Sense-of-Belonging in High School:
Exploring the effects of satisfaction with social and structural aspects of school climate in three diverse schools

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Declaration

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Degree of Master of Social Science (Sociology)

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. None of this work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination purposes at this or any other university.

Jon-Mark Olivier 25th November 2011

This paper is dedicated to

My parents

Ross and Shayne Olivier

For nurturing my intellect and morality

&

The Sociology and Anthropology Department of Millsaps College

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For building my knowledge and skills in the social sciences

and inspiring me toward life-long learning

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Abstract

This study is conceptualized within the broad context of a national education system struggling to produce within learners either the academic outcomes required for economically productive adulthood or the social and moral outcomes required for active and responsible citizenship. Feeling a sense-of-belonging is a basic human need and crucial for successful communal living as it fosters solidarity. A complicating factor is the notion that diversity negatively affects solidarity. As the only remaining compulsory social institution, schools provide the ideal location for instilling the values required for solidarity. Additionally, since education occurs in a social setting, a sense-of-belonging facilitates the environments required for effective learning. The study adopts the position that both social (relationships) and non-social (structures and resources) components of the "school climate" (a term used to denote the whole-school context) affect the development of a sense-of-belonging in learners. The questions are posed: which aspects of school climate show the greatest effect on sense-of-belonging? What are the effects of diversity and minority group status? Adopting a structural model developed by Cemalcilar (2010), a quantitative methodology is used to measure various aspects of learners' experiences in terms of their levels of subjective satisfaction and identifies the effects of the aspects on sense-of-belonging. Further, the relationships are examined in relation to the effects of components of the concept of diversity. Brofenbrenner's ecological theory of human development (1979) and various normative functionalist theories of social control, primarily those of Hirschi (1969), are applied to explain variations in satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. Regression analysis indicates that the strongest determinants on learners' satisfaction with the school climate are the relationships with peers and teachers, and the quality of the campus and resources. The need for emotional bonds characterised by trust and respect emerges as vital. An unexpected result is that social and structural satisfaction as conceptualized in the model do not significantly account for variations in sense-of-belonging. The learners do, however, report relatively high levels of sense-of-belonging, so alternate sources of the sensation not directly measured by the model are presented as possible explanations (e.g. extra-murals and gangs). The results do not support the hypothesis that diversity negatively affects sense-of-belonging and few significant effects were found for belonging to a minority group. Concluding remarks highlight the need for government to continue the improvement of the structural conditions of our schools and the greater need for an emphasis on respect - *Ubuntu* - in the hidden and visible curricula to foster improvements in both academic and civil outcomes.

Chapter 1
Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

Humans are social beings. We are seldom alone for long periods as we generally prefer to share space with others. At home, at school, at work and in all other settings we form bonds with people around us as they share life-experiences similar to our own. However, these tight-knit groups to which we belong are all connected to other groups and are often part of larger networks. This interconnectivity of locations exposes us to multiple influences, which means that although we are like those around us to some degree, we do not share all their views. We therefore value different things. And as a group's size and number of connections to other communities increases, so rises the variation in value-sets. In the incredibly complex societies humans have woven together by connecting units of individuals together, there is therefore an equally incredible diversity in things that matter to individuals. This makes coordinated group action problematic because the values people hold define their behaviour. It is neigh impossible for those in positions of power to satisfy the strongest desires of all they lead. It is as difficult to predict their actions. The only way to establish a measure of solidarity and synchronisation in complex and diverse groups is to breed within the population a set of common values. Only when all the members of a society are committed to shared beliefs about what truly matters will they become bound to codes of ethics and behaviour which facilitate equally satisfactory lives. Unity cannot exist in any community without common values among its constituents.

This statement is by no means original. It has been professed by philosophers, scientists and nation-builders for millennia. The rhetoric of unity through common values formed the socio-political backdrop for my generation of fellow South Africans as we came of age during our nation's transition to democracy. The leaders of that time focused the country on the ideologies we shared in order to create a new patriotism. With their guidance we developed a pride in our moral positions and began to unite; for a while we seemed to understand what it means to be "citizens". We were willing to learn, listen, negotiate, compromise and fulfil the transactional duties required of citizen for a democratic nation to function. We did this despite our differences because we shared a vision of a place which represented our shared values and a commitment to do the work required to realise the dream. For a few years we kept going because we were inspired. But the euphoria and charisma waned as the reality of

the challenges we faced set in. We lost momentum as we observed hiccups, small and large, and realised that change and progress would not flow as easily as words. It seems that in the 17th year of freedom our vision is fading and our commitment to the tasks of citizenship is diminishing.

However, it is unreasonable to expect individuals to remain dedicated to any group when they feel it is not providing returns for the investment of their emotion and effort. It also seems irrational to expect individuals to act as citizens when they have never intentionally been taught *why* or *how*. The camaraderie, patriotism and fulfilment of civic responsibility evident in the early "New South Africa" were fuelled by the sheer determinism of a population untrained for nationhood but held together by remarkable leadership. But as the first generation of political and social leaders moved on, a new cohort emerged who seem less bound to the promise of a nation built on shared values and common morality. This is perhaps partially excusable since they must live and lead in a nation with many obvious and serious problems. However, the loss of our "civil spirit" in one generation surely also suggests that the social mechanisms which ought to propagate this vital form of institutional knowledge are failing. For any society to sustain itself there must exist institutions which educate the population toward fulfilling their civic responsibilities and, far more importantly, create in them the belief that to do so is extremely valuable. The knowledge, skills and attitudes required for successful communal life must be taught.

Humans learn in many ways. However, while most people imagine "learning" as something done deliberately, usually by one person directly instructing another, a common view in the social sciences is that we do most of our learning through our observations of and interactions with those in our immediate environments. And since there are so many radically dissimilar settings in which the members of even a single country live their daily lives, the knowledge sets, skills and attitudes which they learn can become incompatible. In order for a nation to ensure some commonality upon which to forge solidarity it must therefore ensure that *somewhere* all members of the population receive a training in the most fundamental values and behaviours which can serve to maintain unity. Fortunately, there already exists in all modern societies a social institution capable of such training: the formal education system.

In South Africa it is compulsory to attend school until the age of 16 or the end of grade 9. During this time children and teenagers are instructed in sciences, mathematics, languages, history and, if resources prevail, a number of practical vocational subjects. Our curriculum

does contain a subject called "Life Orientation", but an inspection of the syllabi reveals that little emphasis is placed on training for citizenship. Furthermore, and very unfortunately, this subject is often delegated to teachers who have not been skilled to deliver the material effectively and the learners place little value on it. Therefore, nowhere in the 9 years that South Africans are captive students are they taught how to be proper citizens. It is little surprise then that merely one generation beyond the prophetically driven post-Apartheid years our leaders are either unable to maintain our focus on the "Madiba values" or unwilling to try.

This research project has been conceived and conducted within this framework. It is imagined as a first step toward providing some direction for nation-builders, education policy makers, school administrators and teachers committed to the idea of making our formal education system the *somewhere* that civic education occurs. The aim is to explore the school environment, or more accurately, the *perceptions* learners hold of their school environment, in order to establish which fundamental qualities our education ecosystems must display to enable successful direct instruction of civic virtues and, more crucial, the vicarious absorption thereof.

There are of course many challenges facing our education system; many would say that it is non-operational. The first section of this chapter briefly describes the current state of South African education and assesses some of the changes that have been implemented since the fall of Apartheid. Section two describes the various roles imagined for formal education systems over the centuries and across the continents. This leads to a discourse on the need for and nature of civil education with reference to some of the core components, examples from other countries and the prevailing opinions of South African experts.

1.2 The State of South African Education

There is little doubt that the South African education system, and South African schools, are in a state of crisis. The injustices perpetrated during the apartheid era created huge challenges in education for the democratically elected government. The structural challenges included separate Bantu and Indian education administrations which were severely under-resourced in financial and human terms and, consequently, delivered an education inferior to that received by the minority White population. Enslin (2003:74) notes that despite policy amendments in the 1980s to reduce the expenditure gap, the South African Institute of Race Relations

reported annual per capita outlays of R3561 for white pupils versus R930 for black pupils in the period 1990-91. While the financial inequalities have certainly been addressed at the policy level, there still remain massive gaps between "good" and "bad" schools in terms of physical and human resources.

The poor quality of primary and secondary education in South Africa, particularly when viewed in the context of the financial resources devoted to it, has clearly become a national problem. According to *Economist* magazine, while the country spends 6.1% of its GDP on education (one on the highest proportions of GDP in the world), our results remain among the lowest on the globe; in the World Economic Forum's latest Global Competitive Index we ranked *last* out of 133 countries in math and science education. In the 2006 Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study we placed bottom (out of 40 nations), as we did in the 2003 Trends in International Maths and Science Study. Graeme Bloch of the Development Bank of Southern Africa has depicted our education system as a "national disaster" since about 80% of our schools are "dysfunctional," half the students drop out prior to completing matric and only 11% qualify for university entrance (Economist, 16/1/2010). These statistics demonstrate that the strategies implemented to address the education crisis have been insufficient.

South Africa's response to the education emergency has for 15 years focused on the improvement of facilities and resources on the one hand, and the transformation of curricula and teaching strategies on the other. The construction of schools which are satisfactory in structural and resource terms has been slow and, in many locations, absent – we have been unable to close that gap between rich and poor or equalize the access to quality education among racial groups (Motala and Pampallis, 2002:22; Asmal, 2002:117). While this endeavor is undoubtedly needed it cannot be expected to solve the problem on its own. Even if the "facilities approach" is the answer, the pace of improvement is such that no meaningful change can be expected in the short or medium term. Thus, other emphases are required. Curriculum modification is one such alternative.

Much has been written regarding South Africa's implementation of Outcomes-based Education (OBE). The approach was hailed for its explicit rejection of rote learning and content-based knowledge in favor of learning guided by outcomes, integrated knowledge and an improvement in the quality of teaching and learning (Botha, 2002:366). A full treatment of the failings of OBE are not possible within the scope of this project, however, two key

contributing factors must be noted. First, Botha summarizes the view of Jansen and Christie (1999) and Chisholm (2000) with the statement that, "the impact of OBE…cannot be equal in unequal conditions… There has been little recognition of this reality of South African educational life or acknowledgement of the additional requirements for successful implementation in resource-poor schools" (*ibid:*367). South Africa's attempt at OBE in a system characterized by vast inequalities led William Spady, the "inventor" of OBE, to state that: "South African OBE [is] a gross distortion and deviation from the original ideas" (*ibid*). This strong sanction by the founder of the approach must surely serve to confirm that the "curriculum approach" toward the reform of South African education has been flawed from its very conception. Further proof lies in that fact that the "curriculum approach" is again being revised. While the "Schooling 2025" plan currently working its way through the bureaucracy focuses on improving infrastructure and the physical and human resources available to schools, it also stresses the need for a revision of the OBE system.

While there is no doubt that curriculum, infrastructure and resource deficiencies are major contributors to the poor performance of the South African education system, another possible key factor has remained largely unaddressed – the social environment or "climate" within our schools. Although the concept of "school climate" has a contested definition (see chapter 2), it can be partially understood as: "the atmosphere of the school, the attitudes and interactions of the principal, teachers and learners which influence their perceptions and affects their behavior toward one another within the school setting" (Scherman, 2005:13). A key aspect of the climate of any school is the "ethos" of the staff members, and particularly the teachers. This, according to many observers, is the source is much of the dysfunction within the South African education system. The multitude of problems faced by teachers and administrators has led to what Botha identifies as "the collapse of a culture of teaching and learning" (2002:368). It appears that the challenges our educators encounter on a daily basis such as a lack of facilities and resources, unrealistic curricula and expected modes of teaching, overloaded classrooms, withering community and family support, under-qualified colleagues and the loss of "good" teachers" to "good" schools, a perception of being underpaid, ineffective decentralization of the bureaucracy, among others – have left our teachers uncommitted to the tasks required from them. Motala and Pampallis (2002:6) state simply that our teachers lack motivation. Furthermore, Asmal (2002:6) cites a feeling of "loss of control" within the society at large which is reflected within the education system,

particularly as actors therein struggle with the ideas of "child-centered" approaches which seem to detract from their powers and agencies.

In response to this erosion of a healthy ethos of teaching, Botha suggests that all the key stakeholders will need to take greater individual responsibility for their own roles; he indicates a need for attitudinal reform from learners, teachers and parents (2002:368). However, it will not be a simple matter to coordinate such reform given the dysfunction created by poorly conceived and managed decentralization of the education bureaucracy (Motala and Pampallis, 2002:8) and a critical lack of communication and dialogue between stakeholders within schools (Gevisser and Morris, 2002:190).

It is evident that the South African education system is currently failing in its need to create and maintain within all stakeholders a positive attitude toward notions of the "communities" of school and education. There exists a dangerous outlook toward education which could be illustrated by the statement, "I will change my ideas and practices when 'the system' sorts out the structural and curricula inefficiencies. Until then I will not give my all." This attitude reflects a flawed understanding of the crucial role education serves within a nation; it does not recognize that *positive attitudes are perhaps the key outputs of education* and must, therefore, be fostered by an equal or greater input of positive attitudes. If we accept, as Motala and Pampallis suggest is currently the (misguided) case (2002:22), that formal education ought to be organized with "market rationality", where training capitalists is the primary desired outcome, then concern regarding the development of positive attitudes toward community is unwarranted. However, should we desire from our system well-rounded, sound citizens then any attempt to reform the system must deliberately emphasize aspects of the school environment which can produce these effects. As the following section will show, the success of education within the context of a democratic society is dependent not on resources or what is taught, it is dependent on the values and norms communicated and reinforced by the social environment in which learning occurs.

1.3 The Role of Education within a "Nation"

"Education is liberation."

Nelson Mandela (in Asmal and Wilmot, 2002:ix)

An effective education system is the cornerstone of a healthy, democratic, modern society. Economically, the education system is responsible for generating knowledgeable,

skilled workers able to contribute to productivity and invent new modes of production. Politically, education ought to train the young to be informed, responsible citizens who understand their roles and rights as members of a democracy. Furthermore, given its compulsory nature and the amount of time learners spend in the school environment, the education system bears an *in loco parentis* duty, responsible for the social and psychological development of learners. These diverse roles make it extremely difficult to design systems and institutions able to fulfil all these societal and individual needs. The task is further complicated by continual debate as to which roles should be emphasised: should we focus on moulding economically productive adults, politically and socially responsible citizens, or well-rounded, emotionally mature individuals?

The prevailing position within contemporary pedagogics seems to be that education systems ought to attend to the "holistic" development of the youth. Swaths of literature have been generated in recent decades detailing how both school curricula and "hidden-curricula" can be designed and implemented so as to fulfil the classical academic goals of education whilst contributing positively to the psychological, social and civic formation of students as the future workers and citizens of nations. In South Africa we have seen major overhauls of the national curriculum since our democratization and an emphasis placed on the need for our schools to become agents of moral and civic guidance. The curriculum restructuring, particularly the efforts toward Outcomes-Based Education, was in part an attempt to force the system away from a passive knowledge transference process toward one which fosters active learning and skills accumulation. This can be interpreted as an effort to make education more relevant to the economic needs of private citizens, national development and the markets. At the same time, the curricula themselves have been modified in order to attempt to give students the historical and philosophical knowledge and skills required of them to be active and responsible citizens in a democratic political system. Indeed, the outcomes-based education introduced in "Curriculum 2005" was, according to Jansen and Christie, selected because it contained an emphasis "on aspects such as problem-solving, creativity, and the acquisition of skills and attitudes that will *aim at producing thinking, competent citizens*" (Botha, 2002:363, emphasis added).

Furthermore, policy-makers have recognised that simply "teaching" students what democracy and morality is cannot alone produce students who act morally and democratically; to truly become internalized in the youth these values must be "modelled" by the individuals and

institutions which make up the system. The *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (2001), developed by the Working Group on Values in Education appointed by the Ministry of Education, which is elaborated upon in chapter 2, is perhaps the best example of the recognition by the South African government that formal education is indeed responsible for the moral and civic development of the populace and that this requires deliberate reform at both curriculum and contextual levels.

There is, however, a troublesome assumption behind the goal of training for citizenship – the notion the all members of the population are motivated by the desire to be active, responsible and moral citizens. What is it that leads us to believe that we can convince people (let alone children) that the duties and sacrifices which accompany membership within a community are in fact worth it? This problem is central to the endeavors of sociology as a discipline – why do humans submit to rules and roles? What is it about belonging to a community that attracts people and causes them to forgo some of their own interests for the good of the collective? What do individuals get out of community? The position of this paper, expanded in chapter 2, is that humans have an innate need for a "sense-of-belonging". For whatever reason, animals of the human species seem to feel incomplete without a sense that they belong to something greater than themselves – that they are citizens of a community.

It is necessary to briefly distinguish what is meant by "citizenship" in the current context. Kymlicka and Norman (2000:30) suggest that citizenship can be conceived in four ways: as status, identity, activity and social cohesion. Citizenship as *status* simply implies that a person is recognized by the state to be a legal entity with full access to national rights. Citizenship as *identity* refers more or less to what Waghid (2008:402) refers to as "blind patriotism", where nationality forms a major source of personal identity without sufficient critical assessment of the values represented or duties required. Kymlicka and Norman (2000:37) critique this form by citing the United States as an example where citizenship as identity is particularly strong but does not necessarily translate into active participation, as studies regarding civic engagement and election-day trends in the US show. Skipping ahead one, the fourth and most desirable form of citizenship is where it is understood to mean *social cohesion*, that is, where individuals recognize that the measure of their nation and their personal involvement therein is judged by the degree to which all members of the society feel valued and respected. This fourth form of citizenship, however, cannot be achieved unless form three – citizenship as activity – is actualized.

Citizenship as *activity* implies participation; however, for participation to result in solidarity it must be guided by democratic civic virtues. It cannot be expected that a society marked by high levels of citizen participation will naturally result in a community suited to the needs and desires of all when individuals' actions are selfishly motivated and formed in minds which are ignorant of "the other" and the duties of democratic participation. Torres (1998:111) and Kymlicka and Norman (2000:7) therefore both point to the necessity for "public reasonableness" first described by Macedo. Macedo argued that public reasonableness, the quality required of all citizens for the successful application of democratic rule, is a function of the deliberate training of four types of virtues – general, social, economic and political. A full treatment of these types is not necessary here but it is important to understand that virtuous behavior requires an ability to distinguish right from wrong, which further implies that these are in fact clearly distinguishable from one another. It therefore becomes necessary that a society contains within it mechanisms which problematize and model virtuous thought and action. For Kymlicka and Norman (2000:14-15) these mechanisms must model for members the following qualities and attitudes: 1) a sense of identity and views of other identities; 2) tolerance and mutual co-operation; 3) a desire to participate; 4) self-restraint and respect and; 5) a sense of justice and a commitment to fair distribution (6). Parmenter (2006:119) adds that such training for citizenship characterized by the "will and disposition" to display these qualities is the project of fostering "affective and moral attitudes". For a nation to achieve active citizenship which informs social cohesion - particularly diverse societies seeking "multi-cultural integration" as opposed to "assimilation to a new, transcendental identity" (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000:14-15) it must teach and model these attitudes *in a context* which mirrors in meaningful ways the realities of the society at large.

The normative functionalist perspective adopted for this study (see chapter 3) posits that successful membership to a group – citizenship - requires that persons know and understand the beliefs, values, attitudes and behavioral norms of the given society. It is only when an individual understands the "rules" of the society and is satisfied that these rules empower rather than restrict, that they foster benefits greater than the costs, and that they result in social trust, respect and agency, that he or she is able to feel a sense-of-belonging within the group. With sense-of-belonging comes a desire to "protect" the community by continued adherence to the rules and active propagation of the accepted values and norms. These foundational components of cohesion and order are, however, seldom taught to young

members of societies in traditional or formal educational settings; rather, they are learned through socialization, that is, through vicarious and direct experience within the context of everyday living. This experiential understanding of the propagation of values and norms lends itself to the proposition that it is untenable to expect individuals to agree with, and submit to, the societal norms unless they have had direct positive experiences as a result of them, such as feeling respected and safe. We cannot expect individuals to feel as though they belong in a community if they do not approve of the social or structural environments created by the dominant values and norms. Thus, given the intrinsic motivation to belong to a community of some kind, should we wish to ensure that individuals choose to belong to the "dominant, positive" society we must prove to them that conformity is desirable and beneficial – we must ensure that they see the worth of the stated values and norms and that these are reflected in their everyday experiences and interactions.

This project is imagined as a step toward answering this most fundamental question: how can we expect the population of a country to experience a sense-of-belonging toward an institution so abstract as "nation" when they have never experienced sense-of-belonging toward *any* social institution to which they themselves have not chosen to become members of? If we accept that direct teaching and experiential learning are the only ways to gain knowledge and skills then we must also accept that a base *desire* or *need* to belong to a community does not imply that people automatically know *how* to belong to a community. Further, being part of a *democratic* community is an active commitment which requires the performance of particular activities. And, as Torres argues, "individuals are not ready to participate in politics", they require education regarding normative groundings, ethical behavior, knowledge of democratic processes and technical performances (1998:10-11). It is submitted that the development of an ability to maintain a "sense-of-belonging" within a democratic community must be directly taught and modeled in an analogous context, particularly since democracy necessarily requires undesirable costs of submission and sacrifice which have the potential to leave individuals with a decreased sense of personal agency.

It can be argued that formal education remains the sole institution within modern societies with the capacity to teach and model the traits required for successful community membership and sense-of-belonging. A case could be made for religion as an institution which fosters sense-of-belonging within a context that demands selflessness and submission.

However, unless all members of a population belong to a common religion the norms and values will not be common and, therefore, may in fact act counter to the creation of a national community and sense-of-belonging; there are many examples of competition between religions and sects serving as a base cause of dis-unity at a national level (Northern Ireland, Nigeria, Iraq, etc.). Furthermore, the trends of secularization within "advanced" nations indicate, particularly in Western Europe, that the power of religion as a force for solidarity appears to deteriorate as capitalist democracy grows. This further weakens the argument the religion can serve to inform citizens regarding the need for citizenship at a national level.

Family is another social institution which could be charged with the responsibility of teaching the worth of personal submission and sacrifice as "necessary evils" for the success of the community but, again, worldwide trends show that the institution of family is eroding at an alarming rate. Both the model of the "nuclear" family prevalent in "modernized" countries and the model of "communal or extended" family more common to "traditional" or "developing" nations are collapsing, leaving individuals without a source of instruction or observation regarding the desirable effects of community existence. The erosion of family is particularly strong in South Africa, as evidenced by the number of single-parent or child-headed families and orphan rates.

The seeming absence of alternative sources for teaching and modeling of community and sense-of-belonging establishes the burden on formal education. Education is the only remaining *compulsory* social institution. The lack of alternatives and extended period of control characteristic of formal education make it the most logical place for the intentional development of an understanding of, and commitment to, community life. Indeed we must ask, if we cannot develop in our population a sense-of-belonging and healthy attitude toward community in an institution as concrete as a school – with its visible personalities, buildings, rules, etc. – can we ever expect ourselves to understand and respect the demands made of us as citizens of an institution as abstract as a nation? Parmenter posits that "school life forms the basis of notions of self in society" (2006:154). The dramatic implications of this statement in relation to training for citizenship are by no means a recent development for the designers of education systems and curricula; they have in fact been at the forefront of much of our deliberation for centuries, within both Western and African traditions.

Mass public education was predominantly perceived by its implementers as a tool for "state formation" when it first appeared in Europe and the US in the 18th and 19th centuries. State

controlled education served to train civil servants, accustomise the population to the regulatory functioning of the modern bureaucratic state, spread political ideology and dominant languages, and promote national loyalty and social order (Green and Preston, 2001: 250). Even subordinate classes tended to laud the potential of mass education for "collective improvement through forging class consciousness and political solidarity" (*ibid*). Early Western mass education could thus be categorised as "political" or "civil" in nature; its aims were to enculturate the population with the knowledge and attitudes identified by the state as necessary for social cohesion and order – for successful community existence.

These notions of civil and political education which dominated early conceptions of Western public education are strongly mirrored in African education. Okoro's analysis of the foundations of traditional African education submits that education is seen in this context to be integrated into the traditional (read: cultural) system of the society. From an African perspective, education must, he argues, include the instruction of cultural and social norms and values – education is responsible for the preservation and updating of knowledge, skills and attitudes germane to the cultural setting (2010:143-144). Okoro identifies three concepts within African traditional education which serve to fulfil these functions: *umunna, ubuntu and ujamma.* While there is a degree of overlapping in the definition of these terms *ujamma* refers loosely to the notion of "social existence" portrayed by unity, equality and freedom. *Ubuntu* is taken to mean "dignity", while *umunna* implies democracy, solidarity and sense-of-belonging (150-151). These concepts clearly reflect the same critical importance given to education's role in the training of citizens for community living reflected by early mass pedagogics of Western decent.

The emphases of traditional African education serve to remind us that education is about more than generating economically productive workers. One of the features of the modernised world is an ever-growing focus on the economic aspects of societies at the expense of social aspects; this trend applies also to the discourse of education. Motala and Pampallis describe a prevailing rhetoric within education theory regarding "contribution to society" versus "contribution to productivity" (2002:22). They, along with Asmal and Wilmot (2002:182) and Weber (2008:163), fear that "market rationality" has come to dominate thinking at the policy and curriculum design levels, focusing efforts toward the pursuits required for capitalist success. This trend leaves little space for the civic role

education once emphasised and, they believe, still ought to, with particular reference to human rights and social development.

Warrant for these concerns can be gleaned from two sources. The first stems from evidence that the current education discourse within South Africa is slanted the way of market-rationality, which can be illustrated by Motala and Pampallis' assessment of recent legislation. The authors suggest that the rhetoric within the SA Schools Act of 1996 and the Green Paper on Further Education and Training do indeed reflect the social and civic roles of education, using expressions such as: "advance democratic formation of society" ; "protect and advance our diverse cultures" ; "to make them contributors to society"; etc. (2002:24-25). However, beyond the rhetoric, the authors do not agree that the actual curricula and practices expounded by the policies enable education which would serve these desires. The Green Paper on FET in particular, they found, did "not reflect the humanistic goals of previous pronouncements" (31). The danger this analysis reflects is the potential trap of assuming that well-intentioned policy which appropriates the language of social transformation and democratic maturation will in fact translate into the didactic practices required to achieve these goals. Weber summarises the challenge succinctly when he states: "Good policy would reflect a holistic and integrated education system which would prepare learners for active participation in a competing global world on the one hand, and… produce amongst young people a sense of place and belonging" (2008:163).

The second indication that education is increasingly leaning toward "market-orientation" stems from an application, albeit rather obtuse, of Max Weber's forms of rationality. Weber distinguishes instrumental-rationality from value-rationality. Instrumental-rationality refers to thought processes of an individual based on a simple *cost-benefit analysis* in terms of the value of resources to be used versus the value of the outputs ("means-end") where the assessment is based on *irrefutable knowledge* (Turner, Beeghley & Powers, 2002:197). This form of rationality can be expressed as a "mathematical" equation where values are attributed in an objective manner. Value-rationality, on the other hand, refers to thought processes which lack "universal logic" or objective measures of the value of inputs and outputs. Instead, value is ascribed as a function of an individual's *emotive reaction* to an object or event. This form of rationality is subjective, dependent upon the values and norms which create sentiment within the individual. As Weber writes, "value-rational action always involves 'commands' or 'demands' *which, in the actor's opinion*, are binding" (*ibid,*

emphasis added). The argument which follows attempts to demonstrate that the current understanding of the role of education prioritizes instrumental-rationality over value-rationality and that this is more conducive to the economic pursuits of a society rather than the challenges of communal life.

The indicators predominantly used to judge the success of education systems, as illustrated at the start of this chapter, focus on achievements in mathematics and science. While it could be argued that these disciplines are critical to the development of critical thinking and logic, which are necessary qualities of citizens, "scientific-rationality" (or "instrumental-rationality" in the Weberian terminology) is not equivalent to an understanding or control of the "civic-rationality" (or "value-rationality") which is required when living in a complex human society. Rather, the creation of scientific-rationality ought to be seen as a pursuit more valuable to the economic aspects of society in that they induce dominant thought patterns based on cost-benefit analyses which occur primarily at an individual level and which portray the world as comprised of only profits and losses. What is desirable from a social perspective is a citizenry which understands that many of their actions are based on value-rationality, that is, action informed by culture and tradition which cannot be described in simple "profit and loss" terms. These sentiments and traditions are a function of the values and associated norms of the groups and communities to which individuals feel a sense-of-belonging. In order for the citizens to be aware of the complexities and contradictions arising from interacting and competing value-rationalities they must first be educated as to what are the sources of these values, i.e. cultures, institutions, political parties etc. Only once the populace understands the foundations and implications of their *individual or group* value-rationalities can they begin to negotiate the task of a *common or national* value-rationality which can form the basis of a just democracy. The evaluative emphasis on science and math is, therefore, an indication that the current understanding of the role of education is perhaps not best suited to the development of persons who are equipped to be "contributors to society" but rather mere "contributors to productivity".

Not wanting to fall into the common academic trap of over-criticism, credit must be given where it is due. There is evidence from across the globe that designers of education policies and systems are engaging the problem of the role of education with regards to civics. There is an increasing amount of research and literature on the topic of civic education arising from the United States. Dudley and Gitelson (2002:64) remark that a "civic revival" in the United

States has prompted "renewed interest in research about how to improve civic commitments and competencies". Diane Owen of Georgetown University, for example, is focusing on the role of citizenship as *identity* as opposed to *legal status* within the context of deliberate programmes of civic education in US schools (2004) and the actual empirical evidence of the effectiveness of "education for democracy materials" in relation to the stated goals (2006). In these papers Owen concludes that 1) while civic education does require basic knowledge of government and politics, critical thinking skills are even more crucial (2006:15); 2) the problem of civic education is expanding as we enter the era of "global community" (2004:16) and; 3) far more research on the issues are required, particularly with reference to students from "diverse racial/ethnic, immigrant, and socio-economic groups" (2004:15). Owen's research serves as evidence that the United States is at least aware of the need to include civic education in the formal curriculum and is engaged in studies to determine best practices in this regard. In fact, as far back as 1987, the United States implemented a programme called *We the People* which "teaches about American constitutional democracy, with the primary goal of promoting civic competence and responsibility" among the nation's youth (Hartry and Porter, 2004:1). An evaluation of the programme conducted in 2003 revealed that the programme is effective in four key areas: 1) developing a greater sense of citizen responsibility and obligations to the community, 2) increasing senses of political efficacy, 3) improving knowledge of government and civics, and 4) increasing levels of interest in politics and current events (Hartry and Porter, 2004:12). The positive independent assessment of this programme illustrates that education for citizenship is possible even within the most modernised (implying individualistic) nations. Indeed, there are worldwide signs of understanding the need to invest intellectual resources into the problem of civic education. Green and Preston (2001:252) highlight moves by a number of European and developed nations to review their citizenship education policies. These include the United Kingdom, France, Australia and the East Asian states. Even the European Commission (a body of the European Union) has prompted investigations of matters concerned with "social solidarity and the ways in which this may be promoted by education" (*ibid*).

It is clear that the endeavour of finding the appropriate place and most effective strategies for civic education within formal education systems has been revived in the past two decades. Further, this trend is not isolated in the "developed world"; South Africa's own government-appointed *Working Group on Values in Education* is evidence of this. It is also clear,

however, that the curricula aspects of civic education are contested and in need of a great deal more research and thought, but that it is certainly an endeavour worth pursuing.

