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**AN EXPLORATION OF THE ATTITUDES OF GRADE TEN LEARNERS AT
AN EX-MODEL C SCHOOL TOWARDS RACIAL INTEGRATION**

By

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DECLARATION

I, Sharon D. Enoch, declare that this dissertation entitled, “**An Exploration of the Attitudes of Grade Ten Learners at an ex-Model C School towards Racial Integration**” is the result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been submitted in part, or in full, for any other degree or to any other University.

Sharon D. Enoch

21-04-2004

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Date

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DEDICATION

TO MY PRECIOUS HUSBAND, JOHN AND MY LOVING CHILDREN

JAPHETH, CANDACE AND SHEVONNE

FOR FILLING MY LIFE SO COMPLETELY

ABSTRACT

The primary aim of this study was to explore the attitudes of grade ten learners towards racial integration at an ex-Model C school in the suburb of Kloof, Kwa Zulu-Natal. In addition, the study ventured to explore the influence of variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement on learners' attitudes towards integration. Finally, the study aimed to establish learners' perceptions of the difficulties and benefits of integrated schooling, as well as their suggestions to improve school integration.

The Pupils' Attitude to Integration Questionnaire was used to gather data from 172 learners, of whom 82 were males and 90 were females. The questionnaire yielded both quantitative and qualitative data that provided insight into the attitudes learners held towards integration. Interviews were also conducted with 12 learners. The researcher was, thereby, able to establish the difficulties and benefits of integration for learners, and their suggestions to improve racial integration at schools. Interview responses were qualitatively analysed and emergent themes extracted.

Evidence from the data revealed that, generally, learners held positive attitudes towards integrated schooling. Furthermore, their attitudes were significantly influenced by race, gender and scholastic achievement. Age was not a significantly influential variable. In terms of the results, Coloured learners were most positive regarding racial integration, followed by Black, Indian and White learners. Girls revealed more positive attitudes than boys. Learners with average and above average symbols were more positive than those with below average symbols. Results of the interviews indicated that learners were experiencing more difficulties than benefits in respect of integration. Nevertheless, some learners did offer suggestions to improve integrated schooling.

The outcomes of this study were analysed within the context of both international and local literature. Theories of attitude formation as well as theories of racist attitude formation were used in an attempt to explain the results obtained.

The study concluded with recommendations for learners, educators, parents and the community at large, to facilitate the cultivation of positive attitudes towards the integration of races. It is anticipated that this research endeavour will not only contribute to an awareness of the challenges of racial integration in schools in South Africa, but will also provide insight into the pivotal role played by significant others and society, in general, in the formation of positive racial attitudes.

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CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

To the outside world looking in at South Africa, desegregation of schools is synonymous with the end of apartheid. However, this is far from reality. It takes much more than a mechanical process of opening schools to learners of all race groups, to overcome the inequities of apartheid. “Nevertheless, there is something deeply symbolic attached to the image of children of different race groups coming together in what was the heartland of racism” (Naidoo, 1996, p. 1). This is, possibly, why researchers have been attracted to this complex and intriguing area of study. It is even more intriguing to explore the attitudes of these children towards this “coming together” in what Hofmeyr (2000, p. 21) refers to, as “the melting pot of racial integration”.

The purpose of this study is to explore the attitudes of learners to racial integration.

Any study of racial attitudes must be understood and interpreted within a socio-political context. It is, therefore, necessary to provide a historical overview of the South African educational system.

1.2 A BRIEF HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The South African educational system has been characterised by a protracted history of racial discrimination and segregation (Freer & Christie, 1992 a). This has resulted largely from South Africa’s policy of apartheid and separate development. One of the

earliest policies of separate education was the Education Act of 1907 which stated that “no coloured child or person shall be admitted to or be allowed to remain a pupil, of any school, class or institution for White children” (Behr, 1948, p.41). The apartheid system was based on White domination of all South Africans who were classified as “black”. Included in this category were Indian, Coloured and African people. White people had their own laws and facilities, as did Indian, Coloured and African people. (Gilmour & Soudien, 1994). This policy has a history that dates back to the colonial period in South African history (Christie, 1985), and was entrenched by the apartheid policy of the National Party when it assumed power in 1948. The National policy for General Education Affairs Act of 1948 indicated that the government was strongly supportive of segregated education. The concept of the “general affairs” Department of National Education, and the four different departments for the “own affairs” of the four population groups shows this clearly (Bot, 1991). Separate education departments were created to oversee the education of the four different race groups, as stipulated in the Eislen Commission Report of 1951, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Coloured Person’s Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965. By the 1980’s, the House of Assembly was the controlling authority of education for White people, the House of Delegates was responsible for the education of Indians, the House of Representatives was the authority for Coloured people and the Department of Education and Training catered for African pupils.

Concurrent with these laws were grave inequalities in the state funding for the different population groups, with African children’s education receiving minimal funding. Their education was thus characterised by insufficient equipment, under-qualified teachers and a general shortage of schools (Bot, 1992; Eyber, Dyer & Versfeld, 1997; Gilmour & Soudien, 1994 & Naidoo, 1996). The educational spending, per capita, was R3082.00 for White schools and R411.00 for African schools in the 1988/1989 year, according to the South African Institute for Race Relations (1990). Furthermore, White children received free, compulsory education, which was not extended to Black, Coloured and Indian children. In addition, non-White children were faced with a shortage of schools and inadequately trained teachers.

Although there was some resistance to the apartheid education policies, nothing changed significantly until the Soweto students uprisings in 1976 (Bot, 1992; Christie,

1994 & Naidoo, 1996). That year was the turning point in the history of education in South Africa. For mainly Black schools in Soweto and other parts of the country, 16th June marked the beginning of more than a decade of vehement resistance to apartheid education. The Catholic and private schools also began to articulate their disapproval of the apartheid policies in South African education. This was the beginning of a struggle which continued right into the 1980's (Christie, 1990). After actively challenging the policy of racially segregated education, Catholic schools admitted their first Black students into their schools, with much disapproval from government. As opposition grew stronger, government was compelled to allow a limited number of Black students into previously White private schools, after having laid down strict criteria for their acceptance. To get to this point took twenty years, which demonstrates the pervasiveness of racial assumptions in South Africa (Christie, 1990).

As a result of an increase in the number of private schools that began to admit African students without government permission, a new Act was introduced in 1985. A condition that was laid down was that the level of school subsidy would be dependent on the racial composition of the school. The higher the number of Black learners enrolled the lower the subsidy. The Private Schools Act of 1986, stipulated that White private schools were legally permitted to cater for other population groups.

In 1990, the government introduced the "Clase Models" which laid down the conditions under which White state schools were permitted to admit Black pupils (Christie, 1994; Frederikse, 1992). White schools had the option of maintaining the status quo or adopting one of the following three models, which gave them control over their admissions: Model A was a model which gave White State schools the option of closing and becoming private schools. Model B stipulated that the school remained a state school, which would be managed by a Management Committee within departmental regulations. The state would fund most of the running costs. Model C was for state-aided schools which would be run by a management committee and the principal of the school. The committee would decide upon admission policies.

There was vigorous resistance from White parents to the move to open schools. Between 1985-1989 there were so few White pupils and so many facilities to maintain, that a number of White schools had to be closed down, e.g. Johannesburg

High School for girls. On the other hand, there were a number of Black schools in the townships that were extremely overcrowded, with many Black children who could have occupied the facilities that were redundant in White schools (Bot, 1992; Gilmour & Soudien, 1994; The Human Awareness Programme, 1990).

From 1991, the government policy had allowed for limited desegregation of “White” government schools, where desegregation was supported by a high percentage of parents at an individual school (Metcalf, 1991). According to Christie (1990), although open schools took their stance against racial segregation, this did not guarantee an automatic end to racial assumptions among learners. Bot (1992) and Eyber et al. (1997) point out that to the contrary, the move towards racial integration in schools may have exacerbated racial tensions and mistrust. Furthermore, the struggle towards desegregated schooling has not been exclusively in formerly White schools. The former Indian and Coloured schools have also experienced major difficulties in their attempts to “open” their schools to other race groups, mainly Black pupils, as part of the desegregation process. Although the focus of this study is the process of racial integration in previously White schools, one must bear in mind that segregated schooling affected the entire South African population in one way or another. This clearly indicates the extent to which apartheid impacted education through a policy of segregation and discrimination.

In April 1992, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Clase unilaterally announced that all White schools would be converted to Model C status. The move to Model C was actually an attempt to cut state costs by transferring the responsibility of financing and controlling White schools to parents. As a result of the high fees that were charged a large number of non-white pupils were denied enrolment at these schools. The long shadow of apartheid ideology, to borrow the title of an article on “open” schools written before the 1994 elections, (Carrim, Mkwanazi & Nkomo, 1993) “continues to cast its Stygian gloom, not any longer through racially explicit policies, but by proxy: high school fees and exclusionary language and admission policies” (Vally & Dalambar, 1999, p.1).

Although unrestricted formal desegregation by law came into being, by 1993 there were only 60 000 Black pupils at Model C schools and approximately 40 000 African

and Coloured pupils at Indian schools. By the end of 1995 the Black student population at Indian, White and Coloured schools was less than 15% (approximately 200 000) of the total enrolment at these schools (Race Relations Survey, 1994/1995; Naidoo, 1996).

The advent of democracy had brought about a number of changes to schooling in South Africa. In 1994 the Government of National Unity came into power. The Minister of Education, Professor Sibusu Bhengu, announced that a new single education system had been established. According to Minister Bhengu, Education had been one of the most appalling legacies of apartheid marked by inequalities of provision, ethnically/racially divided structures saturated with racist, sexist ideology and apartheid doctrine.

With the adoption of the Schools Bill on 29 October 1996, South Africa officially moved into a system in which schools were open to all race groups, irrespective of racial or cultural background. According to the Bill, schools fell into one of two categories: Public or Independent. Each Public School had a governing body which constituted educators, non-educator staff, the Principal, co-opted members of the community, and in the case of High Schools, learners nominated by the Student's Representative Council (Teachers League of South Africa, 1996). The schools themselves determined the admission policies as well as the mission and character of Public Schools. However, this had to be in keeping with the Constitution (Alfreds, 1996). According to the Teacher's League of South Africa (1996), Independent schools could be established at their own cost by any persons, provided that the admissions criteria were not on the basis of race group membership. Teachers were employed privately. Attendance at school was compulsory for children from 7 years to 15 years (Grades 1 to 9). There was to be no discrimination on the basis of race, gender, ethnic and social origin, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, culture or language. Pupils had a right to instruction in the language of their choice, but only where this was reasonably practical (Lewis, 1996).

