DISABILITY, PENSIONER	PEN
		9 = DECEASED, WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	DECEA
		10 = HOUSEWIFE	H/W
		11 = STUDENT	STU
11.	ABODE	1 = WHITE AREA	WH/AREA
		2 = INDIAN AREA	IN/AREA
		3 = BLACK AREA	BL/AREA
		4 = COLOURED AREA	COL/AREA
12.	TRANSPO	1 = BUS	BUS
		2 = CAR	CAR
		3 = TAXI	TAXI
		4 = BIKE	BIKE
		5 = WALK	WALK
		6 = TRAIN	TRAIN

13.	HOMELANG	1 = ENGLISH 2 = ZULU 3 = INDIAN 4 = OTHER FOREIGN 5 = AFRIKAANS 6 = XHOSA; SOTHO	ENG ZULU INDIAN FOREIGN AFRIK O/AF
14.	BESTSCH1	1 = WHITE ELITE 2 = WHITE ESTABLISHED 3 = INDIAN ELITE 4 = INDIAN ESTABLISHED 5 = BLACK ELITE 6 = BLACK ESTABLISHED 7 = ELITE PRIVATE 8 = PRIVATE (GOVT-AIDED) 9 = COLOURED ELITE 10 = COLOURED ESTABLISHED	WH/EL WH/ST IN/EL IN/ST BL/EL BL/ST EL/PRIV GOV/PRIV CO/EL CO/ST
15.	BESTSCH2	SAME AS ABOVE	
16.	BESTSCH3	SAME AS ABOVE	
17.	REABEST	0 = NO REPOSE 1 = REPUTATION 2 = HIGH STANDARD OF EDUCATION 3 = PRIVATE SCHOOL 4 = QUALITIES OF SCHOOL: SPORT FACILITIES, SINGLE SEX/CO-ED 5 = MIXED SCHOOL 6 = LEARN TO SPEAK ENGLISH	N/R REP STD  PRIV QUAL  MIX ENG
18.	KNOWSCH	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = SIBLING IN SCHOOL 2 = FRIENDS OF MOM/FAMILY 3 = PREVIOUS/PAST STUDENTS 4 = HIGH SCHOOL IN AREA 5 = MEDIA - NEWSPAPER, RADIO, TV 6 = SCHOOL REPRESENTATIVE	N/R SIB FRIENDS PAST AREA MEDIA  SCH/RE
19.	CHOSSESCH	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = GOOD EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS AND REPUTATION 2 = ENGLISH/MIXED SCHOOL 3 = CLOSE TO HOME 4 = FRIENDS IN SCHOOL	N/R REP  ENG/MIX EASY FRIENDS

		5 = CO-EDUCATIONAL/ SINGLE SEX	SEX/CL
20.	DIFFERENT	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = SPEAK ENGLISH, MULTI- RACIAL SCHOOL 2 = CHOICES - MORE SUBJECTS, MORE EQUIPMENT 3 = RESPONSIBILITY 4 = STANDARD OF WORK HIGHER 5 = NOT AS GOOD AS PREVIOUS SCHOOL 6 = WAS A PRIMARY SCHOOL	NO/R ENG/MIX CHOICES RES HIGH STD NOT/G PRIM
21.	CHANGE	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = SPEAK ENGLISH, MULTI- RACIAL SCHOOL 2 = FEELING OF BEING SMALL 3 = MORE RESPONSIBILITY 4 = STANDARD OF WORK HIGHER 5 = TRAVEL, UNIFORMS, SPORTS DIFFERENT 6 = SINGLE SEX, CO-EDUCATIONAL	NO/R ENG/MIX SMALL RES STD CHOICES SEX/CL
22.	FREASY	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO
23.	FRLIVE	1 = WHITE AREA 2 = INDIAN AREA 3 = BLACK AREA 4 = MIXED AREA	WH/AREA IN/AREA BL/AREA MIXED
24.	CULDIFF	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO
25.	CULINF	0 - NO RESPONSE 1 = NO MIXING OF DIFFERENT RACE GROUPS 2 = RELIGIOUS FRICTION 3 = DIFFERENT WAYS OF DOING THINGS 4 = LOSS OF ONE'S CULTURE 5 = UNDERSTANDING BEING CREATED	NO/R APART RELIG V/LIFE MIME CLOSER
26.	PROBCOMA	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO



27.	PROBCOMA	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = BAD SPEECH/ PRONUNCIATION 2 = SPEAK ANOTHER LANGUAGE 3 = INHIBITED 4 = VARIED LIFESTYLE	NO/R SPEECH DIFF/LANG INHIB V/LIFE
28.	CAREER	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = UNIVERSITY 2 = TECHNIKON 3 = NON-INSTITUTION 4 = UNDECIDED	NO/R UNIV TECH NON/INS INDECID
29.	GOALS	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = STUDY GOALS 2 = OCCUPATIONAL GOALS 3 = MATERIAL GOALS 4 = FAMILY GOALS 5 = SOCIAL GOALS 6 = SELF SATISFYING GOALS	NO/R STUDY OCCUP MATER FAMILY SOCIAL SELF/SAT
30.	RICHSUCC	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = EDUCATION 2 = INTELLIGENCE 3 = PERSONALITY 4 = DETERMINATION/ MOTIVATION 5 = RICH PARENTS/ GOOD BACKGROUND 6 = HARD WORK	NO/R EDU INTELL PERSON DETER G/BACKGR HARD/WR
31.	SUCCESS	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = EDUCATION 2 = MATERIAL NEEDS 3 = HAPPY 4 = DETERMINED 5 = WORK HARD	NO/R EDU MATER HAPPY DETERM WK/HARD
32.	DIFFSUB1	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = ENGLISH 2 = AFRIKAANS 3 = MATHEMATICS 4 = ACCOUNTANCY 5 = PHYSICAL SCIENCE 6 = BIOLOGY 7 = GEOGRAPHY 8 = HISTORY 9 = HOME ECONOMICS 10 = PHYSICAL EDUCATION	-