This section began by arguing that the policy of providing "holistic" education implies the need to train citizens. The notion of citizenship was explored in the context of the problematic question: what motivates a person to make the sacrifices and put in the efforts demanded? This problem is explored in chapter two by examining Maslow's theory of motivation and in chapter three through the lens of normative theories of social control, particularly Travis Hirschi's social bonding theory. Additionally, chapter two provides a review of literature regarding school climates as a basis for conceptualising the contexts in which the study was conducted and mentions some features of social capital theory as a framework for identifying the prerequisites for and outcomes of the interpersonal relationships within the contexts. Aspects of Urie Brofenbrenner's ecological theory of human development are presented in chapter three as they offer an outline for understanding the social systems and processes which constitute the social and physical environment of schools, the effects these environments can have on learners, and an analytical approach which incorporates the need to examine the influences of factors external to the school. Chapter 4 describes the methodology used in collecting data from grade 10 learners at three diverse schools in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. The findings of the quantitative research, with parallel analysis, constitutes chapter 5. Some conclusions are presented in chapter 6.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

"It is time to recognise student experience as a major and vital outcome of schooling"

Weber, 2008:153

2.1 School Climate and Sense-of-Belonging

Leading pedagogic theorists of the 20th century John Dewey and Lev Vygotsky both emphasized that education is a social rather than individualistic process (Osterman, 2000:324). Learning in schools, it is argued, occurs in a social context and as a result of social interactions and should therefore be understood and studied from a social perspective. Dewey posited that "education is realized in the degree in which individuals form a group" (1958:65) and promoted the school's responsibility to develop a sense of "community" among members through activities requiring collaboration.

The concept of "community" is used differently in education literature but common to all is the notion of a "sense of belongingness" (Osterman, 2000:323). MacMillan and Chavis suggest that a community consists of four operational components: membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and a shared emotional connection. They summarize the concept thus: "sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (1986:9). Anderman and Anderman add that a sense of belonging in school "represents student's perceptions of the social context of the school experience, including social and academic factors" (2002:6). Despite the arguments to recognize and invest in a community based conceptualization of education, a number of studies conducted in the 1990's reflect that schools give little attention to the socio-emotional needs of students as individuals or as a collective (for a review see Osterman, 2000:324). A survey of the literature does however indicate that the construct "sense-of-belonging" has received some attention, possibly owing to its position in Maslow's classic hierarchy of needs.

Almost without exception, the idea of sense-of-school-belonging is explored by scholars within the broader pedagogic concept of "school climate". Although the term school climate

has been used for a number of decades, a singular definition of the concept does not exist (Marshall, 2004). Broadly, the school climate refers to the intangible aspects of the school environment, separate from the teaching curriculum and mode of instruction, which affect student outcomes. Loukas and Murphy explain: "school climate is a complex, multidimensional construct encompassing the atmosphere, culture, values, resources and social networks of a school" (2007:294). Despite the lack of a sole description, the concept of climate is clearly considered by education experts to have make-or-break potential for the success of a school and its learners; as one leader in the field surmises, "the interactions of various school and classroom climate factors can create a fabric of support that enables all members of the school community to teach and learn at optimum levels…School climate can be a positive influence on the health of the learning environment or a significant barrier to learning" (Freiberg, 1998:22).

While an agreeable, comprehensive definition remains elusive, most researchers agree that school climate includes physical, social, and academic dimensions. Loukas (2007) identifies the following aspects:

The physical dimension:

- Appearance of the school building and its classrooms;
- School size and ratio of students to teachers in the classroom;
- Order and organization of classrooms in the school;
- Availability of resources; and
- Safety and comfort.

The social dimension:

- Quality of interpersonal relationships between and among students, teachers, and staff;
- Equitable and fair treatment of students by teachers and staff;
- Degree of competition and social comparison between students; and
- Degree to which students, teachers, and staff contribute to decision-making at the school.

The academic dimension:

- Quality of instruction;
- Teacher expectations for student achievement; and
- Monitoring student progress and promptly reporting results to students and parents.

Given the multitude of ways school climate is conceptualized and operationalized, it is not surprising that Marshall (2004) identifies a variety of assessment tools for measuring a school's climate, such as the School Climate Survey (Haynes, Emmons, & Comer, 1993), Charles F. Kettering Ltd. (CFK) School Climate Profile, the Comprehensive Assessment of School Environments (Keefe & Kelley, 1990), the Organizational Climate Index (Hoy, Smith, & Sweetland, 2002), and the Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (Halpin & Croft, 1963). The existing tools include direct measures, such as surveys and interviews, and indirect methods, such as disciplinary and attendance records (Freiberg, 1998). None of the existing assessments address all the components of school climate (Loukas, 2007).

It is important to note that two epistemological approaches to the measurement of school climate are evident in the tools listed above. The first perspective sees school climate as a quality which can be assessed indirectly, or *objectively*. This approach suggests that the climate of a school can be measured without ascertaining the opinions of the individual personalities involved – administrators, teachers, and students. These measurements assess physical structures and environment, availability and quality of resources, and bureaucratic records of student behavior. The second and more common approach to the measurement of school climate recognises the *subjective* nature of the concept. Assessment tools using this perspective often do include an objective, 'checklist' section, but the weight of the score is determined by the reported experiences of the various stakeholders within the institution. Loukas and Murphy (2007:294), for example, found that "it is the individual perceptions of the school climate that contribute to … student outcomes". Stockard (1985:10) suggests that the conceptualisation of climate as a predominantly subjective phenomenon takes into account two fundamental features of any social setting. First, individuals may experience, or perhaps more accurately, interpret, the same environment or event differently. Any solely objective measure of a school climate would not take into account the variations in members' 'realities'. Second, Stockard puts forward that it is possible for more than one climate to exist if the perceptions of the members of the institution are not aligned. This second proposition problematizes the idea that it is possible to aggregate perceptual measures of climate; that is, can a singular, *total school* climate be legitimately ascribed? For example, Faircloth and Hamm (2005), in their investigation of the dimensions and mechanisms of belonging relevant to motivation and achievement among high school students representing four ethnic groups, found that all the dimensions were relevant for all groups but that the effects were not

uniform – the strengths of the effects of various social factors on sense-of-belonging were varied between groups, probably due to cultural factors. It is in this light that the current study seeks to analyse perceived school climate across a variety of demographic characteristics. Such an analysis ought to contribute to discussions regarding multiple co-existing climates and the validity of an aggregated *total school* climate.

The simplest way to understand the relationship between the subjective experiences of school climate and sense-of-belonging is by way of an analogy from a familiar context – the weather. Imagine two strangers from different parts of the world meeting on vacation someplace. Somewhere in the conversation Person A asks, "How is the climate where you live?" Person B answers simply, "The climate is great! I love it." When pressed to explain this response with details of the climate conditions, Person B responds: "Well, our weather is very mild; we seldom have temperatures above 27 degrees Celsius in summer and never get below freezing in winter. It never gets too windy and never rains in the colder months. We get rain on most days in the summer months, in the form of fantastic afternoon thundershowers. You see, it's a great climate; it suits me." Person A then replies: "What? That sounds terrible! I love board-sports so I need snow in the winter to snow-board on and clear, windy summer days so that I can sail my wind-surfing board – and I can't sail in a thunderstorm! Where I live the temperatures are extreme, it is often windy and we get most of our precipitation in the cold months. I could never enjoy your "great" climate."

This analogy illustrates the point that climate, which consists of a set of aspects with specific properties (temperature conditions, wind conditions, precipitation conditions), can only be validly assessed as a *subjective* phenomenon; the climate considered by Person A to be "great" is viewed by Person B to be "terrible". So, while the aspects of the climate each person interrogates are the same (temperature, wind, precipitation), the actual characteristics of these aspects are given value in the proportion that the experience of these characteristics fits the personality and lifestyle of the individual. Put simply, climate is assigned value based on the sum of an individual's subjective experiences of the various aspects. Taken one step further, the value placed on the climate by the individual can be expressed as the degree to which the climate and the person "fit" each other – the degree to which the individual feels that s/he *belongs.* Sense-of belonging, therefore, is a function of satisfaction with the various aspects of climate.

Defined as such, a specific climate cannot be given any meaningful *objective* value. It would not make sense for an outside party (a meteorologist for example) to sit at a desk somewhere with reams of weather data and assess the climates of specific places with the aim to describing them as "good" or "bad" climates for people to live in; as the analogy shows, the value given to a particular climate will vary from person to person. It would not be sensible to attempt to create an index of regional climates with a value based on the objective weather data (e.g. mild winters better than cold winters; few thundershowers better than many thundershowers) which could be used by ordinary people to decide where to live. This objective score may not represent the needs/desires of the people – the relationship between the characteristics of the various aspects of the climate and the eccentricities of each individual will determine the extent to which they "belong" in that climate.

While this analogy casts doubt on the validity of a process which generates a value for a specific climate in an objective way, it does not exclude the possibility of rating climates in a relative fashion, based on an aggregation of the reported subjective satisfaction of individuals within each climate, expressed here as their degree of sense-of-belonging, *cross-referenced* with personal characteristics – "personality types". Through a comprehensive survey of people living in different climate regions it could be determined which kinds of climates (described in terms of the characteristics of various aspects of climate) correlate with higher reported sense-of-belonging. This process would result in an index of climate regions with "goodness" (or "preferment") scores based on the average sense-of-belonging which residents report[1]. This index would be a reflection of the climate conditions which generally create the greatest sense-of-belonging; it would be a list of preferred climates. However, this list would represent an *average* sense-of-belonging which would give readers the ability to determine which climates are most likely to suit the *average* person. However, a far more useful index designed to help people select the climate best suited to them would be one which is based on an analysis of the relationships between specific climate aspect characteristics and specific personality/lifestyle characteristics. Such an index would assess individual characteristics and generate a "personality and lifestyle profile" which could then be cross-referenced against climate aspects to identify the ideal climate for that person. It becomes clear that the identification of a "good" climate on an individual basis involves many variables, but also that such a process would be necessary to accurately recommend

[1] Researchers would need to control for residents who moved to the area because of the climate, as opposed to those who find themselves there for other reasons, such as birth or work.

climates because no objective measure could provide an acceptable level of certainty since many people simply would not "belong" in the "best" climates.

The preceding argument is intended to show that a measure of student sense-of-belonging represents a quantification of the school climate. This expression, however, can only be a reflection of the subjective experience of an individual student; the eccentricities of each student (personality, culture, etc.) will mediate his/her evaluation of the climate aspects (social, structural/contextual and academic). In this sense, a school consists of as many climates as it has students (and administrators and teachers if included). Imagined as such, it is unrealistic to believe that a "perfect" whole-school climate can be created; it is impractical for any school to accommodate the climate needs of every unique student. This does not mean, however, that schools cannot strive to find the combination of climate aspect characteristics that best match the students in their care. As the literature shows, there are unarguably certain aspects of the school environment which, when satisfactorily provided for, can be assumed to improve general (or all the individuals') climate(s). Additionally, as studies such as those by Faircloth and Hamm (2005) and Ma (2003) indicate, schools can adjust climate aspects to better suit the needs and desires associated with specific demographic characteristics of the student body (culture, SES, etc.). In summary though, it simply is not possible to say that there is a "cookie-cutter" type-set of climate aspect characteristics which can be put in place in every school to guarantee student satisfaction with the climate. This premise implies a demand for greater investigation of the relationships between various school climate aspects and sense-of-belonging, particularly in relation to the way the characteristics of each aspect affect different social groupings within schools, and across schools with divergent compositions.

Within the last decade, a handful of researchers have begun to explore the effects of school climate as a mediator of students' sense-of-belonging. However, the relationship between sense-of-belonging and school climate is viewed differently by academics. One perspective sees sense-of-belonging as a *component* of school climate, whereas other researchers imagine sense-of-belonging as a factor which intervenes between school climate and student outcomes and explains their relationship (Loukas, 2007). The current study, in keeping with the more common conceptualization of the relationship, adopts the latter perspective; sense-of-belonging is seen as a *result* of a high quality climate, judged by the degree to which *students are satisfied* with the climate. Satisfaction with the school climate in turn generates

the sense-of-belonging that shields students from negative outcomes. Although Nichols (2006:161) found that students' views of the school climate do not always equate with their reported sense-of-belonging, a number of studies have confirmed that school climate factors do account for levels of belonging (Baker, 1998; Ma, 2003; Loukas, 2007; Cemalcilar, 2010). The most recent of these studies (Cemalcilar, 2010) assessed a model of the relationships based on two dimensions. School climate was conceptualized in terms of 1) satisfaction with social relations in the school and 2) satisfaction with structural aspects of the school. The social relations studied included student-student, student-teacher, and student-administration relationships. Structural aspects included physical features, support resources and perceived violence (physical safety). The results of the research indicated moderate to strong relationships between both dimensions of the school context and sense-of-belonging with the model accounting for 71% of the variance in students' sense-of-belonging. Cemalcilar's robust model provides new insights into the influence of school climate factors on student sense-of-belonging and is worthy of further investigation.

2.2 Sense-of-Belonging and Attachment

A review of the literature shows that there is much empirical evidence to suggest that a strong sense-of-belonging in school accounts for various positive behavioral, psychological, and academic student outcomes. Sense-of-belonging affects multiple dimensions of behavior (Osterman, 2000), including: increased participation (Finn, 1989); lower rates of risky behavior (Resnick *et al*, 1997); lower rates of gang membership (Burnett and Walsh, 1994; Reep, 1996), less disruptive ("problem") behaviour (Simons-Morton, Crump, Haynie & Saylor, 1999) and lower drop-out rates (Fine, 1992). Psychological outcomes linked to school attachment include: general well-being and social competence (Johnson, 2001; Roeser, Ecclese & Sameroff, 2002); decreased perception of friction among peers, a greater sense of cohesion with peers, lower rates of depression, and greater satisfaction with classes (Loukas, 2006). Attachment to the school is also shown to have positive effects on academic motivation and effort (Goodenow, 1993; Anderman & Anderman, 1999; Voelkl, 1995), commitment to school (Kagen, 1990), academic engagement (Routt, 1996) and academic achievement (Bergin & Bergin, 2009; Gonzalez & Padilla, 1997; Goodenow, 1991; Johnson, 2001; Rosen, Ecclese & Sameroff, 2002). The positive effects of a strong sense of school attachment in the variety of dimensions mentioned have elicited calls by a number of researchers to investigate the topic further, particularly in terms of the school factors which

influence students' sense-of-belonging (Osterman, 2000; Scherer, 1998; Johnson, Crosnoe, Elder 2001; Johnson, Crosnoe & Thaden 2006).

It is necessary for current purposes to distinguish between the concepts "attachment" and "sense-of-belonging". These terms are used interchangeably in the existing education literature, as shown by Goodenow: "sense of school belonging, *also referred as school attachment*, sense of relatedness, sense of school community, or school membership…"(in Cemalcilar, 2010:245, emphasis added). Goodenow defines this/these concept/s as, "an individual's being part of a social group in the school that s/he values and feeling accepted and valued by the members of that group" (*ibid*). However, as Cemalcilar notes, the existing literature regarding sense-of-belonging, as predominantly examined within the framework of the problematic concept of "school climate", conceptualizes sense-of-belonging as a consequence of *social* aspects of the environment only; the effects of *structural/contextual* aspects of the school setting on sense-of-belonging are generally ignored (2010:250). This lack of consideration for ecological effects is evident in the otherwise comprehensive definition offered by Goodenow; therefore, a modified version of Goodenow's definition is put forward for the current paper. Sense-of-belonging in school is defined as an individual's 1) satisfaction with the social environment - being part of a social group in the school that s/he values and feeling accepted by the members of that group and 2) satisfaction with the physical environment – feeling adequately supplied with physical structures, material resources and physical safety.

Within this broader understanding of sense-of-belonging, the term "attachment" refers specifically to the social aspect of the school environment. In this context, attachment describes a relationship between individuals: "[a]ttachment is a deep and enduring affectionate bond that connects one person to another across time and space" (Bergin & Bergin, 2009:142). A student's level of attachment toward a school is therefore understood to be an aggregation of the number and quality of the social relationships a student has among other members of the school, including teachers, administrators and other students. These relationships are predominantly characterized in terms of concepts such as "trust", "friendship/like", "respect", "loyalty", "intimacy", "support", "inclusion" (Ma, 2003; Faircloth and Hamm, 2005; Tabane and Human-Vogel, 2010; Bergin, 2009). Bergin (2009:142) posits that attachment in the classroom serves two functions. First, attachment creates feelings of security which facilitate the fulfillment of the need for young people to

take risks and explore. Second, attachments generate the social framework in which effective socialization occurs; "as children and adults are drawn together and interact harmoniously, children adopt the adults' behavior and values". It is through the fulfilment of these needs that attachment contributes to the students' sense-of-belonging.

The need for affective attachment as a prerequisite for the formation of sense-of-belonging is not a notion confined to pedagogic analysis; it has been persistent in psychological and social theory for many decades. For almost three-quarters of a century, Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, presented in his 1943 paper *A Theory of Human Motivation*, has featured heavily as a theoretical underpinning of social, psychological and pedagogic understanding. Maslow suggests that in terms of the forces which motivate humans to act, the need to feel attachment, the need to feel as though one is part of a group, or to use the author's word, the need to feel "love", is subsidiary only to the needs for physiological satisfaction and a sense of security (1943:394). Once the two former needs are met, Maslow posits, an individual will endeavour to find attachment. Maslow writes: "he [or she] will hunger for affectionate relations with people in general, namely, for a place in his [or her] group, and he [or she] will strive with great intensity to achieve this goal. He [or she] will want to attain such a place more than anything else in the world and may even forget that once, when he [or she] was hungry, he [or she] sneered at love" (1943:380). The emotive language Maslow uses is an indication of the importance he assigns to the human need to feel affective bonds with other individuals in order to be motivated. Motivation, in a general and a specific sense, can be assumed to be a crucial virtue in an educational context and should accordingly be emphasised as a critical outcome by schools. Indeed, Faircloth and Hamm (2005:304) state that, "Adolescents' need for a sense of school belonging is widely acknowledged as a factor in student motivation *and achievement*" (emphasis added). While the affective attachments Maslow refers to can of course be satisfied for individuals in settings outside the school (family, religious affiliation, etc.) it is not counter-intuitive to assume that school-based affective attachments will improve overall levels of motivation of individuals, and school-related motivation in particular. While Maslow's affective attachment needs are most germane to the present study, a brief overview of his entire hierarchy provides a useful frame of reference for a number of concepts under review.

Maslow's hierarchy is cumulative; that is, higher needs cannot be met before lower needs are satisfied. Given this principle, designing policies or interventions (in any context) for the

purpose of satisfying the need for attachment would serve no purpose until the physiological and safety needs are met. Interpreting Cemalcilar (2010:246), the physiological and safety requirements in the school setting are predominantly imagined as *structural/contextual* aspects (as opposed to *social* aspects) of the environment. Operationalized as "physical structures", "supporting resources" and "perceived violence", the study shows that satisfaction with these aspects of the school are significant predictors of student "sense-of-belonging".

The rigid, cumulative nature of Maslow's hierarchy does however present a dilemma when viewed in light of subsequent research. In his description of safety needs, Maslow writes that a child "generally prefers a safe, orderly, predictable, organized world, which he [or she] can count on, and in which unexpected, unmanageable or other dangerous things do not happen" (378). Nowhere does Maslow explicitly distinguish between such unwelcome events in terms of their origin: physical environment or social context. This lack of differentiation given, it must be assumed that to feel safe a child requires stability in both senses. Furthermore, since higher level needs cannot be obtained without satisfaction of lower level needs, it must be assumed that affective attachment cannot be created without there first being a sense of safety and security. However, various researchers have presented that in order to feel safety or security in the social realm of the school children must *first* develop attachment to the actors in the school setting (Ma, 2003; Bergin, 2005). Bergin submits that *security is a function of attachment*, that attachment provides students with the confidence to take risks (2005:142). Thus imagined, a chicken-and-egg dilemma is created: attachment cannot exist without safety, but safety cannot exist (in its fullest sense) until attachments have been formed. The challenge this presents is not insurmountable, in fact, at its heart this problem is semantic - did Maslow intend for *social* security to be counted under "safety needs"? However, this dilemma does highlight the problematic nature of the concepts and relationships in question.

2.3 Social Capital and Sense-of-Belonging

The concept of social capital gained popularity among social scientists in the late twentieth century, notably through the works of Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. However, Portes (1998:2) contends that the intellectual roots of social capital, framed as the idea that active membership within groups creates individual and community benefits, can be located in the seminal sociological writings of Durkheim - group life as immunity from

anomie - and Marx - a mobilized and effective class-for-itself. In this context, Portes notes that "the term social capital simply recaptures an insight present since the very beginnings of the discipline" (1998:2). The utility of the concept of social capital within academia is debatable. On the one hand, authors such as Woolcock and Narayan (2000) suggest social capital creates a "common language" for proponents of a wide range of disciplines and that the incremental accumulation of theory and policy contribute positively to our holistic view of society. On the other hand, authors such as Benjamin Fine (2000) argue that the lack of conceptual clarity allows the term to be used as a "catch-all" which can be manipulated to suit the needs of the theorist. A third position states that the value of the term is in its heuristic quality. The fact that the concept seems to be of use to so many while remaining undefined points to the fruitfulness of the concept. In commenting on the contemporary popularity of the concept, Portes (1998:2) adds:

> The novelty and heuristic power of social capital come from two sources. First, the concept focuses attention on the positive consequences of sociability while putting aside its less attractive features. Second, it places those positive consequences in the framework of a broader discussion of capital and calls attention to how such nonmonetary forms can be important sources of power and influence, like the size of one's stock holdings or bank account.

This comment on the heuristic quality of social capital reflects the problematic influence of two features of modern society on contemporary social inquiry. First, in the context of a rapidly globalizing world marked by a perceived deterioration of community as the analytically simplistic "mechanical" ties of "traditional" societies are replaced by far more complex "organic" ties, any concept which explores (and promotes) social solidarity and cohesion as beneficial to individuals and society alike would draw the attention of social minded researchers. Second, there exists a sense among sociologists that social analysis and policy has since the middle of the last century become increasingly dominated by the field of economics, in that economic conditions and growth of societies are over-prioritised by a capitalist-informed academy. By describing social phenomena as "capital", a term which implies a tangible and fungible commodity, the concept of social capital enables sociologists to engage in discussions regarding the course of social science and, consequently, the course of societies. However, despite the contested context, content and contribution of social

capital, one must be careful not to throw the baby out with the bath-water; as currently imagined (however loosely) the theory of social capital contains analytically useful concepts germane to the current study.

The precise constituents of social capital continue to remain vague, with Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu providing differing understandings and applications of the concept (Weller, 2010:873). Coleman, with Hoffer and Kilgore (1982), uses the concept to examine variations in student outcomes. Putnam (1993, 2000) focuses his application on the problem of civic engagement. Weller notes that Coleman and Putnam "share common ground, viewing social capital as a positive entity; a means of fostering trust, cooperation and integration" (2009:875). Bourdieu (1986) takes a different tack, conceptualizing social capital as "part of a bundle of different forms of capital important for social injustice and equality" in order to explore the reproduction of class advantage (*ibid*). However, despite disagreement concerning definition and application, most scholars recognize three core components: *generalized trust, norms of reciprocity and networks*. Coffe explains that "social capital is therefore understood as both a structural phenomenon (social networks) and a cultural or attitudinal phenomenon (social norms and trust). Moreover, it is often regarded as an aggregate concept, a characteristic of communities. It is a societal resource that links citizens to each other and enables them to pursue their common objectives more effectively" (2008:156).

The formation and utility of social capital among youth populations has been a neglected area of study. Weller's review of the literature shows that children have traditionally been seen as passive actors in the formation of social capital within families and communities, and that their relationship to the concept has been predominantly phrased in terms of the benefits they have access to as a result of the capital of their parents (2009:875). She does note, however, that this trend is changing, with an increasing focus on youth's *own* social capital and agency in a number of areas, including community involvement, education and health (*ibid*).

It is not difficult to find a level of congruency between the core components of social capital – networks, norms and trust – and the fundamental *social* components of schools related to student sense-of-belonging. First, social capital requires the presence of a network or networks. Within the school context these networks are constituted by the student-student, student-teacher and student-administrator relationships which exist as a simple consequence

of membership. Social capital theory argues that these networks contain within them an inherent *potential* for beneficial outcomes for the members able to access the opportunities and resources made available within the various networks. For example, a member with agency within a student-student network would have access to the "academic capital" of peer-learning opportunities, or the "psychological capital" of group-inclusion. Furthermore, in describing social structures which facilitate social capital, Coleman (1988:107) suggests that the effective application of norms require a "closed network" where sanctions can monitor and guide behaviour free from external, differing norms. It would be disingenuous to argue that a school is a completely "closed" network since the youth are exposed to many other networks with potentially contradictory norms, such as places of worship, families, friends from outside the school, media, etc., and the whole-school network includes (at least theoretically) guardians and the local community. However, schools have a capacity to act as closed networks in that they are able to legitimately enforce prescribed behavioural norms (school rules) relatively free of external influence. This prerogative exists within schools to a greater extent than it does in other institutions or networks to which the youth are tied since all members (including staff and parents) are *legally* bound to submit to the school's rules as a prerequisite for them being accepted as members. Schools should therefore be able to present the types of networks in which social capital can be fostered because the norm set, including the norm of reciprocal action, is clearly defined and can be consistently governed. It should follow that such a social context, characterised by relatively closed networks with strong systems of sanction, ought to provide the type of social security – in the Maslowian sense of stability and predictability – which generates *trust* among members. Fukuyama stresses the importance of trust between community (network) members as *the* critical component required for the creation of social capital; members will only "invest" in the network if they trust that the other members will adhere to the norm of reciprocation.

For Fukuyama, writing about social capital in the context of economic networks (corporations), the driving force behind trust is the sanctioning power of *culture*; norms are socialized into members through ethnic and religious media, and maintained among them by fear of losing the benefits of reciprocation (1995:90). When transferred back to the context of the school, Fukuyama's model suggests an answer to the paradox offered earlier. Trust is seen as *a consequence* of an environment characterised by stable and enforced norms – an environment that can be described as "socially safe". This milieu of trust then forms the foundation for the development of affective bonds – or attachments. Social capital theory

suggests, therefore, that the attachments necessary for the creation of a sense-of-belonging can only be established when the social context is characterised by effective norms. It is through observation of the consistent application of these norms that students develop the sense-of-safety required for attachment and sense-of-belonging. Furthermore, if we take social capital to be the outcome of networks, norms of reciprocity and trust, then it follows that affective attachment, and the potential sense-of-belonging this can generate, must be seen as *forms of social capital* – they are "the benefits" made available by the presence of social groups and interactions. The existing pedagogic literature has shown that attachment and sense-of-belonging do indeed correlate with a variety of positive student outcomes and so, if these outcomes stem from a satisfaction with the social aspects of the school environment they should indeed be considered as "capital". Alternatively if we conceptualize social capital not as an object (as the word "benefit" necessarily implies) but rather as a "set of interactions and relationships based on trust and reciprocity that have the potential to be transformative", as Weller suggests (2009:874), then the simple *existence* of such interactions and relationships within the school context would be considered as the "capital". Accordingly, the school has the potential to generate social capital which can be accessed and used by students by providing a socially safe environment through effective application of normative sanctions. It is certainly clear that attachment and sense-of-belonging, whether as forms of social capital or as the outcomes thereof, are indicators of the quantity of social capital within a school regardless of the way the concept is presented.

Whether or not the preceding discussion makes any significant contribution to the understanding of social capital in the context of schools, or the mechanisms through which school climate factors influence student outcomes, is not clear. What is clear, however, is that the amorphous concept of social capital is intertwined with our current understanding of the mechanisms through which the social aspects of the school environment influence student outcomes. In addition to the recent surge in interest regarding social capital among youth populations and the seemingly *prima facie* relationships between social capital, sense-of-belonging and students outcomes, a third reason exists for the inclusion of social capital as an analytical construct: the well-publicized debate over the influence of diversity on the formation of social capital.

2.4 Diversity and Inclusion

"I fear, unless our children can begin to learn together, there is little hope our people can live together."

Justice Thurgood Marshall (1974)

Conceptualization of "diversity" is itself problematic and so requires specific attention. The Collins English Dictionary defines diversity as, "the state or quality of being different or varied; a point of difference". The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology offers no discipline specific definition of the term but it is submitted that for scientific social inquiry diversity refers to the classification of individuals into groups based on specific characteristics which represent meaningful differences that have some influence on the social world of the individual. In their treatment of the concept in relation to multicultural education, DuCette, Shapiro and Sewell define diversity as

> "encompassing the domain of human characteristics which *affect an individual's capacity to learn from, respond to, or interact in a school environment*. These characteristics can be overt or covert, recognized by the individual or not recognized, and biologically determined or environmentally or socially determined. Some of the characteristics are meaningful as they describe an individual; others are more meaningful as they describe a group."
>
> (1996:6; emphasis added)

It is recognized that the range of characteristics which define the identity of an individual is vast, and increasingly so in a globalizing world where complex webs of affiliation lead to multiple reference groups impacting upon self- and group-identities, thus making the task of developing a model of diversity which encompasses contemporary identity theory beyond the scope of this study. The characteristics selected here to represent the concept of diversity are four of the "traditional" categories used by studies of "historically marginalized" groups in education: population groups ("race"), language, religion and socio-economic status (SES) (DuCette, Shapiro and Sewell, 1995:2).

The interest of the current study regarding the effect of diversity and the different experiences of various population groups regarding attachment and sense-of-belonging is a response to two conflicting views, the first from contemporary social theory and the second from the field of education.

In the last two decades, a thesis has emerged from within the study of social capital which casts doubt on the idea that true "community" can be achieved in diverse societies. In his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000) and his 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture, "E Pluribus Unum": *Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century*, Robert Putnam argues that increased ethnic diversity in neighbourhoods results in lower levels of social capital, which results in societies which lack a sense of "solidarity" or "community". According to Coffe, the general assumption in the recent literature is that ethnic diversity is detrimental for the development of social cohesion (attachment between members), as it inhibits the creation of social capital (2009:156-157). This deficiency of attachment to other members is characterized by shortcomings in trust, altruism, community cooperation and friend-making (Putnam, 2007), all of which are related to the construct of "satisfaction with social relations" in the model of the relationship between school climate factors and student sense-of-belonging presented in the current study. The inference is therefore made that increased diversity (ethnic and other) will have a negative effect on the relationships in question and, therefore, the degree of attachment and sense-of-belonging experienced by learners. Putnam's thesis is by no means uncontested. Letki (2008), for example, examined whether racial diversity caused an erosion of social capital – and cohesion - in Britain. In contrast to dominant notions, Letki concluded that "there is only very limited empirical confirmation for the argument that racial diversity erodes social cohesion and destroys relations in local communities" (2008: 120). Additionally, Hallberg and Lund (2005) question Putnam's findings on methodological and analytical grounds. The relationship between diversity and "community" is clearly prevalent in current sociological discourse and particularly relevant to the South African context. Putnam's thesis does however demand that researchers explore whether schools with greater diversity across various dimensions do in fact display lower levels of "community" (expressed as a sense-of-belonging) and whether there are differences in the perceptions of school climate and sense-of-belonging between various population groups within schools. An understanding of these relationships is paramount given the current trends in education worldwide, and specifically in South Africa.

Despite the warnings from social theory, there is a prevailing opinion within education circles that schools and classrooms should demonstrate "sociocultural inclusion" in order to prepare students for citizenship in a pluralistic society. Cushner, McClelland & Safford explain: "The classroom which accepts and integrates various cultures, languages, abilities and experiences helps its students to begin to learn to negotiate life in a society characterized by multiple layers of identity and affiliation" (1996:309). In South Africa we have embraced the notion that diversity in any sphere of social life has the potential to contribute positively. This is reflected in our state motto: *!ke e: /xarra //ke*, which means "diverse people unite" (SA Government). Our system of governance recognises the importance of the many individual voices within the one democratic voice, acknowledging that difference can be an asset to democracy, rather than inherently problematic. This principle is reflected in the way we have envisioned our education system; we have embraced the liberal value of *inclusion*, demanding heterogeneous schools because these "allow for different students to learn about one another and work together" (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000:71).

Research into the influence of a diverse composition of students, teachers and administrators on either factors pertaining to school climate or students' sense of belonging is almost entirely absent in the literature. While many studies look at the direct relationship between racial/ethnic group and academic achievement (for a review see Johnson, Crosnoe & Elder, 2001), few explore the pathways through which these relationships are created. Additionally, these studies are almost exclusively limited to schools in the USA. Interestingly, with a sample of over 90 000 students from schools across the United States of America, Johnson, Crosnoe and Elder found that "one minority group (Hispanic Americans) is *more highly attached*, and another (African Americans) is *equally attached* compared to white adolescents" (2000:334; emphasis in original). These results were contrary to the researchers' expectations and in opposition to the prevailing literature. The findings pose interesting questions concerning common assumptions regarding sense-of-belonging among minority populations in school and beg further investigation of the relationship. The diversity in South African schools makes them a fertile context for such research. The review reveals scarce research relating to the relationships between either school climate factors or sense-of-belonging and other dimensions of diversity germane to the current research – population groups, language, religion and socio-economic status.