Since the birth of the "New South Africa" in 1994, the past decade has seen major political changes in the country, with the result that education and the schooling system is still undergoing restructuring. The gradual demise of the apartheid system has given birth to a unitary system of education in which learners of diverse racial and

ethnic groups are coming together in integrated learning environments, referred to earlier as “a melting pot of racial integration” (Hofmeyr, 2000, p. 21). The integration of learners into previously segregated schools is certainly not a panacea for the mindsets and stereotypes with which learners enter the school environment. While legal barriers to access have been removed, the deeper dimension of race allows it to have an impact on the experience of learners from different racial backgrounds. The greatest challenge facing learners is to shed the discriminatory “baggage” of the past and truly integrate. It behoves them to learn to accept other racial groups, with their differences, and adapt to the demands of racially mixed schooling. One of the more serious concerns of such integration is the attitude of learners to the integration process. The difficulties attached to racial attitudes among learners must be viewed in the context of the individual learner’s background. From birth, learners have been raised and educated in relatively homogenous settings. As a result they are largely ignorant of the culture, values, communication patterns and lifestyle of other races. Apartheid severely limited contact between White and non-White learners. This led to the alienation of the different population groups, which resulted in inter-group relations characterised by conflict, distrust and intolerance. This is particularly problematic when learners are faced with diverse cultures in a racially mixed school. They enter school with many inhibitions, prejudices and fears. To compound the problem, learners have not had bridging programmes prior to entering mixed schooling environments, to assist the acclimatisation process.

Chrisholm and Kgoble (1993, p.5) maintain that “desegregated education is not a process that would in itself lead to quality education and the elimination of racial barriers in education”. To initiate children into a new, open and united society is problematic. Recent media coverage of racial tensions bears testimony to this. Pupils tend to interact with fellow pupils of the same racial background inside and outside of school and most of them continue to adhere to apartheid racial stereotypes (The Teacher, 1996, p. 21). “Cultural alienation, discrimination and harsh treatment are some of the problems cited by Black pupils attending desegregated schools. The fact that they are usually in the minority exacerbates the problem” (The Teacher, 1997, p.5). The overall ethos of the formerly White school remains unchanged as well. The burden is thus on Black learners to assimilate by adopting the values and lifestyles of the dominant group in order to participate fully in the school (The Teacher, 1996,

p.21). An Indian mother from Johannesburg lodged a complaint of school racism with The South African Human Rights Commission. Her daughter had been called “blackie” eight times, and her son was told by a White pupil that, “I am White and therefore I am superior and I say that you are dirty” (Sunday Tribune, 1999, p.28).

Despite the fact that the responsibility for admission to formerly White State schools was devolved to the governing bodies of such schools, post 1994, there was minimal deracialisation of schooling (Kallaway, Kruss, Fataar & Gari, 1998). The racially segregated and ethnic structure of apartheid education remained essentially intact.

Personal experience, observations and anecdotal evidence have prompted a keen interest in the researcher to establish the status of racial attitudes in integrated schools. This study will provide data which is important, as it is approximately seven years since the last studies of a similar nature were undertaken in this country. My daughter has attended a racially integrated, predominantly White school from pre-school. She mixed very well with learners from all race groups. She is now in Grade ten at an ex-Model C school and still has friends from all racial groups. However, in the last two years I have observed that she has a strong preference to socialise with learners of her own race group, both inside and outside school. From ongoing discussions about school, I gathered that most learners in her school tend to congregate with their own race groups during breaks and class lessons and after school hours. It seems that, generally, the level of integration across the race groups is not progressing at the pace that one would have expected. In addition, there seems to be negative attitudes towards other race groups for various reasons. One that surfaces often, even in discussions with her friends, is the difficulty they have in accepting some of the extreme differences that they find between races. This study, is therefore, an attempt to investigate the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research endeavour was to investigate the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration. In addition the study investigated the influence of learners’ race, age, gender and scholastic achievement on their attitudes. It is

envisaged that school principals and management staff would gain an insight into learners' attitudes to integrated schooling and implement measures that would further improve the quality of interracial attitudes.

1.4 CRITICAL QUESTIONS

In order to achieve the purposes outlined above the following critical questions framed this study:

- What are the attitudes of Grade ten learners toward racial integration?
- Do variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement influence learners' attitudes to integrated schooling?

1.5 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The movement of learners from predominantly Indian, Black and Coloured schools to ex-Model C schools has increased rapidly since 1996, as parents opt for "a better education" for their children. Continuing debate seems to exist around the negative attitudes encountered by these children. At the same time, these children seem to enter the new schooling environment with attitudes towards White learners and to one another that are not always positive. Learners in integrated schools find it difficult to form meaningful relationships across racial lines, as they have been accustomed to attending segregated schools. The researcher, an ex-educator and lecturer at various schools and a college respectively, has observed that students of different racial backgrounds have a tendency to hold negative attitudes towards one another. The difficulties that they encounter in forming relationships with counterparts from different racial groups must be viewed in terms of the individual's background (Harilal, 1996). In most instances, children have been brought up in predominantly homogenous environments and this has negative implications for the formation of racially heterogeneous relationships. It has been observed that learners from minority groups have an inclination to be shy, introverted, suspicious and reserved. Learners,

in general, across all racial groups tend to migrate towards their own groups. This tendency is apparent in their seating preferences, formation of groups during free time, as well as in their choice of groups for classroom projects. In order to explore the “real” situation in integrated schools at present, it is necessary to conduct a study such as this.

The subject of racial attitudes to integrated schooling has been the focus of a number of researchers in South Africa, as will be seen in the review of literature. However, studies have been conducted predominantly in private and religious schools. This implies that such research resulted in the investigation of the attitudes of a somewhat privileged, “atypical” population of learners. Learners attending such schools have been criticised for being an elitist group whose opinions cannot be generalised to the majority of learners attending state schools. It is, therefore, necessary to generate new research in order to investigate attitudes of a “typical” multi-racial pupil population such as is found at ex-Model C schools.

Another reason that this study is imperative, is to establish the current status with regards to racial attitudes. A review of relevant literature seems to indicate a gap from about 1996 to date, even though a large number of studies on attitudes to integrated schooling were conducted prior and up to 1996. The researcher, therefore, wishes to investigate the situation seven years later, in order to establish current attitudes of learners to racial integration. Although the results may not be generalised to the population at large, they would be representative of the learners in the Pinetown District of KwaZulu-Natal. The present study therefore addresses a lacuna in existing literature.

This study is also viewed as a point of departure from which further research on attitudes to integration in ex-Model C schools can proceed. Finally, this research serves as a needs assessment for future planning in facilitating the desegregation process, and minimising problems for learners of all racial groups.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

A survey was conducted at an ex-Model C school in Kloof, KwaZulu-Natal. The sample consisted of 172 Grade ten learners of whom 82 were males and 90 were females between the ages of 14 and 16 years. The Pupils Attitude to Integration Questionnaire was administered and face-to-face interviews were conducted in order to collect the data. Data was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Descriptive statistics were used to provide a convenient and precise summary of the data. The qualitative questions of the questionnaire and the interview questions were analysed in terms of emergent themes.

1.7 RESULTS

The results of the study indicated that generally, learners were positive regarding racial integration. Coloured learners were most positive, followed by Black and Indian learners. White learners were the least positive towards integration. Although learners held positive attitudes towards the experiences of integrated schooling, they were negative with regard to the theoretical principles and value of integration.

Race, gender and scholastic achievement emerged as significant variables influencing attitudes towards integration. The outcomes of the interviews revealed that learners were experiencing more difficulties than benefits in respect of integration. Despite this, some learners offered suggestions to improve school integration.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study has highlighted the urgent need for strategies and intervention programmes to improve the attitudes of learners of different race groups towards each other. It also points to the fact that there has to be a concerted effort between the home and the school in order for racial attitudes to improve.

A realistic, honest view of learners' prejudices and attitudes will enable them to evaluate themselves and respond to efforts by educators and significant others to improve or modify such attitudes.

In describing and evaluating inter-racial attitudes, this study provides the opportunity for educators, school managers, education departments, policy makers and other participants to develop skills, evaluate and reconsider strategies and implement new ones that will contribute in a practical way to an effective and relevant educational policy at schools.

Indirectly, this study will contribute positively to the curriculum offered at schools, with the possibility that relevant guidance and counselling programmes will be instituted.

The study highlights learners' difficulties regarding integration. Parents could offer positive guidance and facilitate the integration process in a relevant way. Parents also need to be aware that their attitudes directly impact on the way in which learners integrate with other racial groups, either positively or negatively. The Social Learning Theory, which frames this study, emphasises the role of conditioning, reinforcement and modelling in the learning of attitudes. The recommendations made by this study will help parents realise the importance of transmitting positive messages to their children.

Finally, this study will be significant to researchers in the field of racial attitudes as it would offer important baseline data for future research in other ex-Model C schools in South Africa.

1.9 STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One provides a brief historical perspective of the South African Educational System. In addition it has outlined the purpose, rationale, methodology, results and significance of the study.

Chapter Two reviews local and international literature on attitudes of learners to racial integration, which are pertinent to the critical questions framing this research.

Chapter Three presents a theoretical overview that pertains to this study. A number of theories are presented and an eclectic view is adopted to explain various aspects of the phenomenon of attitude formation in general, and racial attitude formation in particular.

Chapter Four provides a detailed discussion of the research methodology, research instruments and the procedures followed to analyse the data. In this study the survey method was employed. Cluster sampling was used to obtain the sample. The Pupil's Attitude to Integration Questionnaire was chosen as the research instrument and administered to all Grade ten learners in the cluster. In addition, personal interviews were conducted with eight learners.

Chapter Five presents the data as well as a detailed discussion of the research findings. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the quantitative data. The interviews with learners were analysed qualitatively according to common themes that emerged.