		11 = TYPING	
		12 = TECHNICAL DRAWING	
		13 = ART	
		14 = DRAMA	
		15 = BUSINESS ECONOMICS	
		16 = COMPUTERS	
		17 = HEALTH EDUCATION	
		18 = ARABIC	
33.	DIFFSUB2	SAME AS ABOVE	
34.	ENTEXAM	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES
35.	EXAMSTR	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = COPING WITH WORK 2 = DO NOT DESERVE TO BE AT THE SCHOOL 3 = TO KEEP STANDARDS HIGH 4 = TO PICK ONLY THE BEST	NO/R COPING UNFIT STD BEST
36.	CLOSESCH1	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO
37.	CLOSESCH2	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = TRANSPORT PROBLEMS 2 = ABSENTEEISM 3 = BIGGER CLASS 4 = HIGHER TRAVELLING COSTS	NO/R TRANS ABSENT L/CLASS TR/COSTS
38.	STDLOW	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = NON-PAYMENT OF SCHOOL FEES 2 = NOT FOLLOWING SCHOOL RULES AND NOT WORKING HARD 3 = LARGE CLASSES 4 = NON-SELECTIVE ADMISSIONS 5 = POLITICAL/ECONOMIC CLIMATE 6 = LACK OF GOOD TEACHERS	NO/R UNPAID DISOBEY L/CLASSES NON/ADM POL/ECO TEACH
39.	NOFEES1	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO
40.	NOFEES2	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = SHORTAGE OF EQUIPMENT, TEACHERS 2 = UNFAIR FOR SOME TO PAY	NO/R SHORTAGE UNFAIR

		3 = EDUCATION STANDARD WILL BE LOWERED	STDLOW
		4 = ANYONE CAN COME INTO THE SCHOOL - CHAOS	CHAOS
41.	INCFEES	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO
42.	LEAVESCH	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = NOT COPING 2 = HIGH SCHOOL FEES/ COSTS 3 = STANDARD OF EDUCATION DROPPED 4 = MAJORITY BLACK/INDIAN 5 = TEACHER ATTITUDES, SUBJECT NOT OFFERED 6 = FAMILY MOVED	NO/R FAIL FEES STDLOW RACE QUALOW
43.	PRIVATE1	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO
44.	PRIVATE2	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = HIGHER STANDARD AS MORE MONEY 2 = SMALL CLASSES 3 = BETTER TEACHERS AND FACILITIES 4 = FRIENDS/SIBLINGS	NO/R EXPEN S/CLASS TEA/FAC FRIE/SIB
45.	PARENTS1	1 = YES 2 = NO	YES NO
46.	PARENTS2	0 = NO RESPONSE 1 = STANDARDS LOWERED 2 = CREATE CHAOS 3 = FORCED INTEGRATION	NO/R STDLOW CHAOS FORC/INIE

APPENDIX CCHARACTERISTICS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE

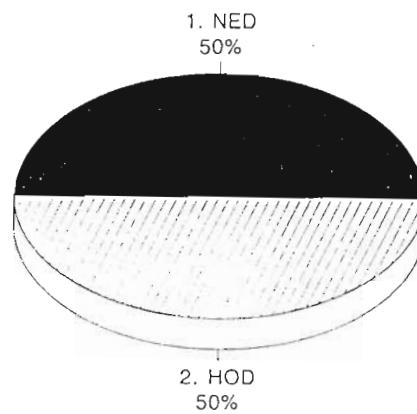
Of the 240 questionnaires returned, the following characteristics of the sample are outlined below:

a) Department of education

- |    |                                  |             |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1) | NED - Natal Education Department | 50% (N=120) |
| 2) | HOD - House of Delegates         | 50% (N=120) |

XVI  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

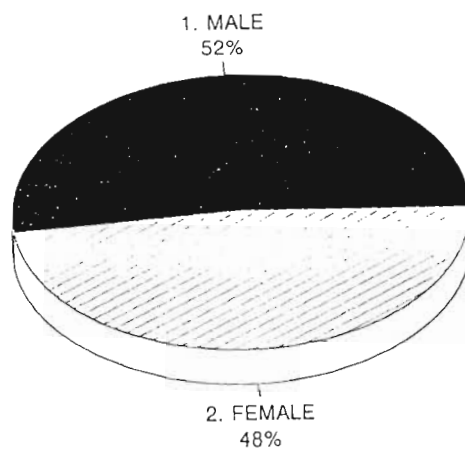
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b) Gender

- |    |        |             |
|----|--------|-------------|
| 1) | Male   | 52% (N=124) |
| 2) | Female | 48% (N=116) |

XVII  
GENDER

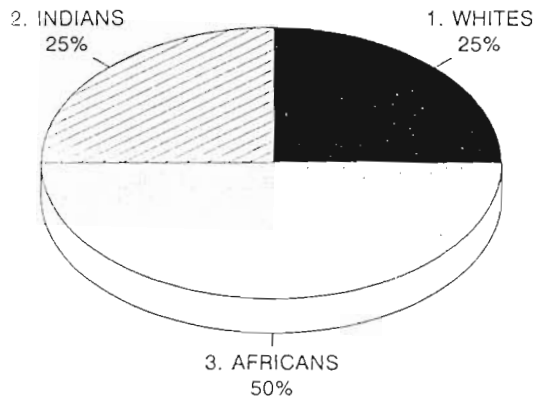
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c) Racial composition

1) Whites	25% (N=60)
2) Indians	25% (N=60)
3) Africans	50% (N=120)

XVIII  
RACE

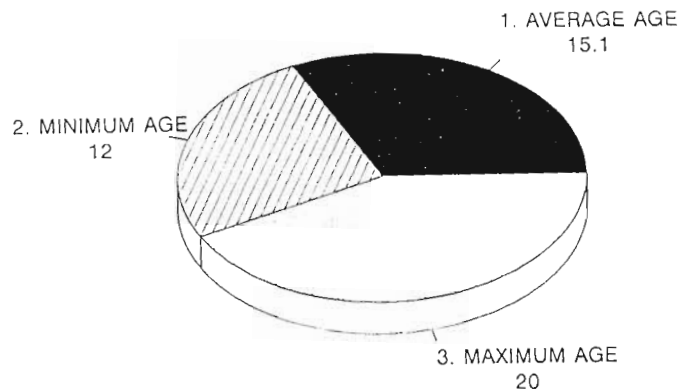


The over-representation of the African race group as compared to the white and Indian race groups is due to Africans being chosen from both white and Indian schools, while whites and Indians were only chosen from their respective schools. The coloured race group was not represented since coloured schools did not form part of the overall sample.

d) Age

Average age	15.1 years
Minimum age	12 years
Maximum age	20 years

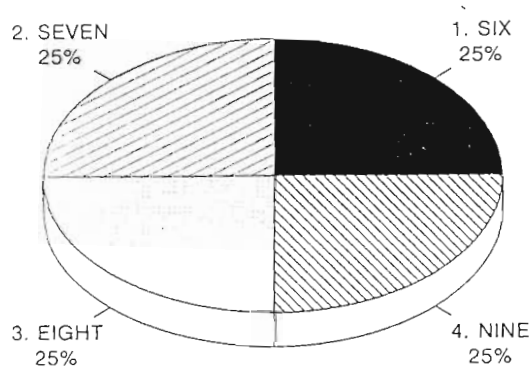
XIX  
AGE



e) Standard

Six	25% (N=60)
Seven	25% (N=60)
Eight	25% (N=60)
Nine	25% (N=60)