In contrast to the dearth of empirical research, there does exist an abundance of "philosophical" literature regarding the challenges of transforming our post-apartheid education systems and curricula so that it reflects the goals of our democracy, particularly with regards to the virtue of affirming unity in diversity. Almost without exception, these publications insist the need to base our reframing of education on the South African Constitution, with special attention given to the notion of *Ubuntu*. In our constitution, *Ubuntu* refers generally to the idea of "human dignity" and the capacity to resolve challenges in an environment of mutual respect. In his foreword to *Spirit of a Nation: Reflections on South Africa's Educational Ethos*, Nelson Mandela writes that "the Constitution is the highest expression of the values of nation building, and is made to work in practice by Parliament, the Constitutional Court *and the many institutions that support democratic consolidation*" (2002:ix, emphasis added). He adds later: "There is no question in my mind that education is one of the primary means by which inequality in our country, between rich and poor, black and white, is to be tackled. Education is liberation" (ibid: x). Citing Nkomo and Vandayar, Tabane and Human-Vogel remind us that schools are mirrors of society and are thus "in a unique position to serve as cradles of social innovation to address the tensions and to contribute to greater social cohesion" (2010: 494). In order to make our education system a "cradle of social innovation" which enshrines the principles of the Constitution the Ministry of Education established the "Working Group on Values in Education" comprising of members from academia, media, politics and the Department of Education. The report generated by this group was expanded into a document entitled the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (2001). The manifesto spells out the relevance of the ten fundamental values of the Constitution to education and suggests sixteen educational strategies which can serve as vehicles for teaching these values. A selection of the values and strategies discussed in the manifesto highlights the emphasis on accommodating and appreciating diversity.

Values:

1. Democracy
2. Social Justice and Equity
3. Equality
4. Non-Racism and Non-Sexism
5. *Ubuntu* (Human Dignity)
6. An Open Society

7. Respect

Educational Strategies:

1. Nurturing a culture of communication and participation
2. Role Modelling
3. Infusing the classroom with a culture of human rights
4. Introducing religion education
5. Making multilingualism happen
6. Using sport to shape social bonds and nurture nation building
7. Promoting anti-racism
8. Freeing the potential of girls as well as boys
9. Affirming our common citizenship

(*Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy,* 2001)

A full reading of the manifesto clearly implies that South African schools are charged with the duty of promoting the value of "unity in diversity" in two ways. First, students should be deliberately *taught* how to be citizens in a diverse democracy through the teaching curriculum. Second, schools must provide students with *experience* of a community which demonstrates the virtues being expounded in its everyday operations. This second responsibility requires that the school generates a climate in which all members believe that they are equally valued and respected. While this endeavour is praised, the question must be asked, is this possible? Is it possible to accommodate the needs of all and foster a spirit of solidarity in schools, particularly given South Africa's history of apartheid and enduring attitudes of distrust, and even hatred, between many sectors of the population? Can we create within our schools an image of the "Rainbow Nation" when many students are actively and passively socialized to embrace ideas of racial, ethnic, religious and class superiority and inferiority? Citing a number of studies, Tabane and Human-Vogel (2010:491) acknowledge that "racial tension in schools continues, despite local and national efforts to promote social cohesion". In their conclusion the authors note that diverse schools work when a sense-of-belonging has been fostered by making the school a "welcoming space" marked by "trust", "freedom", "equal treatment" and feelings of "positive regard" between members, but there simply is not enough research linking the "social fabric" of the country to the institutional

variables (school climate aspects) which enable us to reach conclusions regarding *how* to generate these characteristics in diverse groups as a whole, and in sub-groups within schools. They submit that it is vital that future research projects "examine the relationship between institutional variables and their effect on social cohesion in terms of individual attitudes and behaviours, as well as group-level factors of cohesion" (503). These sentiments are mirrored by Opdenakker and Van Damme (2001) and Bergin (2002) who state that school composition can indeed have a great influence on the development of belonging and cohesion in schools, particularly for minority groups, and that more research into the factors mediating school environment factors is urgently required.

2.5 Summary

There can be little doubt that the school environment plays a vital role in determining a variety of student outcomes. The climate of the school – the way students experience the school – is comprised of a host of factors, including structural/contextual, social and academic dimensions. Research shows that the degree of satisfaction students have with these various aspects play an important role in the development of a student's sense-of-belonging, which mediates between the school environment and student outcomes. In short, students who are satisfied with their school and feel as though they "belong" there are more likely to show positive outcomes. However, much debate exists regarding the effects of diversity on the creation of sense-of-belonging and social cohesion within schools, and indeed within society at-large. It is in this light that the research questions are posed.

2.6 Research Questions

1. Do the "traditional" dimensions of diversity – population group, language, religion, socio-economic status – show any direct relationships with learners' levels of satisfaction with school climate aspects or sense-of-belonging?

   Hypothesis: There are no meaningful differences between groups within the four dimensions of diversity and satisfaction with school climate aspects or sense-of-belonging.

2. What relationship, if any, exists between diversity in school composition and students' sense-of-belonging?

   Hypothesis: The greater the diversity in the school, the lesser the students' sense-of-belonging.

3. What relationship, if any, exists between students' minority group status and sense of belonging?

   Hypothesis: Students who belong to minority group will report a lesser sense-of-belonging.

Sub-questions:

1. Which dimension of diversity, if any, exerts the greatest influence on students' sense-of-belonging?
2. If a relationship exists between minority group status and sense of belonging, which types of minority groups are most affected - religious, racial, ethnic/language or socio-economic?]

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this theoretical framework is to provide a set of ideas supported by evidence which can assist in making sense of the results generated by the data in order to answer the question: what causes sense-of-belonging in school? In this study it is proposed that learner sense-of-belonging toward school is influenced by both the quality of the social and the structural elements of the environment. In biological terms these elements would be called the *biotic* and *abiotic* aspects of the environment which combined represent the *ecosystem*. A theoretical framework for understanding effects and relationships and, consequently, discerning meaning from these, would most appropriately be conceived of as an exercise in *social ecology* – meaning the study of the effects of the particular properties of an ecosystem on the behaviour of the people therein.

Let us not forget that humans are animals. Like animals, our behaviours are responses to the ecological stimuli we receive. However, unlike the other animals we share the planet with, human behaviour is determined to a far greater extent by the other biotic aspects of the ecosystem than they are by the non-living components. This is due to the 'overdevelopment' of our individual cognitive abilities which has enabled us to create extraordinarily complex social systems which, in turn, has facilitated our ability to master the other elements of our ecosystems. The human capacity to change the physical environment rather than adapt to it means that our behaviours are less determined by our surrounds and are, therefore, more a consequence of the social environment. Further, the manner we recreate our physical environment itself becomes largely a function of the mental states (psychological effects) produced by the social environment. For example, what we consider a "correct" physical school environment is the result of centuries of experience, which have produced our current mental model of the structural components required for good schooling; the context does not determine how we educate – the way we educate determines the contexts we create. But the way we choose to educate, it was argued in chapter one, is itself the result of the outcomes we desire therefrom. And these desired outcomes are the result of the ideologies held by the persons designing the system. It follows then that the design of the structural components of a

school is flanked on both sides by mental states; they are the result thereof and they cause them.

Chapter one broadly discussed the values or ideologies and resulting mental states which precede the design of the ecosystems of education. Ultimately, any project intended to contribute to the improvement of education ought to lead to a better understanding at this 'policy' level – and some discussion is presented in the conclusion – but the principles on which design ought to rest is not the focus of this study. Rather, a reverse approach was taken: in order to understand what schools should look like this study seeks to understand the mental states resulting from the experiences of learners in schools as they currently are. This knowledge of the effects of the school ecosystem, it is hoped, can be reverse-engineered to highlight the aspects of the school climate which would most likely produce better learner experience and education if reformed. And while the target, or dependant, variables in this study are mental states – satisfaction and the sensation of belonging – the ultimate purpose of the social sciences is to explain human *behaviour*.

3.2 Ecosystems of Influence

The ecological theory of human development presented by Brofenbrenner (1979) provides an appropriate broad framework. The theory posits that human behavior cannot be fully understood unless it is studied and analysed with respect to the influences of *social and non-social* environmental factors. Brofenbrenner writes: "In ecological research, the properties of the person and of the environment, the structure of the environmental setting, and the processes taking place within and between them must be viewed as interdependent and analysed in systems terms" (1979:41). He adds that the ecological environment ought to be conceived of as a "set of nested structures…like a set of Russian dolls" (*ibid:*3). Brofenbrenner identifies three characteristically distinct layers of the total (or "macro") system: the micro-, meso- and exo-systems. A microsystem refers to "a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics" (*ibid:*22). Schools, therefore, represent microsystems – *settings* in which *activities, roles and relations* occur. Mesosystems are established by the "interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person participates, such as… home [and] school" (*ibid:*25). These systems are facilitated through overlapping networks and communication links between the microsystems as well as the "extent and nature of knowledge existing in one setting about the other" (*ibid:*25). By this

third feature of mesosystem functionality Brofenbrenner highlights the importance of the transference of ideologies, or patterns of perception and meaning creation, between microsystems in determining individuals' experiences within microsystems; e.g. what is considered important at home or in the community will likely also be considered important at school. Finally, an exosystem is defined as settings in which the individual is not "an active participant, but in which events that occur affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing the developing individual" (*ibid*). This concept demands that it is necessary to consider the effects of the immediate location, the nation and the global community on the social and structural features of microsystems and on the individuals directly. The definition of exosystems also implies that people may not be aware of the influences of the outer ecological layers but that the effects are likely just as important to human development and behaviour as those more intuitive and obvious.

The ecological perspective therefore emphasises the need to identify all the environmental factors which influence cognitive, emotional and social development while conceiving of the environment as a system of layers with varying types and degrees of influence. The approach promotes qualitative research – observation, interview, etc. – and demands the need to study "development-in-context" where "context" is not limited to the immediate setting as is usually the case (*ibid:*12). Brofenbrenner recognises, however, that complexity of the "macrosystems" means that studies of ecological effects seldom if ever manage to assess all the dimensions and processes involved due to the methodological challenges created. Additionally, any true study of development and behaviour must by definition examine *changes* in ecological perception and effects over time; "development is defined as the person's evolving conception of the ecological environment, and his [or her] relation to it…" (*ibid:*9). It is in the light of the above limitations that the author makes the declaration: "it is neither necessary nor possible to reach all the criteria for ecological research within a single investigation" (*ibid:*14). Thus, while the present study uses non-longitudinal data collected from microsystems only, it attempts to incorporate the ecological theory of human development by analysing the results with reference to possible influences from meso- and exosystems. Although requiring inference and even conjecture, the discussion of findings will in places attribute behaviours, or more precisely, the mental states which produce them, to separate and/or combined features of the immediate setting created by the social and structural features of schools, the daily realities and challenges presented by the location of the schools – the immediate community – and the broader circumstances and prevailing

mind-sets within the nation at large. Only through a synthesis of the effects of these increasingly large layers of influence can a thorough explanation of psychological dispensations be surmised.

Brofenbrenner adds that the ecological approach has rarely been fulfilled by research because the non-social aspects of the environment have historically been neglected (*ibid:*18). Research at the micro level (school, work and home), which dominates the relevant literature, has focused predominantly on the interpersonal ("relations with others") aspect of the environmental setting. A review of Brofenbrenner's own work, *The Ecology of Human Development*, shows that it too focuses more on the social aspects of the setting, examining the "connections between other persons in the setting, the nature of these links, and their indirect effects on the developing person…" (1979:7). This tendency is understandable in light of the argument that by mastering our physical environment, human behaviour is more affected by our social relations. But the ecological perspective conceives of the human mind as a processor which is sensitive to *all* the empirical data it receives; human cognition and the mental states and behaviours resulting therefrom are impacted by the signals received by all the senses. The visual, auditory and tacit characteristics of a setting are combined in the mind with the psychological sensations created by the social interactions. Such a perspective therefore informs an analytical approach which considers all environmental aspects as equally likely factors of influence on mental states and behaviour.

Furthermore, the ecological theory adopts a phenomenological approach to understanding the influence of the physical aspects of the environment; that is, it highlights subjectivity. Kurt Lewin developed four premises to guide an ecological investigation of non-social environmental influences: "the primacy of the phenomenological over the real experience in steering behavior; the impossibility of understanding that behavior solely from the objective properties of an environment without reference to its meaning to the people in the setting; the palpable motivational character of environmental objects and events; and, especially, the importance of the unreal, the imagined" (in Brofenbrenner 1979:24). The ecological perspective therefore informs the present research in that the quality of the physical environment is not assessed objectively - a "checklist" approach where the environment is given a score based on factors such as the presence of laboratories, sports-fields, tuck-shops, or any researcher observed quality of the facilities is not employed. Rather, the quality of the environment is determined by the subjective experiences and opinions of the persons in the setting, measured as their *satisfaction*. In this way, a school which may have a non-social

environment which appears objectively superior to another school may in fact not be perceived as such by the students in the school. The influence of the non-social aspects of the environment on the independent variable (sense-of-belonging) is therefore viewed as a function of the different meanings, or degrees of importance, placed upon them by the actual actors in the setting rather than any preconceived meaning attributed by the researcher. For example, it may be the case that the school's aesthetics have more influence on attachment for students attending schools in upper-class neighborhoods than for those in rural schools due to differences in the emphasis on fashions and trends among the respective peer groups. In this case, the rural students may report a high degree of satisfaction with structural aspects of the school climate (because standards are lower) but a weak overall sense-of-belonging because structural aspects are not as important determinants of their view of the school as are the social-relation aspects.

The approach to school climate and sense-of-belonging employed in the current study is therefore in keeping with the phenomenology of Brofenbrenner. The manner in which these variables are assessed is additionally a reflection of what the author considers the most "unorthodox" feature of the theory. The ecological approach seeks to place emphasis not on the "traditional psychological processes of perception, motivation, thinking and learning, but on the *content – what* is perceived, desired, feared, thought about, or acquired as knowledge and how the nature of this psychological material changes as a function of a person's exposure to and interaction with the environment" (Brofenbrenner, 1979:9). Section one of the analysis chapter attempts to show *which perceptions about which aspects* of the social and structural environments of schools are dominant in determining learners' satisfaction and sense-of-belonging levels. It hopes to show, for example, whether perceptions of teachers are important and, if so, what qualities need to be perceived to foster beneficial learner experiences.

A key feature of the ecological theory for analytical purposes is the contention that changes in the environment produce behavioural changes. Brofenbrenner states that each "society or subculture" seems to develop a unique "blueprint for the organization of every setting" (*ibid:*4) and further, that macrosystems often represent "generalised patterns of ideology and institutional structure characteristic of a particular culture" (*ibid:*9; emphasis in original). This mirrors the argument from chapter two that what we consider a "good" school setting is the result of the historical experiences of schooling in a particular society. The theory argues, however, that "the blueprint can be changed, with the result that the structure of the settings

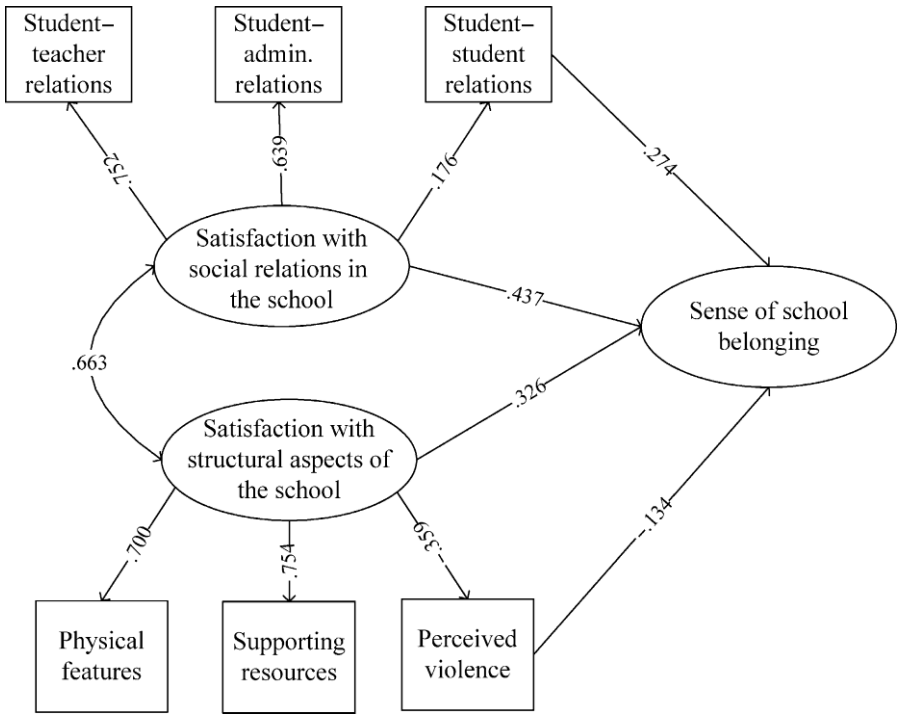
in a society can become markedly altered and produce corresponding changes in behaviour" (*ibid*). This contention contributes to the present study in two ways. First, it strengthens the motivation in that it supports the notion that changes to school ecosystems will translate into changes in learner behaviour and outcomes. Second, and more poignant, the position implies that "cultures and subcultures" define their "blueprints' differently; that is, groups with distinguishably different *demographic* characteristics will desire different settings as a result of their differing ideologies. By extension, settings in which many subcultures live side-by-side are unlikely to fulfil the desires of all the groups therein since the background and identity of members will affect their satisfaction levels. The implication of this is that greater diversity in membership composition will decrease the average satisfaction with the setting and that minority groups – those from cultures with a different blueprint – will be less likely to be satisfied. The theory therefore suggests that satisfaction with school climate aspects and overall levels of learner sense-of-belonging will be affected by heterogeneity, that homogeneity promotes satisfaction and sense-of-belonging in that it provides a common blueprint against which learners measure the quality of their school ecosystem. To understand precisely why different subcultures report different experiences of the same school environment it is therefore necessary to explore separately their perceptions of each aspect of the school climate. This will show if different aspects affect different subcultures in dissimilar ways. Following from that, the analysis might identify which aspects are commonly important and thus most crucial for reformation of school environments generally.

3.3 Structural Models

Brofenbrenner's ecological theory provides the framework for the structural model generated to study the effects of school climate factors on learners' levels of social and structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. The literature review revealed that a model appropriate to the theory was established by Zenyep Cemalcilar for his analysis of school sense-of-belonging in grade 7 and 8 learners from 13 schools in Istanbul, Turkey. The model is presented in Figure 3.1. Cemalcilar's model classifies school climate factors into two categories: "satisfaction with social relations" and "satisfaction with structural aspects", which the author found accounted for 71% of variance in students' sense-of-belonging. The strength of many of the correlation coefficients and amount of variance explained prompted the decision to replicate the study in the current context. With the permission of the author, the questionnaire was replicated (with slight alterations for contextual differences) and the structural model added to in order to address the additional variables of demographic

characteristics, minority group status and diversity. The data analysis (chapter 5) is constructed so as to first assess the structural model independently, then to re-examine the results with the three additional factors as antecedent variables. The resulting models are displayed in Figures 3.2 - 3.4.

Figure 3.1
Cemalcilar's structural model



Standardised path values of the significant direct relationships
(All values significant at p <.001)

Figure 3.2
Model 1: Demographic Characteristic Effect

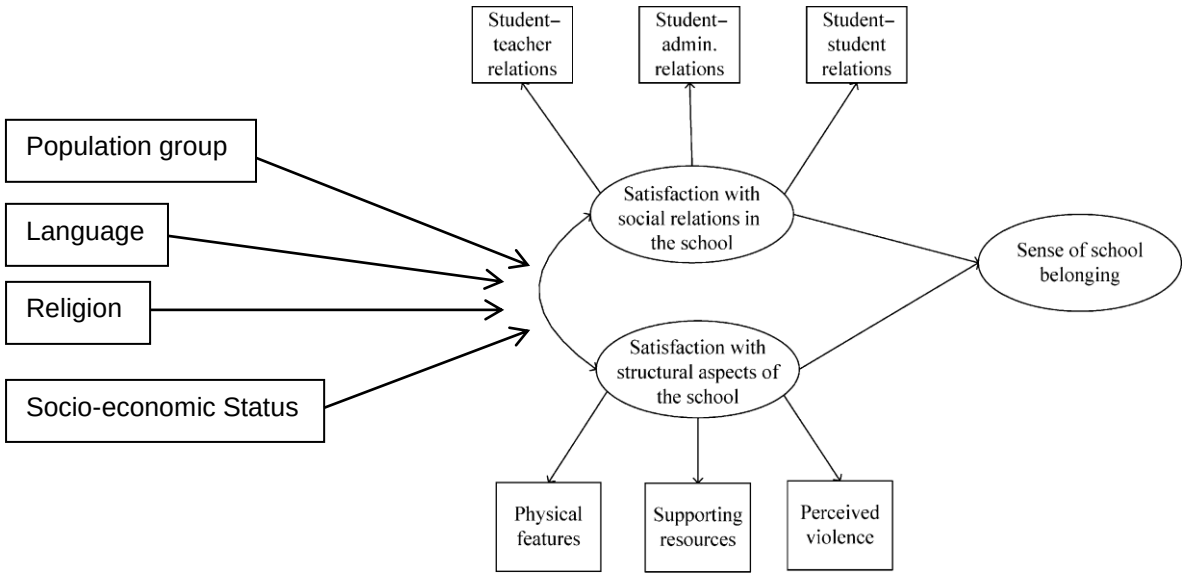


Figure 3.3
Model 2: Minority Group Status Effect

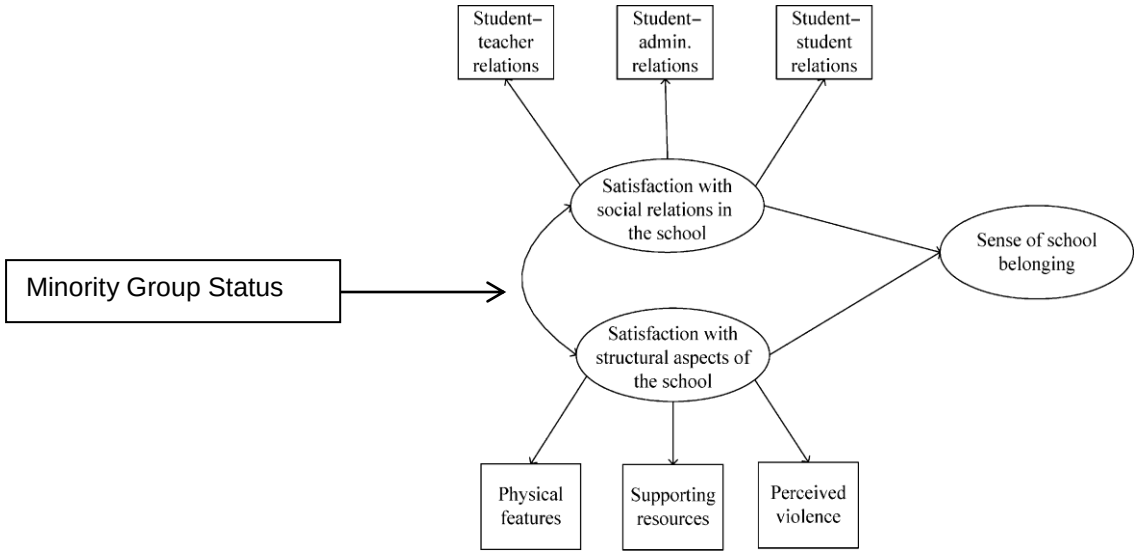
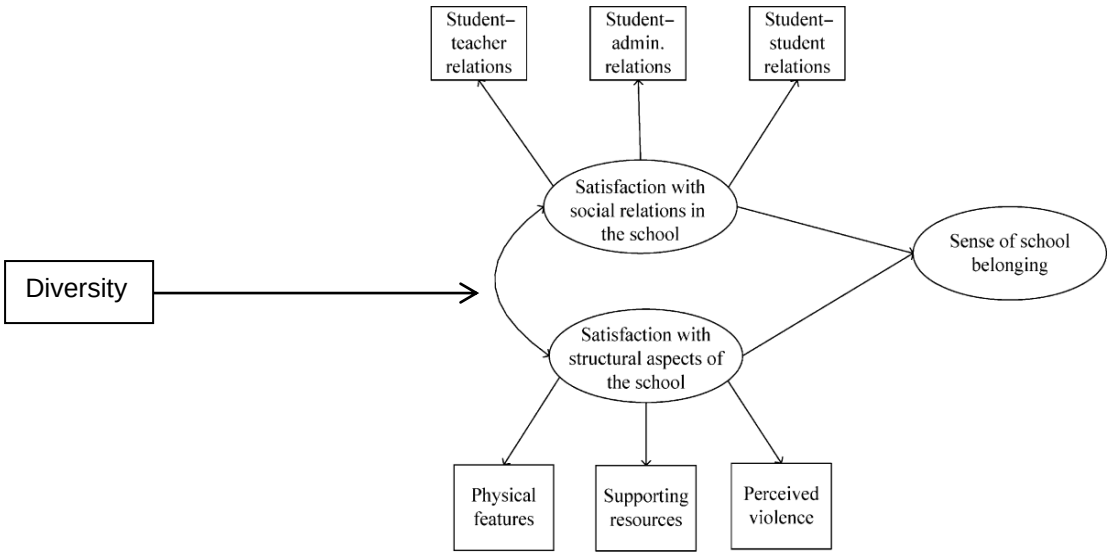


Figure 3.4
Model 3: Diversity Effects



3.4 Problems of Human Classification

The ecological theory acknowledges that the notion of "subcultures" implies the need for taxonomy: what characteristics of persons determine the subculture to which they belong? (Brofenbrenner, 1979:9). Sociology is packed with "labels". This is necessary for comparative purposes, which is how many social "facts" are generated. However, there can be no certainty that the individual characteristics assessed in order to make these

classifications are always valid. That is, do the defined subcultures imagined truly possess meaningful qualities which help to explain differences in the mental states of the members? For example, masses of classical social studies have focused on describing and explaining differences between groups based on the "natural" classification of race, defined by skin colour, heritage or self-ascription. But within the last few decades the concept of race has been challenged. It is becoming increasingly recognised that race is socially constructed and therefore not a scientifically useful classification. The recent trend is toward examining "ethnicity" which is a more complex concept encompassing a variety of characteristics, sometimes including the construct of race. While this shifting paradigm is laudable, the rapidly increasing interconnectivity of the globalizing world is undoubtedly complicating matters by providing individuals with exposure to a host of new characteristics to adopt and subcultures to identify with. This is evident in the youth of the modern South Africa, who are creating subcultures less dependent on "traditional" classification characteristics. Simple observation on school and university campuses shows that ethnic boundaries are being eroded by young people's choices to associate with others based on commonalities such as music, sport, politics and civic movements. This is not to say that the traditional classification systems are meaningless; that would be tantamount to dismissing over two centuries of research into social stratification. In non-egalitarian societies – and no truly egalitarian societies exist - the life-chances of a person is surely affected by his or her levels or similarity to the dominant group/s in that society. It is as certain, however, that constant reprisal of the strength of the influence of these traditional groupings is needed.

Two further points regarding taxonomy of persons are worth making. First, as mentioned, the increasing complexity of the modern world demands that social scientists constantly seek to redefine individual classification characteristics into more subtle and clear categories which show meaningful influences. As the planet's populations continue to meld, accommodate and assimilate it becomes more necessary for those who claim to know facts about the resulting societies are conceiving the divisions in the society as they really are, not simply as they have "always been". The second problem with classification follows from the first. It can be argued that as the definers of the classification systems, social scientists have tremendous power over the way members of the societies conceptualise the stratifications within their society and, therefore, their views of others and their own life-chances or agency. The way we describe societies and the relative importance we ascribe to various personal characteristics can have an impact on the way the world is viewed by its members, which will

undoubtedly affect their evaluation thereof and, consequently, their behaviours. It therefore becomes the duty of social scientists to ensure that no illusions of social division are created and that the traditional systems of classification are interrogated. The question thus becomes: upon what principles can we establish the relative influence of individual characteristics in terms of the way these are used to create subcultures? Put otherwise, are genotypes important and, if not, what motivates people to belong to the groups they do?

3.5 Values, Norms and Belonging

In search for the answer to this question, the position taken for this study is that of the normative functionalism perspective, best described by theories of social control. Social control theory has traditionally been applied to the empirical study of crime in terms of understanding why some people commit deviant acts while others do not. Rising crime levels and increasingly complex institutional (formal) and social (informal) attempts to exert social control in the late-modern era have resulted in a resurgence of interest in the concept and efforts to refine its definition (Innes, 2003). Contemporary definitions imagine social control as being either deviance suppressing or conformity inducing (Hudson in Innes 2003). Cohen (1985:3) defines social control as:

> …those organized responses to crime, delinquency and allied forms of deviant and/or socially problematic behavior which are actually conceived of as such, whether in a reactive sense (after the putative act has taken place or the actor been identified) or in the proactive sense (to prevent the act).

The functionalist normative perspective emphasizes the proactive dimension of social control by examining the mechanisms which induce conformity; it reverses the question to "why don't we all commit deviant acts?" The normative standpoint argues that order cannot be achieved purely through reward and sanction (punishment) but that group *solidarity* is required. The normative perspective has its roots in the works of Toennies and Durkheim on the concept of solidarity. Writing around the turn of the 20th century, Toennies described the apparent shift from *gemeinschaft* solidarities to *gesellschaft* solidarities. Hechter (1987:21) describes the distinction between the types of solidarity:

> "Whereas the actor's motivation to establish a *gesellschaft* tie is based on a rational calculation of benefits and costs, the motivation to establish a *gemeinschaft* tie is nonrational – it is based on affective, emotional, or traditional considerations. The

actor's commitment in a *gesellschaft* relation is to narrow self-interest, but in a *gemeinschaft* it is to the welfare of all parties in the relationship."

Durkheim defines solidarity as "the totality of bonds that bind us to one another and to society, which shape the mass of individuals into a cohesive aggregate" (in Crow, 2002:18). For Durkheim, *bonds of emotional attachment* to the group are a necessary condition for the internalization of norms required for social solidarity and the resulting conformity. In *Suicide* he writes, "The more weakened the groups to which [the individual] belongs, the less he depends on them, the more he consequently depends only on himself and recognizes no other rules of conduct than what are founded on his private interests" (1951:209). The solidarity required for successful communal living therefore requires that members share particular beliefs and values and that these are translated into clearly defined and commonly accepted norms which members have internalized. Traced to the root cause then, solidarity and conformity are ultimately a function of the "bonds of emotional attachment" which promote the adoption of shared moral frameworks.

Expanding on this in his bonding theory of social control developed in *Causes of Delinquency* (1969), Travis Hirschi identifies four elements of the bond required to establish conformity: 1) attachment – the internalization of norms; 2) commitment – adherence to the rules for fear of punishment; 3) involvement – participation in conventional activities and; 4) belief – adoption of a common value system (*ibid:*18-23). Hirschi, who conducted his research among high school students, found that those without an emotional attachment to the school were likely to deny the legitimacy of authority (*ibid:*122); he states simply, "The boy who likes school is less likely to be delinquent" (*ibid:*115). Authority is considered illegitimate when the person assessing it believes that the prescribed values and norms are unacceptable – that they do not serve the interests of the assessor. The normative perspective of social control theory therefore implies that a school environment which fosters the emotional attachment of learners will display positive interpersonal relationships where actors like, trust and respect one another. A school with satisfactory social relations promotes conformity. Furthermore, learners who are satisfied that the social milieu of the school protects their interests and that the discipline systems designed to sustain these relations are fair will accept the legitimacy of authority and show a reciprocal commitment to maintain the status quo. The learners' *belief* that those in authority over them share a commitment to the values and norms is essential as this is the basis for *respect*, and, as the author succinctly states, "Respect is the source of law" (*ibid:*30). Finally, Hirschi's theory suggests that schools

with sufficient opportunities for involvement (implying a need for infrastructure and resources) will result in greater internalization of norms, which in turn generates an increased sense-of-belonging among students and the associated positive social, behavioral, psychological and academic outcomes.