Chapter Six is the final chapter, which brings this study to a close. It provides a discussion of the implications of the study, limitations of the study and offers recommendations. Conclusions were drawn from the considerations of the entire study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to explore the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration. The focus of this chapter is to provide a review of both international and local literature that is relevant to this study on the attitudes of learners to racial integration. The literature review focuses on selected international and local studies that relate to the following critical questions framing the research viz.:

- What are the attitudes of Grade ten learners toward racial integration?
- Do variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement influence learners' attitudes to integrated schooling?

A clarification of terminology is imperative to a clear understanding of concepts used in this study. This is important because language is more than a reflection of the communication structures in society. According to linguist, Benjamin Whorf, "Language not only expresses ideas and concepts, but it actually shapes thought..." Vally and Dalambar (1999, p.6). In South Africa, the practice of explaining the use of terminology is vital since apartheid marshalled a taxonomy of racial classifications to pursue policies. In addition, certain terms are unique to the South African context.

CLARIFICATION OF TERMINOLOGY

WHITE, AFRICAN, COLOURED, INDIAN

In 1950 the South African Population Registration Act No.30 introduced various categories into which every South African had to be classified. The categories

included White, African, and Coloured, and Asians who were divided into Chinese and Indians. As (Burman, 1986, p.6) states, “while the concept of race has been thoroughly discredited as a meaningful biological classification system, it has acquired a pseudo-reality because of its socio-political consequences. Generations of children have grown up within this system with uniquely different experiences and attitudes from and about each other despite being members of one nation” (Burkhalter, 1996).

“BLACK” LEARNERS

This term is used, in this study, to refer to learners other than Coloured, White or Indian.

“NON-WHITE” LEARNERS

Refers, in this study, to learners other than White

SEGREGATION

Segregation implies the provision of separate facilities for whites and non-whites (Munshi, 1998), including the physical separation of two groups of people in terms of residence, workplaces and social functions (Schaefer, 1986, p. 232).

DESEGREGATION

Desegregation is the mechanical process of opening a school to learners from all racial, ethnic and cultural groups (Zafar, 1998). This means the abolishing of the practice of providing separate schools for the different racial groups, thus establishing the physical proximity of members of different racial groups in the same school, without interrogating the quality of the contact.

INTEGRATION

Integration implies a social process and a possible outcome of desegregation. It involves far more profound changes to the institutional structure and social relationships in the school, than desegregation. According to St. John (1975, p.108) integration refers to “equality of opportunity, equality of social status, assimilation, or to its opposite, the acceptance of cultural diversity”. The concept of integrated education implies the presence of children from different racial or ethnic groups in the same schools and classrooms (Burkhalter, 1996).

RACE

Race refers to the socially imposed categories of human beings in terms of ethnicity, skin colour and other visible differences, and such matters as language, religion, customs and cultural heritage, by which people can be perceived-or perceive themselves-as part of a “racial group”.

RACIAL PREFERENCE

Racial preference, in this study, is defined as the evaluative component of racial awareness, that is, the attitude that one holds towards oneself and other racial groups. Rotherham and Phinney (1986) state that this is a controversial aspect of children’s racial socialisation, since preference is usually synonymous with a positive attitude towards own and other racial groups, while negative attitudes are termed prejudice (Mtombeni, 1995).

RACISM

Racism refers to discrimination or prejudice against a race, and the belief that one’s own race is superior to other races. Rampton, in Sarup (1986, p. 49) defines racism as: “A set of attitudes and behaviour towards people of another race which is based on the belief that races are distinct and can be graded as ‘superior’ or ‘inferior’. Such beliefs are used to justify and prescribe inferior or unequal treatment for the group”.

RACIST BEHAVIOUR

According to Lemmer and Squelch (1993), racist behaviour may assume many forms, such as physical assault against a person or group because of colour, derogatory name-calling, insults and racist jokes, racist graffiti or any other written insults, provocative behaviour, making threats because of ethnicity or colour and racist comments.

ETHNOCENTRISM

This refers to the tendency to assume that one's culture and way of life is superior to all others.

ETHNICITY

Ethnicity reflects the cultural uniqueness of different groups and includes shared customs, values, language, cultures and traditions of people within a particular ethnic group.

IN-GROUPS

The in-group is a social unit or category with which people identify and to which they feel they belong. It comprises everyone who is regarded as "my", "we", or "us". (Horton & Hunt, 1984; Schaefer, 1986 and Vander Zanden, 1988). The members are drawn together by a sense of solidarity, loyalty and co-operation.

OUT-GROUPS

It refers to a group in which people have a sense of being alienated or excluded. It comprises everyone who is regarded as "others", "they", and "them". These terms are used to convey a feeling of indifference, disgust, competition, hostility and at times outright conflict with members of other groups (Schaefer, 1986; Vander Zanden, 1988).

PREJUDICE

Prejudice is a negative attitude, image or prejudgement held towards an entire category of people solely because of their membership of some group, and without reasonable evidence or knowledge about them as individuals.

DISCRIMINATION

According to Davidoff (1987), discrimination refers to the behavioural rejection or the unequal treatment of groups of people, based on group membership rather than on individual merits.

SOCIAL DISTANCE

Social distance is a subjective sense of avoiding contact with or being set apart from, (as opposed to being near) members of a particular group (Sparrow & Chretien, 1993).

ASSIMILATION

Assimilation has been described as the acceptance of a minority group in which the group takes on the values and norms of the dominant culture. There is little or no recognition of the rights of the minority in terms of their education or social position. The ethnic minority passively changes and conforms while the majority has the power to tolerate, reject or accept the assimilated ethnic minority. Over a period of time, the ethnic minority is absorbed into the mainstream of the dominant group in society (Mathunyane, 1996).

2.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

South Africa is not the only country that hails from a background of racial segregation in schools. Although a relatively new occurrence in this country, schools in countries such as the United Kingdom, United States of America and Australia have undergone

a similar process of racial segregation followed by integration, many years ahead of South Africa. Male (1989) points out that desegregation in the above mentioned countries had assumed an assimilationist nature. This means that learners of minority groups attending mixed schools, had to adapt to the dominant culture of the school in order to function in the system (Ranchod, 1997).

Studies on integrated schooling have been documented the world over, including the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Holland and Zimbabwe, to name a few countries. Some studies focused on the integration of immigrant children living in those states whilst others focused on the integration of Black children into White schooling systems. Most of these studies have reported that integration has been more successful when it has resulted from choice. (Bot, 1992). South Africa is one of the last countries in the world to abolish racially discriminating policies (Bot, 1992). In theory, one may hypothesise that South Africa has had the opportunity to learn from the mistakes, difficulties and successes that other countries have encountered in their process of racial integration. In practice, however, this has not been the case.

2.3 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

The history of Black-White contact in the United States of America is long and complex. However, the last 30 years have seen changes in relations between Blacks and Whites of a magnitude virtually unparalleled. One of the most significant changes occurred following the decision handed down in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case in 1954. In that decision, the United States Supreme Court overturned the earlier doctrine of “separate but equal” in schools. It argued that such separation in the schools “generates a feeling of inferiority (in black children) that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone” (Schofield, 1986). Thus, enforced segregation by race was said to violate the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution. Many of the social scientists who were responsible for advocating school desegregation in the United States of America (as demonstrated by their testimonies in the 1954 Supreme Court case of *Brown Vs Board of Education*), believed that school desegregation would lead to more positive racial attitudes between the races (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978). However, this had not necessarily been the case, as will be revealed during the review of the literature.

It is a worthwhile exercise to review international trends with regards to school desegregation. A study of such processes contributes to a deeper understanding of the complexities, difficulties and successes of desegregation. It throws light on the researchers' endeavours to establish the attitudes of learners to integration, as well as the variables that impact their attitudes to racially integrated schooling. The examination of previous relevant studies has revealed points of similarity as well as differences in patterns and trends, regarding racial attitudes to integration. Overall, the literature has revealed inconsistent results, with some showing positive attitudes, others negative attitudes and still others have revealed no change in racial attitudes following racial integration.

In the international and local studies that follow, findings on attitudes to racial integration are discussed. Absolute categorisation of these aspects on the basis of the critical questions is difficult as studies often include more than one variable and overlapping is inevitable. International studies on integrated schooling reviewed in this chapter, focus on the following aspects viz.: the impact of desegregation, testing the contact hypothesis, studies on social acceptance and a comparison of children from integrated schools with those from non-integrated schools.

2.3.1 STUDIES ON THE IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION ON RACIAL ATTITUDES

Hallinan and Smith (1985) who reviewed the literature on racial attitudes and desegregation of schools claimed that the majority of these studies were generally atheoretical, lacked methodological vigour and sophistication and their results were largely inconsistent. This lack of consistency in results is supported by the results of the current research in which learners were highly negative towards some aspects of integration, positive to some and neutral towards others.

A number of studies on racial integration have yielded negative attitudes.

There was a small number of longitudinal studies, which examined inter-racial attitudes before and after desegregation. Gerard and Miller (1983) studied sociometric choices of students in a large number of elementary and secondary

schools over several years, following desegregation. They concluded that little or no real integration took place at these schools and that racial and ethnic cleavage increased over time. Several other researchers, for example, Shaw (1973), Schofield (1982), and Koslin, Amariel and Ames (1980) supported these research findings. Whitmore (1956) found that White learners who were tested after desegregation displayed less favourable attitudes towards Black learners than those tested before desegregation. Cohen and Manion (1983) cite the results of Durojaiye's study of three ethnic groups of junior school children in a multicultural area in Manchester. The study disclosed that the pattern of friendship choice was largely ethnic in character in every age group and in every form for both sexes. Rogers and Kutnick (1997, p. 237), who quote Gerard and Miller (1983), also discuss the question of inter-group relations following desegregation: "Anyone who has spent much time in a racially-mixed secondary school in the USA knows that White children associate mostly with White children, Black children with Black children, and so on. There is substantial evidence that, left alone, ethnic separateness in schools does not naturally diminish over time."

Other research on desegregated schools in the United States has found a tendency towards resegregation, something that scholars and policy-makers did not adequately foresee. Not only is there evidence that Black and White children in desegregated schools often tend to avoid each other, but such avoidance frequently occurs in those types of situations that have the greatest potential for breaking down inter-group barriers (Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

However, there were certain instances where slightly improved racial attitudes were noted, after desegregation. Patchen, Davidson, Hoffman and Brown (1982), relying on longitudinal data obtained from 5479 students in twelve secondary schools, reported that classroom racial composition influenced friendliness towards the out-group. For instance, White students had more friendly interracial contact with Black pupils as the percentage of Black pupils in the class decreased. Black pupils on the other hand, became friendlier towards White pupils as the number of Black pupils in the classroom increased.