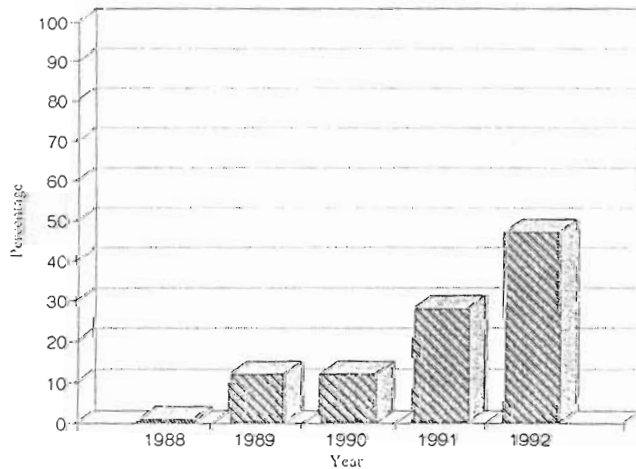
STANDARD



f) Year entered school

1988	1% (N= 3)
1989	12% (N= 29)
1990	12% (N= 29)
1991	28% (N= 67)
1992	47% (N=112)

XXI  
YEAR ENTERED

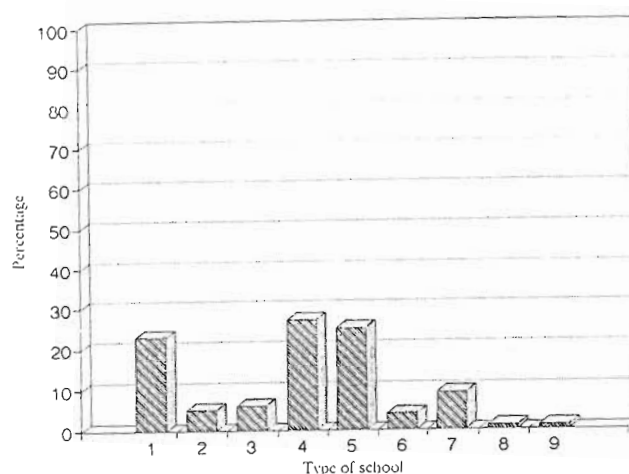


g) Previous school

White feeder primary	23% (N=54)
White secondary	5% (N=12)
African primary	6% (N=15)
African secondary	27% (N=64)
Indian feeder primary	25% (N=60)
Indian secondary	4% (N=10)
Private school	9% (N=21)
Coloured primary	1% (N= 2)
Coloured secondary	1% (N= 2)

XXII

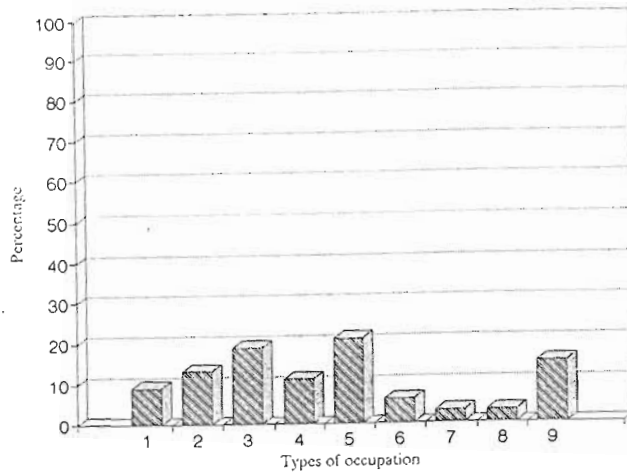
PREVIOUS SCHOOL

h) Father's occupation

The United Nations International Standard Classification of Occupation (Lever, 1966:39) was used, and was subsequently adapted to cater for the sample size in this study.

1) Professional, technical and related worker	9% (N=22)
2) Self-employed, ie. small business, factory owner	13% (N=31)
3) Management and administrative	19% (N=45)
4) Skilled workers	11% (N=27)
5) Clerical and related worker, sales and service workers	21% (N=51)
6) Semi-skilled workers and unskilled labourers	6% (N=15)
7) Unemployed	3% (N= 7)
8) Retired, pensioners	3% (N= 7)
9) Deceased, whereabouts unknown	15% (N=35)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION

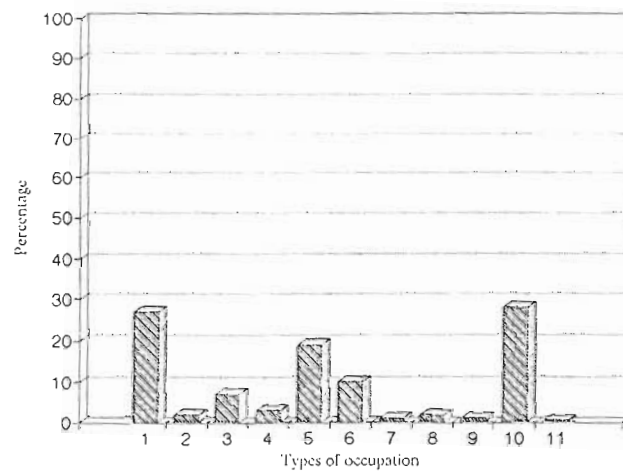


i) Mother's occupation

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| 1) Professional, technical and related worker             | 27% (N=64) |
| 2) Self-employed, ie. small business, factory owner       | 2% (N= 5)  |
| 3) Management and administrative                          | 7% (N=16)  |
| 4) Skilled workers  | 3% (N= 8)  |
| 5) Clerical and related worker, sales and service workers | 19% (N=46) |
| 6) Semi-skilled workers and unskilled labourers           | 10% (N=24) |
| 7) Unemployed   | 1% (N= 3)  |
| 8) Retired, pensioners                                    | 2% (N= 4)  |
| 9) Deceased, whereabouts unknown                          | 1% (N= 3)  |
| 10) Housewife   | 28% (N=66) |
| 11) Student   | .4% (N= 1) |

XXIV

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION

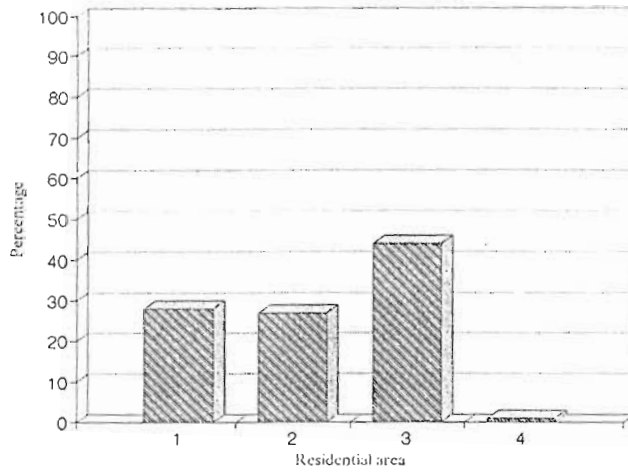




j) Residence

1) White area	28% (N= 67)
2) Indian area	27% (N= 65)
3) African area	44% (N=106)
4) Coloured area	1% (N= 2)