The bonding theory of social control describes the mechanism which ensures conformity: fear. This fear, however, takes two forms. First, it is argued that the "conscience" is located within social bonds; that is, an individual's moral framework is governed by the expectation of those the person feels attachments toward (Hirschi, 1969:18). The desire to maintain these bonds – which Maslow describes as essential – creates within individuals the "moral restraint" required for conformity to a set of rules which may prevent the fulfilment of a particular, impermanent desire. As such, the first form fear takes is the *fear of group rejection*. This position is shared by Lewin in his "group dynamic" theory of attitudinal and behavioural change. From experimental evidence, Lewin argues that the need for individuals to experience belonging is so strong that it is able to cause them to adopt the normative opinions of the social group in which they are located even if these are in opposition to previously held beliefs or external objective measures (in Zimbardo *et al*, 1977:63-65). The need to be considered "alike" by other group members generates a "pressure to conform" and, thus, re-orientates the individual's moral framework.

The second form of fear is *fear of sanction*. It was Hobbes who first posited in *Leviathan* that fear is "the only thing" that makes individuals respect the law (in Hirschi, 1969:4). Individuals can only be expected to maintain a respect for the law, therefore, where sanctions against deviance are consistently applied; it is not enough that agreeable normalized behaviours are stated, they must also be enforced. Promoting solidarity requires that individuals receive feedback regarding the appropriateness of their behaviour. The need for feedback is expressed clearly in the social learning theory of behavioural change. The theory states that "human behavior leads to consequences that *feed back* on behaviour, either maintaining or changing the probability of similar behaviour in the future" (Zimbardo *et al*, 1977:80; emphasis in original). Together then, the two ever-present forms of fear - fear of group rejection and fear of sanction – produce the attachment and commitment required for sustaining common values and norms upon which solidarity rests.

Criticism of normative explanations of group solidarity raised within the field of rational choice theory is worth commenting on as it adds to the conceptualization of the nature of

sense-of-belonging. Rational choice theory generally regards human behaviour as resulting from individuals deciding, following a "rational" thought process, that the consequences of the behaviour will be beneficial in a personal sense. It thus considers collective behaviour – compliance to common rules - to occur when individuals believe that membership will provide reimbursements in the form of "public goods" or "selective benefits". Public goods are benefits available to all members despite their levels of participation or adherence, such as the ability of a citizen to vote despite political participation, whereas selective benefits are available only to those who "pay their dues" such as legal representation by a trade union when annual fees are committed (Wallace and Wolf, 2006:351). Michael Hechter describes the nature of societies resulting from rational choice:

> …actors initially form groups… in order to consume various *excludable jointly produced* goods… The survival of any group therefore hinges on the continuous production of such goods. But this is a highly problematic outcome. It requires the establishment of several different kinds of rules – rules about how to make rules, rules that serve to coordinate members' productive activities, and rules that govern each member's access to those goods once they have been attained.
>
> (1987:10; emphasis in original)

Hechter's argument against normative explanations of social control follows from this. It contends that norm internalisation does not sufficiently explain conformity since conformity depends upon the members' belief that to conform provides access to *goods* of some kind; conformity results from compensation. Humans submit to norms not due to an innate desire to belong, but rather due to their "dependence" on the goods produced and the consequence of institutionalisation of norms – the ability for authorities to exert "control" over behaviours economically (Wallace and Wolf, 2006:353-4). Social control is not, rational choice theory proposes, the result of mere *internalised* norms; rather, it the result of individuals deciding that conformity to the norms is desirable because this act *provides access to goods*.

This argument begins to break down, however, when the *internalization of norms itself is viewed as the product*, or "good", which the members seek to gain through their group membership. For rational choice theorists the act of conformity is seen as a cost which must be paid for some other form of benefit. If however, as the preceding theories of social control suggest, conformity is itself considered a desirable product due to the psych-social needs it

fulfils, then there is no need to extend the causal pathway in search of the benefits members are said to be seeking. Indeed, Hechter appears to contradict himself in his analysis of "intentional" communities, such as communes, when he describes them as, "groups whose members seek to provide joint goods – like a sense of community, friend-ship, love, and the feeling of community" (1987:148). This statement implies that such benefits can be achieved in other contexts *without* conformity, without the members committing to a common set of values and norms. With the understanding that trust and respect must exist in order for bonds of "love", "friendship" and "community" to be generated, it is difficult to imagine that any such relationships can occur until members are satisfied that the other group members are equally committed to the established values and norms. Hechter's objection to norm-internalization theories of social control becomes less clear still in light of his definition of solidarity: "compliance in the absence of compensation" (*ibid*:11). By describing "a sense of community" as one of the *outcomes* of membership in "intentional communities", Hechter appears to be admitting that "solidarity" itself is product, a benefit (unless his definitions of "sense of community" and "solidarity" are unrelated, which does not appear to be the case). Presented thus, Hechter's argument could be said to be supporting the normative view in that it suggests that normative agreement and conformity do not merely facilitate the production of goods, but that they themselves are goods. In this case, it seems more likely that individuals would actively seek "oppressive" systems of normative social control since they fulfil psych-social needs and produce the environments in which the reliable production of other "goods" occur.

Rational choice theory's critique of normative functionalist perceptions of social control seems to lose traction in its conceptualization of "benefits" or "goods". It fails to recognise that a social environment in which members have internalised norms *is* a benefit. Further, it is a benefit which satisfies some of the most fundamental human needs – provision of basic necessities, safety and attachment (or "love"). Thus, any rational choice regarding how to gain access to additional, less urgent benefits, such as, for example, trustworthy borrowing and lending, would be weighed against the way such choices might affect access to the fundamental benefit of being connected to the community through shared, internalised values and norms. In short, the personal, psycho-social benefits stemming from the *genuine* internalisation of a value/norm set outweighs benefits in the form of physical or social capital produced by the group. The internalisation of norms is itself the benefit of a fundamental rational choice, and more "useful" to individuals than conformity to norms without

internalisation – without shared belief – simply to gain access to another, less essential benefit. Norm internalization, therefore, is a more powerful motivator of group membership and, consequently, the appropriate theoretical construct for understanding why individuals choose to conform.

The final criticism of the functionalist (or "structuralist") approach cited by rational choice theorists is that, if social control is maintained by internalised norms, how can we account for change? The answer to this is far less complicated than that for the previous objections. This may seem an overconfident statement since the problem of explaining change is the primary objection raised against all functionalist perspectives. This is justifiable given the central premise of the theories – human action directed toward creating and maintaining the features of the social and physical environments are driven primarily by the desire for them to perform some function which is considered essential or beneficial to the individuals which comprise the group. The argument made is that such features would (or at least should) eventually be "perfected" and thus eliminate the need for change. But since we know that change is continuous, this cannot be the case. The objection reflects a basic misunderstanding of the functionalist perspective. The true position is that existing social features represent *the best efforts* of the individuals designing the features to create structures which function to satisfy the group needs *at a given moment, in a given place*.

Since humans are fallible, even features which represent the "ideal" solution (in the Weberian sense) begin to become dysfunctional the moment they are implemented or built. It is self-evident that humans, despite our immense cognitive abilities relative to other animals, often misjudge what our needs are, let alone the best mechanisms for meeting these needs. So, with this understanding, the functionalist perspective serves to try deciphering human thought and behaviour through analysing the way we have *attempted* to create functional features or systems.

Further, at the moment a society makes such an attempt to create a functional environment, the environmental conditions and the connections with other societies have particular qualities; the conceptualization and design process occurs within a specific *context*. The context plays an important role in determining the needs of the society; thus, as the physical environment changes (such as is the current case with the global climate) the needs of the individuals change and the features created become dysfunctional. Indeed, the broader social environment itself affects what we perceive our local social needs to be – as evidenced by the

impact of increased telecommunication interconnectivity on "traditional" societies across the globe. These *environmental and external influences* on societies explain, for the most part, transformation of perceived needs and, correspondingly, the continually transforming values and norms which the objection claims ought not change once internalised. Like the consciously created features built to satisfy needs, norms too become dysfunctional if they no longer serve to fulfil needs. So while the functionalist perspective can justifiably be accused of analysing the social world as though it were static, the decision to do so is based on the premise that the factors which necessitate change – human error and dynamic contexts – are so multifarious and continuous that knowledge regarding human cognition and behaviour is only attainable through comparative analysis of our "best efforts" over time in relation to the forces of change which dominate the same periods.

3.6 Summary

Combined, the normative functionalist perspective of social control theory and the ecological theory of human development provide a powerful framework for understanding the relationships between learner sense-of-belonging and school climate factors. The theories are ontologically compatible in that both follow the "Thomas theorem" – they identify subjective experience as the determinant of "reality". The ecological model provides the framework for conceptualizing the context in which individual experience occurs by recognising that while an individual's behaviour happens within a distinct setting constituted by both social and structural features, this setting is impacted upon by other settings in which the individual actively engages, resulting in mesosystems, and wider settings in which the individual plays no active role – exosystems. True understanding of behaviour is only possible by considering the effects of settings on one another and the individual directly. The study addresses this by attempting to explain differences or similarities between schools, and between subcultures within schools, in relation to features of meso- and exosystems. Additionally, the ecological approach demands that investigation of cognition and behaviour must seek to describe more than mere psychological processes but rather the *content* which is being processed. The study attempts to fulfil this mandate by establishing which school climate aspects show the greatest effect on satisfaction levels and, further, the properties of these aspects which have the most bearing on students' evaluations of their experiences. The application of normative perspectives of social control theory is an attempt to take the description of *content* one step further by describing the dominant climate aspect properties in terms of their relation to conditions identified in the theory as requirements for group solidarity. Essentially, efforts are

made to establish the *motivation* for the assessments made by the learners based on the notion that attachments are desirable since they fulfil basic human needs. These attachments and the necessary conformity they produce generate the values used by learners to select and evaluate the content they process and, thus, determine the learners' experiences within the school microsystem. Uniting the two theoretical postions thus provides a framework for understanding behaviour in complex contexts based on the ideological features of the multiple layers comprising the "macrosystem" of individuals.

Chapter 4
Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Initially, given the strong influence of subjectivity on students' perceptions of satisfaction with various aspects of the school, and the methodologies preferred by Brofenbrenner, a qualitative design was deemed appropriate for this study. As mentioned in chapter 2, Cemalcilar (2010) devised and tested a structural model for various school climate factors and learner sense-of-belonging relationships which indicated moderate to strong correlations, accounting for 71% of the total variance. Given the success of this model, there was a temptation to assume that the relationships described by Cemalcilar would persist in the South African context and, therefore, that the next logical step would be to examine in greater detail the *content* of the relationships, or the ways the students themselves would describe and explain them. The temptation was to adopt an anthropological approach and seek "deep knowledge" through immersion, extended interviews and/or focus groups. However, upon reflection in light of related literature it was determined that a qualitative approach would be inappropriate for two reasons.

First, it would be disingenuous to assume the relationships which Cemalcilar describes for Turkish schools would be replicated in the South African context as this would be claiming obvious similarities between the cultures and contexts, which would not reflect reality. It was decided that a more appropriate application of Cemalcilar's model would be to test whether it holds in a different ecosystem. Second, few related studies were found to use a qualitative approach. This trend implies that research into the field of student experience remains in an identification-of-relationships stage, or that the quantitative results have not yet provided irrefutable evidence of strong relationships which would serve to narrow the focus of a qualitative project. This reflects a view in social science that quantitative analysis forms the foundation for qualitative research by establishing broad statistical trends by exploring the context and providing "shallow knowledge", and suggestions of causation out of which concentrated qualitative studies can be designed to provide deep knowledge and "confirm" causation. Thus it was resolved that an exploratory approach using a quantitative design would be followed in order to test Cemalcilar's model, with the addition of student demographic characteristics as independent variables to specifically address the issues of context and diversity.

4.2 Design

The research objective of the current study is to determine the existence of relationships between: a) diversity in school composition and student perception of school climate aspects, b) minority group status and perception of school climate aspects and, c) student perceptions of school climate aspects and student sense-of-belonging. Additionally, the strengths of emerging correlations must be measured in order to reach conclusions regarding the relative effects of variables. Valid results for such research can only be achieved through statistical analysis of a large quantity of primary data. Accordingly, data was collected from high school students by means of survey (questionnaire in Appendix 4).

4.3 Participants

Data was collected from 274 grade ten students in 3 government (public), co-ed high schools in the Pietermaritzburg area (Msunduzi circuit) between April and August of 2011. Permission to administer the questionnaires was given by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and the three participating schools.

Selecting the appropriate sampling strategy for the identification of schools posed a number of challenges. Since the dependent variable - diversity - is comprised of four mutually exclusive characteristics for which variation must be ensured to achieve validity, simple random sampling would not have been appropriate. Rather, six schools were purposively selected after consultation with Professor Wedekind, Deputy Dean of Continuing Education in the Faculty of Education at UKZN PMB, who has extensive knowledge of the local schools in terms of their histories and compositions. The intention was to select six schools which could approximately represent a cross-section of the Pietermaritzburg area in terms of socio-economic conditions and traditional composition so as to enable analysis of both the across-school and within-school effects of diversity. Unfortunately, three of the schools identified elected not to participate in the study. One school, located close to the university, gave the reason that it had already participated in a number of research projects in the year and did not want any further disruptions. The second school, located in a rural area, was simply not comfortable with the study itself. The non-participation of the third school was a result of instability in the school. The school had agreed to participate but experienced some form of conflict shortly prior to administration of the survey and felt that some of the questionnaire items might "incite violence". Full details of the cause/s of the instability were not communicated but this experience served to reinforce the motivation for this study; the

climate within this particular school is obviously unhealthy. While the non-participation of these three schools somewhat undermines the scope of the study, the total number of cases (n=274) for which data was successfully collected ought to ensure validity of the findings.

4.3.1 Schools

One former Model-C suburban school was included. This school (School A) has undergone diversification of the staff and student bodies in recent years. Additionally, the school was previously dual-medium (English/Afrikaans) and contained a technical stream; it is now English medium and academic stream only. The school is situated in a beautiful natural environment on a hill above an upper-middle class neighbourhood. It boasts magnificent architecture and the full gamut of curricular and extra-curricular resources, such as laboratories and sports fields. School A is approximately six minutes' drive from central Pietermaritzburg and is easily accessible as it lies just off a well maintained main road.

School B is also a suburban school although it is located in a less affluent, working to lower-middle class area. It has traditionally been identified as an "Indian" school and while some diversification of staff and students has occurred, it is fair to say that "transformation" has been slower when compared to School A. The front of School B marks the end of the commercial section of a main road leading out of the city center, from which it is approximately seven minutes by car. It is flanked by a Madrassa on one side and single-story homes on the other and to the rear. The school consists of a two-story, brick administration and classroom block with additional "prefab" blocks of classrooms. It has functional laboratories, a library and sport and recreation facilities.

School C is located at the far edge of Edendale which is a sprawling township north-east of Pietermaritzburg currently undergoing slow but steady infrastructural development. Like most township schools there has been little demographic change in learner composition since the end of Apartheid. It lies on a fairly main but poorly maintained road at the edge of a "suburb" of Edendale, approximately fifteen minutes by car to the center of the city. To one side lies a primary school; the other three sides are flanked by undeveloped land. School C consists of a brick, two-story, U-shaped building which houses all the classrooms and administration areas. The facilities are in need of repair and refurbishment. There is no library, a very basic science laboratory and a single dusty sports field.

4.3.2 Respondents

All grade 10 learners from each school who have attended the school since grade 8 were eligible to participate in the survey. Only grade 10 learners who have been at the school since grade 8 were selected as the sample population due to their lengthier exposure to the school environment. Grade 11 and 12 learners were not selected for two reasons. First, the researcher did not want to disturb learners in the crucial final stages of schooling. Second, it is recognised that by this advanced stage it is likely that some students will have dropped-out. Since the theoretical position suggests that a high proportion of these drop-out students would have experienced low levels of sense-of-belonging to the school, their absence from the sample would bias the results. The selection of grade 10 learners was therefore the result of a compromise between sufficient time spent in the school for a sense-of-belonging to develop and the probability of drop-out rates affecting the study.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

As the participants were all minors, consent forms were issued to the students at least one week ahead of the scheduled administration of the survey. Only learners who returned the consent forms complete with guardian signatures were presented with questionnaires. The survey was administered with the aid of school administrative staff (secretaries and vice-principals) and grade 10 form ("homeroom") teachers during scheduled non-academic periods (administrative "homeroom" or "reading" periods) so as not to intrude upon teaching contact time. The questionnaire was anonymous to prevent the use of opinions expressed against the participants by peers or staff. Additionally, the names of the schools have been omitted as a matter of confidentiality so as to avoid any embarrassment to the schools as a result of the findings.

4.5 Procedures, Variables and Measures

4.5.1 Sense-of-Belonging

The survey administered to the students was a slightly modified version of the instrument used by Cemalcilar, 2010 (permission granted). In creating his survey Cemalcilar noted that "none of the existing scales assessed satisfaction with both relational and structural aspects of the school climate... Accordingly, a new scale was constructed based on existing scales of school climate (e.g. Brand et al., 2003; Goodenow, 1993a; Kuperminc et al., 1997; Voelkl, 1996)". Following a pilot study, Cemalcilar's scale was reduced to 46 items which "provided

enough strength to measure schools' social relational and contextual aspects and were used in the actual study testing the structural equation model" (2010:253). Minor modifications were made to some items either to simplify language or make it applicable to the South African context (e.g. a question about the frequency of "beatings" was changed to "punishments" since corporal punishment is not permitted in SA schools).

Three items assessed the level of sense-of-belonging to the school. In order to eliminate the overlapping constructs of "satisfaction with [personal] relationships in schools" present in existing scales (e.g. "people at this school are friendly to me", in Goodenow's PSSM scale, 1993a) a school sense-of-belonging scale was generated with items that assessed only students' affect and attachment *to their schools*. Sample items are: *I feel that I belong to this school, I am glad to be a student in this school,* and *I feel like an outsider in this school*.

4.5.2 Satisfaction

In section 2 of the questionnaire, participants were asked rate the items on the school social/structural climate scale on a 5-point Likert scale, from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

To assess 'social satisfaction' the perceived satisfaction with teacher-learner relationships were assessed using 10 items, 6 items measured administrator-learner relationships, and 5 items addressed peer-peer relationships. For all three scaled items participants were expected to evaluate the general atmosphere in the school rather than their personal, one-to-one interactions. Higher scale scores indicated higher levels of satisfaction.

'Structural satisfaction' was assessed with three scales. Perceived quality of the physical environment of the classroom and the school in general was assessed with five items, and perceived quality of the resources supporting curricular and extra-curricular activities, such as the quality of computer and science labs or the availability of extracurricular activities, was assessed with eight items. Higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived quality. Six items were used to denote students' perceptions of the safety of the school. The questions did not inquire about personal exposure to bullying, but rather learners' observations of "deviant" behaviours in the school environment. A high score on this scale indicated perceptions of safety.

4.5.3 Diversity

The discussion of diversity issues and identity theory in chapter 2 concluded with the acknowledgement that the modern world provides individuals with such a vast array of reference points that any conceptualization of *subjective* dimensions of diversity in a study with limited scope such as this would be insufficient to give justice to the true complexities. As such, it was necessary to concede to the traditional, *objective* dimensions of diversity which have formed the traditional conceptualization in studies of the school environment according to DuCette, Shapiro and Sewell (1995:2). Diversity in composition was therefore conceptualized in terms of the demographic characteristics of population group, socio-economic status, religion, and language.

Population group, language and religion posed no operationalisation problems. Socio-economic status (SES) is however notoriously difficult to operationalise. An extensive review of previous research uncovered no existing measure of SES suited to the proposed study; existing measures are either not applicable to the South African context, not applicable to adolescent respondents, outdated, or comprised of too many indicators. As such, a simple, 3 question measure of SES was developed for the specific requirements of this study:

1) Compared to your classmates, would you say you are:	Very poor	Poor	Average	Rich	Very rich	
2) When was the last time you received a new cell phone?	Never	In the last 6 months	In the last year	More than a year ago		
3) What is the highest level of education attained by either of your parents/guardians?	Post-graduate tertiary degree	Undergraduate tertiary degree	Matric certificate	Some high school	Primary school	None

Question one is designed to gauge *perceived* economic status as a subjective experience. Question two indicates both economic status (ability of family/student to purchase phone) and social status of student in school (cell phones are a new, highly visible status symbols among adolescents). Question three is a measure of family socio-economic status used extensively in SES measurement tools.

A number of control questions were included in the background information section of the questionnaire based on possible influences on attachment identified in the literature:

1) Age – may influence uncommonly young or old students.
2) Gender – may show differences in the school climate aspects which have greatest influence on satisfaction levels.
3) Academic performance – may have influence in schools where academic performance is disproportionately valued.
4) Participation in extra-murals – representing the school in an activity and having talents/interests catered for may influence attachment.
5) Prior attendance of family members – "legacy" students may feel greater attachment.
6) Leadership positions – students with added responsibility may feel greater attachment.
7) Friends in school – having a majority of friends from other schools may affect attachment.

The effects of some of these variables are explored in chapter 5.

4.6 Limitations

4.6.1 Age

The decision to select respondents from Grade 10 only limited the variation in age of the respondents. While the full range was between 14 and 19 years, very few respondents fell outside the range of 15-16 years. This prevented a meaningful analysis of the effects of age on satisfaction or sense-of-belonging, although brief mention is made in chapter 5 regarding certain outliers.

4.6.2 Gender

Although the methodology did provide for an analysis of differing effects for males and females, the scope of the study prevented the inclusion thereof. Having considered the historical context of South Africa, it was decided to limit the analysis to the above four

dimension of diversity. This is regrettable given the growing body of research related to gender in the school environment and an expanding recognition of the vital part women play in both academic and social development.

4.6.3 Academic climate aspects

The decision to test the model presented by Cemalcilar resulted in the exclusion of academic aspects of the school climate.

4.6.4 Open-ended questions

As mentioned in 4.3, the initial research design intended the inclusion of six schools and an anticipated number of respondents over five hundred. In consultation with the research supervisor it was thus determined that the inclusion of open-ended questions would stretch the analysis beyond manageable levels. Open-ended questions would have certainly provided a rich source of data and enabled deeper understanding of the learners' sentiments. This collection approach is recommended for further studies of similar design.

4.6.5 Respondents

The ethical restraint regarding the need for guardian consent may have biased the results. Experience with high-school learners shows that certain kinds of learners are unlikely to fulfil the requirements for participation in the study. That is, learners who might be classed as "irresponsible" or "uncooperative" are less likely to have the consent form signed and returned and thus would not be eligible to participate. The participating schools were unwilling to make the return of the consent form compulsory and the researcher was unable to provide any incentives.

4.6.6 Within-school versus Across-school Diversity

South Africa is undoubtedly a racially and ethnically diverse society; we have citizens of African, European, Asian and mixed decent. Our African citizens stem from dozens of ethnic groups and scores of clans. South Africa has 12 official languages and dozens more are spoken. Culturally, we are a rich nation. However, South Africa's human diversity is not always represented in its social institutions, schools included. The demographic profiles of our schools seldom reflect the demographic profile of the nation. The reasons for this phenomenon are multiple and a full treatment is beyond the scope of the current study. It must be noted, however, that due to geographic distribution, population ratios, factors of

tradition, the legacy of racial separation and other realities our public schools generally host relatively homogenous student bodies in terms of population group, language, religion and socio-economic status. In short, while our policies allow for and encourage diversity, we still have "White", "Black", "Coloured" and "Indian" schools. Additionally, the option for schools to charge fees through their Governing Bodies has in part maintained socio-economic division of our schools, a situation made worse by the abundance of private schools to which the wealthier sector of the nation prefer to send their children. These realities make it almost impossible to find schools that show true heterogeneity across any, let alone all, of the four diversity characteristics.

The evident tendency for homogeneity does however strengthen the justification for paying close attention to the effects of minority group status. In this context, minority groups of any nature constitute only a very small portion of the total school population, thereby making them theoretically more vulnerable to feelings of "outsider-ness" and increasing the probability that they will feel less satisfied by the various school climate aspects and, consequently, experience lower levels of sense-of-belonging.

The general need for greater diversification of learner populations in South African schools required to attain demographic profiles more representative of the national demographics, which has impeded the within-school analysis of the effects of diversity has, conversely, strengthened the validity of the across-school analysis. The fact that our schools continue to serve relatively homogenous groups implies that schools in different locations and contexts will differ considerably in terms of the predominant races, ethnicities, religions and socio-economic statuses. The statistical descriptions of the three participating schools and the analysis of diversity effects presented in chapter five illustrate this point.

Chapter 5

Results and Discussion

The data analysis was conducted in two stages. Section 5.1 reports and discusses the results for Cemalcilar's structural model of school climate aspects effects on sense-of-belonging. The primary aims are to test the model for the new context and identify the relationships between social and structural climate aspects and sense-of-belonging. The discussion of results includes applications of ecological and normative social control theory.

Section 5.2 explores the relationships between learner demographic characteristics, minority group status and diversity and levels of satisfaction with the various school climate aspects and sense-of-belonging. The first part of this analysis is aimed at determining whether the experience of the school environment is significantly dissimilar for learners from different or minority backgrounds. Diversity effects are addressed in part two.

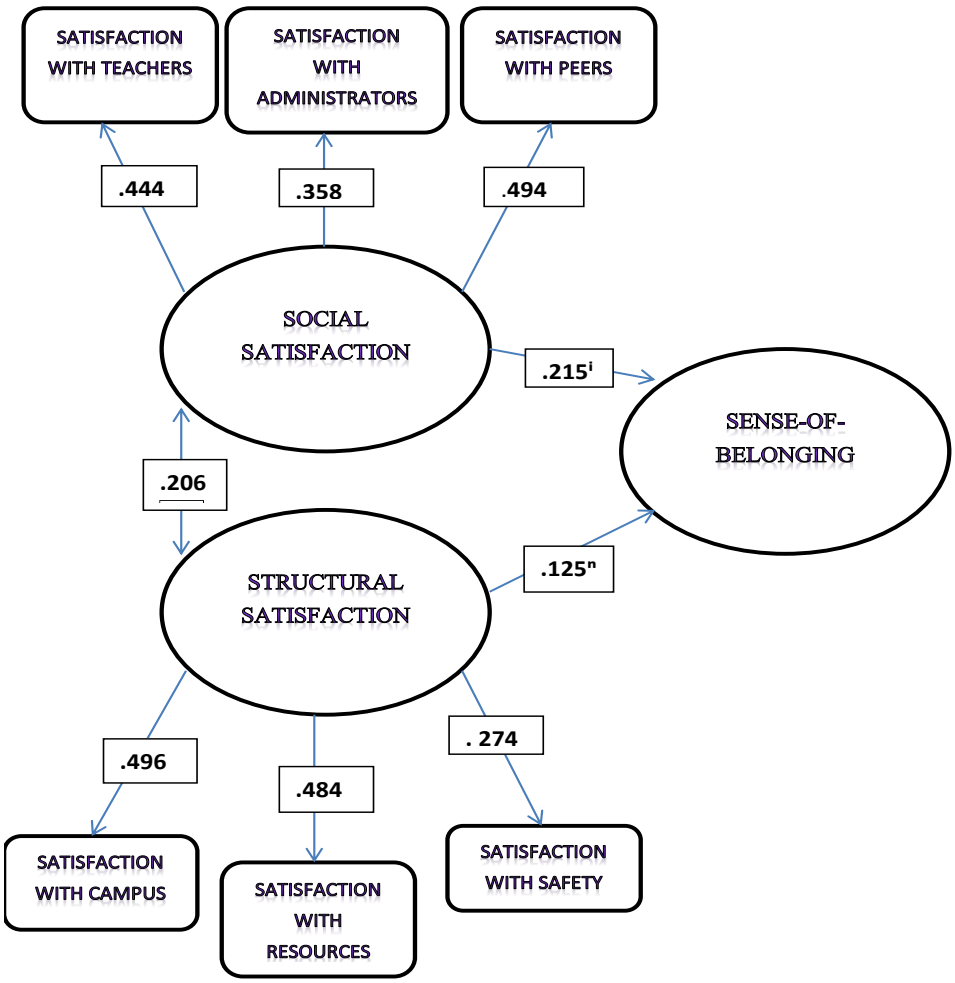
5.1 Structural model

5.1.1 Climate aspects effects on Social and Structural Satisfaction

The model presented by Cemalcilar proposes that the six school climate aspects (relationships with teachers, administrators, peers and perceptions of the campus, resources and safety) should all be significantly related to social and structural satisfaction. The two categories of satisfaction should then be positively related to sense-of-belonging. In order to test these hypotheses, a number of bivariate and multivariate correlation tests were conducted. The resulting regression model with correlation coefficients (standardised beta) is presented in Figure 5.1.

Multiple linear regression analysis was utilised to establish the effects of the school climate factors measured for social and structural satisfactions (reports in Appendix 1, p1). Double dummy coding was used in order to strengthen the tests. No multicollinearity was detected, with tolerance levels all above .831 and variance inflation factors (VIF) below 1.200. All pathways were positive – approval of school climate aspects is associated with increased levels of satisfaction.

Figure 5.1 – Structural Model with correlation coefficients



[ⁿ = no statistical significance; ⁱ = significant at p<.005; all other relationships significant at p<.001]

Table 5.1 shows that the model accounted for 51.4% of the variation in social satisfaction (adjusted R-square). The results show that, relative to one another, the independent variables 'satisfaction with teachers' and 'satisfaction with peers' have a moderate-to-strong correlation with 'social satisfaction', while 'satisfaction with administrators' is moderately related. 'Satisfaction with peers' is shown to be the strongest predictor with a beta coefficient of .494. 'Satisfaction with teachers' and 'satisfaction with administrators' show beta coefficients of .444 and .358 respectively. These results are considerably lower than in the Turkish model where peers, teachers and administrators show coefficients of .176, .752 and .639 respectively. These findings imply that social satisfaction levels for the learners in the current sample is affected more by their satisfaction with their peers than it is by their relationships with the staff of the school, particularly the administrators.

Table 5.1
Social Satisfaction - Regression Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.721[a]	.521	.514	.21931

a. Predictors: (Constant), Satisfaction with Peers, Satisfaction with Administrators, Satisfaction with Teachers

Interpretation of these results suggests some unfortunate realities for the school staff. The findings imply that the learners are more concerned by the actions and opinions of their peers than they are by those of the staff. According to the theory, this further implies that the values and norms which prevail among the learners in the microsystem would be the dominant ones, the ones upon which the learners will base their own ideologies. This would make it more difficult for the staff to establish the social climate of the school; attitudes and behaviours would be based more on the reactions they invoke from peers than the sanctions imposed by the institution. In other words, given that the strongest attachment is to peers, normative control theory suggests that rational conformity – or moral restraint – would be a function of the social climate established by the learners themselves. However, the attachment to teachers is only slightly lower than it is to peers, which suggests that the opinions and reactions of the teaching staff do have an impact on the learners. This would seem to create a contested social environment where learners may be torn between conforming to the rules and pleasing teachers while at the same time attempting to ensure that their peers do not consider them to be completely submitting to the institution. In such an environment one can imagine learners who are constantly walking a social tightrope, negotiating between the desires of their teachers and the expectations of their peers. As such, the ability of the institution to impose values and norms would be very difficult unless efforts to do so start within the moral framework established by the learners. Establishing values and norms would likely be a slow process requiring the establishment of a clear picture of the learners' "conscience" followed by strategies for shifting the emphases therein toward those desired for a healthy school community.

The summary of the regression analysis of the structural aspects of the school climate (Table 5.2) shows that the model accounted for 70.3% of the variation in the sample (adjusted R-square).

Table 5.2

Regression Model Summary – Structural Satisfaction

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.845[a]	.714	.703	.17235

a. Predictors: (Constant), Satisfaction with Safety, Satisfaction with Campus, Satisfaction with Resources

The results show that relative to one another, 'satisfaction with the campus' and 'satisfaction with resources' have moderate-to-strong relationships with the dependant variable (.496 and .484 relatively), while 'satisfaction with safety' has a weak-to-moderate effect (.274). The first two variables demonstrate weaker effects than they did in Cemalcilar's study (.700 and .754 respectively), while 'satisfaction with safety' has a considerably lower effect in the current sample (-.359 for 'perceived violence' in Cemalcilar).