St. John (1975) found inconsistent results after a thorough review of over 100 studies concerning the impact of desegregation on learners in America. She concluded that desegregation sometimes reduces prejudice and fosters interracial friendships and at other times encourages stereotyping and interracial cleavage and conflict. In his study, Lombardi (1962, a & b) on the other hand, found no mean change in attitude in either the experimental or control groups after desegregation. Carithers (1970, p.41), in her review of the literature concerning school desegregation and racial acceptance, pointed to the “confusing and spotty inconclusive nature of research in this area”.

It is clear then, that there is no single common outcome in studies that explored the impact of desegregation on learners’ attitudes to racial integration.

2.3.2 TESTING THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

Contact as a means of improving inter-racial relations has also been widely researched, with outcomes that are just as inconsistent. Various hypotheses have been suggested, and are collectively known as the “contact hypothesis”. The assumption of the classic contact hypothesis is that interracial contact in and of itself leads to a less racially stereotypical view of those people who are members of the out-group. Personalisation occurs, areas of similarity are discovered and untrue stereotypes are undone (Ranchod, 1997). Biernat’s (1990, p. 1487) contact hypothesis states that “coming in contact with, or becoming familiar with members of a stereotyped group, will lead to reductions in negative attitudes toward the group”.

With regard to school integration, international policy decisions and considerations have been guided to a large extent by the contact hypothesis (Burkhalter, 1996). In the USA, the rationale for desegregation policies in education has been provided by the notion that inter-racial contact under specific conditions leads to a reduction in inter-group prejudice and hostility (Brown, 1988; Brown & Turner, 1981). This is reflected in the 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which urged that school desegregation be adopted as “the priority education strategy” (Schofield, 1986). Even Social Psychology has frequently assumed that inter-racial contacts facilitate racial attitude change (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). Many

researchers who tested the contact hypothesis concluded that such exposure produces positive attitude changes (Aboud, Taylor, & Doumani, 1973; Amir, 1969; Desforges, Lord, Ramsey, Mason, Van Leeuwen, West & Lepper, 1991; Sigelman & Welch, 1993; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978; & Williams & Byars, 1970). Sigelman and Welch (1993) explained that direct contact produces more positive attitudes because, in the absence of such contact, people generalise and stereotype from other information sources (e.g. media). With contact, however, myths and stereotypes can be combated and new views formed. The view that contact improves inter-racial relations has also been supported by a study conducted by McConahay (1981). The results of his study indicated that the racial integration of learners led to more favourable inter-racial contacts as compared to segregation. Katz, Schmida and Dor-Shav (1986) who studied two integrated junior high schools and two regular high schools in Israel, confirmed this finding. The integrative pupil-body seemed to contribute to positive behaviour changes towards learners from different ethnic groups.

Despite the influence of contact itself, some researchers believe that contact alone is not sufficient to counter racism (Grant, 1992), but that “making the acquaintance of people from other ethnic groups is an important factor... in beginning the process of reducing prejudice and stereotyped views of the other group” (Amir, Sharan, & Ben-Aft, 1984, p.9). Contact theorists also agree that there are specific prerequisites for positive relations and changes in attitude to occur, such as equal status for learners who come into contact with each other, co-operation towards a common goal, voluntary contact and non-competitive, strong institutional support (Gaganakis, 1990). Miller’s (1990, p.13) partial explanation for the negative attitudes of White learners after desegregation also stresses the importance of prerequisites for positive attitude, “Within actual desegregated school settings, the requisites of contact theory are rarely met”. Dissonance theorists, on the other hand, argue that contact between learners of different race groups in a desegregated school would produce dissonance, and therefore attitude change among prejudiced learners, provided the authorities establish favourable conditions for contact (Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991). As early as 1960, Pettigrew supported this view when he argued that positive attitudes by the school authorities were essential to creating a classroom climate, which promoted inter-racial interaction. These contentions were further supported by Berman and McLaughlin

(1980) who, twenty years later, confirmed in their study, that if the principal of the school was in favour of racial integration and supported and motivated the staff and learners, conditions for healthy inter-racial contacts were promoted. In addition, (Carter, Detine-Carter, & Benson, 1975) pointed out, that relevant training of staff members does not only reduce racial prejudice of White teachers but promotes positive attitudes in high school learners

However, it is not entirely valid to assume that contact leads to an improvement in attitudes. A number of studies have shown that mere contact does not result in attitude change nor does it necessarily improve inter-group relations. Walker (1989) contends that the reason for little or no attitude change in desegregated schools was due to the assimilative nature of the education systems of both British and American schools. In these schools, minority groups were simply absorbed into the school and expected to adopt White middle class values and norms. Since this was not in keeping with the child's ethnic/racial socialisation, Walker (1989) hypothesised that dissonance would result, which could affect racial attitudes.

Theorists such as Allport (1954), Cook (1972) and Brewer and Miller (1984) have argued, that fairly close personal contact is more likely to create positive feelings than more distant contact, since the high "acquaintance potential" of the former situation increases the opportunity for individuals to discover that they have similar interests, attitudes and the like. Yet, considerable research suggests that Blacks and Whites in the US are more willing to engage in fairly impersonal interactions than they are to engage in close personal ones (Bogardus, 1959; Cook, 1972 & Triandis & Davis, 1965). In fact, there is experimental evidence demonstrating that the more personal the nature of a task-orientated academic interaction, the more White and Black students choose to work with peers of their own race. This is the case even when such a choice reduces the probability of earning desirable rewards for success at the task. The above finding was confirmed by Benson and Carter (1971) who indicated that after six months of integration, both Black and White intermediate and junior high school students seemed to prefer their own race group for satisfaction of their social needs. According to a review of five bussing studies conducted by Armor (1972), integration promoted racial segregation and reduced opportunities for actual contact between races. Arbor (1969) indicated that Black students lost their peer status when

they moved into an integrated school, but their ratings were more favourable towards their White peers. This is consistent with Katz, Schmida and Dor-Shav's (1986) assertion that their White peers would have high prestige value for Blacks. In recent years there has been an emphasis on creating the ideal contact situation that will improve attitudes (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Results of research on the contact hypothesis have no doubt been inconclusive.

2.3.3 STUDIES ON SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

Studies regarding social acceptance have yielded mainly negative results.

Webster's (1961) evaluation of social acceptance over a six-month period using a social distance scale found that White students became less accepting of Blacks. The results were inconclusive for Blacks, who demonstrated a mild trend towards increased acceptance of White students (Carter, et al., 1975). A study by Benson (1969) which measured academic and social acceptance of Black students over a six-month period, found no change in White student's acceptance of Black students. Black students, on the other hand, showed more acceptance of White students than their own racial group. Benson and Carter (1971) indicated that after six months of integration, both Black and White intermediate and junior high school girls seemed to prefer their own race group for satisfaction of their social needs.

2.3.4 A STUDY COMPARING CHILDREN FROM INTEGRATED SCHOOLS WITH THOSE FROM NON-INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

Dutton and Singer (1998) examined a study, which assessed fourth-grade children in three schools viz.: integrated, Black and White. They compared children from integrated schools with children from predominantly White schools. Using schools with three different racial compositions yielded a variety of results that both refute and support previous research.

The children in the integrated school setting mentioned "race" and "ethnicity" significantly more often than did children in either of the other two settings, indicating

greater racial awareness. The finding of more references to race or ethnicity in the integrated school supports the hypothesis that exposure to other races increases the salience of one's own race. This finding also follows a trend in previous studies (McGuire & Padawar-Singer, 1976 & Mc Guire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978). Such results could be explained by the distinctiveness postulate, which implies "that as schools integrate, children become more conscious of their ethnicity and are more likely to define themselves in terms of it than in ethnically segregated schools" (McGuire et al., 1978, p. 512).

Exposure to other races may explain why the children from the integrated schools chose opposite-race friends more often than did the Black children from the non-integrated school. This finding may stem from the daily contact that the children in the integrated setting have with other races, supporting the hypothesis that the children in the integrated school are more accepting of other races. Findings of the study indicated that White and Black children from the non-integrated schools chose another race as one they disliked at significantly greater rates than the children in the integrated schools. This may be attributable to the lack of daily contact with other races in the non-integrated schools, as well as to a higher level of acceptance of other races in the integrated schools. All groups chose their own race when asked to indicate which child looked most like them. In answering the question "Which person would you like to be friends with?" children from integrated schools chose a race other than their own more often than did the children in the predominantly Black school. As with previous research under review, the above study also shows inconsistency in childrens' attitudes toward other race groups.

2.3.5 CONCLUSION

To date, research does not indicate strong inter-racial acceptance. However, it does indicate interaction. A number of studies show some positive gains as a result of integration, especially among Black students who seem to have more positive acceptance of White students, than White students have of them (Dutton and Singer 1998). Other studies highlight negative attitudes to integration while still other

studies indicate no change in attitudes following desegregation. British and American studies

suggest that in racially mixed schools, racial homogeneity is a salient characteristic of peer groups (Cohen and Manion, 1983). However, authors stress that these findings are always context-dependent with factors such as out-of-school contact, similar academic achievement, ratio of Black/White pupils, language and socio-economic status all influencing inter-racial friendship patterns (Cohen and Manion, 1983).

2.4 THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENARIO

As is the case with research from the USA, South African researchers who have explored the impact of integration on the attitude of learners have also found inconsistent results. The researcher had a similar experience, in that the results of this research have also indicated inconsistencies.

The impact of desegregation on learners in South Africa may not necessarily follow the patterns and trends observed overseas, as the situation in this country differs markedly, in various ways, from countries such as the USA. The transformation that the educational system has undergone and is still undergoing, continues to have implications for inter-racial relations as learners enter desegregated schools. These changes will certainly have a major impact on the perceptions and attitudes of South African learners, teachers and parents towards integration, as has been observed in the outcomes of this study.