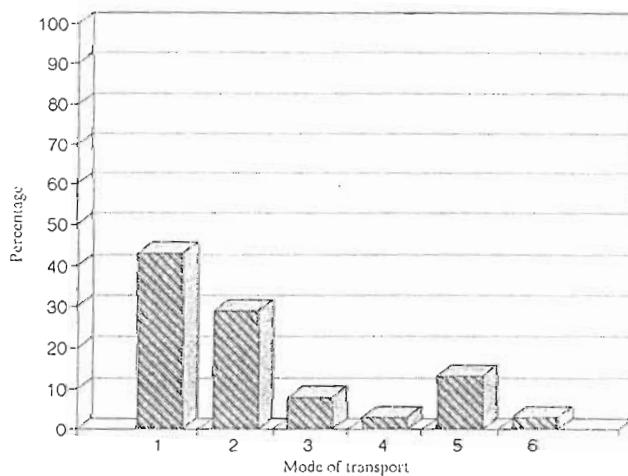
XXV  
RESIDENCE



k) Mode of transport

1) Bus	43% (N=104)
2) Car	29% (N= 69)
3) Taxi	8% (N= 19)
4) Bike	3% (N= 8)
5) Walk	13% (N= 32)
6) Train	3% (N= 8)

XXVI  
MODE OF TRANSPORT

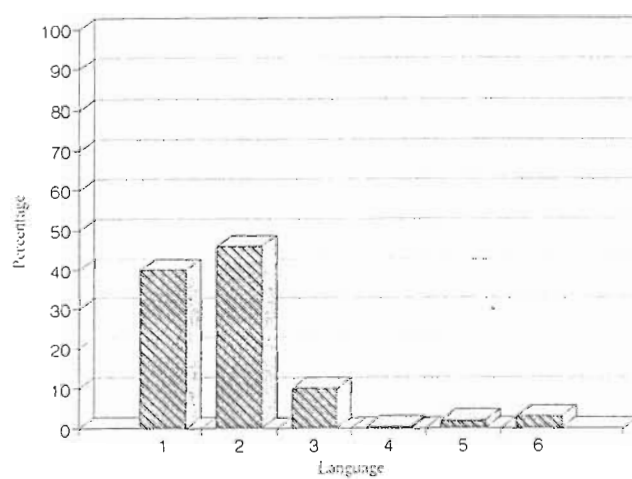


1) Mother tongue

1)	English	40% (N = 95)
2)	Zulu	46% (N = 111)
3)	Indian	10% (N = 23)
4)	Other foreign	.4% (N = 1)
5)	Afrikaans	2% (N = 4)
6)	Xhosa, Sotho	3% (N = 6)

## XXVII

## MOTHER TONGUE



**APPENDIX D****Table 33: Characteristics of interview sample**

Number of inter-viewees	Department	Race	Sex	Race and sex	Age	Standard
40	NED = 20 HOD = 20	African = 20 White = 10 Indian = 10	Male = 24 Female = 16	African males = 12 African females = 8 White males = 6 White females = 4 Indian males = 6 Indian females = 4	13 = 16 14 = 4 16 = 15 17 = 5 18 = 2	6 = 20 9 = 20
Tot 40	40	40	40	40	40	40

**APPENDIX E****Table 34: Total pupil enrolment (1992) in the open white schools in this study**

Schools	Department	Total roll	Number of Indian / coloured pupils	Number of African pupils	Percentage of African pupils
1	NED	964	5	61	6
2	NED	N/A		40*	N/A
3	NED	N/A		36*	N/A
4	NED	1140	61	27	2
5	NED	820	10	140	17

The above information was obtained from the vice-principal. The figures marked with an asterisk (\*) represent Indian and coloured totals as well; therefore, the percentage of African pupils in those schools could not be determined.

**Table 35: Total pupil enrolment (1992) in the open Indian schools in this study**

Schools	Department	Total roll	Number of coloured pupils	Number of African pupils	Percentage of African pupils
1	HOD	868	5	181	21
2	HOD	823	4	78	9
3	HOD	961	4	115	12
4	HOD	1195	47	34	3
5	HOD	1658	42	220	13

**APPENDIX F****Table 36: Percentage distribution of father's occupation according to race group**

Occupational categories	Africans (N=120)	Indians (N=60)	Whites (N=60)
1. Professional, technical and related workers	10	7	10
2. Self-employed, ie. small business	10	18	13
3. Management and administrative	13	20	28
4. Skilled workers	2	15	27
5. Clerical, sales and service workers	28	18	12
6. Semi-skilled workers and unskilled labourers	10	5	0
7. Unemployed	2	5	3
8. Retired, pensioners	0	3	7
9. Deceased, whereabouts unknown	25	8	0

**Table 37: Percentage distribution of mother's occupation according to race group**

Occupational categories	Africans (N=120)		
1. Professional, technical and related workers	48	5	7
2. Self-employed, ie. small business	3	2	0
3. Management and administrative	4	2	17
4. Skilled workers	5	2	2
5. Clerical, sales and service workers	5	13	53
6. Semi-skilled workers and unskilled labourers	13	13	0
7. Unemployed	2	0	2
8. Retired, pensioners	3	2	0
9. Deceased, whereabouts unknown	0	2	2
10. Housewife	16	60	18
11. Student	1	0	0

**APPENDIX G**  
**AFRICAN PUPIL ENROLMENT (1992) IN INDIAN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY**  
**SCHOOLS IN THE NATAL AND TRANSVAAL REGIONS**

Page No. 1  
 04/02/92

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
 (AFRENRLT)