These findings suggest that the three independent variable categories proposed do not account for as much variation in the current context as they do in sample from Istanbul. The strengths of 'campus' and 'resources' do however suggest that the physical structures and material resources in the school are meaningful predictors of the learners' satisfaction with the school environment. These results support Brofenbrenner's ecological theory; the aspects of the school that learners can see, feel and use are indeed important contributors to the overall levels of learner satisfaction in the current context. This further suggests that the efforts being made by the South African authorities to improve school infrastructure and increase the availability of quality teaching materials and support technology is warranted. If the hypothesis that satisfied learners will achieve better results is correct then it is necessary to develop the structural environments of our schools. Further, given the inclusion of items related to extra-mural activities and 'fun', the results also suggest that these components of the school environment ought to receive attention in structural development.

The relative weakness of the relationship between 'satisfaction with safety' and structural satisfaction, compared to the other variables and the results from Turkey, raises some interesting questions. The result may imply that the learners have come to see actions such as 'insulting and threatening staff', 'bunking', 'damaging school property' and 'fighting' as normative; that is, these behaviours are not all that detrimental to the learners' satisfaction with the school. If correct, this interpretation is a disturbing indication of the power yielded

by the dominant peer groups in establishing the acceptable behaviours in the school which, in this case, are certainly counter to those the institution would wish to create. Further evidence of the normalization of 'deviant' behaviour can be gleaned from the responses to the item 'there are students who are gang members' displayed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Frequencies: "There are students who are gang members"

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	10	3.6	3.7	3.7
	Disagree	15	5.5	5.6	9.3
	Not Sure	84	30.7	31.1	40.4
	Agree	88	32.1	32.6	73.0
	Strongly agree	73	26.6	27.0	100.0
	Total	270	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	4	1.5		
Total		274	100.0		

On average, 59.6 percent of the respondents either agree or strongly agree with the statement, with a further 31.1 percent who are not sure. It seems somewhat counter-intuitive that learners would place so little importance on safety, relative to the state of the campus and resources, when assessing their structural satisfaction in an environment obviously marked by high levels of gang activity which, by nature, would assume a high degree of personal threat to the learners. A possible explanation for the lack of importance given to gangs, and indeed for the seeming normalization of deviant behaviours (from the perspective of the institution), might be the nature of the society in which the study has been conducted – the exosystem. It is well known that South Africa has one of the highest crime rates in the world; the legacy of apartheid has left many people struggling to meet their daily basic needs and has enculturated us with a relatively low respect for both personal property and human life. This is the reality for the majority of our population and, consequently, sets the tone for the climates within our schools. It is not surprising then that school aged cohorts are not overly concerned by school environments with high levels of deviant or criminal behaviour. This interpretation is supported by frequency analyses of the items 'there are students who are gang members', 'there are students who damage the school building and furniture, and 'students fight which each other' split by school. In Schools A and B, which are located in suburban areas where

crime rates are lower, the average number of learners who responded either ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ to the three items were 48%, 45%, and 82%. In contrast, learners from School C, which is located in a semi-urban township where crime rates are higher, had much higher rates of agreement with the statements at 77% for ‘gangs’, 74% for ‘damage’ and 97% for ‘fights’. These findings suggest two things. First, it seems that schools located in ‘dangerous’ areas will demonstrate higher levels of deviant behaviours. Second, and less intuitive, it appears that where the levels of deviant behaviours in the environment around the school are high the learners become desensitised to the behaviours and, consequently, do not place much emphasis on their perceptions of safety when assessing their satisfaction with the school itself. This latter suggestion has some serious negative implications for schools which are located in ‘dangerous’ environments. The finding suggests that the values and norms which dominate the learners are explicably linked to those of the immediate community and, therefore, the task of shifting learners’ moral frameworks becomes dependant on the “rehabilitation” of the “conscience” of the wider society. This challenge is too much for schools alone to overcome; it involves changing the basic economic and social realities which create these ‘dangerous’ communities, a challenge which must be addressed by those who meaningfully affect the national exosystem - government and civil society.

5.1.2 Social and Structural Satisfaction as predictors of Sense-of-Belonging

The second stage of the structural model (Figure 1) shows the relationships between social and structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. The results of the bivariate correlation tests (Pearson’s) for each variable are shown in Table 5.4.

These results seem to indicate that both categories of satisfaction with the school environment are moderately correlated with sense-of-belonging; the Pearson’s coefficients are .342 and .303 relatively, significant at the .001 level. Both pathways are positive in that increased satisfaction is associated with greater sense-of-belonging.

However, the results of the bivariate analyses are misleading. A multiple regression analysis (Table 5.5) indicates that the relationship for social satisfaction is only weakly related (beta = .211), while structural satisfaction is not significantly related to sense-of-belonging ($p>.005$). No multicollinearity was detected.

Table 5.4

Bivariate Correlations: Structural and Social Satisfaction with Sense-of-Belonging

		Environmental Satisfaction	Social Satisfaction	Sense of Belonging
Structural Satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	1	.206**	.303**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.002	.000
	N	245	221	242
Social Satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	.206**	1	.342**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002		.000
	N	221	242	237
Sense of Belonging	Pearson Correlation	.303**	.342**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	242	237	268

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.5
Regression Coefficients: Structural and Social Satisfaction on Sense-of-Belonging

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	2.907	.057		50.938	.000		
	Social Satisfaction	.257	.084	.211	3.050	.003	.941	1.063
	Structural Satisfaction	.144	.080	.125	1.803	.073	.941	1.063

a. Dependent Variable: Sense of Belonging

Combined (adjusted R-square), the two satisfaction variables account for only 6.4% of the variation within the sample (Table 5.6) and therefore do not serve as accurate predictors of sense-of-belonging.

Table 5.6
Regression Model Summary: Social and Structural Satisfaction as predictors of Sense-of-Belonging

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.270[a]	.073	.064	.56056

a. Predictors: (Constant), Structural Satisfaction, Social Satisfaction

These results do not support the hypothesis that learners' levels of sense-of-belonging are a function of their levels of satisfaction with the social and structural aspects of the school climate. A simple display of the mean index scores for social satisfaction, structural

satisfaction and sense-of-belonging (Table 5.7) further illustrate this point. Each index has a possible minimum of 1 (not satisfied) and maximum of 5 (satisfied), giving a mid-point of 3. The table shows that the learners in the sample reported satisfaction levels of only 2.33 and 2.42 for each category respectively, while the mean sense-of-belonging score was above the mid-point at 3.03.

Table 5.7

Means for Social Satisfaction, Structural Satisfaction and Sense-of-Belonging

	Sense of Belonging	Social Satisfaction	Structural Satisfaction
Mean	3.0299	2.33	2.42
N	268	242	245
Std. Deviation	.60579	.497	.557

A basic comparison of means illustrates that the learners can be dissatisfied with the school climate aspects (scores below mid-point) but still feel a relatively strong sense-of-belonging. The analyses combined suggest, at the very least, that the factors which contribute to learner sense-of-belonging are far more complex than can be quantitatively determined with the current data. It seems that sense-of-belonging in the schools sampled is not predominantly determined by the aspects of the school climate assessed in this study.

While the initial hypothesis that sense-of-belonging is dependent on the learners' levels of social and structural satisfaction does not hold, the theoretical proposition that sense-of-belonging is a result of effectual attachments based in a context with sturdy and accepted norms and values to which there is commitment should not yet be abandoned.

Table 5.8

Sense-of-Belonging categorical frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High	6	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Mid to high	174	63.5	64.9	67.2
	Mid to low	77	28.1	28.7	95.9
	Low	11	4.0	4.1	100.0
	Total	268	97.8	100.0	
Missing	System	6	2.2		
Total		274	100.0		

Table 5.8 shows that the majority (65.7%) of the learners are experiencing a meaningful sense-of-belonging (above the index midpoint) and, therefore, there must be some moral frameworks within the microsystem which the learners feel offer them the social protection and freedom required to feel as though they are part of something greater than themselves.

The task then becomes to imagine possible sources of attachment. It is also necessary to note that, given the differences in the contexts and demographics, the learners in the three schools may be finding or creating attachments in different places and ways. It is therefore required that analysis be done at the whole sample and individual school levels.

5.1.3 Alternate sources of Sense-of-Belonging

The earlier analysis has offered some points-of-departure for investigating possible alternate sources of sense-of-belonging: the relatively strong effects that 'satisfaction with teachers' and 'satisfaction with peers' have on the learners' social satisfaction (beta coefficients of .444 and .494 respectively). Although social satisfaction only showed a weak relationship with sense-of-belonging (.211 at the .005 level), it must surely be conceded that high levels of social satisfaction is desirable in any community and is therefore worthy of investigation despite the lack of effect it has shown on the key variable in this study. In fact, strict adherence to the theory necessitates the assumption that sources of social satisfaction *are* the sources of attachment, commitment and conformity and are therefore the sources of sense-of-belonging. It is important to avoid creating a circular argument, but merely because the pathways investigated in this study have not born the results expected it should not be assumed that the theoretical links posited are disproven.

5.1.3.1 The effects of perceptions of teachers on sense-of-belonging

In the regression model, 'satisfaction with teachers' was shown to have a moderate-to-strong effect on social satisfaction. Table 5.9 below gives a thorough breakdown of the bivariate relationships between seven out of ten questionnaire items related to perceptions of teachers and 1) overall satisfaction with teachers, 2) total social satisfaction and 3) sense-of-belonging. The items which showed zero or negligible relationships were "Our teachers are hard on us", "Our teachers make fun of us", and "Our teachers punish us for no reason".

Table 5.9
Pearson's coefficients for perceptions of teachers versus satisfaction with teachers, social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

		Satisfaction with Teachers	Social Satisfaction	Sense-of-Belonging
Our teachers trust us	Pearson Correlation	.568**	.343**	.161**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.008
	N	254	242	268
Our teachers are fair	Pearson Correlation	.476**	.290**	.151*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.013
	N	254	242	267
Our teachers are impatient toward us	Pearson Correlation	.411**	.219**	.018
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.772
	N	254	242	263
Our teachers follow our progress closely	Pearson Correlation	.518**	.463**	.177**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.004
	N	254	242	263
Our teachers respect us	Pearson Correlation	.491**	.431**	.353**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
	N	254	242	267
We can easily express our opinions/ideas in the classroom	Pearson Correlation	.531**	.463**	.276**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
	N	254	242	265
Our teachers are friendly	Pearson Correlation	.461**	.338**	.283**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
	N	254	242	263

There are numerous strong and moderate-to-strong relationships, so perhaps the simplest way to discuss the results is to highlight the teacher perceptions which show the strongest relationships in each category and assess for overlaps. The strongest relationships with overall teacher satisfaction are, in descending order: "trust", "freedom of expression", "follow progress" and "respect". For total social satisfaction the following items were identified: "follow progress", "freedom of expression", "respect", and "trust"; and for sense-of-belonging: "respect", friendliness" and "freedom of expression". This exercise identifies two items which appear on all three lists – "respect" and "freedom of expression". Appearing on two lists are "trust" and "follow progress". This analysis suggests that learners' social needs are best met when they feel that their teachers respect and trust them and that these

attitudes are demonstrated when teachers show continued interest in the progress of the learners and provide classroom spaces which foster self-expression.

These results speak strongly to earlier discussions regarding social capital and "social safety". Trust is one of the key concepts in social capital theory. Trust provides for learners an environment in which they feel the type of social safety discussed earlier in relation to the work of Maslow, and this comfort empowers the learners with the confidence to express themselves and take risks, both of which are key elements of active and effective learning. Trust is also identified in both social capital theory and social control theory as the foundation of social cohesion, or "community". The results of this study seem to support these positions. It should not be surprising that the characteristics of community which foster social cohesion are also those which promote learning for, as the earlier quote by Dewey points out, learning takes place in a social context.

Trust, however, is itself a function of a larger and more complex principle: "respect". This is a fairly self-evident statement when put as the question, "would you truly trust someone whom you do not feel has respect for you?" It is unlikely that many would answer this question in the positive. The evidence from this study set in an educational context thus seems to support the notion put forward by the studies of civic education and nation-building at large that basic respect for human dignity – *Ubuntu* – is indeed the bedrock upon which all other factors affecting social satisfaction must be based.

The data provides further evidence for the importance of respect in generating general social satisfaction through a between-school comparative analysis of the relationship between the frequency that learners report positive perceptions of teacher respect (i.e. responses of "agree" or "strongly agree") and the frequency they report positive social satisfaction (above the midpoint). The most revealing results stem from a comparison of School B and School C (Appendix 1 p2-3). The tables show that only 35.9% of the learners in School C reported positive perceptions of teacher respect and only 54.0% reported positive social satisfaction. In contrast, in School B 63.8% of the learners had positive perceptions of teacher respect and 85.3% reported positive social satisfaction. This simple comparison shows that perceptions of respectful teachers is a strong determinant of social satisfaction. Furthermore, as Table 5.9 above illustrates, across the whole sample, teacher respect is significantly related to sense-of-

belonging with a Pearson's coefficient of .353 ($p<.001$), considerably more so than any other teacher related item.

While the regression analysis indicated that the effect of 'satisfaction with teachers' on overall social satisfaction is stronger than is that of 'satisfaction with administrators', the latter did have a moderate effect (beta coefficient of .358 against .444 for teachers) so it is worth some mention. Interestingly, a simple Pearson's bivariate test indicates that the correlation between 'satisfaction with administrators' and 'social satisfaction' is in fact stronger (Pearson's = .677) than 'satisfaction with teachers' (Pearson's = .655) as indicated in Table 5.10. However, the table also shows that the direct relationship between 'administrators' and 'sense-of-belonging' is weak and considerably lower than it is for 'teachers' with a coefficient of only .197 versus .304. The regression suggests that not too much ought to be read into the bivariate results but they, and the regression results, do suggest that administrators bear some responsibility in setting the social tone for the school.

In the same way the individual perceptions about teachers were assessed earlier, the perceptions of administrators indicated by the various questionnaire items were analysed and the administrator qualities which bore the greatest influence on social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging were isolated. The results of the bivariate analysis, shown in Table 5.11, indicate that the items most strongly related to social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging are: "Our principle is concerned about us", "Our school administrators are concerned about us", and "Our school administrators pay close attention to our needs".

As was the case with the learners' perception of their teachers, the results show that learners require that their administrators provide for them an environment characterised by social safety; learners want to feel that the persons controlling the day-to-day operation of the school are concerned about them, that they have their best interests at heart. This is hardly a surprising finding. It seems more than reasonable to desire that the people who dictate many of your actions, set your schedules, design the rules and codes of conduct, and who measure out discipline, are doing these things with the purpose of making your life better in some way.

The learner sentiments extrapolated from the data relating to teachers and administrators vividly reflect the classification of human needs put forward by Maslow. The data illustrates the importance of the second and third layers of Maslow's hierarchy - learners need to feel that they are protected and loved. Social control theory furthers that

Table 5.10

Bivariate coefficients for satisfaction with administrators, satisfaction with teachers, social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

		Social Satisfaction	Sense of Belonging	Satisfaction with Administrators	Satisfaction with Teachers
Social Satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	1	.342**	.677**	.655**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	242	237	242	242
Sense of Belonging	Pearson Correlation	.342**	1	.197**	.304**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.001	.000
	N	237	268	256	248
Satisfaction with Administrators	Pearson Correlation	.677**	.197**	1	.354**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001		.000
	N	242	256	261	246
Satisfaction with Teachers	Pearson Correlation	.655**	.304**	.354**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	242	248	246	254

Table 5.11

Bivariate coefficients for perceptions of administrators, overall satisfaction with administrators, social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

		Social Satisfaction	Sense of Belonging	Satisfaction with Administrators
Satisfaction with Administrators	Pearson Correlation	.677**	.197**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	
	N	242	256	261
Our principal is concerned about us	Pearson Correlation	.534**	.182**	.672**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.003	.000
	N	242	265	261
Our school administrators are concerned about us.	Pearson Correlation	.574**	.303**	.690**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
	N	242	263	261
Our school administrators pay attention to our needs	Pearson Correlation	.472**	.368**	.549**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
	N	242	265	261

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

environments with these fundamental characteristics are conducive to the creation of affective bonds which in turn enable the development and reinforcement of values and norms. When learners believe that the adults who yield power over them have respect for them and are 'on their side', they will submit to the moral framework these adults profess and model.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this discussion is that, while the causal pathways deteriorate when included in the complex model offered, when broken down the data does reveal important information regarding the type of school climate which fosters social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. A direct analysis of the items which reflect the principles of socially cohesive communities suggested by the theory supports the position that learners need to feel respected by the school staff in order to feel connected and socially content. Therefore, just as is proposed by the literature from studies into school values and civic education, schools, and especially teachers, must make every effort to create social environments which emphasise and illustrate respect. *Ubuntu*, the results show, does in fact make the difference.

5.1.3.2 The effects of peer groups on sense-of-belonging

The regression model revealed that 'satisfaction with peers' is the strongest predictor of learners' social satisfaction. The following section will attempt to elucidate this relationship in two ways. First, the key concepts identified in the previous section – trust and respect - will be assessed in relation to peers. Second, a variety of questionnaire items not explored to this point will be addressed as possible indicators of within school group memberships which could be the locus of attachments and thus sources of sense-of-belonging.

5.1.3.2.1 Peers and attachment

The same exercise in unpacking the bivariate relationships between questionnaire items related to 'satisfaction with peers' was conducted as was done with the other two components of social climate – teachers and administrators. As Table 5.12 demonstrates, the items with the strongest relationships are, "I feel close to my class mates", "I can share my problems with my classmates", and "We often help each other in class".

The first result which should be highlighted is the strength of the stand-alone relationship between 'satisfaction with peers' and 'social satisfaction' (Pearson's = .766) which is meaningfully higher than those for teacher and administrator satisfaction (.655 and .677). Of

course, the regression analysis shows that the causal relationship is somewhat weaker, with a beta coefficient of .494, but this is still a relatively strong relationship in the context of the other results. In short, the way the learners feel about their peers is the most important determinant of their general sense of social satisfaction.

Table 5.12

Bivariate coefficients for perceptions of peers, overall satisfaction with peers, social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

		Satisfaction with Peers	I feel close to my classmates	I can share my problems with my classmates	We often help each other in class
Satisfaction with Peers	Pearson Correlation	1	.755**	.827**	.633**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	267	267	267	267
Social Satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	.766**	.594**	.623**	.551**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	242	242	242	242
Sense of Belonging	Pearson Correlation	.214**	.227**	.182**	.155*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.003	.011
	N	261	263	264	264

The particular items which learners identified as most important to both satisfaction with the cohort and overall social satisfaction – 'feeling close', 'willingness to share problems', and 'willingness to help' – seem to indicate that the social needs learners endeavour to gratify through their peer relations are different to those they seek to satisfy in their relationships with the school staff. This is not difficult to understand given that peers are horizontally related to each other in terms of the environmental power hierarchy, as opposed to staff who are vertically above the learners. The sentiments reflected by the highlighted items seem to point toward a desire by learners that their peers satisfy their need for affect based attachment. The findings indicate that they wish to feel connected enough to their peers that they can expect them to help with both school related problems and personal issues. Again, the results are in alignment with the various theoretical frameworks in that the attachments learners describe are founded on trust; learners must trust that help will be forthcoming, that their friends can be trusted not to make fun of their academic shortcomings and/or personal troubles, and that their own willingness to help will be reciprocated in the future. These basic expectations by learners regarding the reliability of their cohort to keep their interests at heart

appear, as was the case with teachers and administrators, to be the footing upon which satisfactory peer relations are built. And, as was the case for the other human actors in the social environment, trust among peers can only be achieved when they feel that there is mutual respect. Although no items directly assessed inter-peer respect, with the argument presented in the section dealing with teacher relations, as well as the over-whelming literature citing respect as the underlying principle, it can tentatively be assumed that respect among peers is paramount.

5.1.3.2.2 Peers and intra-school group memberships

The preceding discussion made the suggestion that the basic need learners most desire to fulfil through peer relations is "attachment". This might offer some clue as to the almost complete disappearance of the relationship between 'social satisfaction' and 'sense-of-belonging'. Following the theory, and perhaps common sense, there is an undoubted connection between feeling as though one has effectual attachments and having a general sense-of-belonging. In order to provide some explanation for the relatively high levels of sense-of-belonging reported despite an apparent lack of cause due to the school climate aspects, the proposition put forward is that leaners are having their need for attachment satisfied by group memberships which occur within the school context but which may not have been included in the model. In other words, perhaps learners do not feel attached *to* the school, but rather they feel attachment to groups that are facilitated *within* the school environment, such as extramural groups, family legacies, leadership positions or, unfortunately, gangs.

The first three of these possible alternative group sources were posed as simple dichotomous categories (Yes/No) in the questionnaire: "Do you participate in extra-murals (sport, cultural, etc.)?", "Have any of your family members attended your school before you?" and, "Do you hold any leadership positions? (E.g. class captain, team captain, etc.)". As such, in order to establish their relationships with sense-of-belonging independent sample t-tests were run. The results of these tests are presented in full in Appendix 2 and the significant findings are discussed here.

The two items which demonstrated moderately strong relationships with sense-of-belonging were 'extra-mural participation' (Chi = .499) and 'holds leadership position' (Chi = .432)

(Lambdas = 0.00). Having had a previous family member at the school did show a very strong relationship (Chi = .821), but only at the 95% confidence level (Lambda = .005).

These results seem to indicate that it is plausible that learners who participate in extramural activities or who hold some form of leadership responsibilities in the school have managed to carve out for themselves a social niche, that is, they have established attachments to a group or groups within the school context which cause them to feel that they belong there. As suggested, these kinds of attachments were not conceptualised as attachments *to* the school in the present study and thus are not factored into the structural model. These attachments *within* the school do however seem to matter a great deal to the learners in the way that *they* conceptualise "school" and as such may help account for the unexplained levels of reported sense-of-belonging.

This scenario is perhaps not ideal from the perspective of the institution which would have greater social control if the attachment needs of students were fulfilled by the staff. However, as the literature regarding "hidden curricula" proposes, school aspects such as extramural activities and leadership roles can and should be utilised by schools to establish values and norms, to contribute toward creating the moral framework. The microsystem environments wherein leadership roles and extramural activities take place are by nature governed by rules. It is precisely in this kind of environment that individuals are socialised to understand the necessity of normative behaviour; one must follow the rules of these groups in order to be successful. However, individuals often conform to boundaries of behaviour blindly, that is, without an understanding of the functional communal values upon which the rules are established and designed to reinforce. For example, a young rugby player may know not to tackle an opponent above the shoulders but may adhere to this rule simply because it will result in a penalty against his/her team rather than because he/she values the principle of fair-play which implies doing no harm to opponents. Similarly, a school prefect might diligently enforce the rule which states that boys must have their shirts tucked in without understanding that the intention of the rule is to foster both self-respect and respect for the school. The point made here is that these alternative sources of group membership within the school naturally promote conformity to norms but that the link between these norms and the foundational values are seldom explicit. This implies that the institution must be deliberate in its efforts to use these attachment sources as media for the transmission of virtuous attitudes and actions.

The alternative sources of sense-of-belonging discussed in the previous paragraphs should be considered as positive, or at least potentially positive, sources of social control in that with some thoughtful intention they can serve to enculturate learners with virtues required for solidarity. The third source of *within* school attachment discussed – gang membership – is a negative source of attachment, at least from the perspective of the school.

The issue of gangs was raised earlier in the discussion around the low impact 'satisfaction with safety' has on 'structural satisfaction' (beta of .274). It was argued that this is possibly the case because learners in the current context have come to accept actions such as threatening staff, damaging property, fighting, etc. as normative and, therefore, these behaviours do not have a strong negative impact on their perception of satisfaction with the school environment. An analysis of the relationships between perceptions of gangs and social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging reveal some unexpected relationships. As the positive Pearson's coefficient in Table 5.13 shows, both social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging *increases* as perceptions of gang membership increase. The relationships are not strong (.197 and .150) and the relationship between gang perceptions and sense-of-belonging is only significant at the 95% confidence interval. However, the simple fact that perceptions of gang membership are positively related at all implies that the attachment that learners develop as the result of gangs is perhaps responsible for explaining some of the sense-of-belonging not accounted for by the model.

Additionally, as Table 5.14 shows, 59.6% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that there are students who are gang members, which shows that gangs are a common feature in the schools sampled. Consequently, it can be assumed that gangs are a strong candidate for sources of attachment *within* the school but which are not attachments *to* the school. The cultural deviance theory discussed by Hirschi, however, demands that any judgement of the effects of gangs on the development of moral frameworks be tempered. Cultural deviance theory implies that, while the attitudes and behaviours associated with gangs are usually considered deviant by the larger societies in which the gangs exist, such "deviance-based" or "outcast" groups still requires that members conform to a set of norms and values. The general principle of social control – commitment to a set of standards – is still socialised into members of gangs. In a sense, when gang members are behaving in ways accepted by the gang community they are not acting "immorally", they are simply acting according to a moral framework not accepted by the larger society. This implies that the learners in gangs are in fact being equipped with the social skills required for living in

Table 5.13

Bivariate coefficients for perceptions of gang membership, social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

		Social Satisfaction	Sense of Belonging	There are students who are gang members
Social Satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	1	.342**	.197**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.002
	N	242	237	241
Sense of Belonging	Pearson Correlation	.342**	1	.150*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.015
	N	237	268	264
There are students who are gang members	Pearson Correlation	.197**	.150*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.015	
	N	241	264	270

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.14

Frequencies: "There are students who are gang members"

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	10	3.6	3.7	3.7
	Disagree	15	5.5	5.6	9.3
	Not Sure	84	30.7	31.1	40.4
	Agree	88	32.1	32.6	73.0
	Strongly agree	73	26.6	27.0	100.0
	Total	270	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	4	1.5		
Total		274	100.0		

community with others, but that it would be necessary to shift their morals, their perceptions of virtuous behaviour, toward those which provide for membership, or citizenship, in the context of the tolerant, inclusive, democratic societies our nation-builders imagine.

Section 5.1 has provided a thorough assessment of the model presented by Cemalcilar in the current context. A number of intriguing results have surfaced. Most perplexing of these is the virtual disappearance of the effects of social and structural satisfaction levels on learner

sense-of-belonging when analysed in multivariate regression. This finding necessitated a more thorough analysis of the many bivariate relationships between the learners' perceptions of the school climate aspects which constitute social and structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. Guided by the predictive relationships identified in the regression analyses of the effects of learner perceptions on school climate satisfaction, particular attention was paid to the effects of teacher and peer relations in order to suggest possible explanations for the relatively high levels of sense-of-belonging in the sample not accounted for by the model. The effects of satisfaction with the campus and material resources on structural satisfaction were briefly explored, but further comment on these relationships and their possible meanings will follow in section 5.2.

5.2 Effects of Learners Demographic Characteristics, Minority Group Status and Diversity

The relationships and processes highlighted through the testing of the model have provided a clearer framework in which to explore the set of questions relating to the effects of learner demographic characteristics, minority group status and diversity on sense-of-belonging. It is hypothesised that, 1) no direct effects will be found for demographic characteristics - population group, language, religion and socio-economic status (SES) – but, 2) lower levels of satisfaction will occur for learners who belong to minority groups. Hypothesis 3 states that greater diversity will result in lower levels of sense-of-belonging. Section 5.2.2 reports and discusses the results of the various tests used to examine these relationships. First though a full statistical description of the sample is presented in section 5.2.1.

5.2.1 Descriptive statistics

5.2.1.1 Whole sample

5.2.1.1.1 Sample

The total sample population included 274 grade 10 learners (n = 274). The combined response rate was approximately 57%, which is reasonable when considering the logistical challenges presented by the number of persons involved in the obtaining of consent and the actual administration of the questionnaire: the researcher's direct school contact (the Grade-Head teachers at Schools A and C, and the secretary to the Principal at School B), the various grade 10 'homeroom teachers', the learners' parents or guardians and the learners themselves.

In order to obtain approval from the school and administer the survey the number of visits to the schools totalled two for School A, four for School B and five for School C.

5.2.1.1.2 Age

The average age of the respondents was 15.73 years, with a mode of 16 years. This is in keeping with the expected age of grade 10 learners who usually turn 16 in this year having started grade 1 in the year they turn 7 as required by law. The youngest respondents were 14 years and the oldest 19 years.

5.2.1.1.3 Gender

The gender distribution of the sample was 56.2% and 43.8% for females and males respectively.

5.2.1.1.4 Population groups

The distribution of population groups is represented by Table 5.15 below. As is to be expected in South Africa, the majority of the learners (70.7%) class themselves as 'African'. Learners of Indian descent constituted 20.9% of the population, with the remaining 8.4% made up of 'White', 'Coloured' and 'Cape Malay' (Other) students. As a representation of the demographic of the region the sample under-represents White and African students by approximately 5% each, while over-representing Indians by approximately 10%. The skewed sample is a result of the non-participation of the additional three schools originally intended as part of the sample.

Table 5.15

Population Group frequencies for whole sample

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Indian	57	20.8	20.8	20.8
	African	194	70.8	70.8	91.6
	White	6	2.2	2.2	93.8
	Coloured	15	5.5	5.5	99.3
	Other	2	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	274	100.0	100.0	

5.2.1.1.5 Language

Zulu was the most cited language at 68.6%. English was the second most prominent home-language at 25.9%. The remaining 6.5% consisted of a combination of Zulu and English (3.6%), Setswana (0.7%), Xhosa (0.7%) and a combination of Zulu and Xhosa (0.4%).

5.2.1.1.6 Religion

Christianity was by far the most common religion reported at 78.5%. Hinduism and Islam accounted for 12.8% and 4.7% respectively. Judaism is practised by 1.8% of the population. Two respondents recorded their religion as "other", one Atheist and one Satanist. The remaining 1.5% was missing data.

5.2.1.1.7 Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status was calculated in two ways. A two item index for 'objective' SES was generated from the questions "When was the last time you received a new cell phone?" and "What is the highest level of education attained by either of your parents?" An index for 'subjective' SES was generated using the above questions with the addition of "Compared to your classmates, would you say you are: very poor, poor, average, rich or very rich?". Both indices were calculated with a minimum score of 1.00, indicating very low SES, and a maximum of 5.00. A very high level of agreement was found between these indices, with a deviation of only 0.037 between the mean scores. As such, only objective SES will be used for analytical purposes. The mean SES score is slightly above the mid-point at 3.15.

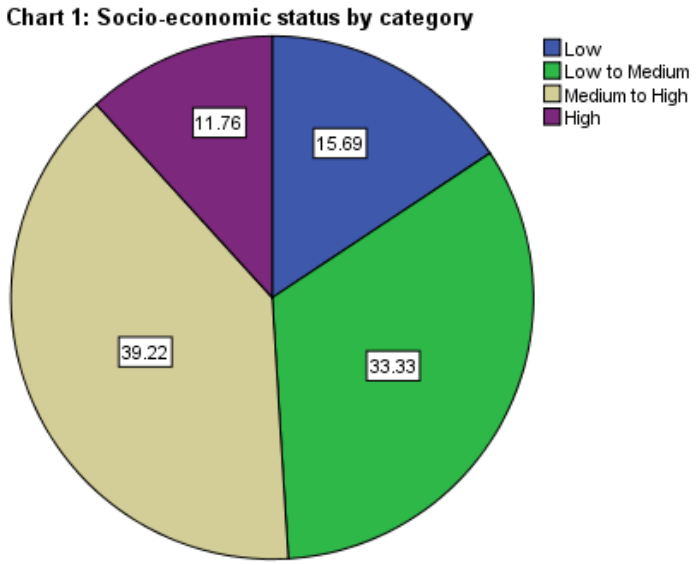


Chart 1 above shows the distribution of SES coded into categories. The table shows that 49% of the sample can be classed as having low or low-to-medium SES while 51% scored medium-to-high or high SES.

5.2.1.2 Individual school descriptive statistics

5.2.1.2.1 Sample

School A contributed 137 learners, which constitutes 50.4% of the total population. The response rate was slightly under 77% of the number of learners eligible for the study (178). The response rate for School B was 54.7%; the sample consisted of 69 learners out of an eligible 126. This number represents 25.2% of the total sample population. The sample obtained from School C consisted of 67 learners. With 151 learners eligible for the study, this represents a response rate over slightly over 40%. School C accounted for 24.5% of the total sample population.