Attitude studies in South Africa have, from the start, been concerned primarily with inter-group relations rather than with processes within individuals. Given the dominance of "race" as an organising feature of South African society, it is perhaps not surprising that South African research has been concerned almost exclusively with "racial" attitudes. Over the past sixty years a considerable amount of research, mainly concerned with the attitudes of Whites towards Blacks, has been conducted. It is not within the scope of this research to cover all studies in this section of the chapter. The aim is rather to describe the overall patterning of research findings.

The review of South African literature on attitudes to integrated schooling has yielded far more research studies than the international review. The discussion that ensues focuses on the following broad areas, as it is difficult to rigidly categorise aspects on the basis of the critical questions framing this research: inter-group attitudes, the effects of desegregation, social distance studies, attitude change, contact hypothesis, racial composition, studies in private and religious schools, studies on racism and levels of racial prejudice, determinants of attitude change, difficulties experienced by learners in integrated schools and variables affecting attitudes to racial integration.

2.4.1 STUDIES ON INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES

In the first study of inter-group attitudes, as far back as 1930, MacCrone (1930) in Foster and Louw-Potgieter (1991), merely asked 25 senior students at the University of the Witwatersrand to describe their attitudes to the “native” and to give reasons for their attitudes, in an attempt to ascertain which factors affected the attitudes of Whites to Blacks. MacCrone (1930) identified history of past contacts, stigma due to past social structure, Blacks seen as a criminal class, pseudo-scientific reasons, imitation by Blacks of White culture and barriers preventing intimate understanding, as factors that produced an image of the Black that determined White attitude towards Blacks. Although this study reflects the type of thinking during the apartheid era, the results of the current study points one to the fact that these factors still influence the attitudes of learners towards other races today, as was the case seventy three years ago. Stereotyping of Black learners is rife, and learner attitudes have been coloured by them. Black learners also stereotype White learners on the basis of the past apartheid structure.

More recently, Burkhalter (1996) in her study of post-apartheid attitudes towards racial integration of 804 learners at South African State schools, found that White learners were less positive about integrated schooling than other race groups. Mtombeni's (1995) investigation of the prevailing attitudes of children in desegregated and segregated schools chosen from the Durban area, indicated that White children had a high in-group preference while Black children had a high out-group preference. Black children in segregated schools, relative to the two other

groups, evidenced a less pro white bias. This may imply that despite efforts to integrate children from different cultural and racial backgrounds within South African schools, attitudinal change at this point is not evident. This also suggests that comfort levels are motivated by race rather than class on the whole, although it is possible that class could play a role, as in the case of Black children in desegregated schools with out-group preferences.

2.4.2 THE EFFECTS OF DESEGREGATION

Studies on the effects of desegregation on racial attitudes indicate that it leads to negative racial attitudes more often than it leads to positive ones.

Since 1956, a considerable number of studies have focused on the racial attitudes of Whites towards Blacks. In some studies it was found that desegregation had predominantly positive effects on racial attitudes. Silverman and Shaw (1973); Gardner, Wright, and Dee (1975) and Webster (1961). In other studies on the effects of desegregation (Campbell 1956; Dentler & Elkins 1967; Barber, 1968; Herman, 1970; Armor, 1972 and Carrigan 1969), predominantly negative results were obtained, and in two studies, desegregation had no significant effect (Lombardi, 1962 b & Whitmore, 1956).

Frederikse (1992), uses Zimbabwe's experience of desegregation and likens it to the parallel process of integration that South African education is undergoing. Her research revealed, among other things, that as schools became more integrated racially, racial prejudice amongst the children became less apparent. However, given the current scenario in Zimbabwe, one cannot be certain that these findings still hold.

2.4.3 SOCIAL DISTANCE STUDIES

The results of a social distance study by Lever (1966 & 1968 a), of large samples of Johannesburg youth from standard six to ten, supported earlier results of a consistently held attitudinal "colour bar" on the part of Whites. Afrikaans-speakers consistently evidenced greater distance to Blacks than English-speakers. On the

contrary, in a sample of fifty-six Sociology undergraduates at the University of Potchefstroom, Groenewald and Heaven (1977) reported that students evidenced lower degrees of prejudice. This shows the inconsistent outcomes that characterise results of South African attitude studies.

2.4.4 STUDIES ON ATTITUDE CHANGE

An investigation of the relative stability or change of attitudes was conducted with students of the University of South Africa between the years 1973 to 1978. Given the fact that different respondents were tested each year, the overall patterning was remarkably consistent over the years. The well-established difference between English and Afrikaans-speakers in terms of degree of prejudice was again confirmed. However, some consistent trends of change were evident. Both English and Afrikaans-speakers showed a more positive attitude towards Indians and a more negative attitude towards Blacks after 1976. At this stage it must be noted that there has been less research on Black than White attitudes and that Black research samples have often been relatively small.

Bradnum, Nieuwoudt and Tredoux (1993), also conducted a study to determine whether racial attitudinal patterns consistently documented by two generations of South African social scientists showed any signs of change. One of the aims of the study by Bradnum et al. (1993) was to collect evidence on the effect of integrated schooling on racial attitudes. The racial attitudinal patterns were as follows: Whites exhibit determinedly negative attitudes towards other race groups (Afrikaans speakers more so than English-speakers). Blacks on the other hand, show a much lower degree of ethnocentrism, especially towards English-speaking Whites. This “lop-sided” colour bar is a consistent finding, both historically and across different attitudinal measures.

2.4.5 CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

As indicated earlier, contact as a means of improving inter-racial relations, has been widely researched. A vast number of significant South African studies have focused

on the impact of contact on inter-racial attitudes. Yet again, results following these studies have been found to be inconsistent. While some researchers attest to the notion that inter-racial contact improves racial attitudes, others have found inter-racial contact to negatively impact on racial attitudes.

Luiz & Krige, (1981), in their study of high school learners, found that contact between White and Coloured schoolgirls led to significant positive attitude change. They conducted two intensive group contact programmes with 93 White, English-speaking schoolgirls and 65 Coloured schoolgirls from two neighbouring convent schools. These girls displayed mutual friendliness, intimacy and positive attitude change towards each other. A follow-up study conducted a year later to ascertain whether these positive changes still existed, showed that White and Coloured girls who had been paired together in the activity group programme, still had positive attitudes towards members of the other ethnic groups one-year after the programme. (Luiz & Krige, 1984). It appears that White learners may indeed benefit from short interventions aimed at providing information to reduce previously held racial stereotypes.

The above findings were confirmed by Watson (1970), who found that inter-racial interaction among White and Coloured high-school children at a school in Johannesburg improved racial attitudes of the groups towards one another. The results of a study by Fabian (1987), of high school learners' attitudes and adjustment to racial integration, indicated that both Black and White learners at desegregated schools were more racially tolerant than learners who attended segregated schools.

However, a study by Bradnum, Nieuwoudt and Tredoux (1993), yielded contradictory results in respect of the effects of inter-racial contact on the attitudes of school children. They examined the attitudes of school children in integrated and segregated schools, to determine whether naturally occurring extensive racial contact such as is found in multicultural schools, has beneficial effects on racial attitudes. Their sample constituted learners from integrated and segregated South African high schools who were compared with a sample of learners drawn from Zimbabwean high schools, who

had experienced integration over ten years since independence. They hoped to find that inter-racial contact improved attitudinal dispositions. However, the results showed contradictory outcomes. The research also highlighted evidence for new racial attitude patterns in South Africa that differed substantially from those consistently reported over the last 50 to 60 years.

In Zimbabwe, contact situations are fostered within a socio-political and academic climate where there is supposedly little racial antipathy. However, Black and White Zimbabwean school children sampled in the study showed a high degree of racial prejudice. On the other hand, White South African school children experiencing less than ideal contact situations within racially integrated private schools, showed minimal levels of prejudice, and perhaps even reversed prejudice. Much the same was true for White pupils sampled from segregated government schools. They showed very low levels of ethnocentricity. Black school children from segregated government schools, on the other hand, showed a very high degree of racial in-group preference and out-group prejudice. There is some evidence here, of a substantial change in patterns of racial prejudice. White attitudes towards Black South Africans are rarely reported as being positive, even amongst English-speaking citizens. What is particularly intriguing, is that there is a tendency among pupils attending private schools to show reversed prejudice, that is, to favour Blacks over Whites. Interestingly, the attitudes of both Black and White Zimbabwean learners showed a high level of ethnic favouritism towards their own racial grouping. Zimbabwean children, who had experienced inter-racial contact for at least 10 years since independence, showed a high degree of racial prejudice, in that they favoured Blacks over Whites.

The White South African learners' attitudes in desegregated schools are a refreshing outcome. It suggests an attempt by learners to move away from prejudices and stereotypes that epitomised the South Africa of the past, and embrace people of other races. Be this as it may, the evidence for positive effects of general inter-racial contact in this country is equivocal. The current study exemplifies this.

As with the above-mentioned study, Mynhardt (1980) found contradictory results when he researched the racial attitudes of 289 White high-school students towards Blacks. The sample group, White students at Catholic high schools who had experienced ongoing inter-racial contact with fellow Black school pupils, had more negative racial attitudes than those White high-school pupils in a second sample group who had no contact with Black children at school. Mynhardt (1982) also tested the contact hypothesis in a field experiment. The research subjects comprised English-speaking, White high school girls from 10 different private schools, who had had school contact with Black, Coloured, Indian, Chinese, Afrikaans and Portuguese children. In contrast to Luiz and Krige's study, Mynhardt (1982) found that the White children who had had contact with Black children scored significantly more unfavourable attitudes towards Blacks in general, on four different attitude measuring instruments, compared with pupils who had no contact with Black children. This outcome may well be attributed to the fact that the ideal of tolerance is romanticised in non-contact learners, as they do not have to deal with the reality. However, in a contact situation they are faced with having to deal with the very real relational problems that the new situation presents.