	PPE- PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
** 1														
• p														
A.I. Kajeer Primary School	0	16	10	9	7	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	45
A.Y.S. Memorial Primary School	0	1	1	1	2	1	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	15
Alencon Primary School	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Alipore Road Primary School	9	1	1	8	21	33	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	86
Allandale Primary School	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Allingham Primary School	3	20	21	9	1	4	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	70
Alice Park Primary School	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Anatikulu Primary School	50	14	3	3	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	77
Anjuman Islam Primary School	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Ashville Primary School	0	3	5	3	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Avoca Primary School	6	5	7	8	4	15	9	4	0	0	0	0	0	58
Beacon Ridge Primary School	5	1	6	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	19
Belfrost Primary School	1	12	2	1	2	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
Berg Street Primary School	0	55	8	8	6	26	23	28	0	0	0	0	0	154
Bonella Primary School	0	41	19	17	16	7	9	5	0	0	0	0	0	114
Brackenham Primary School	0	5	8	1	2	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Braemar Primary School	6	8	4	6	1	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	32
Brailsford Primary School	7	1	4	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
Briardale Primary School	3	8	2	2	9	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
Brooklyn Heights Primary School	4	13	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Buffelsdale Primary School	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Castle Hill Primary School	27	29	16	5	8	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	93
Cavendish Primary School	8	23	9	12	10	9	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	85
Clairwood Boys Primary School	20	27	20	14	18	10	8	15	0	0	0	0	0	132
Clareville Primary School	17	25	32	2	13	10	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	114
Clayhaven Primary School	4	7	3	5	14	11	14	1	0	0	0	0	0	59
Clayton Primary School	3	21	45	11	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	83
Cliffdale Primary School	0	9	22	2	7	1	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	53
Coedmore Primary School	7	9	0	0	6	5	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	34
Collegevale Primary School	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	12
Columbia Primary School	0	5	3	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Crescent Ridge Primary School	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Crestview Primary School	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	9
Crossmead Primary School	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Dawncrest Primary School	8	6	4	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Dawnridge Primary School	0	1	7	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	14
Dawnview Primary School	0	14	9	25	10	17	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	82
Deccan Road Primary School	0	4	3	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Depot Road Memorial Primary School	0	1	3	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Doornkloof Primary School	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPENDIX I)

	PRE-PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Doringkop Primary School	0	5	2	2	2	10	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	25
Dr Macken Mistry Primary School	5	5	2	3	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Duffs Road Primary School	7	15	11	8	3	8	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	69
Dundee Primary School	5	7	6	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
Durban Heights Primary School	0	13	2	1	3	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	25
Durban South Primary School	5	11	6	8	5	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	47
Durwest Primary School	1	14	20	4	0	3	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	50
Eastview Primary School	0	4	6	4	7	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
Effingham Heights Primary School	3	3	3	1	2	5	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	25
Emona Primary School	13	10	12	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
Empangeni Primary School	0	14	10	9	6	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	52
Erica Primary School	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Esselen Heights Primary School	12	19	5	9	12	12	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	84
Everest Heights Primary School	6	13	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	24
Everest Primary School	0	5	4	2	6	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	24
Evergreen Primary School	9	25	8	8	9	7	12	8	0	0	0	0	0	86
Excelsior Primary School	0	58	42	35	16	8	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	159
Fairhaven Primary School	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	7
Falcon Park Primary School	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Flanbel Primary School	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Forderville Primary School	0	16	9	1	1	1	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	38
Gillitts Primary School	3	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Gitanjali Primary School	2	10	7	10	4	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
Gledhow Primary School	2	8	8	3	7	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	36
Glencoe Primary School	2	8	1	6	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Glenridge Primary School	4	0	0	0	6	9	12	11	0	0	0	0	0	42
Glenview Primary School	0	10	3	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	19
Gokul Primary School	13	13	7	9	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	47
Grandmore Primary School	18	8	19	13	21	7	11	21	0	0	0	0	0	118
Green Hill Primary School	5	14	6	0	7	8	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	49
Greenbury Primary School	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Greenheights Primary School	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Greenvale Primary School	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Greytown Primary School	16	39	25	17	18	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	121
Harding Primary School	0	1	3	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	9
Harry Bodasing Primary School	0	16	3	8	2	7	6	9	0	0	0	0	0	51
Highlands Primary School	5	27	6	14	9	5	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	85
Highstone Primary School	19	13	6	1	3	4	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	52
Hillgrove Primary School	2	6	4	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
Hillview Primary School	5	9	5	0	3	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
Hopeville Primary School	0	5	3	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	15
Howick West Primary School	4	0	5	5	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
Illovo Primary School	4	4	2	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	16



PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APRENRLT)

	PRE- PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Isipingo Beach Primary School	0	9	6	3	8	1	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	37
Isipingo Hills Primary School	0	14	11	4	9	7	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	51
Isipingo Primary School	0	6	3	0	4	3	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	28
Islamia Primary School	0	3	5	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Ixopo Primary School	0	5	4	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Jai Hind Primary School	5	20	4	7	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	41
Jhugroo Primary School	3	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Juma Masjid Trust Primary School	0	4	8	3	1	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	25
Junagarth Road Primary School	2	9	18	4	6	4	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	49
Kamalinee Primary School	19	12	3	2	2	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	43
Kenville Primary School	4	17	4	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
L. Bodasingh Primary School	0	6	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
La Mercy Primary School	7	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	15
Lenham Primary School	6	11	4	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
Lennoxton Primary School	3	5	1	1	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Longcroft Primary School	8	12	11	13	14	16	12	34	0	0	0	0	0	126
Lotus Primary School	0	5	5	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Lotusville Primary School	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
Louisiana Primary School	3	5	5	5	3	3	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	30
Lower Tugela Primary School	9	23	7	3	9	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	60
M. Padavatan Primary School	4	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
M.C. Varnan Primary School	0	0	7	2	0	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
M.L. Sultan Blackburn Primary School	3	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
M.L. Sultan Ladysmith Primary School	0	5	6	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
M.L. Sultan Colenso Primary School	0	8	5	4	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
M.L. Sultan Estcourt Primary School	0	0	17	6	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
M.L. Sultan Krantzklouf Primary	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
M.L. Sultan St Marys Primary School	0	1	0	1	21	11	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	39
M.L. Sultan Uzinto Primary School	0	4	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Madhosingh Memorial Primary School	0	10	2	2	3	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Mahatma Primary School	5	8	4	2	2	5	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
Malvern Primary School	8	1	1	0	2	3	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	23
Marburg Primary School	6	25	21	17	25	31	15	26	0	0	0	0	0	166
Mariannhill Primary School	2	18	16	15	12	20	13	18	0	0	0	0	0	114
Mariannpark Primary School	25	18	26	11	3	3	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	101
Melville Primary School	0	45	24	14	13	8	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	114
Merry Hill Primary School	2	9	2	2	6	6	9	7	0	0	0	0	0	43
Millview Primary School	2	18	31	12	8	24	14	11	0	0	0	0	0	120
Mitchford Primary School	0	3	4	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	13
Montford Primary School	0	5	2	0	1	7	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	18
Moonsamy Primary School	0	24	22	12	22	14	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Moorlands Primary School	3	7	0	2	16	6	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	44
Moornton Heights Primary School	0	3	6	7	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	26

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APR 1992)