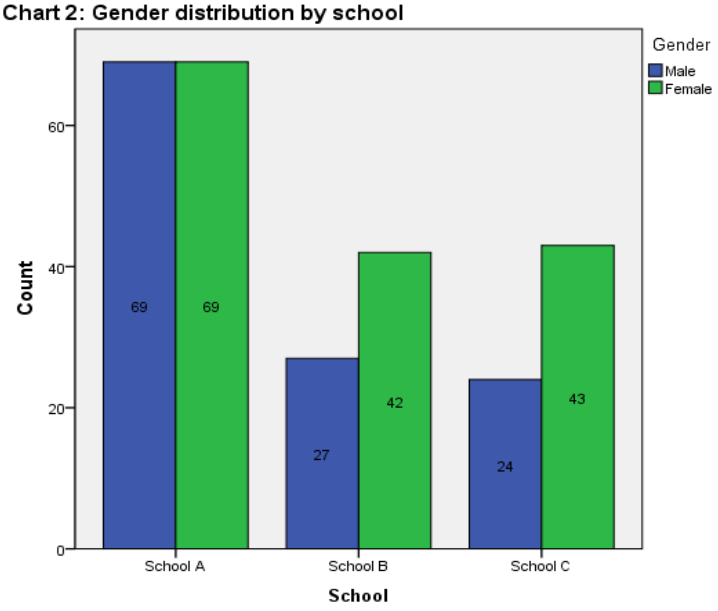
5.2.1.2.2 Age

The average age of the respondents from School A was 15.57 years, which is almost identical to School B at 15.55. These means are in keeping with the expected age for Grade 10 learners. School C, however, differed considerably with an average age of 16.25 years. A number of suggestions based on location can be made as to why School C shows such a discrepancy. As a "township school", the learners in School C are more likely to be exposed to poor and uncommitted teachers, the need to contribute to the family income due to single-parent or child-headed families (which can cause a de-prioritization of school-work and increased absenteeism), and teen pregnancies . The last possibility may account for the 3 outlying female respondents - aged 19 - who may have taken maternity leave.

5.2.1.2.3 Gender

Chart 2 below shows the frequency distribution of males and females by school. The 138 respondents from School A were split evenly. Schools B and C, however, are weighted in favour of females with approximately 61% for School B and 64% for School C. It is not clear whether these lop-sided responses are representative of the sample populations or whether they indicate higher response rates by females.

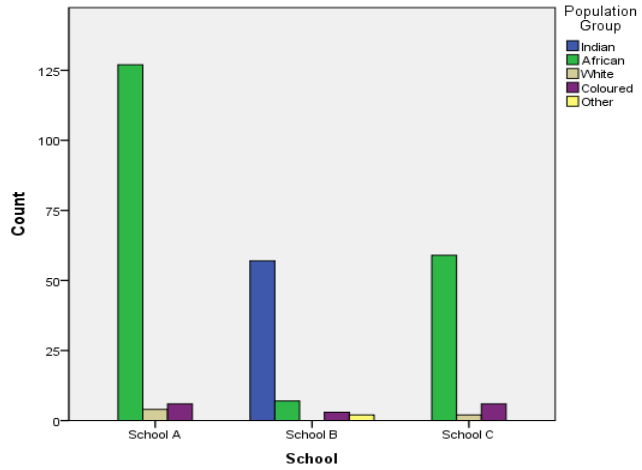
Chart 2: Gender distribution by school



5.2.1.2.4 Population Group

An analysis of the population group distribution indicates that each school has one dominant racial group. African (black) students represent 92.7% and 88.1% of the samples for Schools A and C respectively. The remainder of School A consists of 4 White and 6 Coloured learners; the sample from School C included 2 Whites and 6 Coloured learners[2]. School B is dominated by Indian learners, who constitute 82.6% of the sample, with the remainder consisting of 7 African, 3 Coloured and 2 Cape Malay learners. The distribution of population groups within the samples indicates that within-school diversity is minimal.

Chart 3: Population group distribution by school



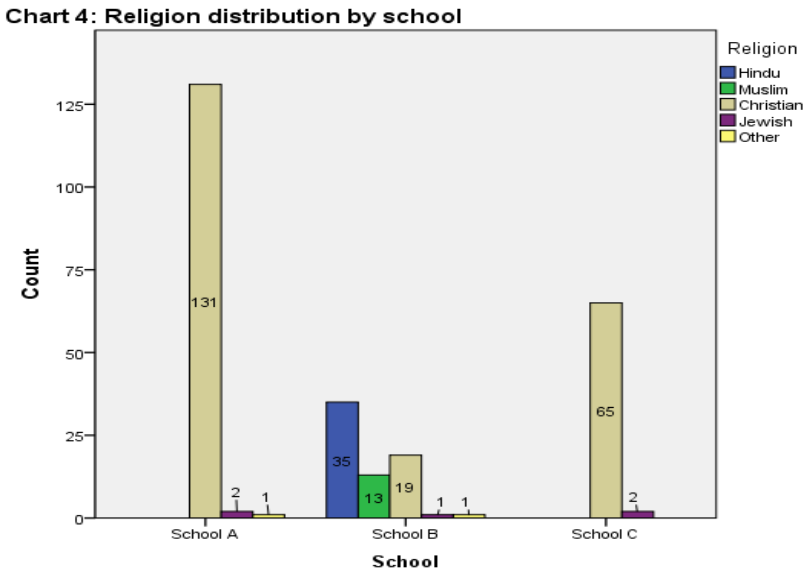
[2] While two respondents in School C reported their population group as "white" this seems improbable given the fact that their reported home-languages were Zulu. Reporting error is the most likely cause of these anomalies.

5.2.1.2.5 Language

As is to be expected, the relationship between population group and home-language is direct. The predominantly black sample populations in Schools A and C cited Zulu as their home-language at 89.1% and 88.1% respectively. School A showed the greatest variation of home-languages with 5.8% speaking English, 2.2% speaking a combination of Zulu and English, and Setswana and Xhosa each accounting for 1.4%. While there was some variation in School C, the 11.9% of the learners who did not cite Zulu as their home-language stated that they used Zulu in combination with another language – 10.4% English and 1.5% Xhosa. This indicated that all the learners surveyed in School C are proficient in a common language (Zulu), which cannot be said of the other dominantly black school, School A. Of the 69 learners surveyed in School B, 6 of the 7 African learners cite Zulu as their home-language while the remaining African, 3 Coloured, 2 Cape Malay and 57 Indian learners all listed English as their home-language (91.3%).

5.2.1.2.6 Religion

As Chart 4 below shows, the trend of similarity between Schools A and C continues with regards to religion; in each school Christianity was overwhelmingly dominant at 97.8% and 97% respectively.

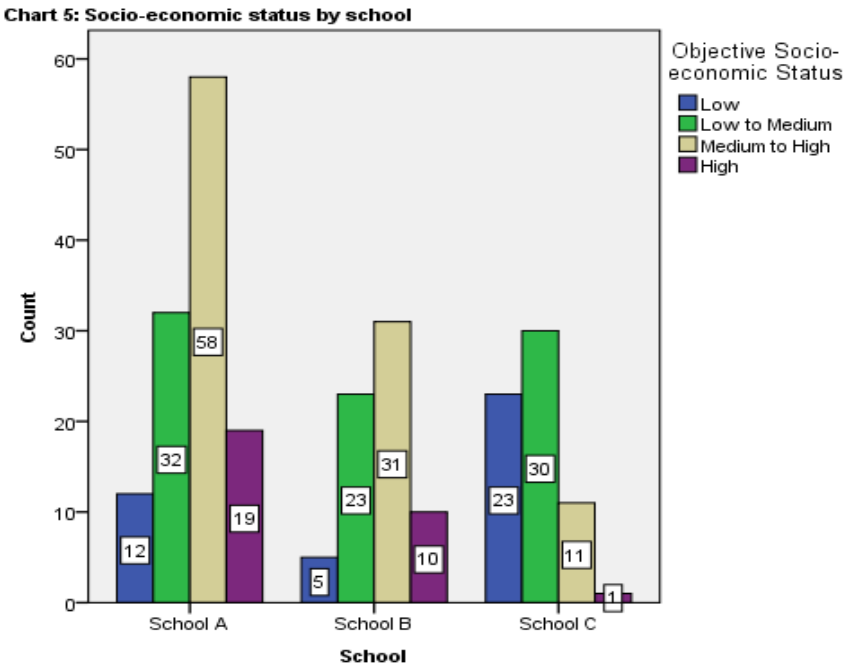


The remainder of School A was made up of 1.5% Judaism and 0.7% Atheist (“other”). The remaining 3% of School C were Jewish. School B showed greater variation in religious

affiliation: 50.7% Hindu, 27.5% Christian, 18.8% Muslim and 1.4% each for Judaism and Satanism ("other").

5.2.1.2.7 Socio-economic status

Chart 5 below shows the distribution of SES by category in each school.



The chart indicates that schools A and B have similar distribution patterns which differ considerably to School C. In the former schools, a high proportion of the learners fall within the high and medium-to-high categories whereas the majority of learners in School C are classified as having low or low-to-medium socio-economic status. These results are reflected in the mean SES scores for the schools which are 2.69 for School A, 2.67 for School B and 1.85 for School C.

5.2.2 The effects of demographics and diversity

5.2.2.1 Effects of demographic characteristics and minority status

Prior to the analysis of the individual relationships a multivariate regression model was tested to identify multicollinearity between the four dimensions of diversity assessed in the study. This was considered appropriate because of a common sense assumption that there would be collinearity between population group and language. The result of the regression, presented in Table 5.16, demonstrate that there are indeed high levels of shared variance. While socio-

economic status is unaffected (VIF = 1.007), population group, language and religion show effects (VIF >2). After testing a number of models it was determined that population group was the primary factor causing collinearity. As Table 5.17 illustrates, when population group is excluded the VIF scores for the other variables fall within acceptable levels. As such, the decision was made to exclude population group from further analysis since effects hereof are explained by language and religion effects.

Table 5.16

Multicollinearity coefficients for regression analysis of diversity categories on sense-of-belonging

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	2.961	.104		28.585	.000		
	Socio-Economic Status	.006	.088	.005	.071	.944	.993	1.007
	Religion	.167	.155	.106	1.074	.284	.487	2.055
	Language	-.034	.196	-.026	-.176	.861	.217	4.611
	Population Group	-.072	.217	-.053	-.332	.740	.184	5.424

a. Dependent Variable: Sense of Belonging

Table 5.17

Multicollinearity coefficients for regression analysis of diversity categories on sense-of-belonging excluding population group

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	2.963	.100		29.567	.000		
	Socio-Economic Status	.008	.087	.006	.091	.928	.999	1.001
	Religion	.145	.141	.094	1.031	.304	.564	1.774
	Language	-.086	.120	-.065	-.718	.473	.564	1.774

In order to demonstrate the relationships between the three demographic characteristics, or dimensions of diversity, and the variables ‘social satisfaction’, ‘structural satisfaction’ and ‘sense-of-belonging’, crosstabulations were run and Chi coefficients assessed. This test also enables the assessment of differences between the dominant categories in each dimension and the categories into which only a small portion of the sample fell – the minority groups. As such, these results will be discussed concurrently.

5.2.2.1.1 Language

In total, six home-languages were reported across the whole sample. However, four of the six languages represent less that 4% of the population each – with three of those below 0.7%. As such, to simplify the reporting and analysis, these four languages (or language combinations) have been collapsed into "other". The four collapsed home languages are: Setswana (0.7% of population), Xhosa (0.7%), Zulu and Xhosa combined (0.4%) and Zulu and English combined (3.6%).

The results presented in Appendix 3 show that language is not significantly related to either the climate satisfaction levels or sense-of-belonging since the value of Lambda is above 0.10 in all three cases.

While language itself is not correlated with the three target variables, a number of interesting results are revealed in the crosstabulations. Regarding social satisfaction, Table 5.18 shows that learners who speak English at home show much higher levels of satisfaction – 84.1% report positive levels opposed to only 59.4% of Zulu speakers and 58.3% for learners speaking other languages.

Table 5.18

Crosstab: Language and Social Satisfaction

			Social Satisfaction				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Other	Count	0	7	5	0	12
		% within Language	.0%	58.3%	41.7%	.0%	100.0%
	Zulu	Count	0	95	64	1	160
		% within Language	.0%	59.4%	40.0%	.6%	100.0%
	English	Count	2	56	11	0	69
		% within Language	2.9%	81.2%	15.9%	.0%	100.0%

Chi = .007, Lambda = .012

The same crosstabulation split by school (Appendix 3) indicates that the comparative difference between English and Zulu is skewed somewhat by School B, which is the only school where English is the dominant home-language. Here English speaking learners

reported an average social satisfaction 20.6% higher than Zulu speakers. However, it is interesting to note that English speakers in School A (4.5% of population), which is heavily dominated by Zulu speakers (89.1%), also showed slightly higher levels of social satisfaction. There were no English speakers in School C and, in fact, all the learners speak Zulu at home, either exclusively or in combination with another language.

These findings suggest mixed results for the effect of minority language group membership. Whereas in School B the majority language speakers showed considerably higher satisfaction, in School A the minority group (English) showed higher levels. This seems to confirm that language is not a strong determinant of social satisfaction. This conclusion is further supported by an analysis of the effect of learners not being taught in the same language as they speak at home.

Table 5.19

Crosstabulation of 'Home language same as language of instruction' and Social Satisfaction

			Social Satisfaction				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Home language same as language of instruction	Yes	Count	2	87	35	1	125
		% within Home language same as language of instruction	1.6%	69.6%	28.0%	.8%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	54.7%	43.8%	100.0%	51.7%
	No	Count	0	72	45	0	117
		% within Home language same as language of instruction	.0%	61.5%	38.5%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	45.3%	56.3%	.0%	48.3%

Chi = .144, Lambda = .05

Table 5.19 shows that same language learners report an average social satisfaction of about 10% higher than different language learners, and that the relationship is not significant (Lambda = .05). All these results suggest that language is not related to learners' social satisfaction.

In terms of structural satisfaction, shown in Table 5.20, Zulu speakers showed higher average levels (61.7% above midpoint) compared to English and 'other' speakers (43.5% and 38.5%). However, the overall relationship is not significant since the Lambda value is above the .005

level. When split by school (see Appendix 3), School B, which only has English and Zulu speakers, does show an interesting result. Zulu speakers in this school, who constitute a very small minority (8.6% of the population), reported much *higher* levels of structural satisfaction then the English speakers – 83.3% above midpoint versus 39.3%. In this school at least, these result seems to suggest that learners from 'African' homes have lower standards regarding the structural elements of the school climate than do English speaking learners who, in School B, are almost exclusively of Indian descent. A hesitant conclusion can be drawn: Indian learners desire schools with a pleasant campus and adequate resources. It would be interesting to test this hypothesis in later studies. Overall, however, language bares little relation to learners' structural satisfaction.

Table 5.20

Crosstab: Language and Structural Satisfaction

			Structural Satisfaction				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Other	Count	0	5	8	0	13
		% within Language	.0%	38.5%	61.5%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Environmental Satisfaction	.0%	3.9%	7.4%	.0%	5.3%
	Zulu	Count	7	93	62	0	162
		% within Language	4.3%	57.4%	38.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Environmental Satisfaction	100.0%	72.7%	57.4%	.0%	66.4%
	English	Count	0	30	38	1	69
		% within Language	.0%	43.5%	55.1%	1.4%	100.0%
		% within Environmental Satisfaction	.0%	23.4%	35.2%	100.0%	28.3%

Chi = .054, Lambda = .061

The crosstabulation of language and sense-of-belonging (Table 5.21) also provided insignificant overall results (Lambda = .011). However, the table does reveal that, unlike the English and Zulu speakers, the majority (57.1%) of the minority language speakers ('other') levels of sense-of-belonging fall below the midpoint. This implies that learners who speak languages not dominant in the larger context (Pietermaritzburg) do find it more difficult to generate attachments and membership. One possible explanation for this is ethnic tension: members of Zulu heritage are often accused of demonstrating ethnic superiority toward other African non-Zulu speakers, particularly in their home territory where this study was

conducted. This is of course a generalization and certainly requires empirical support, but the results of Table 5.18 do seem to suggest that speakers of other African languages find it difficult to generate a strong sense-of-belonging in this context.

Table 5.21

Crosstab: Language and Sense-of-belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Other	Count	0	6	8	0	14
		% within Language	.0%	42.9%	57.1%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	3.5%	10.4%	.0%	5.2%
	Zulu	Count	5	116	53	8	182
		% within Language	2.7%	63.7%	29.1%	4.4%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	83.3%	67.1%	68.8%	72.7%	68.2%
	English	Count	1	51	16	3	71
		% within Language	1.4%	71.8%	22.5%	4.2%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	16.7%	29.5%	20.8%	27.3%	26.6%

Chi = .250, Lambda = .011

The analysis of language and sense-of-belonging split by schools (Appendix 3) also appear to reveal that being part of a minority language group does have a negative effect on sense-of-belonging. In School B, where Zulu speakers represent only 8.7% of the population and English speakers the remainder, only 33.4% of the Zulu speakers showed levels above the midpoint, as opposed to 71.4% of the English speakers. Similarly, in School C, only 14.3% of the 10.8% of the learners who speak a combination of Zulu and another language at home reported sense-of-belonging above the midpoint, as opposed to 67% of the rest of the population who speak only Zulu.

In summary, while language effects show little relationship to learners' satisfaction with the school climate aspects, there is some direct relationship with sense-of-belonging. This suggests either that sense-of-belonging is dependent on the ability to communicate effectively with other learners or, more worryingly, that discrimination is occurring based on language differences which make minority learners feel like outsiders. Both of these conclusions demand that schools be sensitive to minority language groups and make efforts to ensure respect is displayed despite differences.

5.2.2.1.2 **Religion**

A crosstabulation of religion and social satisfaction levels (Table 5.22) reveal some differences between the perceptions of different religious groups, however, the results are not statistically significant. A basic comparison of percentages shows that 91.2% of the Hindu learners have social satisfaction levels above the midpoint, contrasted with 76.9% of the Muslim learners and 61.6% of the Christian learners ('other' is ignored due to a very low count: n = 7).

Table 5.22

Crosstabulation of Religion and Social Satisfaction

			Social Satisfaction				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Religion	Hindu	Count	2	29	3	0	34
		% within Religion	5.9%	85.3%	8.8%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	18.5%	3.8%	.0%	14.2%
	Muslim	Count	0	10	3	0	13
		% within Religion	.0%	76.9%	23.1%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	6.4%	3.8%	.0%	5.4%
	Christian	Count	0	114	70	1	185
		% within Religion	.0%	61.6%	37.8%	.5%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	72.6%	88.6%	100.0%	77.4%
	Other	Count	0	4	3	0	7
		% within Religion	.0%	57.1%	42.9%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	2.5%	3.8%	.0%	2.9%
Total		Count	2	157	79	1	239
		% within Religion	.8%	65.7%	33.1%	.4%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi = .006 Lambda =.015

These results could be interpreted to mean that there are intrinsic qualities possessed by, or facilitated by, the three religions which predispose learners to greater social satisfaction; however, this conclusion would be premature for two reasons. First, in the combined population of Schools A and C (n = 204) only 5 learners are non-Christians; religious diversity in these schools is virtually absent. Therefore, the variations are due to the results for School B. Furthermore, the discrepancies might be the result of minority group effects rather than religious qualities. To test this second hypothesis, a crosstabulation of religion and social satisfaction for School B is presented in Table 5.23. The results show that over 84% of

the learners belonging to the two more common religions in the school – Hinduism (51% of population) and Christianity (27.5% of population) – show satisfaction levels above the midpoint, whereas a lower percentage (76.9) of the minority Islam religion showed positive social satisfaction. While the difference is not great, it might suggest that some degree of the lower social satisfaction reported by Muslim learners is due to belonging to the minority group.

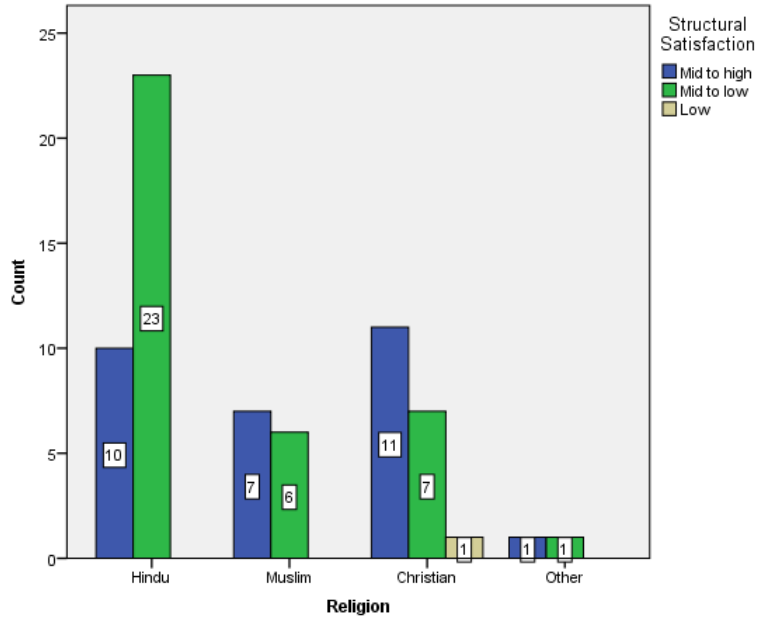
Table 5.23

Crosstabulation for Religion and Social Satisfaction in School B

			Social Satisfaction			
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Total
Religion	Hindu	Count	2	29	3	34
		% within Religion	5.9%	85.3%	8.8%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	51.8%	30.0%	50.0%
	Muslim	Count	0	10	3	13
		% within Religion	.0%	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	17.9%	30.0%	19.1%
	Christian	Count	0	16	3	19
		% within Religion	.0%	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	28.6%	30.0%	27.9%

Chi = .485 Lambda =.000

Chart 6: Clustered bar chart for crosstabulation of religion and structural satisfaction in School B

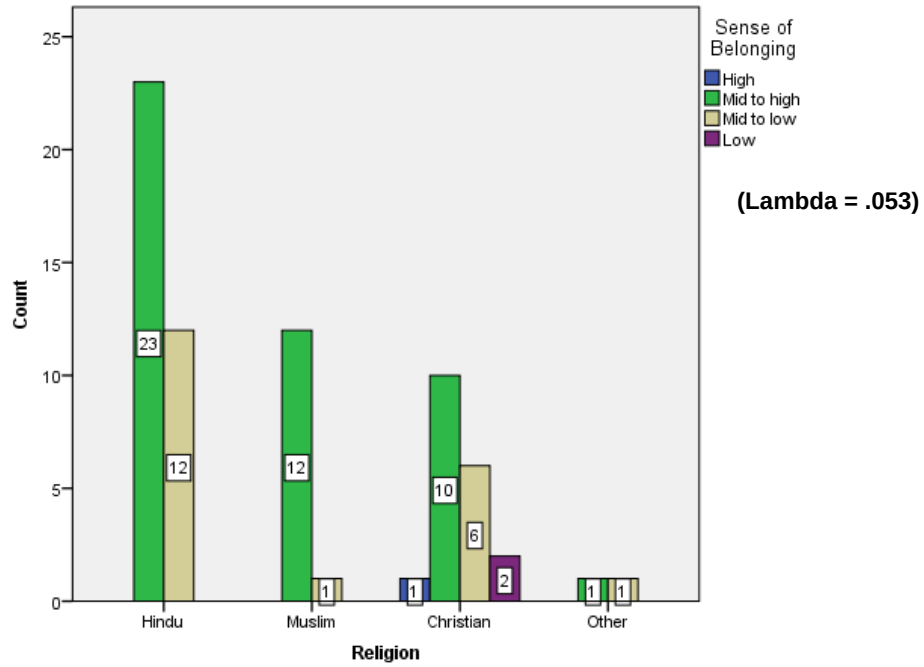


Given the negligent diversity of religious affiliation in Schools A and C, analysis of the effects of religion on structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging will be restricted to School B. While the results of the structural satisfaction crosstabulation for School B reflected in Chart 6 above are not significant (Lambda > .100), the table does provide two points of discussion.

First, it shows that, unlike Muslim and Christian learners, the majority of Hindu learners have satisfaction levels below the midpoint. Again, this might suggest that there is something intrinsic to Hinduism which promotes higher demands regarding structural aspects of the school environment. However, the data collected for this study does not enable a thorough testing of this hypothesis and so the suggestion is made with great care. It is possible that the disproportionately high levels of structural dissatisfaction are the result of other, more complex factors. Second, the results offer the proposition that, since Hinduism is the majority religion (51%), belonging to a minority religious group does not directly impact structural satisfaction.

The analysis of the relationship between religion and sense-of-belonging in School B displayed in Chart 7 are not statistically significant (Lambda = .053) but the chart again reveals some interesting trends.

Chart 7: Clustered bar chart for crosstabulation of religion and sense-of-belonging in School B



The graphic illustrates that the proportion of Hindu learners whose satisfaction levels fall above the midpoint (65.7%) is considerably lower than the much smaller number of Islamic

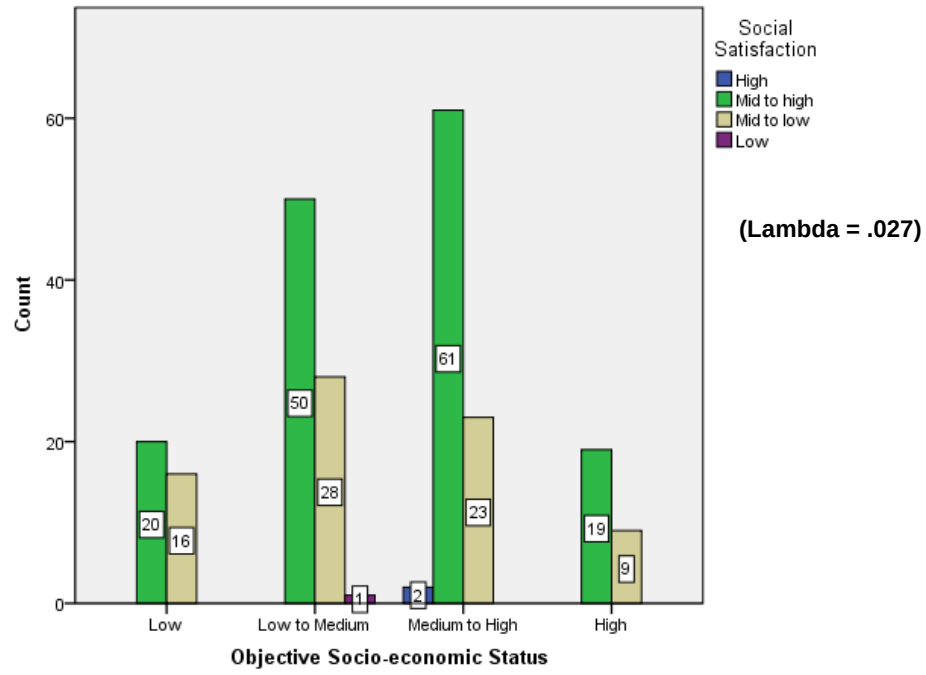
learners, 92.3% of which report sense-of-belonging levels above the midpoint. This again points toward two facts. First, being part of a minority religious group in School B does not have a direct negative impact on sense-of-belonging. Second, the finding supports the conclusion presented in section 5.1 that social satisfaction does not appear to be related to sense-of-belonging as assessed in this study. This is said because the Islamic learners in School B reported considerably lower average levels of social satisfaction compared with Hindu learners, but the relationship is reversed for sense-of-belonging.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of religion are that, 1) no relationship was established for structural satisfaction; 2) minority group status did show some negative effect on social satisfaction in School B; 3) no overall relationship was found between religion and sense-of-belonging but minority group status did not show an effect in School B and 4) there is some tentative evidence that the intrinsic qualities of the three religions, or perhaps the attitude the religions generate within members, bare some effects on the target variables but that a far more focused study is required to support this proposition.

5.2.2.1.3 Socio-economic Status

Chart 8 illustrates the relationship within the whole sample between socio-economic status and social satisfaction.

Chart 8: Clustered bar chart for crosstabulation of objective socio-economic status



(Lambda = .027)

The relationship is not statistically significant (Lambda = .027), which shows that there is no correlation between the variables. The only somewhat interesting result is the almost equal distribution of learners in the low SES category around the midpoint, as opposed to the other categories where the trend is toward positive satisfaction levels. In fact, learners in the mid-to-high SES category are almost three times as likely to report positive social satisfaction (61 positive versus 23 negative).

In order to make the statement that learners with higher SES levels have higher levels of social satisfaction the results for high SES learners would need to suggest that they are much more likely to have high levels of social satisfaction; however, the chart shows that these learners are only around twice as likely to do so, without a statistical significance. The results of the low and medium-to-high SES learners do provide some indication that higher SES may positively affect social satisfaction.

An analysis of the individual schools may offer more useful results since, as was mentioned in the descriptive statistics and shown again in Table 5.24, the mean SES score for School C is considerably lower than those of Schools A and B. As a result, it is possible that variations in the three target variables between School C and Schools A and B may be partially a result of lower average SES.

Table 5.24

Mean objective socio-economic status by school

School	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
School A	2.69	121	.855
School B	2.67	69	.816
School C	1.85	65	.755
Total	2.47	255	.895

Table 5.25

Mean social satisfaction by school

School	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
School A	2.38	111	.487
School B	2.12	68	.406
School C	2.48	63	.535
Total	2.33	242	.497

Table 5.25 shows the mean social satisfaction for each school. A simple comparison of the two means shows that the average social satisfaction reported by learners in School C – the "poor" school - is in fact *higher* than those for Schools A and B. This result demonstrates that low SES itself does not negatively impact social satisfaction.

To test whether belonging to a minority SES category affects social satisfaction the modal response for each school was determined by frequency analysis to establish the majority category (Appendix 3). The mode for Schools A and B was medium-to-high and low-to-medium for School C. SES was then recoded into two categories, the dominant category and the remaining three categories collapsed (recoded twice to account for the two modes). The recoded "majority and minority group SES" variable was then run in crosstabulation with social satisfaction. The results are presented in Appendix 3.

The results show that in Schools A and B a higher percentage of learners in the majority SES groups (medium-to-high) reported social satisfaction levels above the midpoint – 65.2% versus 57.4% in School A and 90% versus 81.6% in School B. However, in School C the relationship was reversed with only 44.8% of the modal low-to-medium group reporting above midpoint satisfaction versus 62.5% of the other groups. The relatively small gaps between the groups in Schools A and B, in conjunction with the reversed relationship in School C shows that belonging to a minority SES group does not affect satisfactions with the social elements of the school environment. One further point emerges. The collapsed non-modal SES groups are in all three schools constituted in the vast majority by learners in lower SES categories. This holds true even for School C where the mode is low-to-medium since two thirds of the minority group fall into the low SES range. While suggesting nothing about minority group status effects with SES, this trend does support the notion that lower SES does account in part for lower levels of social satisfaction. This supposition is plausible since individuals compare their material resources to those of their peers. In a world increasingly marked by materialism it is reasonable to expect poorer learners to feel 'less than' their peers and, consequently, report lower levels of social satisfaction.

The relationship between learners' SES and their satisfaction with the structural aspects of the school climate is also not statistically significant (Lambda =.043, Appendix 3 p10). The percentage of learners in the categories low-to-medium, medium-to-high and high SES reporting above midpoint structural satisfaction fall within a 5% range of 55%. Only the

learners in the low SES category showed a deviation, with only 37.5 percent of these learners reporting positive satisfaction. These results are likely misleading given the high proportion of low and low-to medium SES in School C where the campus and resources are very poor. As such, an across school analysis is more fruitful.