Mynhardt (1982) drew up a table, listing previous research results in terms of positive, neutral, or negative attitude change following a contact situation. This list showed that school contact in general was less successful than other forms of contact. Mynhardt (1982) attributed this to the contentious nature of school contact. He reasons that school contact is contentious since it takes place in a segregated society, which implies a greater demand for social change. An alternative explanation for contentious contact is given as forced integration, which is not conducive to positive race relations. Milner (1981) argues that although fairly close personal contact is more likely to create positive feelings than more distant contact, close personal contact should not be forced, as this would be counterproductive. His view is supported by Schofield (1986), who contends that forcing academic contact through racially mixed workgroups may be tolerated by the learners in view of the teacher's authority, but trying to alter the structure of social groups by artificial means might build up resentment and do more harm than good. This does not mean that social contact is doomed. It merely emphasises the caution required when introducing social contact and social skills training programmes. This contention is confirmed by the findings of

Mynhardt (1982). Mynhardt's (1982) sample comprised 972 English-speaking White high school girls from ten Roman Catholic Convents who were subjected to several attitudinal measures. Whilst some of the learners had institutional contact with people from other race groups, others had no contact. Although the conditions for contact were positive, that is, there was strong institutional support, attendance was voluntary, and learners had similar socio-economic backgrounds, the results indicated that learners in the contact group had significantly less favourable attitudes towards Africans, Indians and Afrikaners than the non-contact group (Mynhardt, 1982).

Other explanations for contentious contact are: competition in the classroom which comprises equal status, emphasis on academic achievement, and differing social systems which may limit co-operative interaction (Mynhardt, 1982).

A serious shortcoming of this study lies in the assumption that if there are children of more than one race in the school, contact exists, and that frequency of contact is measured by the presence of more than one race in a class register or sports team. However, presence does not imply contact, as learners are quite capable of avoiding contact with members of other race groups despite being in the same class or sports team. Mynhardt's (1982) results may thus, not necessarily reflect increased contact as the chief agent of negative attitude, since no meaningful contact may have taken place. The increased negativity may be more the result of increased negative stereotyping as a result of the contentious nature of integrated schools described above.

It is abundantly clear that the findings of studies regarding contact as a means of improving interracial attitudes are equivocal.

2.4.6 THE IMPACT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION

Christie (1990) found that the racial composition of the Catholic high school that learners attended, had significant effects on White learners' responses to mixing with the various race groups. When the percentage of Black learners was relatively high (18% to 29%), White learners responses were more positive to racial interaction. However, when there was a substantial increase in the population of Black learners (35% in this study), the pattern was reversed.

2.4.7 STUDIES IN PRIVATE AND RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

While some studies in private and religious schools yielded positive results, others resulted in negative outcomes, once again confirming the inconsistent nature of research results on racial attitudes of learners.

Social Distance studies conducted by Lever (1968) to research the attitudes of White secondary school learners towards other ethnic groups, found that learners were positively inclined towards Black, Indian and Coloured learners. Results of a study by Freer and Christie (1992) on attitudes to race and social change in South Africa, also revealed that the majority of learners supported racial mixing both inside and outside of the school (Freer and Christie, 1992a). However, they reported consistent differences along racial lines, with Black learners' perspective on the opportunities for racial mixing being seen as more beneficial than White learners (Freer and Christie, 1992 a). On the other hand, Gaganakis' (1990) study revealed that friendships are perceived by some as being context-bound and transient. Within the confines of the school, interactions are harmonious whilst out of school, social distance between the two groups increases. Pupils claim that White peers "ignore" them or "seem embarrassed by us when we meet out of school" (Gaganakis, 1990, p. 97). In her research into racially mixed Catholic Schools in South Africa, Christie (1990) found that students had difficulty forming cross-race friendships when there are limited opportunities for meeting out of school. She noted that half of the White pupils did not have Black friends. Furthermore, while pupils had the opportunity of mixing with other races at school, for many of them social relationships ended with the ringing of the school bell at the end of each day. The following pertinent comments by several pupils shed light on the difficulties regarding out-of-school contact:

- We don't really get to know people of other races because the only time we see each other is at school.
- I'm not really good at making friends.
- I'm not used to being with Whites, so I can't make friends with Whites. (Christie, 1990, p. 51, 61).

Gaganakis' (1990) study on the perceptions of Black pupils in non-racial private schools revealed that although most pupils perceived relationships between Blacks and Whites in the school as largely harmonious, "being Black" becomes significant as a result of perceived racism. One pupil remarked: "you don't notice colour here, but when I hear an insulting remark, I remember I'm Black". (Gaganakis, 1990, p. 80). Seventeen per cent of pupils perceived what Sarup (1986, p.11) defines as "personal racism", which is racism existing on the level of prejudice in interpersonal relationships. Most pupils gave unspecific examples of discriminatory practices such as "they never let you forget you're Black" (Gaganakis, 1990, p. 89).

Although most pupils reported that interactions with their White peers were relatively harmonious, they indicated that there is overt tension between some Black and White pupils and that their "real friends" whom they could "trust" tended to be Black. 54% of pupils chose mainly Black friends, 36% chose mainly White friends and 20% chose Black and White friends. Reference to "racist" attitudes and practices occurred in sixty percent of the whole sample. There were few incidents of overt racism, e.g. name calling. Rather, racism is perceived as implicit in statements such as "they pretend to like us" (Gaganakis, 1990, p. 96). Pupils stressed the entrenched nature of racism and its deep resistance to change: "It's like a stain in their blood; you just can't change it" (Gaganakis, 1990, p. 97). Ten percent explained racism in terms of White peers having already been socialised into a structurally racist society. Racial antagonisms are not seen as a product of the interactions within the school per se, but as pre-existing and having their origin in a wider socio-political dispensation. The researcher encountered similar responses from Black and Indian learners in the present study.

From the above it is clear that although similar results are seen in some instances, differences of outcomes do exist.

2.4.8 STUDIES ON RACISM AND LEVELS OF PREJUDICE

A study on racism and racial integration conducted by the South African Human Rights Commission in 1999 in White, Coloured and Indian schools revealed a bleak picture of the level of racial prejudice and racial intolerance in schools. It indicated

that subtle racism is ubiquitous and has the ability to mutate and adapt in post-apartheid South Africa. It also revealed shockingly stark and crude practices of racism, all the more startling because of its prevalence. Of the 1729 learners, both Black and White, from 60 schools who responded to the question, "Have there been racial incidents or examples of racism in your school?" 1075 (or 62%) answered in the affirmative. Hundreds of respondents regarded racism as part of their everyday experience. It is manifested in rhetoric, name calling, stereotyping, labels and anxieties in the classroom, corridors, playgrounds and extra-curricular events. Frequently the data showed that racial incidents had horrifying consequences such as stone and bottle-throwing, fist and knife fights and the burning of a school (Northern Cape) and the killing of a Black person by ex-learners from a newly "integrated" school. For many Black learners, attending a "racially mixed" school is a traumatic experience. The scale and intensity of gratuitous and explicit expressions of racial prejudice and racism leave no doubt that while many schools are desegregated or "racially mixed" they are still not deracialised. Learners' accounts reveal a host of stereotyped views of each other, racially linked cliques of friends, and a lack of ease in each other's company. When "mixing" does occur it is often of a superficial nature linked to formal school routines such as in the classroom or school-organised events. Less than 10% of learners "mix" outside of school. Almost 60% of learners felt that their schools did not have a policy to eliminate racism or that it was unsuccessful.

The above study, the first national study on racism and integration in schools, contributes to a steadily burgeoning corpus of recent local and regional studies e.g. Christie, 1990; Carrim, 1992; Naidoo, 1996; Carrim, 1998; and Zafar, 1998, on the same issue. It confirms the view of these authors that racism in the school system will not disappear simply because schools have become desegregated. In South Africa, desegregating schools and tertiary institutions is not the final solution for racial harmony. Lemmer and Squelch (1993) and Louw (1992) comment that cultural prejudices and barriers to inter-racial contact will not fall away naturally, nor will positive social contact necessarily ensue by simply bringing different groups of people together who have previously lived in isolation.

On the contrary, research on racism conducted among South African college students in 1995 indicated, that although levels of inter-group acceptance were not comparable

to those found in other multicultural nations, racial tolerance was nevertheless prevalent in 1995 (Smith & Stones, 1999). However, as a result of the many social changes that had occurred since 1995, the cross-sectional view presented by the data had to be updated. The hypothesis of the follow-up study conducted by Smith, Stones and Naidoo (1999), which was aimed at assessing the levels of racial attitudes as at 1999 compared with the results with an equivalent sample assessed four years earlier, was that increased acceptance of each other's racial groups would be reported. Results indicated that Black and Coloured participants had moderately tolerant attitudes towards Whites, but the White students had clearly pro-White attitudes. All three groups had moderately tolerant attitudes towards other groups.

Considering the entrenched resiliency of racial attitudes that has been widely noted in the literature (McConahay, 1986; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallorth & Malle, 1994), the findings of an apparent shift towards increased tolerance is heartening. These findings may indicate that some young South African adults are internalising anti-racist messages present in their society and are acknowledging the need to make personal level changes. The results have however indicated, that English-speaking Whites have yet to become as tolerant of racial differences as their Black and Coloured counterparts. A further finding was that the Black and Coloured students' attitudes did not change as much as their White counterparts. Their attitudes were already predominantly positive. Explanations for the notable increases of positive attitudes towards Whites by Coloureds may be reflected in what Fisher and Sonn (1999) explain, as an attempt to retain their relative advantage over Blacks allotted to them during apartheid. In addition, Coloureds had historically a heritage of identifying with, and aspiring to be, members of the White community. According to Unterhalter's (1975) findings, urban Coloureds had a tendency to reject rather than align themselves with Blacks.

2.4.9 DETERMINANTS OF RACIAL ATTITUDE CHANGE

A study conducted by Stephan and Rosenfield (1978), examined the determinants of changes in the racial attitudes of White elementary school children during school desegregation. A multiple regression analysis showed that increases in children's

self-esteem, increases in children's inter-ethnic contact, low parental authoritarianism and non-punitive parental child - rearing were all significantly related to positive changes in racial attitudes. In addition, data were presented which indicated that parental opposition to integration was an indirect determinant of changes of children's racial attitudes because it impacts on children's inter-ethnic contact.

2.4.10 DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED WITH RACIAL INTEGRATION

Christie's (1990) research in racially mixed Catholic schools in the 1980's, found that Black children experienced problems in adjusting and making the transition from segregated schooling to multiracial schooling. Most of the difficulties experienced were social, emotional and/or scholastic in nature. Black pupils also reported difficulties in mixing with White children. The research also suggested that open schools challenged racial assumptions amongst the White children.