	PRE- PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Mountain Rise Primary School	1	16	5	5	1	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	35
Mountain View Primary School	0	9	5	1	5	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
Mouthaven Primary School	1	11	5	1	1	1	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	34
Nagari Pracharni Primary School	11	34	17	3	9	7	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	85
Naidoo Memorial Primary School	1	13	3	6	5	11	3	15	0	0	0	0	0	57
Naidooville Primary School	23	11	43	24	26	15	30	12	0	0	0	0	0	184
Natest Primary School	8	8	5	4	1	2	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	37
Newholme Primary School	0	15	6	4	5	7	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	40
Nizam Road Primary School	14	5	9	7	12	2	13	15	0	0	0	0	0	77
Nizamia Muslim Primary School	0	5	12	8	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
Nonoti Primary School	2	7	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Northdale Primary School	0	15	9	3	19	11	7	10	0	0	0	0	0	74
Northdene Primary School	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Northlands Primary School	0	24	2	3	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
Northlen Primary School	5	15	0	1	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Northview Primary School	26	20	12	7	8	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	80
Ntumeni Primary School	0	5	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Ocean View Primary School	1	0	3	0	1	3	6	14	0	0	0	0	0	28
Orient Heights Primary School	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Orissa Primary School	0	13	12	5	10	3	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	56
Overport S R S Primary School	23	45	35	31	20	24	34	14	0	0	0	0	0	226
Palmercroft Primary School	1	4	20	8	4	22	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	71
Palmiet Primary School	7	9	1	3	9	14	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	60
Palmview Primary School	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Parkvale Primary School	12	14	13	6	3	10	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	64
Parkview Primary School	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Parlock Primary School	6	14	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Parsee Rustonjee Primary School	16	36	27	16	11	6	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	125
Parukabad Primary School	0	7	3	3	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	21
Paul Sykes Primary School	4	5	6	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
Penary Ridge Primary School	1	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Phoenix Heights Primary School	13	6	12	5	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	46
Phoenix Pioneer Primary School	0	1	3	0	1	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	12
Pinetown Primary School	19	16	13	7	7	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	72
Pinewood Primary School	5	7	0	2	0	3	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	26
Pomeroy Primary School	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Port Shepstone Primary School	5	16	40	24	34	28	24	22	0	0	0	0	0	193
Primrose Primary School	10	30	16	11	13	19	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	112
R.A. Engar Memorial Primary School	3	17	19	10	12	16	1	21	0	0	0	0	0	99
R.A. Padayachee Primary School	7	10	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Radha Roopsingh Primary School	3	6	14	2	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	32
Ramatha Road Primary School	0	21	3	4	12	4	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	57
Regina Primary School	8	18	19	14	10	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	75

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPENDIX I)

	PRE-PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD - 1 -	STD - 2 -	STD - 3 -	STD - 4 -	STD - 5 -	STD - 6 -	STD - 7 -	STD - 8 -	STD - 9 -	STD - 10 -	TOTAL
Resmount Primary School	0	8	6	3	8	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	30
Ridgeview Primary School	0	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	13
Riverview Primary School	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Rockford Primary School	5	17	3	12	14	2	13	4	0	0	0	0	0	70
Rosefern Primary School	0	0	4	6	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	18
Roseheights Primary School	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Rustic Manor Primary School	1	0	5	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Rydalvale Primary School	9	12	18	10	9	7	11	11	0	0	0	0	0	87
S.E. Vawda Primary School	14	14	11	5	6	8	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	72
S.M. Jhavary Primary School	1	8	6	4	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Saccharose Primary School	0	16	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Sandfields Primary School	0	17	10	10	4	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	49
Sarasvati Primary School	0	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Settlers Primary School	2	7	11	6	8	9	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	51
Seven Hills Primary School	0	2	2	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
Sewpaul Primary School	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Sezela Primary School	7	22	7	3	2	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	49
Shakaskraal Primary School	4	24	6	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	38
Shallcross Primary School	3	10	10	4	2	6	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	43
Shree Gopalall Talwantsingh Primary	0	13	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Shri Vishnu Primary School	0	6	5	4	7	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
Silverdale Primary School	1	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Silverglen Primary School	1	9	3	4	6	0	17	10	0	0	0	0	0	50
Sinla Primary School	0	11	2	5	3	7	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	34
Skylark Primary School	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
South Coast Madressa Primary School	12	10	7	7	5	17	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	67
Springfield Gardens Primary School	17	15	10	8	10	9	10	20	0	0	0	0	0	99
Springfield Hindu Primary School	3	11	15	6	7	11	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	62
Springfield Model Primary School	0	23	5	1	14	12	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	67
Springhaven Primary School	0	8	1	1	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
St Annes Primary School	0	0	0	2	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
St Anthony's Primary School	0	14	3	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	24
St Francis Primary School	13	16	17	7	10	3	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	78
St Michaels Primary School	2	28	2	1	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
St Xaviers Primary School	15	16	11	5	7	4	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	65
Stanger Heights Primary School	0	1	0	0	4	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Stanger Madressa Primary School	5	25	15	12	9	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	75
Stanger Manor Primary School	0	4	1	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Stanger Primary School	0	21	7	4	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	41
Stamore Primary School	0	3	4	2	6	16	2	16	0	0	0	0	0	49
Sterngrove Primary School	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Stonebridge Primary School	0	19	16	9	2	6	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	63
Summerfield Primary School	10	28	2	4	1	14	10	8	0	0	0	0	0	77

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PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPENDIX)

	PRE- PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Summit Primary School	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Sunbeam Primary School	1	14	4	2	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Suncrest Primary School	3	23	8	3	5	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	47
Sunford Primary School	4	45	31	22	10	9	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	138
Sunnyvale Primary School	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Sunat Hindoo Primary School	0	12	7	4	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
Suryaville Primary School	3	19	13	11	15	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	71
Swanvale Primary School	18	17	17	12	10	19	14	16	0	0	0	0	0	122
Sydenham Primary School	0	19	27	7	8	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	76
T P A Primary School	4	8	11	6	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
Thorntonville Primary School	0	35	13	14	14	11	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	104
Tongaat Primary School	0	8	4	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Treanace Park Primary School	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Truro Primary School	5	9	9	11	10	16	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	63
Umkhlatuzana Primary School	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Umkhloti Primary School	3	10	5	2	0	3	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	29
Umkhomas Drift Primary School	0	54	22	21	20	17	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	154
Uzinto Primary School	0	23	7	13	10	10	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	68
Uzintovale Primary School	0	9	6	6	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
Union Park Primary School	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Verulam Madressa Primary School	1	4	2	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	12
Verulam Primary School	7	4	2	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Vishwanoop Primary School	5	3	4	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
W.A. Lewitt Primary School	5	9	4	3	7	5	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	40
Wasbank Primary School	6	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Weenen Primary School	0	18	6	2	3	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	35
Wembley Primary School	4	13	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Whetstone Primary School	23	15	7	5	16	22	17	12	0	0	0	0	0	117
Willow Park Primary School	0	10	8	8	16	10	10	6	0	0	0	0	0	68
Woodgrange-on-Sea Primary School	9	20	13	6	5	8	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	72
Woodview Primary School	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wyebank Primary School	13	5	11	1	15	9	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	72
Total	370	2537	1768	1117	1218	1185	984	709	0	0	0	0	0	10588
PS														
Clayridge Primary School	18	32	22	19	3	7	10	11	0	0	0	0	0	122
Elora Primary School	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Orient Hill Primary School	2	6	5	3	6	8	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	35
Redfern Primary School	10	4	4	3	3	3	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	34
Richmond Primary School	15	5	5	7	8	8	5	4	6	1	0	0	0	64
Victoria Primary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	11
Windy Heights Primary School	6	25	9	28	8	6	10	1	3	0	0	0	0	96