Indeed, a frequency analysis (Appendix 3) shows that the mean structural satisfaction actually *increases* as the mean SES of the learners *decreases*: mean structural satisfaction for School C is 2.80, opposed to 2.58 and 2.16 for Schools B and A respectively. This is an interesting result as it suggests something about the effect of the larger social context around the school on learners' expectation of the school. In section 5.1.1 it was shown that for learners in School C, which is in a location with a higher crime rate, or a "dangerous" area, 'satisfaction with safety' was shown to be less of a determinant factor on their overall structural satisfaction than it was for the learners in the two schools located in relatively 'safer' contexts. The comparative results regarding SES and structural satisfaction therefore suggest that a similar effect is being had on perceptions of the structural environment due to the broad socio-economic conditions in which the learners live. In other words, it seems as though learners from poorer areas *expect* poor campuses and resources and thus these do not affect their satisfaction. However, by examining the components separately it is discovered that the weak effects found for the 'safety' component of structural satisfaction are in fact skewing the results. Table 5.26 shows that the learners in School C are far less satisfied with the resources provided by their school, with 63.5% reporting a low level compared with 12.2% and 24.3% in Schools A and B. The results for 'satisfaction with campus' were not quite as severe but the trend is similar (Appendix 3).

These results might imply that the learners are not basing their structural expectations – in terms of the campus and resources – on their experiences of the structures in their immediate environments. They suggest that, unlike satisfaction with safety which appears congruent with the realities in the surrounds, the standards of learners in the environment characterised by poverty, poor infrastructure and inefficient public services are based on the campuses and resources of schools in 'rich' areas. In terms of the physical aspects of the school climate, the data suggests that learners in poorer contexts want redistribution; they want the same quality schools as their richer counterparts. If this suggestion proves valid, and from a common sense perspective it seems reasonable, then the efforts of government to improve the conditions in

our ‘poor’ schools, which constitute the majority, need to be re-doubled. The consequences of failure are dire as the conclusion chapter will reveal.

Table 5.26

Crosstabulation of satisfaction with resources and school

			School			
			School A	School B	School C	Total
Satisfaction with Resources	High	Count	9	0	0	9
		% within Satisfaction with Resources	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within School	6.7%	.0%	.0%	3.4%
	Mid to high	Count	76	18	1	95
		% within Satisfaction with Resources	80.0%	18.9%	1.1%	100.0%
		% within School	56.7%	26.5%	1.5%	35.6%
	Mid to low	Count	40	32	17	89
		% within Satisfaction with Resources	44.9%	36.0%	19.1%	100.0%
		% within School	29.9%	47.1%	26.2%	33.3%
	Low	Count	9	18	47	74
		% within Satisfaction with Resources	12.2%	24.3%	63.5%	100.0%
		% within School	6.7%	26.5%	72.3%	27.7%

Given the weak or absent relationships between the other two demographic dimensions assessed and belonging, it should not be surprising that socio-economic status bares no relationship with sense-of-belonging in the whole sample, as is demonstrated by the .081 correlation coefficient shown in Table 5.27.

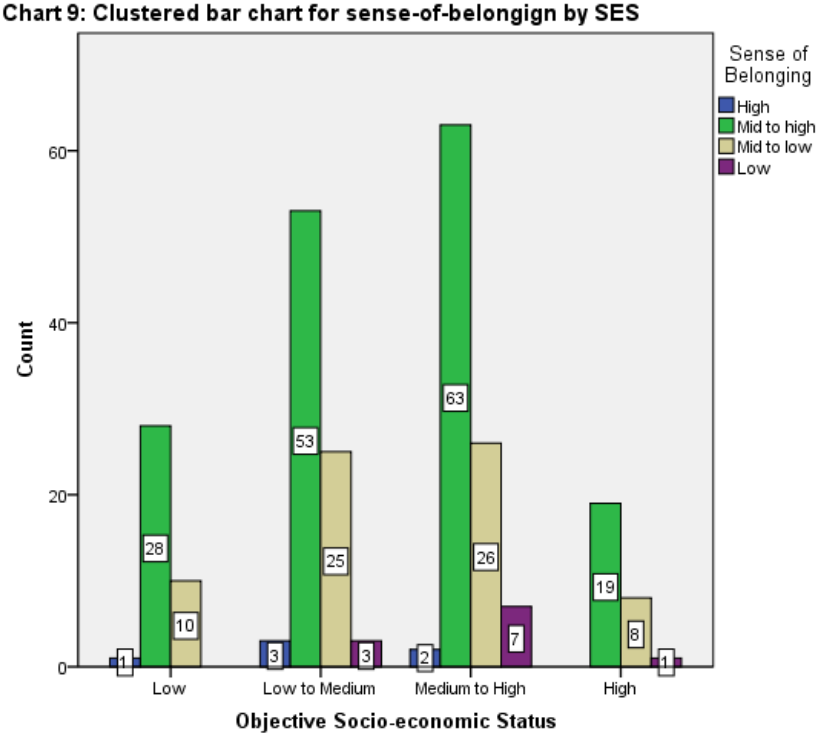
Table 5.27

Bivariate correlation between SES and sense-of-belonging

		Sense of Belonging	Objective Socio-economic Status
Sense of Belonging	Pearson Correlation	1	.081
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.205
	N	268	249
Objective Socio-economic Status	Pearson Correlation	.081	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.205	
	N	249	255

The insignificance of SES on sense-of-belonging is graphically represented in Chart 9. The chart clearly illustrates the almost identical patterns of distribution of levels of satisfaction in the four SES categories.

Chart 9: Clustered bar chart for sense-of-belongign by SES



The percentage of learners reporting above midpoint satisfaction in the groups ‘high’, ‘medium-to-high’, and ‘low-to-medium’ were 67.9, 66.3 and 66.7. Average satisfaction levels for ‘low’ SES learners show a slight difference, with a *higher* percentage – 74.4% - showing positive levels of sense-of-belonging. The congruency between these numbers is the best indication the economic resources available to learners bares little or no affect their school sense-of-belonging.

This conclusion is supported by the across school analysis. As shown earlier, Schools A and B reported mean SES scores of 2.69 and 2.67 respectively, considerably higher than School C where the mean was 1.85. However, the mean sense-of-belonging scores for all three schools fall within 0.03 of one another at 2.35, 2.33 and 2.36 respectively (Appendix 3). These comparisons show definitively that being rich or poor does not directly affect learners’ ability to create the attachments required to develop a sense-of-belonging.

Crosstabulations of sense-of-belonging levels for minority and majority groups in all three schools also showed no statistically significant relationships (Appendix 3). However, it is interesting to note that in all three institutions a higher proportion of learners in the minority SES groups reported levels above the midpoint: 78.4% versus 64.3% in School A, 68.4% versus 67.7% in School B, and 67.6% versus 53.3% in School C. The discrepancies are not great, hence the lack of significance, but the results create a temptation to suggest that not being part of the majority SES group in a school encourages a stronger sense-of-belonging. It is difficult, however, to imagine any causation for this effect.

In summation, the lack of statistically significant findings in the analysis of the effects of socio-economic status shows that it is unlikely that it has any meaningful effect on learners' satisfaction with the climate aspects of the school or their sense-of-belonging. A few trends were nonetheless hinted at. First, close inspection seems to suggest that learners with lower SES may be less likely to be socially satisfied. The materialistic nature of modern societies is offered as a possible explanation for this effect. Second, although the results initially suggested that lower SES corresponded with higher structural satisfaction levels, it was shown that the remarkably little emphasis learners in poorer contexts place on their safety satisfaction was skewing the results. In fact, learners in the poorest school are far less satisfied with their campus and resources than learners in the other two schools. This again suggests that learners in poorer schools evaluate their structural context by comparisons to adequately resourced schools; being poor does not mean learners are willing to accept shoddy infrastructure and a lack of resources. Finally, no effects worth noting were found for sense-of-belonging or for membership to minority SES groups. This simply means that all learners, regardless of economic position, are as likely or unlikely to develop sense-of-belonging in school.

Withstanding a handful of interesting (although weak) relationships worth further study, the analysis has demonstrated that neither language, religion nor socio-economic status are meaningfully related to learners' satisfaction levels with the school climate or their sense-of-belonging. In the ethnically charged South African context, the decision to exclude population group from the analysis may perplex some, but regression analysis showed that effects often ascribed to "race" (a term I choose to place in inverted commas since the line between races are so blurred that it is in any case not a scientifically meaningful classification) are in fact better explained by two of the many far more subtle characteristics

which constitute ethnicity – language and religion. Conclusions regarding "race" can therefore be extrapolated from the results of these two variables, which, it turns out, are virtually meaningless. The final section of analysis will report and discuss the results pertaining to what is perhaps the most sensitive of the issues – diversity. The simple question is: do learners with homogeneous school cohorts report more satisfying experiences of the school climate and develop a stronger sense-of-belonging?

5.2.2.2 Effects of diversity

The hypothesis put forward by Putnam is that heterogeneity disadvantages communities in that it fosters lower levels of trust and respect, key elements for social cohesion and the creation of social capital. For this hypothesis to be supported the data would need to reveal that schools with greater diversity – in the three demographic dimensions separately and combined into an overall diversity measure – show lower levels of social and structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. The need to include structural satisfaction in this analysis is due to its 'satisfaction with safety' component, which reflects perceptions of trust and respect for norms.

The analysis for diversity effects proves to be the simplest in a statistical sense. Since a comparative approach is required, no whole-sample tests are appropriate. Rather, a measure for diversity in each demographic dimension for each school is needed. This is achieved simply by assessing the degree of variation for each dimension in each school as displayed in a frequency test. Comparisons can then be made between means of the three target variables (social satisfaction, structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging) in the two schools with the highest and lowest variance in each demographic dimension. Lastly, a composite variation score for all three dimensions is created by simple addition of the three variation figures and division by three.

5.2.2.2.1 Language Diversity

Table 5.28 shows that the schools with the greatest differences in language diversity (variance) are Schools A and B, with A showing the greatest and B the least. Table 5.29 provides the mean score for each target variable in each of these schools.

Table 5.28
Variances in Language

	School A	School B	School C
Variance	1.09	0.81	0.86

Table 5.29
Means for social satisfaction, structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

	School A	School B
Social Satisfaction	2.38	2.12
Structural Satisfaction	2.16	2.58
Sense-of-belonging	2.35	2.33

The results in table 5.29 show no support for the hypothesis. On the contrary, they show that learners in School B, which has the greater language diversity, reported higher satisfaction levels for both school climate indices and sense-of-belonging (although only by the slighted margin). This demonstrates that linguistic heterogeneity does not negatively affect learners' school experiences in the current sample and that, in fact, it may even enhance the experience.

5.2.2.2.2 Religious Diversity

As shown in Table 5.30, Schools A and C demonstrate little religious diversity, with School C the lower of the two with a variation figure of .029, while the religious variety in School B is far greater at .980.

Table 5.30
Variances in Religion

	School A	School B	School C
Variance	.044	.980	.029

Table 5.31
Means for social satisfaction, structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

	School B	School C
Social Satisfaction	2.12	2.48
Structural Satisfaction	2.58	2.80
Sense-of-belonging	2.33	2.36

With such a large discrepancy between the variations, comparing the mean target variable scores for School B and C (Table 5.31) ought to provide meaningful results regarding the effect of religious diversity. In the case of religious diversity, this simple form of analysis does suggest that there is a small but noticeable negative effect. School B with its greater religious diversity, does show lower means in all three categories. This result supports the hypothesis regarding the negative effect of religious diversity.

While it can certainly be argued that all the major religions reported by the students do teach the virtues required for communal life – from the functionalist perspective this is in large part what religions are designed to do – religious intolerance undoubtedly exists. Since both social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging have been shown to be determined to a meaningful degree by learners' perceptions of the respect shown them, it is possible that perceptions of religious intolerance or discrimination may well contribute to their perceptions of the respect they are receiving. Similarly, since structural satisfaction is partly, although minimally, determined by satisfaction with safety, which itself is a composite of beliefs about normalized peer behaviour, then greater diversity in the basic value sets against which learners are evaluating the norms would lead to a less singular-minded idea of their morality. Put simply, since the relationship between religion and moral frameworks are so close it makes sense that greater religious diversity would make it more difficult for the institution to generate a universally acceptable moral framework for itself, thus leading to a less cohesive school and lower levels of satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. The findings therefore support the hypothesis that religious homogeneity makes for better schools. However, the minute difference between the sense-of-belonging scores makes it impossible to reach the conclusion that religious diversity affects sense-of-belonging in the current sample. So, although the general hypothesis that religious homogeneity is good in a school setting is tentatively supported, this research does not give conclusive evidence that any effects are due to a decreased likelihood of generating a sense-of-belonging.

5.2.2.2.3 **Diversity in Socio-economic Status**

The variance in SES for each school is reported in Table 5.32. It shows that the School A has the greatest diversity and that School C has the least.

Table 5.32
Variances in Socio-economic status

	School A	School B	School C
Variance	.731	.667	.570

Table 5.33
Means for social satisfaction, structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

	School B	School C
Social Satisfaction	2.12	2.48
Structural Satisfaction	2.58	2.80
Sense-of-belonging	2.33	2.36

Table 5.33 presents the mean scores for the three target variables in Schools A and C. A comparison shows support for the hypothesis: School A scores lower in all three categories which suggests that a school comprised of learners from across the socio-economic spectrum is less conducive to the creation of learner satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. The possible explanation for this phenomenon has already been addressed: the tendency to compare material resources. Not only are poorer learners likely to suffer self-esteem affects, but rich learners might develop feelings of superiority, which implies that they will not feel attachment to learners with fewer resources, which lowers social cohesion.

It is also possible that learners with similar resources are more likely to develop friend groups together because this would prevent the situation where some members are unable to participate in activities due to a lack of equipment or money. Such divisions would contribute toward a social environment of in- and out-groups which is not conducive to cohesion. The same cautionary comment regarding conclusions about the effect of religious diversity on sense-of-belonging must be made here. The mean sense-of-belong is so similar that it is not possible to claim any knowledge regarding causation.

5.2.2.2.4 Composite Diversity

Table 5.34 shows the composite variance figure for each school. School B is the most diverse when all three demographic dimensions are combined, while School C is the most homogenous. The means for the target variable are shown in Table 5.35.

Table 5.34
Composite variances (Language, Religion, SES)

	School A	School B	School C
Variance	.622	.819	.486

Table 5.35
Means for social satisfaction, structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

	School A	School C
Social Satisfaction	2.38	2.48
Structural Satisfaction	2.16	2.80
Sense-of-belonging	2.35	2.36

The comparison of the effects of 'composite diversity' on the satisfaction with aspects of the school climate and learner sense-of-belonging is the final and most revealing. The important thing to note from table 5.34 is the wide gap between the composite diversity scores of Schools B and C. It is evident that School B has learners with an array of language, religion and SES combinations (particularly due to the religious diversity), while the majority of the learners in School C fall into the category "African Christians with low-to-medium socio-economic status". To find support for the hypothesis that diversity has a negative effect on learners' satisfaction and sense-of-belonging one would need to demonstrate a clear difference between these two schools, with School B underperforming in each case. However, the figures in Table 5.35 show that the mean score in all three categories are remarkably similar.

The greatest difference is shown in social satisfaction where School B, the diverse school, scores 14.5% lower. This is a meaningful difference and should not be ignored. The result implies that diversity does indeed affect levels of trust and respect, or at least perceptions thereof. It suggests that the learners will have better relations with administrators, teachers and peers when those around them speak as they do, worship the same deity/s, and have equal amounts of money in their pockets. It would be disingenuous not to make this statement; throughout this chapter, suppositions have been made with less evidence. However, a difference of below15% in social satisfaction seems less convincing when considering the difference between the composite diversity scores - .486 versus .819. School B is *far* more diverse than School C. This was evident in the few visits made to the schools during the course of the project. So while the hypothesis is somewhat supported by the statistics, the stand-out feature of the analysis is the weakness of the relationship.

The result of the structural satisfaction comparison is less convincing still. While the hypothesis is once again supported, the difference is only 7.9%. Given the fact that the infrastructure and resources in School B are, in real terms, far superior to those of School C (which has very little by way of multi-media resources, no library, no computer or science labs, and no sports fields) it can be argued that the diversity must, to some degree, explain the lower levels of satisfaction. This is conceded. However, two points temper the argument. First, as mentioned, the gap between the schools is so small that it cannot be used as firm evidence. Second, where there are learners from many different backgrounds, with the variety of value and norm sources this implies, it would make sense to expect a wide variety in the perceptions of the school's structural environment; the learners would have differing perspectives. Indeed, the variance in structural satisfaction is higher in School B compared to school C (.277 versus .163). It makes less sense, though, to believe that one learner's structural satisfaction, which is based on his or her personal expectations resulting from background factors, can be influenced by the amount of differing perspective among his or her peers. It is proposed that diversity may have an effect on the *changes* in learners' perceptions over time as they are influenced by others, but that at any given moment their perception is a result of their entire history up to that point. Simply put, with regard to perceptions of objects such as buildings and books, it is difficult to imagine a pathway through which diversity has any effect at a given point in time.

The final and most telling relationship is that between composite diversity and sense-of-belonging. The difference in the mean reported sense-of-belonging between the two schools is 1.7%. This is negligible. While it must be remembered that the regression analysis strongly suggested that the sense-of-belonging the learners reported is not necessarily *to* the school, but more likely a result of attachments formed *within* the school, the hypothesis that diversity has an inverse relationship with sense-of-belonging receives no support. The hypothesis is based on the proposition that diverse communities are characterised by low levels of trust and respect, which prevents the creation of attachments and, thus, cohesion. People cannot feel as though they belong when they are suspicious of their neighbours and feel their dignity is not considered. The results of this study suggest that this is not the case in the diverse community of School B. Despite their differences, these learners feel respected enough; they feel sufficient social safety to risk forming effectual bonds. It can be argued that they might only associate with others similar to themselves, but it is very unlikely that the extra-mural groups, leadership cohorts and staff members from whom they are extracting these forms of social

capital are homogenous. Further, if association with similar persons is the hidden cause, why is the average sense-of-belonging in School C not much higher? Learners here have a far larger pool of similar persons from whom to select, which would minimise their need to accept negative effects from other forms of difference. The bottom line is that, within the sample assessed for this study, diversity does not directly affect learners' sense-of-belonging.

Chapter 6
Conclusions

A growing body of research indicates that sense-of-belonging to school has a variety of positive outcomes for learners regarding their social, psychological and academic development. This study has in part explored the mechanisms which facilitate these outcomes by describing and analysing learners' perceptions of their school environments and the relative effects of the various *contents* being perceived on the subjective experiences of school. The aim here was to identify the aspects of the school climate that are most important in determining learners' satisfaction with the environment and the properties of these aspects which learners consider desirable. Links were then drawn between satisfaction with the school environment and learner sense-of-belonging. Possible alternative sources of sense-of-belonging were explored given the weak effects on the dependent variable found for the climate aspects as they are organised in the structural model. The first section of this concluding chapter deals with these relationships and the possible implications thereof based on Brofenbrenner's ecological theory and the functionalist normative theories of social control.

The second section of the conclusion addresses the findings from the exploration of the effects of traditional demographic dimensions, minority group status and diversity on learners' perceptions of school climate aspects and their overall sense-of-belonging. A structured summary of the pertinent findings is followed by a discussion around the nature of diversity in South African schools and some possible consequences thereof. Finally, the third section offers some suggestions regarding directions for the reform of the education system and school ecosystems and draws links to the overarching notion of education for citizenship.

6.1 School Climate Perceptions

The structural model employed in this study proved to be only partially effective. The three components of social satisfaction – relations with teachers, administrators and peers – operationalised as they were accounted for 51.4% of the variation in learner's satisfaction levels. The structural satisfaction model comprised of satisfaction with the campus, resources and safety was more effective as it accounted for 70.3% of the variation in the sample. A number of moderate-to-strong relationships emerged in both 'satisfaction' models.

Satisfaction with teachers and peers were revealed as relatively strong predictors of social satisfaction, and the perceptions of the campus and resources were established as meaningful predictors of structural satisfaction. Although none of the relationships were as strong as for the sample in Istanbul, this first level of the model is shown to be useful for assessment of the effects of climate aspects on learners' levels of satisfaction with the school environment. However, the model did not prove successful as a tool for explaining the levels of sense-of-belonging reported by the respondents. Social satisfaction showed a weak relationship at the 95% confidence level, while structural satisfaction was statistically unrelated. Surprisingly, although many of the learners' evaluations of the environment were negative – they are dissatisfied – they nonetheless report positive average sensations of belonging. These findings suggest that learners' perceptions of the school climate aspects do affect their evaluation of the environment but that their perception *of* the school have little bearing on their ability to generate a sense-of-belonging *within* the school. This phenomenon prompted a more detailed analysis in order to identify possible alternative sources of attachment from which sense-of-belonging is appropriated.

Before exploring these alternative sources of sense-of-belonging it is useful to discuss the properties of the social relations identified by the learners as desirable. The analysis of the questionnaire items used to operationalise relations with teachers and administrators revealed that the learners' satisfaction levels were based on their beliefs regarding trust and respect. It was demonstrated that learners are satisfied with the school bureaucracy when they feel that administrators are aware of, and concerned about, their needs. Learners are satisfied with their teachers when they believe that the relationships are characterised by trust, that there is sufficient social safety in the classroom to allow for self-expression. Ultimately, an inductive argument showed that the sentiments reported by learners reflected a basic need to feel respected in order to become satisfied with the social relations with adults in the school. Not surprisingly, this emphasis on respect is repeated in the findings relating to the effects on social satisfaction stemming from perceptions of peer relationships. The analysis indicated that peer satisfaction is achieved when learners believe they can rely on their cohort for academic and personal help. These responses again indicate the vital nature of trust and respect. Simply stated, this study shows that high school learners require a social climate characterised by high levels of trust and respect in order to feel satisfied with the environment. Assuming social satisfaction is necessary for achieving the variety of positive schooling outcomes mentioned in chapter 2, it can be stated with some certainty that a school

wherein the staff members uphold the virtues of *Ubuntu* will produce learners who are academically stronger, psychologically sound, and socially adept.

Unfortunately, the results seem to show that the participating schools do not demonstrate *Ubuntu* since the learners in the sample do not have high levels of social satisfaction. Additionally, the greatest source of social pleasure was shown to be the learners' cohort. This implies that the learners feel there is a higher level of respect toward one another than is shown by the staff. In other words, there is some solidarity amongst the learners but that "school solidarity" is lacking. The implications of this regarding the ability of the institution to set the moral framework for the environment are dire. Solidarity within the learner cohort, the theory infers, is the consequence of shared commitment to, or internalisation of, a set of values and norms. Durkheim and others posit that effectual bonds between the members facilitates this internalisation process. When emotional attachments are created, it is argued, the fear of group rejection commits members to the group "conscience" which guides behaviour. However, the possibility of a circular argument exists here. Why would learners build attachments to their peers *prior* to accepting the prevailing values and norms? That is, what assurance would learners have that they are not taking undue psychological risks by opening up emotionally when they do not share the same moral framework as the group they are becoming a member of? The analysis points to one fundamental phenomenon: the perception of respect. It seems that it is not necessary for an individual to agree completely with the *content* of the moral framework characteristic of any particular group prior to choosing to develop bonds with members in the group; rather, it is merely necessary that the individual is convinced that the group features high levels of respect between members.

The process of attachment and conformity can thus be described as follows. The primary motivational force is the base desire to feel respected. Individuals locate within their setting groups which display respect among members and build emotional attachments to individuals in the group. The "conscience" located within these bonds (as Hirschi posits) then serves to moderate the individual's behaviours through the process of fear. Fear of rejection "pulls" the individual toward the group's values and norms while the fear of sanction by the group "pushes" the individual away from behaviours the members consider to be deviant. Over time the repetition of these cognitive processes reinforce and strengthen the functioning of the "conscience" until the values and norms of the group become internalised. At this point the individual can be said to be in solidarity with the other group members.

Thus imagined, *respect* becomes something more than a value which can be ascribed as quality within any moral framework because if it is the argument becomes circular – individuals would need to internalise the value of respect in order to build the attachments required for the internalisation of values, such as respect. A new conceptualisation of respect as a "value" seems necessary, particularly in light of the proposition that *all* social groups are characterised by the perception amongst committed members that they are being afforded respect, even in groups which outsiders may not describe as respectful. The perception of respect is subjective; while one individual may feel that his/her need for respect is met in a particular group, another individual may feel otherwise. Respect cannot, therefore, be imagined as a "value" ascribable to one group but not another since the perception of respect is a prerequisite for membership to *any* group. Furthermore, as the experiments which formed the basis for Lewin's group dynamic theory of social control show, individuals will change their personal opinions and actions in order to become more "respect-worthy". That is, individuals were shown to be more likely to adopt group beliefs despite knowledge of their falsehood in order to avoid rejection or sanction. This evidence suggests that the need to feel respect is more powerful that any force which causes an individual to hold any particular value or norm.

The notion of respect has thus become problematized. In one sense, respect can be described as a value which groups must display, although it is conceded that the perception of high levels of respect seems to facilitate other desirable features in social groupings, such as interpersonal bonds and trust. However, the primary role in behavioural motivation of *the need to feel respect* and fact that all social groups to which members show commitment are characterised by the *perception of respect*, promotes the concept to a higher level of definition. The power of the need for and perceptions of respect indicate that the concept is paramount to the understanding of "human nature" or "the human spirit". These terms are considered "heretical" by many social scientists, and I am not suggesting here that they exist in any objective sense; however, the heuristic quality of expressions such as these is essential in the functionalist paradigm. To imagine a pure "human nature" as a Weberian "ideal type" enables the formulation of hypotheses which can be tested in comparison with each other and against the theoretical ideal. It is therefore posited that any understanding of human behaviour incorporating notions of "human nature" ought to place at its center the motivational forces contained in the concept of respect. In fact, prior to any such endeavour, it seems apparent that the current conceptualisation of respect requires attention. It is

necessary first to gain a deeper understanding of what exactly it is that people are describing when they use the word and also the social and psychological processes which facilitate its creation and maintain its powerful effects. While the current study has, like others, identified respect as the central concept within personal satisfaction with ecosystems and group solidarity, it offers minimal new insight into the processes involved in the perception of respect or the actual properties of the concept. These are undoubtedly the most useful lines of research for generating a greater understanding of individual and group behaviour in communal settings, particularly with relation to issues of solidarity or citizenship.

The strength of the relationships between peer groups and both social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging demonstrates that the learners feel greater respect within their peer groups than then do between themselves and the school staff. This points toward a prerequisite for feelings of respect – commonality. "Society," Durkheim wrote, "can only exist if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity" (1956:70). Durkheim is not referring to demographic homogeneity; he is referring to similarity in moral frameworks. The argument then follows that an individual attaches to groups, and consequently internalises the values and norms of the group, only if there exist a degree of compatibility – homogeneity – between the group moral framework and the *pre-existing* norms and values held by the individual. The analysis of alternate sources of sense-of-belonging, and perhaps common sense, suggests that compatibility between moral frameworks is more likely to occur for persons with similar backgrounds, interests, challenges and power. Therefore, it is more likely that learners will identify with groups in the school which are constituted by their peers since their similar social roles and locations will result in more-or-less congruent moral frameworks. The shared interests and challenges facing the members of these peer-groups make them places where learners feel they can be "understood" – places in which they believe they can fulfil their need for respect and a sense-of-belonging.

A further point is gleaned from the nature of the intra-school groups which showed the strongest sense-of-belonging relationships. Extra-mural groups (sports and culture), leadership groups and positions, and even gangs, are intrinsically bound by rules. The rules may be formalised, as with sport or prefectship, or maintained and reproduced informally through the "institutionalized memory" of the groups, as is more likely in gangs. Regardless of the sources or the methods of propagation of the rules, members of these groups are aware that there are clearly defined roles, boundaries for behaviour and, most importantly, that deviance will result in sanction. Yet, despite the apparent "costs" of membership, the learners

choose to participate in and commit to these groups. The results indicate, as chapter 3 argued, that the learners assign lower value to these costs than the benefits they derive from membership. The learners receive from these rule-bound groups, comprised of persons with similar world-views, the respect (or at least the perception thereof) that seemingly fulfils their need to feel a sense-of-belonging.

The preceding argument necessarily implies that the surveyed learners do not feel that the school staff members provide a social environment in which they can feel respected, at least not to the degree they feel within their peer groups. The implication of this is that the learners are more committed to conforming to the rules and expectations of their alternate groups than their respective schools. Without the direct attachments to the school itself and the *educational* principles and outcomes it provides (or ought to provide), the learners do not have access to the wide range of positive outcomes related to *school* attachment and sense-of-belonging described in the literature review. While the learners will benefit in a general sense from *any* attachments and memberships inasmuch as they will learn to negotiate between personal desire and group expectations within *a* set of morals, there is no guarantee that the moral frameworks in which this occurs will reflect the virtues required for successful citizenship within a cohesive, heterogeneous, broader community. Furthermore, without attachment to schools directly, learners will not value the *academic* virtues required of them in order to fulfil their cognitive abilities; since they are uncommitted to the virtues of hard work and respect for knowledge they will not become economically productive citizens, which is required for both personal actualization and the development of the nation.

One final concern relating to learners dissatisfaction with the school environment and their resulting alternate sources of attachment is raised. This threat is less immediate but far more serious as it relates to a feature of the national exosystem. South Africans protest; when interest groups or sectors of society are displeased they more often than not take to the streets and voice their opinions. This has been the practice for decades as this was for large periods of our history the only outlet disgruntled groups possessed. And despite the establishment of various other forums since the advent of democracy the slow pace of the nation's development taken with perceptions that government is not fulfilling its responsibilities regarding service delivery public participation/consideration, the frequency of protest action has increased in recent times. Trade unions, political/ideological sects and other interest groups have been taking to the streets in protest on a regular basis in the past two or three

years, often with unfortunate consequences. Increased socialist discourse from various camps, combined with the yet unresolved legacies of apartheid, further contributes to the pattern of groups becoming 'classes *for* themselves', to borrow Marx's phrase. This tendency does not lend itself to reasonable, productive or peaceful modes of conflict resolution; groups becomes less willing to negotiate and compromise when they are organised by ideologies which demand a 'them versus us' mentality.

The culture of protest has, since the mid twentieth century, been a feature of our education system and anyone who follows the national news will know that we still have regular action by students and teachers alike. While unmentioned to this point and not addressed by the study, it is worth considering that school staff too are dissatisfied with the school contexts in which they ply their trade. Teacher strikes may well have become a bane in our system but these should also be seen as visible signs of strong displeasure. Without wanting to be overly fatalistic, given the general socio-political milieu and the trends in both teacher and learner attitudes toward the school environments and the system at large, it is not difficult to conceive a nearby future in which these 'classes' revolt *en masse*. Unless conditions improve soon, our schools could become unmanageable and our system could collapse entirely. The possibility of such a scenario was given concrete form in the township school that pulled out of the study due to fears that the survey items might incite violence from the learners toward the institution. This is clear evidence of an unsatisfying social environment. It should not be surprising that the structural conditions of this school are worse even than those of School C. Simply visiting the school was an unpleasant experience; it is difficult to imagine that working or learning there would be any less unpleasant. It is precisely in these kinds of schools that the seeds of displeasure may germinate into organised revolution.

6.2 Demographics and Diversity

It is useful to begin this section with a reminder of the motivations for exploring the effects of demographic characteristics, minority group status and diversity on learners' experiences in school. Part of the motivation is the criticism from within social capital theory that heterogeneity impedes solidarity by lowering levels of respect within the community. This provocative hypothesis demands attention. From a wider perspective, it is difficult to live an informed life in the modern South Africa without recognising that many of the issues which dominate our intellectual and political debates are the result of our history of racial discrimination and remain problems after almost two decades of democracy because of the

socio-economic inequalities created by those decades of bigotry. Debate around the best paths for our future as a nation is, whether contained within genuine discussion or political banter, usually clouded in a veil of racialised and, in recent times, socio-economic rhetoric. These ideological influences at the exosystem level serve to inform lower levels of "realities" which may not reflect truth. It is therefore considered essential to include "taxonomic" issues in any investigation of social institutions in contemporary South Africa.