Research has found that Black children who were the first to enter the newly opened schools experienced a host of difficulties. Research published by the Human Awareness Programme in 1990, found that schools with more Black pupils had to adapt and change the school culture in order for them to fit in. Other scholars have also reported this (Eyber et al., 1997; Frederikse, 1992 & Gaganakis, 1990). The pupils in these schools were more empathetic towards Black pupils. In one school with very few Black students, Black pupils found it hard to adjust to the changes. In another study, one child said, "sometimes I don't know who I am. When I'm at home, I feel Black, when I'm at school, I have to be White" (Gaganakis, 1990, p. 102). Most of them were assimilated and came to be seen as "coconuts"; people with black skins and white interiors (Eyber et al., 1997, Frederikse, 1992). It was a common occurrence for them to assume the racial discriminatory attitudes of their White counterparts and some became "racist" towards subsequent Black children entering the schools. Research has shown that Black children sometimes develop shame for their cultures and their backgrounds and tend to denounce their heritage.

Social work students of the University of Durban Westville also conducted research, which exposed the nature of the difficulties that both teachers and pupils were experiencing in racially integrated schools. They undertook their fieldwork training at

five different ex-House of Delegates schools in Durban, where the policy of racial integration had been in operation for several years. The results showed that Black pupils had a limited understanding of lessons and achieved correspondingly low academic success. Language barriers constituted a major obstacle for 89.6%, since Black pupils were taught through the medium of English. Thirty seven point five per cent of the sample cited the inability to integrate as a possible obstacle to learning progress (Kasiram, 1993). An irrelevant curriculum was also cited as an obstacle to achieving academic excellence. According to Bot (1991), curriculum development is an urgent issue that has to be addressed in order for racially integrated schools to operate successfully. Cultural barriers were found to negatively affect academic performance of 52.1% of the respondents. The social and cultural experiences of Black and Indian children and their teachers differ considerably, thereby affecting the way in which the syllabus is imparted (Kasiram, 1992).

2.4.11 VARIABLES AFFECTING ATTITUDES TO RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS

A number of factors have proven to influence and impact on attitudes to racial integration. Research studies have indicated that individual characteristics of learners that are most influential are gender, age and academic ability (St. John, 1975). Parental attitudes also featured as a significant factor. These studies serve to provide some answers to the critical questions framing this research endeavour.

The impact of gender has surfaced in a number of research endeavours.

St. John and Lewis (1975) found that gender was a more influential source of cleavage than race. Thomas (1981) observed a similar finding in his examination of own and other-race friendship patterns. Carter et al. (1975) also found gender to be an important determinant of inter-racial peer acceptance, inasmuch as it received the largest weight for females and was a secondary predictor for White males. On the other hand, a number of other studies did not show any discernible gender differences among White secondary school learners, or college and university students (Pettigrew, 1960; Van den Berghe, 1962; & Lever, 1968).

By contrast, a study carried out by Williams (1955) prior to desegregation, reported that White female students displayed far more favourable attitudes towards Black students and teachers than male students. These findings were consistent with Useem's (1971) study on White school childrens' attitudes towards Black learners, who were being bussed by the Metropolitan Council For Educational Opportunity (METCO) bussing programme in Boston. He reported that White girls had a more positive attitude towards METCO than boys. Similarly, a study of actual and desired friendship and social patterns at three racially mixed schools conducted by Lits' (1992), indicated, that boys are more racially constrained than girls in selecting their friends.

However, Schofield (1982) and Patchen (1982) both indicate that Black females show more unfavourable attitudes to other race groups and greater own-group preference than other race sex groups. In contrast, a different picture emerges among Whites, in which males are more greatly affected by the social threat of desegregation. In his study, Patchen (1982), found that although Black girls had less friendly contact with Whites they also had less trouble with White counterparts. Black boys were reported to have less friendly contact with White school colleagues. White boys had more negative attitudes and reported less positive contact with Blacks. Pillay (1996) reported that Indian adolescent boys were also less welcoming and more aggressive towards Black learners than Indian girls who were perceived as more friendly and helpful, thus supporting these findings. Similarly, Freer and Christie (1992a) studied learners attending private schools in South Africa and reported that girls' views were more liberal than boys.

By contrast, in her study of a high school with equal numbers of Black and White learners, Schofield (1982) reported that girls tended to cluster in racially homogenous groups as opposed to boys who did not. Furthermore, interaction and mixing between White and Black boys occurred more often than it did among girls. However, although inter-racial mixing occurred among boys, White boys often felt intimidated by Black boys and viewed them as physically superior. White boys reacted to this intimidation by forming gangs against Black boys. White girls coped with intimidation by withdrawing from situations and ignoring Blacks.

Clearly, one cannot arrive at any conclusive findings regarding the impact of gender on racial attitudes.

Research has repeatedly shown that younger children who have been exposed to open schools at an early age display less prejudice to learners of other race groups (Ranchod, 1997). In her review of over 100 studies, St. John (1975) revealed more frequent positive findings for younger White learners as opposed to older White learners. However, she also found that older Black learners were more positive than younger Black learners towards integrated schooling. In her study, Burkhalter (1996) also indicated that younger White learners were more positively disposed in terms of their attitudes than older learners, and older Black learners were more positively disposed in terms of their attitudes when compared to younger Black learners. Similarly, Christie (1990) found in her study that Black learners in the 17-18 year age group held more positive views regarding the future of education than their White counterparts. Patchen and Davidson (1973) reported that high school senior learners indicated more friendly inter-racial contact than freshmen.

Be this as it may, generally, literature suggests that racial problems and differences among students are more prevalent and obvious in secondary schools than primary schools (Carrim, 1992; Christie, 1990; Eyber et al., 1997 and the Human Awareness Programme, 1990). According to Bot (1992), "the positive effects of desegregation are almost completely restricted to the early primary grades". This finding has been replicated in international studies (Frederikse, 1992). These findings imply that there are difficulties in the integration of the more senior learners, whose attitude and racial assumptions are more deeply ingrained.

Another influential variable affecting attitudes, that surfaced in many studies was academic achievement. Patchen (1982) found that Black learners with higher IQ scores were more positively inclined in their attitudes towards their White counterparts. This was accounted for by the fact that their superior intellectual abilities allowed them to view the world non-simplistically and therefore made them less amenable to accepting stereotypes and prejudices. Black learners with higher intellectual abilities have less reason to feel resentful and defensive about their academic status, than learners with lower intellectual abilities. There was also some association between IQ scores and inter-racial behaviour and attitudes among White

learners. Those with higher IQ scores tended to entertain more friendly contact with their Black counterparts. In support of the above findings, Singer in St. John (1975) found a relationship between a combination of high IQ and inter-racial contact and a favourable change in the attitude of White learners' attitudes towards Blacks. St. John and Lewis (1975) also found that social acceptance of other races by White learners was related to achievement. A study by Useem (1971) confirmed a significant relationship between grade average and acceptance into the honours programme and White learners' attitudes toward METCO students. Similar findings were noted by Lombardi (1962 a & b). White learners who lost status as result of decreasing grades, displayed hostile attitudes towards learners of other races entering the school. On the other hand, Lombardi in St. John (1975) reported no relationship between the IQ scores of White high school learners and a change in their attitude towards Blacks.

Regarding parental attitudes, it would be expected that children's racial attitudes would be similar to their parents' attitudes because of the tendency for children to imitate and identify with their parents. Consistent with this suggestion, a number of studies have found that children's attitudes are correlated with parents' attitudes. Epstein and Komorita (1996a, 1996b) found a strong positive relationship between parental social distance scores and childrens' attitudes. Mosher and Scodel (1960) found a similar relationship between parental ethnocentrism and children's social distance scores.

2.5 CONCLUSION

From the above literature, it is clear that research on attitudes to racially integrated schooling, has yielded some conflicting and inconclusive results both internationally and locally. It has failed to show consistently that inter-racial contact *per se* will produce the positive results of improved racial relations.

According to Foster and Finchilescu (1986) in a deeply divided social structure like South Africa, which has been characterised by a long history of conflict and power imbalances, social identity permeates the social sphere to such an extent that interpersonal contact *per se*, even under the most favourable conditions, is unlikely to

significantly alter entrenched social relations. For many White South African learners, interacting with learners of another cultural group on an ongoing basis over an extended period of time, may be quite a new experience because the first seven to eight years of their school careers were spent in segregated schools. The increased contact does not automatically foster positive race relations and it is, therefore, essential to provide structures such as skills training programmes, which should be aimed at providing alternatives for behaviour, in what are perceived as difficult inter-racial contact situations.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter reviewed both international and national literature on racial integration in schools and the attitude of learners towards racially integrated schooling.

This chapter provides an overview of the various theories that explain attitude formation. The theories presented will provide an understanding of how attitudes towards racially integrated schooling may be formed, and will address the purpose and critical questions of this study which are:

- What are the attitudes of Grade ten learners toward racial integration?
- Do Biographical variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement influence learners' attitudes to integrated schooling?

The purpose of this study is to explore the attitudes of learners to racial integration. Although the relevant features of an eclectic approach are used, the dominant theories that frame this research are the Social Learning Theory and Theories of Racist Attitudes. This theoretical framework is largely exploratory and absolute conceptual relevance to the South African situation is not implied. These chapters also serve to contextualise the study and provide a wider meaning for the research.

3.2 HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON ATTITUDES

Interest in the notion of attitudes developed over various historical stages. McGuire (1986) has argued that attitudes were studied during three major periods of development, as set out in the table below:

1. 1920s – late 1930s: <i>attitude measurement and scaling</i> . Bogardus, Thurstone, Likert, Katz and Braly. Also Allport's definition of attitude in 1935.
2. 1950s – late 1960s: <i>attitude change</i> . Dominated by theories of "cognitive consistency" Festinger, Heider, Osgood.
3. 1980s – present: <i>attitude structure</i> . Rethink of attitude-behaviour problem: Complex links

Historical development of attitude research (adapted from McGuire, 1986)

The advent of attitude scales in the thirties inspired researchers from various schools to focus on attitudes. At present, studies on attitudes to racially integrated schooling are especially significant, given the transitory nature of integration in South African schools following the demise of apartheid in 1994.

The definition of attitude that follows will assist in providing a clearer understanding of the concept for the purpose of this study.