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPENDIX)

	PRE-PRIM	CLASS 1	CLASS 2	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD 3	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
* Total	51	72	45	61	28	32	30	21	22	1	0	0	0	363
* S														
Apollo Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	4	3	0	17
Arena Park Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	7	0	1	0	14
Asoka Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	3	6	6	0	27
Avoca Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	32	17	2	0	1	54
Belverton Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	7
Brindhavan Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	12	4	0	0	29
Buffelsdale Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	12
Centenary Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	17	14	9	5	63
Chatsworth Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	12	27	2	0	74
Clairwood Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	93	72	37	18	0	220
Crossmoor Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	27	24	26	0	101
Daleview Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	53	20	15	2	130
Durban Girls Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	9	6	5	2	32
Earlington Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	14	9	2	0	75
Effingham Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	13	6	3	0	51
Esther Payne Smith Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	31	34	4	0	115
Glenhaven Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	3	2	1	12
Glover Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	22	3	2	1	51
Greenbury Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	18	8	8	1	50
Heather Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10	14	8	3	45
Hillgrove Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	10	2	4	0	0	25
Isipingo Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	27	15	1	0	78
Lincoln Heights Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	2	0	8
Marburg Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	43	19	7	9	111
Marklands Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	25	15	14	2	87
Meadowlands Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	2	10	0	0	32
Merebank Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	19	15	2	0	52
Montarena Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	7	10	1	0	67
Mountview Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	12	5	4	0	41
New West Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	6	20	0	2	64
Newhaven Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6	3	3	0	16
Nilgiri Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	86	44	32	4	15	181
Northmead Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	5	7	0	0	18
Overport Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	17	14	7	0	67
P.R. Pather Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	21	9	11	2	77
Phoenix Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	21	34	5	0	81
Phoenix Technical Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Port Shepstone Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	15	37	11	12	5	106
Protea Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	12	2	0	0	54

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPENDIX)

	PRE- PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Raisethorpe Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
Reservoir Hills No.2 Secondary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	9	13	5	1	56
Reservoir Hills Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	7
Reunion Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	15	22	10	3	66
Risecliff Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	9	3	2	1	25
Rydalpark Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	36	19	0	0	112
Shallcross Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	9	27	1	1	74
Southlands Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	14	25	3	2	60
Stanger M.L. Sultan Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	5	22	14	0	62
Stanger Manor Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	8	9	2	0	28
Stanger Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	6	0	0	13
Stanger South Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	14	0	0	0	52
Strelitzia Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	42	22	0	80
Tongaat Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	28	11	6	63
Verulam Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	11	0	0	19
Welbedene Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	11	10	5	0	38
Westcliff Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	8	11	6	0	39
Westham Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	21	26	10	8	3	70
Wingen Heights Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	11	4	1	0	35
Witteklip Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	7	7	1	0	32
Woodlands Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	8	0	15
* Total *	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	51	1280	893	725	287	69	3295
* SP														
Avonford Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	14	8	2	0	0	53
Burnwood Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	17	8	5	7	3	58
Cool Air Secondary School	18	7	17	11	3	1	2	0	2	3	0	0	0	64
Crystal Point Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	24	25	31	3	0	115
Dannhauser Secondary School	0	1	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	3	0	12
Darnall Secondary School	0	62	43	17	20	33	25	14	26	12	0	0	0	254
Drakensburg Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	5	8	4	9	2	41
Eundee Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	12	17	18	25	4	1	87
Fairbreeze Secondary School	3	18	4	8	2	6	4	8	16	7	6	1	0	83
Ferndale Secondary School	25	19	30	21	10	20	4	2	4	0	0	0	0	135
Foresthaven Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	2	2	0	1	13
Ganges Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	26	36	36	29	7	167
Greytown Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	12	29	22	15	7	1	97
Grove End Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45	38	2	0	1	86
Havenpark Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	9	3	1	0	37
Hlobane Secondary School	0	11	16	12	6	4	5	5	8	6	0	0	0	73
Howick Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	15	5	7	1	0	51
Isimbe Secondary School	10	7	12	5	7	6	4	11	6	2	0	0	0	70

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPENDIX)

	PRE-PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Kharina Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	7	0	0	0	38
Kharwastan Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	4	4	1	15
Ladysmith Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	21	2	6	3	0	37
Lakehaven Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	4	6	0	16
Lenarea Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	8	4	2	1	0	20
M.L Sultan Glencoe Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	11	2	5	3	0	24
M.L.S. Pietermaritzburg Secondary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	10	12	5	2	57
Manilall Valjee Gandhi Desai Sec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	4	0	4	3	17
Northbury Park Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	5	6	0	0	0	20
Orient Islamic Secondary School	0	5	7	3	0	0	2	2	3	3	6	2	1	34
Phoenix No. 25 Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Richards Bay Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	21	18	12	5	3	71
Roseville Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	8	8	1	3	2	44
Sastri Park Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	3	10	4	6	0	0	29
Sea Cow Lake Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	1	2	0	1	11
Seatides Secondary School	2	7	2	4	3	10	1	2	9	4	1	3	1	49
Shakaskraal Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	31	23	22	12	1	96
Silverheights Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	64	24	3	0	148
Solvista Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	8	5	3	4	1	23
Stammore Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	0	6
Temple Valley Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	7	2	3	2	32
Trenance Park Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	11	1	1	0	0	16
Tugela Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	38	44	54	7	2	164
Unkomeas Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	55	16	3	1	2	77
Unzinto Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	5	3	3	0	22
Windsor Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	5	3	4	4	0	22
Woodhurst Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	16	4	17	4	0	65
Wyebank Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	14	7	16	4	0	80
* Total	60	137	133	81	52	81	79	389	693	467	360	160	38	2730
** Total **	1031	2846	1946	1259	1298	1298	1093	1170	1995	1351	1085	447	107	16976
** 2														
* p														
Actonville Primary School	11	7	3	4	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Alpha Primary School	0	19	3	11	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36
Andrew Anthony Primary School	0	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Apex Primary School	0	10	5	0	1	10	8	6	0	0	0	0	0	48
Azaadville Primary School	0	10	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Balfour Primary School	0	6	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Belfast Primary School	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPENDIX)