In light of the trends within sociology and the socio-political climate of the nation, it also seems necessary to interrogate the nation's policy of inclusive education. Brofenbrenner argues that the relationship between social policy and social science ought to be functionally integrated. While social policy ought to be based on scientific knowledge,

> "knowledge and analysis of social policy are essential for progress in developmental research because they alert the researcher to those aspects of the environment… which are most critical for the cognitive, emotional, and social development of the person. Such knowledge and analysis can also lay bare the ideological assumptions underlying, and sometimes profoundly limiting, the formulation of research problems and designs and thus the range of possible findings. (1979:8)

This quote illustrates that there is a potential danger for researchers to lose objectivity by accepting the ideologies, the stated values of the dominant group, and consequently fail to fulfil the scientific mandate to continuously reappraise the social policies derived therefrom. The notion of inclusive education is attractive as it promotes the creation of microsystems which reflect the idealised, integrated national exosystem the nation-builders envision. The logic seems sound. To paraphrase Thurgood Marshall: when our children learn together they will be able to live together. However, scientific diligence demands that we thoroughly investigate *all* the effects of integrated classrooms to ensure that the environments created to fulfil ideological desires are not negatively impacting learner experiences of school and impeding their access to positive outcomes. Therefore, while the position opens the researcher to charges of intolerance, it is vital that a counter-ideological stance be taken for its heuristic value. If diversity in schools decreases the quality of learners' experiences and achievements, the social policy must be re-thought despite the apparent laudability of the enterprise to educate learners toward citizenship in a diverse society.

The results from the analysis of demographic dimensions and minority group status generated some useful knowledge. First it is worth re-mentioning the multicollinearity created by the dimension 'population group', which is simply a euphemism for the contested term "race". The regression analysis showed that the effects of this variable are explained by variations in the dimensions of religion and language. This is further proof of the lack of scientific usefulness for the concept; it implies the need for more subtle and meaningful categories of classification. The effects of language, religion and socio-economic status follow.

The home language spoken by learners was shown to have no direct effect on learners' levels of satisfaction with either the social or structural aspects of the school. However, there was some evidence that minority language groups have lower levels of satisfaction. The analysis of School B showed that the English speaking learners (predominantly of Indian descent) demonstrated lower levels of satisfaction with the structural aspects of the school than did learners who speak "African" languages at home. This might imply that different home cultures spawn different evaluative frameworks; the values from the home microsystem impact the home-school mesosystem in that different "cultural blueprints" for satisfactory environments are transferred to the assessment of the school microsystem resulting in divergent evaluations of the climate. Further, the analysis of the relationship between minority and majority language groups did reveal that the *African* learners who do not speak Zulu – the dominant language of the region – demonstrated lower levels of sense-of-belonging. This does suggest that the African minority language speakers find it more difficult to identify groups in which they can fulfil their need for attachments due to a perception of disrespect. This finding points toward the possibility of intolerance by the dominant cultural group. However, the overall results for language showed that it has very little bearing on learners' sense-of-belonging.

Previous studies have shown that private religious schools (particularly Catholic schools) outperform government schools academically due to a high quality school climate resulting from agreement on values and norms among learners and teachers largely as a consequence of the high degree of homogeneity within the school population. The high quality climate, it is argued, is a result of better school discipline because there are fewer disagreements regarding rules and their enforcement – there is commonality between individual moral frameworks. Good discipline means less time is wasted on classroom disruptions and dealing with unacceptable behavior, which translates into more time spent on academic tasks and an environment in which learners feel safe to engage, the consequence of which is better

academic performance. These findings and propositions demand that the effects of religious diversity of learner experience receive careful attention.

Due to the virtual absence of religious diversity in schools A and C the analysis of religion was restricted to School B. The results for satisfaction with the school climate aspects were mixed. No statistically significant overall effects were found. However, the minority Muslim cohort did report lower levels of social satisfaction and sense-of-belonging. This again suggests a level of intolerance displayed by the more common Hindu and Christian peer groups. Conversely, the majority Hindu group displayed lower levels of structural satisfaction. No cause for this effect is revealed which led to the hypothesis that particular religions generate within members particular frameworks for evaluating the physical environment and safety conditions of micro-systems. Further investigation of this proposition is required.

Learners' socio-economic status was shown to have no effect on their ability to find a sense-of-belonging. There was however some evidence that learners with lower SES are less satisfied with the social aspects of the school climate. The explanation offered for this effect is that poorer learners feel materially inferior to their more affluent peers, which, in an era of materialism, results in the perception of disrespect. This apparent tendency to evaluate one's own economic resources in comparison to those with greater resources is repeated in the results born out of the analysis of the mean structural satisfaction level between the school A and B, which have almost identical scores, and that of the significantly poorer School C. The findings revealed that the learners located in the immediate environment characterised by relatively poor infrastructure are not satisfied with a similar school environment. The learners in School C are evidently appraising the school climate aspects in relation to their knowledge of the higher quality physical environments enjoyed by many of their peers. It is this "relative dissatisfaction" which breeds the seeds of "class-for-itself" action which contribute to the current quantity of strike action and create the possibility of organised mass revolt in the future.

The results regarding the effects of diversity itself paint an unclear picture. Although no effect was found for language, it was shown that diversity in religion, socio-economic status and composite diversity all had a negative effect on learners' levels of satisfaction with the school climate aspects. The effects were small; particularly those for composite diversity but the findings do suggest that diversity has an influence on learners' assessment of the

environment, especially the social aspects. This conclusion insinuates that the policy of inclusive education may in fact be an impediment to the achievement of positive outcomes. This line of questioning certainly warrants a great deal more attention. If the findings of this study are supported by further research there would be a necessity for one of two actions. The first option – the "flight" reaction - would be to dismiss the policy calling for "transformation" of our schools to allow for homogenous environments. This would, according to the theory, result in better academic performance and psychological stability; however, it would not produce citizens capable of negotiating a diverse society. The second option – the "fix" response – is to seek out strategies for increasing tolerance levels within our schools, among peer groups and between learners and staff. Chapter one noted that there have been efforts by both pedagogic theorists and curriculum designers in South Africa to put such strategies in place. The results of this study suggest that these efforts have been unsuccessful; greater diversity in learner composition is associated with lower levels of satisfaction with the school environment.

However, none of the measures of diversity showed any relationship with sense-of-belonging; the learners in the three schools, with their varying levels of diversification, showed an almost identical ability to generate the effectual bonds within the school which enable them to feel as though they belong. While these attachments were shown to not be *to* the school but *within* it, the finding nonetheless illustrates that diversity is not preventing the learners from perceiving high enough levels of respect to risk forming emotional bonds with their peers. It is of course possible that the groups in which learners are generating a sense-of-belonging are homogeneous, but it was argued that at least two of the three within-school groups identified in the study as likely sources of belongingness – extra-murals and leadership roles - are unlikely to show no diversity. This is however only conjecture and may prove false. If it is the case that the alternative groups from which sense-of-belonging is derived are largely homogeneous then Putnam's hypothesis would be supported; there would be evidence that diversity lowers levels of perceived respect in communities.

The results for the effects of diversity along the three "traditional" dimensions used to operationalise the concept again demand further investigation. The subtle effects discerned from the data are provocative to both scientists and policy-makers. However, if it is accepted that diversity has an influence on learner experience then the sheer subtlety of the findings might be an indication of the failings of the taxonomical practises used to describe diversity. In this age of global interconnectivity, the sources of values and norms to which populations

are exposed – the cultures and subcultures – are expanding the characteristics used by individuals to define their identities. It is entirely possible that a learner who is ascribed the identity of "poor Zulu Christian" might not base his or her self-identification on any of these categories; he or she might identify him- or herself as a "nerdy basketball player who listens to rock music". This learner would, it is proposed, be less affected by diversity along the traditional lines but may suffer as a result of a school environment which celebrates rugby players (resulting in more of them), does not encourage all learners to be studious (causing fewer nerds to appear) and has extra-mural programmes for all kinds of music. The diversity in these non-traditional but increasingly influential categories of difference may in fact prove to have an even greater negative effect on learners. So, not only are the effects of diversity itself not clear, but the way diversity is conceptualised also appears to hinder the attainment of knowledge regarding the effects of the concept.

Finally, some conclusions regarding the necessary reformation of school environments and education for citizenship are made. First, this study has shown that it is indeed necessary to improve the structural conditions of our schools. The quality of the physical environment and resources available to learner affect the levels of satisfaction with the environment. Learners simply do not want to be taught in poor structural environments. The psychological processes which facilitate this effect are worth further study. It may be that learners are not inspired to invest their time and efforts when they do not believe that enough financial resources have been invested in their educational setting and, therefore, their education. It might also be an issue of pride; the surroundings do not reflect their perceived self-worth. There are many possibilities. What is clear is that improvement of school infrastructure and resources must remain high on the government agenda if learners are to feel respected and thereby attain a sense of attachment and commitment to the positive aspirations of the broader society.

Second, it is evident that the learners sampled are not satisfied with their social relations with school staff members. The learners do not perceive high levels of trust or respect and thus, with some exeptions, are not forming bonds with the staff, at least not to the same extent as they are with their peers. This finding is singled out as most the most damaging. By not forming emotional bonds to the school staff the learners are not developing a sense-of-belonging *to* the school. This means that the learners are not gaining access to the multiple positive outcomes attachment to the school has been shown by previous research to provide. Until learners perceive the staff as viable sources of attachment the quality of their holistic education will remain inferior. Furthermore, the perceived lack of respect from staff indicates

that they are not modelling the qualities of *Ubuntu*. If our children are being taught in an environment which does not display the core values which underpin solidarity, no amount of curricula reform will enable our schools to graduate learners who are trained for citizenship in any society, let alone a diverse one with a legacy of institutionalised bigotry. While our national educational policies may express on paper the blueprints for a system and schools which reflect the idyllic principles of an *Ubuntu*-informed climate, it seems that these words are not being translated into practise by school employees. To alter yet mirror the question asked in the introductory chapter: how can we expect our young South Africans to know what it is to live out the principles of *Ubuntu* in this complex nation when they have not experienced what it is to do so in school because those responsible for training them for life have failed to model those principles? The key to improving both learner experiences at school and their attainment of positive schooling outcomes are the values, attitudes and norms held and displayed by the teachers and administrators within the system. Unless improvements are made to the quality of persons employed and the conditions in which they operate, the South African education system will remain dysfunctional and will not, as Madiba insists it can, truly liberate our citizens and create "a better life for all".

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Appendix 1

Regression Model Results (Figure 5.1)

a) **Social Satisfaction**

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	2.653	.016		170.207	.000		
	Satisfaction with Teachers	.263	.023	.444	11.268	.000	.961	1.041
	Satisfaction with Administrators	.247	.027	.358	9.119	.000	.966	1.036
	Satisfaction with Peers	.285	.022	.494	12.683	.000	.981	1.019

a. Dependent Variable: Social Satisfaction

b) **Structural Satisfaction**

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	2.570	.030		85.723	.000		
	Satisfaction with Campus	.314	.042	.496	7.514	.000	.843	1.186
	Satisfaction with Resources	.304	.042	.484	7.285	.000	.831	1.203
	Satisfaction with Safety	.275	.061	.274	4.482	.000	.983	1.017

a. Dependent Variable: Structural Satisfaction

Frequencies for Schools B and C: "Our teachers respect us" and 'social satisfaction'.
(From 5.1.3.1)

School B

Table A1:
Frequencies: Our teachers respect us

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	14	20.3	20.3	20.3
	Agree	30	43.5	43.5	63.8
	Not Sure	17	24.6	24.6	88.4
	Disagree	5	7.2	7.2	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table A2:
Frequencies: Social Satisfaction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High	2	2.9	2.9	2.9
	Mid to high	56	81.2	82.4	85.3
	Mid to low	10	14.5	14.7	100.0
	Total	68	98.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.4		
Total		69	100.0		

School C

Table A3:
Frequencies: Our teachers respect us

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	4	6.0	6.0	6.0
	Agree	20	29.9	29.9	35.8
	Not Sure	22	32.8	32.8	68.7
	Disagree	14	20.9	20.9	89.6
	Strongly disagree	7	10.4	10.4	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	

a. School = School C

Table A4:
Frequencies: Social Satisfaction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mid to high	34	50.7	54.0	54.0
	Mid to low	28	41.8	44.4	98.4
	Low	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
	Total	63	94.0	100.0	
Missing	System	4	6.0		
Total		67	100.0		

a. School = School C

Peers and intra-school group memberships

Crosstabulation results of independent samples t-tests for "extra-mural participation", "previous family member at school", "hold leadership position" versus "sense-of-belonging" from section 5.1.3.2.2.

Extramural Participation

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Extramural Participation	Yes	Count	4	121	46	7	178
		% within Extramural Participation	2.2%	68.0%	25.8%	3.9%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	66.7%	70.3%	60.5%	63.6%	67.2%
	No	Count	2	51	30	4	87
		% within Extramural Participation	2.3%	58.6%	34.5%	4.6%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	33.3%	29.7%	39.5%	36.4%	32.8%
Total		Count	6	172	76	11	265
		% within Extramural Participation	2.3%	64.9%	28.7%	4.2%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.372[a]	3	.499
Likelihood Ratio	2.340	3	.505
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.614	1	.204
N of Valid Cases	265		

a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.97.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
		Extramural Participation Dependent	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Extramural Participation Dependent	.009	.012		.500[c]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.007	.010		.125[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Previous family member at school

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Previous family member at school	Yes	Count	3	85	33	6	127
		% within Previous family member at school	2.4%	66.9%	26.0%	4.7%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	50.0%	49.1%	43.4%	54.5%	47.7%
	No	Count	3	88	43	5	139
		% within Previous family member at school	2.2%	63.3%	30.9%	3.6%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	50.0%	50.9%	56.6%	45.5%	52.3%
Total		Count	6	173	76	11	266
		% within Previous family member at school	2.3%	65.0%	28.6%	4.1%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.919[a]	3	.821
Likelihood Ratio	.921	3	.820
Linear-by-Linear Association	.157	1	.692
N of Valid Cases	266		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.86.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.005	.019	.243	.808
		Previous family member at school Dependent	.008	.032	.243	.808
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.000	.000	.[c]	.[c]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Previous family member at school Dependent	.003	.007		.822[d]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.002	.005		.667[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Hold leadership positions

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.749[a]	3	.432
Likelihood Ratio	2.831	3	.418
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.467	1	.116
N of Valid Cases	265		

a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.47.

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Hold leadership positions	Yes	Count	2	47	14	2	65
		% within Hold leadership positions	3.1%	72.3%	21.5%	3.1%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	33.3%	27.3%	18.4%	18.2%	24.5%
	No	Count	4	125	62	9	200
		% within Hold leadership positions	2.0%	62.5%	31.0%	4.5%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	66.7%	72.7%	81.6%	81.8%	75.5%
Total		Count	6	172	76	11	265
		% within Hold leadership positions	2.3%	64.9%	28.7%	4.2%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
		Hold leadership positions Dependent	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Hold leadership positions Dependent	.010	.012		.434[c]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.007	.009		.133[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Appendix 3

Crosstabulations for language and sense-of-belonging, social satisfaction and structural satisfaction

Language v Sense of Belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Other	Count	0	6	8	0	14
		% within Language	.0%	42.9%	57.1%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	3.5%	10.4%	.0%	5.2%
	Zulu	Count	5	116	53	8	182
		% within Language	2.7%	63.7%	29.1%	4.4%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	83.3%	67.1%	68.8%	72.7%	68.2%
	English	Count	1	51	16	3	71
		% within Language	1.4%	71.8%	22.5%	4.2%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	16.7%	29.5%	20.8%	27.3%	26.6%
Total		Count	6	173	77	11	267
		% within Language	2.2%	64.8%	28.8%	4.1%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.838[a]	6	.250
Likelihood Ratio	8.081	6	.232
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.814	1	.178
N of Valid Cases	267		

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Other	Count	0	6	8	0	14
		% within Language	.0%	42.9%	57.1%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	3.5%	10.4%	.0%	5.2%
	Zulu	Count	5	116	53	8	182
		% within Language	2.7%	63.7%	29.1%	4.4%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	83.3%	67.1%	68.8%	72.7%	68.2%
	English	Count	1	51	16	3	71
		% within Language	1.4%	71.8%	22.5%	4.2%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	16.7%	29.5%	20.8%	27.3%	26.6%
Total		Count	6	173	77	11	267
		% within Language	2.2%	64.8%	28.8%	4.1%	100.0%

a. 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .31.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.011	.021	.535	.593
		Language Dependent	.000	.000	.[c]	.[c]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.021	.039	.535	.593
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Language Dependent	.008	.007		.660[d]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.019	.016		.020[d]

Language v Social Satisfaction

			Social Satisfaction				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Other	Count	0	7	5	0	12
		% within Language	.0%	58.3%	41.7%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	4.4%	6.3%	.0%	5.0%
	Zulu	Count	0	95	64	1	160
		% within Language	.0%	59.4%	40.0%	.6%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	60.1%	80.0%	100.0%	66.4%
	English	Count	2	56	11	0	69
		% within Language	2.9%	81.2%	15.9%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	35.4%	13.8%	.0%	28.6%
Total		Count	2	158	80	1	241
		% within Language	.8%	65.6%	33.2%	.4%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.761[a]	6	.007
Likelihood Ratio	19.272	6	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.313	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	241		

a. 7 cells (58.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .05.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.012	.008	1.420	.156
		Language Dependent	.025	.017	1.420	.156
		Social Satisfaction Dependent	.000	.000	.[c]	.[c]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Language Dependent	.059	.020		.000[d]
		Social Satisfaction Dependent	.048	.023		.000[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

Language v Structural Satisfaction

			Structural Satisfaction				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Other	Count	0	5	8	0	13
		% within Language	.0%	38.5%	61.5%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Environmental Satisfaction	.0%	3.9%	7.4%	.0%	5.3%
	Zulu	Count	7	93	62	0	162
		% within Language	4.3%	57.4%	38.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Environmental Satisfaction	100.0%	72.7%	57.4%	.0%	66.4%
	English	Count	0	30	38	1	69
		% within Language	.0%	43.5%	55.1%	1.4%	100.0%
		% within Environmental Satisfaction	.0%	23.4%	35.2%	100.0%	28.3%
Total		Count	7	128	108	1	244
		% within Language	2.9%	52.5%	44.3%	.4%	100.0%
		% within Environmental Satisfaction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.394[a]	6	.054
Likelihood Ratio	14.503	6	.024
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.253	1	.071
N of Valid Cases	244		

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.061	.044	1.330	.184
		Language Dependent	.012	.012	1.002	.316
		Environmental Satisfaction Dependent	.095	.074	1.226	.220
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Language Dependent	.039	.016		.004[c]
		Environmental Satisfaction Dependent	.024	.018		.008[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Crosstabulations for language and sense-of-belonging, social satisfaction and structural satisfaction split by school

School A

Language v Sense of Belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Zulu	Count	2	78	31	7	118
		% within Language	1.7%	66.1%	26.3%	5.9%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	66.7%	87.6%	93.9%	87.5%	88.7%
	English	Count	1	6	0	1	8
		% within Language	12.5%	75.0%	.0%	12.5%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	33.3%	6.7%	.0%	12.5%	6.0%
	Setswana	Count	0	1	1	0	2
		% within Language	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	1.1%	3.0%	.0%	1.5%
	Xhosa	Count	0	2	0	0	2
		% within Language	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.0%	1.5%
	Zulu & English	Count	0	2	1	0	3
		% within Language	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.2%	3.0%	.0%	2.3%

a. School = School A

Chi-Square Tests[b]

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.710[a]	12	.727
Likelihood Ratio	9.549	12	.655
Linear-by-Linear Association	.293	1	.588
N of Valid Cases	133		

Language v Sense of Belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Zulu	Count	2	78	31	7	118
		% within Language	1.7%	66.1%	26.3%	5.9%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	66.7%	87.6%	93.9%	87.5%	88.7%
	English	Count	1	6	0	1	8
		% within Language	12.5%	75.0%	.0%	12.5%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	33.3%	6.7%	.0%	12.5%	6.0%
	Setswana	Count	0	1	1	0	2
		% within Language	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	1.1%	3.0%	.0%	1.5%
	Xhosa	Count	0	2	0	0	2
		% within Language	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.0%	1.5%
	Zulu & English	Count	0	2	1	0	3
		% within Language	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.2%	3.0%	.0%	2.3%

a. 16 cells (80.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .05.

b. School = School A

Directional Measures[d]

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
		Language Dependent	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.000	.000	.[b]	.[b]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Language Dependent	.024	.029		.396[c]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.020	.010		.800[c]

Language v Sense of Belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Zulu	Count	2	78	31	7	118
		% within Language	1.7%	66.1%	26.3%	5.9%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	66.7%	87.6%	93.9%	87.5%	88.7%
	English	Count	1	6	0	1	8
		% within Language	12.5%	75.0%	.0%	12.5%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	33.3%	6.7%	.0%	12.5%	6.0%
	Setswana	Count	0	1	1	0	2
		% within Language	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	1.1%	3.0%	.0%	1.5%
	Xhosa	Count	0	2	0	0	2
		% within Language	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.0%	1.5%
	Zulu & English	Count	0	2	1	0	3
		% within Language	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.2%	3.0%	.0%	2.3%

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

d. School = School A

School B

Language v Sense of Belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Zulu	Count	1	1	4	0	6
		% within Language	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	2.2%	20.0%	.0%	8.7%
	English	Count	0	45	16	2	63
		% within Language	.0%	71.4%	25.4%	3.2%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	97.8%	80.0%	100.0%	91.3%
Total		Count	1	46	20	2	69
		% within Language	1.4%	66.7%	29.0%	2.9%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

a. School = School B

Chi-Square Tests[b]

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.374[a]	3	.001
Likelihood Ratio	11.119	3	.011
Linear-by-Linear Association	.582	1	.446
N of Valid Cases	69		

a. 6 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.

b. School = School B

Directional Measures[d]

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.138	.071	1.665	.096
		Language Dependent	.167	.152	1.007	.314
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.130	.091	1.359	.174
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Language Dependent	.237	.060		.001[c]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.084	.053		.001[c]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

d. School = School B

School C

Language v Sense of Belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Zulu	Count	2	37	18	1	58
		% within Language	3.4%	63.8%	31.0%	1.7%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	94.9%	75.0%	100.0%	87.9%
	Zulu & English	Count	0	1	6	0	7
		% within Language	.0%	14.3%	85.7%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.6%	25.0%	.0%	10.6%
	Zulu & Xhosa	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		% within Language	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.6%	.0%	.0%	1.5%
Total		Count	2	39	24	1	66
		% within Language	3.0%	59.1%	36.4%	1.5%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Language v Sense of Belonging

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Language	Zulu	Count	2	37	18	1	58
		% within Language	3.4%	63.8%	31.0%	1.7%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	94.9%	75.0%	100.0%	87.9%
	Zulu & English	Count	0	1	6	0	7
		% within Language	.0%	14.3%	85.7%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.6%	25.0%	.0%	10.6%
	Zulu & Xhosa	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		% within Language	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	2.6%	.0%	.0%	1.5%
Total		Count	2	39	24	1	66
		% within Language	3.0%	59.1%	36.4%	1.5%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

a. School = School C

Chi-Square Tests[b]

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.797[a]	6	.185
Likelihood Ratio	9.238	6	.161
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.751	1	.053
N of Valid Cases	66		

a. 10 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5.

The minimum expected count is .02.

b. School = School C

Directional Measures[e]

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.143	.063	1.943	.052
		Language Dependent	.000	.000	.[c]	.[c]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.185	.088	1.943	.052
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Language Dependent	.100	.069		.043[d]
		Sense of Belonging Dependent	.109	.056		.002[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

e. School = School C

Socio-economic modes for School A, School B and School C

School A

N	Valid	121
	Missing	17
Mode		3

School B

N	Valid	69
	Missing	0
Mode		3

School C

N	Valid	65
	Missing	2
Mode		2

Crosstabulations for Socio-economic status and sense-of-belonging, social satisfaction and structural satisfaction by school

Socio-economic status v Social Satisfaction School A

			Social Satisfaction		
			Mid to high	Mid to low	Total
Socio-economic status	Not medium-to-high	Count	31	23	54
		% within Socio-economic status	57.4%	42.6%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	50.8%	59.0%	54.0%
	Medium-to-high	Count	30	16	46
		% within Socio-economic status	65.2%	34.8%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	49.2%	41.0%	46.0%

Socio-economic status v Social Satisfaction School B

			Social Satisfaction			
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Total
Socio-economic status	Not medium-to-high	Count	0	31	7	38
		% within Socio-economic status	.0%	81.6%	18.4%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	.0%	55.4%	70.0%	55.9%
	Medium-to-high	Count	2	25	3	30
		% within Socio-economic status	6.7%	83.3%	10.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	44.6%	30.0%	44.1%
Total		Count	2	56	10	68
		% within Socio-economic status	2.9%	82.4%	14.7%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Socio-economic status v Social Satisfaction School C

			Social Satisfaction			
			Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Socio-economic status	Not-low-to-medium	Count	20	12	0	32
		% within Socio-economic status	62.5%	37.5%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	60.6%	44.4%	.0%	52.5%
	Low-to-medium	Count	13	15	1	29
		% within Socio-economic status	44.8%	51.7%	3.4%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	39.4%	55.6%	100.0%	47.5%
Total		Count	33	27	1	61
		% within Socio-economic status	54.1%	44.3%	1.6%	100.0%
		% within Social Satisfaction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstabulation for socio-economic status and structural satisfaction and sense-of-belonging

Socio-economic Status v Structural Satisfaction

			Structural Satisfaction				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Objective Socio-economic Status	Low	Count	0	12	20	0	32
		% within Objective Socio-economic Status	.0%	37.5%	62.5%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Structural Satisfaction	.0%	10.3%	19.0%	.0%	14.0%
	Low to Medium	Count	3	36	37	0	76
		% within Objective Socio-economic Status	3.9%	47.4%	48.7%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Structural Satisfaction	42.9%	31.0%	35.2%	.0%	33.2%

	Medium to High	Count	1	54	36	1	92
		% within Objective Socio-economic Status	1.1%	58.7%	39.1%	1.1%	100.0%
		% within Structural Satisfaction	14.3%	46.6%	34.3%	100.0%	40.2%
	High	Count	3	14	12	0	29
		% within Objective Socio-economic Status	10.3%	48.3%	41.4%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Structural Satisfaction	42.9%	12.1%	11.4%	.0%	12.7%

Lambda =.043

School means for structural satisfaction

School A

N	Valid	123
	Missing	15
Mean		2.16
Mode		2

School B

N	Valid	67
	Missing	2
Mean		2.58
Mode		3

School C

N	Valid	55
	Missing	12
Mean		2.80
Mode		3

Crosstabulation of satisfaction with campus and school

			School			
			School A	School B	School C	Total
Satisfaction with Campus	High	Count	11	2	1	14
		% within Satisfaction with Campus	78.6%	14.3%	7.1%	100.0%
		% within School	8.3%	2.9%	1.8%	5.4%
	Mid to high	Count	71	27	10	108
		% within Satisfaction with Campus	65.7%	25.0%	9.3%	100.0%
		% within School	53.8%	39.7%	17.5%	42.0%
	Mid to low	Count	46	34	36	116
		% within Satisfaction with Campus	39.7%	29.3%	31.0%	100.0%
		% within School	34.8%	50.0%	63.2%	45.1%
	Low	Count	4	5	10	19
		% within Satisfaction with Campus	21.1%	26.3%	52.6%	100.0%
		% within School	3.0%	7.4%	17.5%	7.4%
Total		Count	132	68	57	257
		% within Satisfaction with Campus	51.4%	26.5%	22.2%	100.0%
		% within School	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

School means for sense-of-belonging

School A

N	Valid	133
	Missing	5
Mean		2.35
Mode		2

School B

N	Valid	69
	Missing	0
Mean		2.33
Mode		2

School C

N	Valid	66
	Missing	1
Mean		2.36
Mode		2

Crosstabulations of minority socio-economic groups status and sense-of-belonging by school

School A

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Socio-economic status	Not medium-to-high	Count	1	46	10	3	60
		% within Socio-economic status	1.7%	76.7%	16.7%	5.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	33.3%	57.5%	40.0%	37.5%	51.7%
	Medium-to-high	Count	2	34	15	5	56
		% within Socio-economic status	3.6%	60.7%	26.8%	8.9%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	66.7%	42.5%	60.0%	62.5%	48.3%

School B

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Socio-economic status	Not medium-to-high	Count	1	25	12	0	38
		% within Socio-economic status	2.6%	65.8%	31.6%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	100.0%	54.3%	60.0%	.0%	55.1%
	Medium-to-high	Count	0	21	8	2	31
		% within Socio-economic status	.0%	67.7%	25.8%	6.5%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	.0%	45.7%	40.0%	100.0%	44.9%

School C

			Sense of Belonging				
			High	Mid to high	Mid to low	Low	Total
Socio-economic status	Not-low-to-medium	Count	1	22	11	0	34
		% within Socio-economic status	2.9%	64.7%	32.4%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	50.0%	59.5%	45.8%	.0%	53.1%
	Low-to-medium	Count	1	15	13	1	30
		% within Socio-economic status	3.3%	50.0%	43.3%	3.3%	100.0%
		% within Sense of Belonging	50.0%	40.5%	54.2%	100.0%	46.9%

University of Kwazulu-Natal

School of Sociology

Masters Research Project

Project Title:

Diversity and Attachment in High School:
The influence of school composition on student sense of belonging

Researcher:

Jon-Mark Olivier

Please complete the questionnaire by <u>writing your information where space is provided or by placing a cross (X)</u> over the correct answer in the box.

A. Background Information

1) How old are you?								
2) What is your home Language?								
3) Indicate whether you are:		Male				Female		
4) To which population group do you belong?		Indian	African	White		Coloured	Other (Please say which) _____	
5) What religion do you practice?		Hinduism	Islam	Christianity		Judaism	Other (Please say which or none) _____	
6) Compared to your classmates, would you say you are:	Very poor	Poor		Average		Rich	Very rich	
7) When was the last time you received a new cell phone?	Never	More than a year ago		Between 6 months and 1 year ago		In the last 6 months		
8) What is the highest level of education attained by either of your parents?	Post-graduate tertiary degree	Undergraduate tertiary degree		Matric certificate		Some high school	Primary school	None
9) In terms of academic performance, please rate yourself:		Very strong	Strong	Average		Weak	Very weak	

10) Do you participate in extra-murals (sport, cultural, etc.)?	Yes	No
11) Have any of your family members attended your school before you?	Yes	No
12) Do you hold any leadership positions? (E.g. class captain, team captain, etc).	Yes	No
13) Do most of your friends go to your school?	Yes	No

B. General Questions

The following section contains various statements about your school life. Please give your opinion on each statement by placing an X in the matching column.

EXAMPLE

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Our teachers trust us.		**X**			

Please complete the questionnaire:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. Our teachers are hard on us.					
2. Our teachers trust us.					
3. Our teachers are fair.					
4. Our teachers are impatient toward us.					
5. Our teachers follow our progress closely.					
6. Our teachers make fun of us.					
7. Our teachers respect us.					

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
8. We can easily express our opinions/ideas in the classroom.					
9. Our teachers are very friendly.					
10. Our teachers punish us for no reason.					
11. Our school principal is concerned about us.					
12. Our school administrators (principals, HOD's, grade-heads and secretarial staff) are concerned about us.					
13. Our school administrators are very unfair.					
14. Our school administrators pay attention to our needs.					
15. Our school administrators are very tough.					
16. Our school administrators often discipline us.					
17. I feel close to my classmates.					
18. I can share my problems with my classmates.					
19. I usually have a good time with my friends.					
20. I feel lonely in my class.					
21. We often help each other in class.					
22. There are students who bunk classes.					
23. There are students who damage the school building and furniture.					
24. There are students who insult and threaten the teachers and administrators.					
25. There are students who are given disciplinary punishments.					
26. Students fight with each other.					
27. There are students who are gang members.					

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
28. I like our school building/campus.						
29. Physical conditions of our classes are satisfactory.						
30. Our seats are comfortable.						
31. I feel crowded in the classroom.						
32. The bathrooms are clean.						
33. Sports areas are good enough.						
34. There are enough opportunities for fun at school.						
35. Our tuck-shop is good enough.						We don't have.
36. Our computer labs are good enough.						We don't have.
37. Our science laboratory is technologically good enough.						We don't have.
38. Our library is good enough.						We don't have.
39. Technology (computers, DVDs, etc.) is used enough in our classes.						
40. We have had enough extracurricular activities (sports tournaments, cultural events, outings, etc.).						
41. I feel that I belong to this school						
42. I am glad to be a student in this school.						
43. I feel like an outsider in this school.						

Thank you for your time and cooperation!