	PRE- PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Beroni Primary School	3	6	2	2	2	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	23
Bloemhof Primary School	0	3	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Bree Street Primary School	8	17	8	12	12	11	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	74
Crown Reef Primary School	15	7	5	4	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	36
Daxina Primary School	0	5	0	0	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Ferreira Primary School	0	13	2	5	4	6	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	34
Finetoun Primary School	0	1	4	4	4	8	5	6	0	0	0	0	0	32
Flamingo Primary School	6	14	6	7	10	8	12	7	0	0	0	0	0	70
Fordsburg Primary School	0	6	9	4	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	25
Greyville Primary School	11	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Harmony Primary School	32	47	20	15	34	20	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	184
Hillside Primary School	5	1	1	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Huegenot Primary School	18	8	2	3	5	5	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	47
Impala Crescent Primary School	2	12	4	1	4	7	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	44
Jacaranda Primary School	17	15	1	6	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	42
Jinnah Park Primary School	0	2	2	1	3	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Laudium Heights Primary School	0	1	2	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
Laudium Primary School	2	5	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Lenasia Model Primary School	34	18	17	16	5	11	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	113
Lenasia South No.2 Primary School	0	5	5	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Libra Primary School	25	11	11	5	0	5	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	65
Lichtenburg Primary School	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Lydenburg Indian Primary School	13	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Nylstroom Primary School	0	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Parkside Primary School	0	2	1	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Pentafosa Primary school	9	10	0	4	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	26
Pioneer Primary School	7	15	6	7	5	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	48
Potgietersrus Primary School	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Progress Primary School	11	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	18
Radhakrishnan Naidoo Primary School	3	5	11	0	4	7	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	42
Roshnee Primary School	0	9	3	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Rynsoord Primary School	1	3	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Schweizer Reneke Primary School	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Sharicrest Primary School	4	35	27	16	46	42	45	31	0	0	0	0	0	241
Swartruggens Primary School	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Volkstrust Primary School	0	7	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Zeerust Primary School	0	11	7	5	2	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	34
Zodiac Primary School	24	24	17	6	4	10	14	9	0	0	0	0	0	107
Total	267	407	208	155	166	181	167	108	0	0	0	0	0	165
PS Carolina Primary School	0	2	2	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1



PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APPRENTLY)

	PRE-PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Eltivillas Primary School	0	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8
Ermelo Primary School	0	1	11	7	3	8	7	4	3	3	0	0	0	47
Heidelberg Primary School	0	6	3	7	3	5	6	6	1	0	0	0	0	37
M.D. Coovadia Primary School	0	9	6	7	3	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	31
* Total *	0	19	23	24	13	20	16	11	5	3	0	0	0	137
* S														
Azaadville Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	18	7	0	1	51
Azara Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	44	24	3	0	106
Himalaya Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	6	9	2	0	43
Johannesburg Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	27	19	12	3	85
Kensington Secondary School	1	10	2	2	3	5	2	2	4	1	0	0	0	33
Laudium Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	18
Lenasia Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	5	15	0	0	42
Liverpool Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	8	4	11	0	42
M.H. Joubert Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	61	56	25	9	0	151
Nirvana Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	19	5	1	0	53
Topaz Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	76	41	21	1	0	139
Trinity Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	55	57	0	0	0	112
William Hills Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	18	5	2	0	47
* Total *	1	10	2	2	3	5	2	2	415	300	134	41	4	922
* SP														
Barberton Secondary School	0	13	15	8	4	7	6	8	5	8	8	6	2	87
Central Secondary School	28	24	3	4	8	4	6	4	7	8	2	0	0	96
Eastdene Secondary School	8	11	14	1	0	5	1	1	2	2	7	1	0	52
Klerksdorp Secondary School	1	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	7	4	1	2	21
Lenasia South No.2 Secondary School	0	6	2	2	4	3	1	1	9	7	16	1	0	52
Lenasia South Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	19	23	16	3	0	78
Marlboro Gardens Secondary School	0	8	7	4	10	6	5	4	5	9	2	0	0	66
Nigel Secondary School	2	10	5	3	3	7	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	43
Palmridge Secondary School	0	4	5	1	2	2	2	3	4	3	8	3	1	39
Piet Retief Secondary School	12	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	20
Pineridge Secondary School	10	11	3	4	3	8	7	5	1	3	5	3	0	60
Potchefstroom Secondary School	0	4	4	1	10	3	6	1	5	3	4	3	0	43
Roshnee Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	0	1	0	19
Springs Secondary School	0	6	4	1	3	10	4	5	9	8	9	1	1	60
Starwest Secondary School	2	10	6	3	2	3	4	1	4	2	0	3	0	47
Taxila Secondary School	0	9	6	2	3	4	0	3	3	3	1	2	0	45
Thistle Grove Secondary School	4	24	18	9	7	10	3	4	10	3	6	6	0	117
Valencia Secondary School	0	1	1	2	9	4	2	4	10	13	3	6	0	55

PUPIL STATISTICS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT : MALE AND FEMALE PUPILS  
(APR 1992)

	PRE- PRIM	CLASS - 1 -	CLASS - 2 -	STD -1-	STD -2-	STD -3-	STD -4-	STD -5-	STD -6-	STD -7-	STD -8-	STD -9-	STD -10-	TOTAL
Zakkariya Park Secondary School	0	4	2	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	13
Zinniaville Secondary School	1	18	9	7	7	6	5	8	6	3	3	2	1	76
* Total *	68	168	106	54	76	83	56	77	103	118	94	42	7	1052
** Total **	336	604	339	235	258	289	241	193	523	421	278	83	11	3766
** 4														
* p														
Bellmore Primary School	0	0	1	3	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	9
Malabar Primary School	2	16	16	7	12	25	21	20	0	0	0	0	0	119
Rylands Primary School	0	7	6	2	2	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
* Total *	2	23	23	12	15	33	25	22	0	0	0	0	0	155
* SP														
East London Secondary School	0	7	5	11	10	14	16	18	18	14	9	1	5	128
Kismet Secondary School	0	3	5	6	4	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	23
Woolhope Secondary School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67	49	36	19	2	173
* Total *	0	10	10	17	14	15	17	21	85	63	45	20	7	324
** Total **	2	33	33	29	29	48	42	43	85	63	45	20	7	479
Grand Total:	1410	3483	2318	1523	1585	1635	1376	1411	2603	1835	1358	550	125	21221

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