3.3 DEFINITION OF ATTITUDES

The concept of attitude has been notoriously difficult to define, despite its claimed centrality as the cornerstone of Social Psychology. Psychologists and researchers, up to the present day, continue to dispute the essential nature and definition of attitudes. Despite the current situation, most researchers would be inclined to accept the psychological dictionary definition viz.:

“A more or less stable set or disposition of opinion, interest or purpose, involving expectancy of a certain kind of experience and readiness with an appropriate response” Mostyn (1978, p. 140). A practical definition of attitudes is provided by Baron and Byrne (2000, p. 118), “Attitudes refer to our evaluation of virtually any aspect of the social world—the extent to which we have favourable or unfavourable reactions to issues, ideas, persons, social groups, objects—any and every element of the social world”.

3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF ATTITUDES

There are certain characteristics of attitudes that the researcher views as crucial to an understanding of any study on attitudes:

Attitudes once established are usually difficult to change. According to Baron and Byrne (2000), once formed, attitudes operate as schemas i.e. mental frameworks centring on focal themes that help to organise social information. Once established, they tend to persist, especially if they are strongly accepted and closely linked to the interests or outcomes of the persons holding them. They, therefore, strongly influence perceptions and thoughts about people, issues, objects or groups to which they refer.

Attitudes are extremely important as they strongly influence social thought and strongly affect behaviour (Baron and Byrne, 2000). People hold specific attitudes towards specific people, for example, one of like or dislike. Clearly, such attitudes play a crucial role in interpersonal relations with such persons.

Attitudes of learners to racial mixing in integrated schools forms the bedrock of interpersonal relationships and profoundly influences the success of integrated schooling.

Furthermore, given the historical context of racial discrimination in South Africa, learners would find it particularly difficult to alter attitudes to other race groups, that have been coloured by stereotypes and prejudices of the past.

This research will highlight the impact of attitudes on integrated schooling and the effects on inter-racial interactions.

3.5 THEORIES OF ATTITUDE FORMATION

Since attitudes determine the interaction between people, it is vital to examine how they are formed, in order to provide a better understanding of people and their possible motivations for holding specific attitudes. A number of theories have emerged in an attempt to understand this complex aspect of human behaviour. However, selected theories, applicable to this study, will be discussed in this chapter. Although salient features of an eclectic approach were used, the dominant theory that framed the study was the Social Learning Theory.

3.5.1 Cognitive Consistency Theories

Cognitive consistency depicts people as striving for coherence and meaning in their cognitive structures or among their beliefs, attitudes and actions. With regard to the present study, learners are constantly attempting to reach consistency between their values, which are largely inculcated in the home, and their attitudes and actions towards learners of other races. The above approach includes the balance and dissonance theories.

3.5.1.1 Balance Theory

The basic tenet of the balance theory is that if “the attitude towards a person and event is similar, the event is easily ascribed to the person” (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975, p.32). An example of a state of balance that may exist, among learners in this study, is when a White student in an integrated school likes a particular Indian student and is in favour of him/her being elected as chairperson of the student council. However, a state of imbalance will exist if the student likes a particular Indian student, but disapproves of him/her being elected as chairperson of the student council. If a balanced state does not exist, people will strive to restore balance through cognitive processes. Should it be impossible to restore balance, the state of imbalance will lead to tension (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975). Balance theory advocates that beliefs may be altered as a result of some action taken by the individual. Thus, a person’s beliefs and attitudes may be influenced by his behaviour.

Learners in integrated environments constantly adjust their beliefs and attitudes following behavioural modifications, which become incumbent in a racially mixed environment. In order to restore the balance, learners may be forced to alter their behavior, thus possibly altering their attitudes to other racial groups.

3.5.1.2 Cognitive Dissonance Theory

This theory is based on equilibrium maintaining paradigm, in which attitudes are formed or behaviour is changed to conform to attitudes, as the individual seeks to reduce dissonance. Thus, the individual, in order to maintain his own sense of balance, will adopt the attitudes of those around him in order to exist harmoniously. In a racially integrated situation, learners are constantly challenged to adopt the attitudes of their peers in order to exist in harmony with other race groups. The individual can either alter his behaviour to align it more with his attitudes, or alter his attitudes to align them more with

his behaviour especially if he is in a forced-choice situation. Learners in racially mixed schools may resort to any of the above means to reduce dissonance.

3.5.2 THE SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY (SLT) : ACQUIRING ATTITUDES FROM OTHERS

According to Social Learning theorists, except for elementary reflexes, people are not equipped with inborn repertoires of behaviour. They must learn them. New response patterns can be acquired either by direct experiences or by observation. One of the most impacting sources of attitude formation is acquiring them from others through a process of social learning. In other words, many attitudes are acquired in situations where there is interaction with others or by merely observing their behaviour. The social context moderating the learning process refers to the actual or implied presence and/or participation of “others” while learning is occurring.

According to the Social Learning Theory, attitudes are habits that have been learned. Most learning is explained in terms of two basic conditioning paradigms: classical conditioning and operant conditioning (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975, p. 22). In classical conditioning the response to be learned is initially elicited by an unconditioned stimulus, whereas operant conditioning (trial-and-error) involves situations where a variety of different responses are emitted and one is reinforced by punishment or reward.

The other social context variation in human learning is observation of behaviour and the consequences of the behaviour of others (Shaw & Philip, 1982).

3.5.2.1 CLASSICAL CONDITIONING : LEARNING BASED ON ASSOCIATION

It is a fundamental principle of Psychology that when a stimulus is persistently preceded by another, the one occurring first may soon become a cue for the one occurring second.

In other words, when the first stimulus occurs, individuals expect that the second stimulus will soon follow. The result is that gradually, individuals progressively acquire similar reactions to the first stimulus as they display to the second stimulus, especially if the second stimulus is one that evokes fairly strong and automatic responses.

Classical conditioning influences attitude formation in real life situations, considerably. The following scenario illustrates this clearly. A young child sees her mother snigger and display other signs of resentment every time she encounters a member of a specific racial group. Initially the child will be neutral towards members of this group and their visible physical features e.g. skin colour, accent etc. However, after these cues are paired with the mother's negative emotional responses several times, classical conditioning occurs and the child also begins to respond negatively to these stimuli and the particular racial group. This results in the child acquiring a negative attitude towards such persons—an attitude that may constitute the basis of a full-blown racial prejudice. In an integrated school environment, learners' responses may be conditioned by the responses of parents, teachers and significant others.

Studies have shown that classical conditioning can occur below the level of conscious awareness—when individuals are not aware of the stimuli that form the foundations for this type of conditioning. Krosnick, Betz, Jussim, and Lynn (1992) conducted an experiment in which students viewed photos of a stranger involved in routine daily activities that included shopping or walking to their homes. Simultaneously, other photos known to evoke either positive or negative feelings were presented very briefly, so that subjects were unaware of their presence. One group of subjects were exposed to photos that evoked positive feelings whilst another was exposed to photos that evoked negative feelings. At a later stage both groups expressed their attitude toward the stranger. The results showed that subjects who were exposed to the positive photos reported more favorable attitudes towards the stranger than those who were exposed to the negative photos. The results of this experiment suggest that attitudes can be influenced by *subliminal conditioning* i.e. Classical conditioning that occurs in the absence of conscious awareness of the stimuli involved.

Learners, in the present study, acquire attitudes from parents, teachers and peers subliminally, and these play a fundamental role in the attitudes that they form and hold towards learners of other ethnic and racial persuasions.

3.5.2.2 INSTRUMENTAL OR OPERANT CONDITIONING

Operant or instrumental conditioning refers to a basic form of learning in which responses that lead to positive outcomes or that permit avoidance of negative outcomes are strengthened and tend to be repeated. On the other hand, behaviours that result in negative outcomes are weakened or suppressed. It has always been the cardinal rule of operant theory, that behaviour is controlled by its immediate consequences. By rewarding behaviour with smiles, hugs or any other forms of approval for stating the “right” views-ones that they themselves favour-parents and other adults play a vital role in shaping young children’s attitudes. Given the powerful impact of reinforcement on behaviour, it seems understandable then, that the majority of children express social views highly similar to those of their parents and families. Instrumental conditioning may impact on learners’ attitudes towards other race groups in integrated schools, by parental approval of and reinforcement for adherence to the accepted values and views held by them.

3.5.2.3 OBSERVATIONAL LEARNING : LEARNING BY EXAMPLE

A third process by which attitudes are formed can operate even when individuals have no desire to transmit specific views to others. This process is referred to as observational learning and occurs when individuals acquire new forms of behaviour or thought by merely observing the actions of others. A sizeable proportion of human learning occurs through the observation of the behaviour of other humans. In reality, virtually all learning phenomena that are the result of direct experiences occur on a vicarious basis, by observing other people’s behaviour and its consequences for them. This capacity to learn

through observation enables individuals to acquire large, integrated patterns of behaviour without having to form them through gradual and tiresome trial and error (Bandura, 1977).

Despite the admonition of “do as I say, not as I do,” individuals, especially children, tend to use the behaviour of others as paradigms for their own behaviour. This applies to the formation of attitudes towards other race groups in integrated schools as well. A number of repeated experimental situations have demonstrated this proposition. The classic experimental prototype of the observational learning situation involves two classes of people - the observer and the “behave” or *model*. Generally, the model will display particular forms of behaviour that do or do not lead to rewards. Thereafter, the observer will be placed in the same behavioural field, as the model had been performing in, and the degree of imitation measured.

Observational learning appears to play a major role in attitude formation. Quite often children hear parents utter information not intended for their ears or observe their parents adopt attitudes that they instruct them not to adopt. In this way the message conveyed to the child is to do as their parents do and not as they say. In a country like South Africa, which has experienced a history of racial segregation and discrimination, racial stereotypes continue to plague society and these often get transferred to learners from their parents. Furthermore, individuals also often acquire attitudes and racial stereotypes from exposure to the mass media such as television, movies, magazines etc. Racist stereotypes portrayed in the media can be detrimental to engendering positive attitudes toward other race groups in integrated schools. The current television series “Madam and Eve” is a case in point, where the White person is portrayed as being superior (the madam), while the Black person is portrayed as inferior (the maid). Such feelings of either inferiority or superiority may be transferred to interpersonal relationships in schools. Furthermore, such stereotyping can negatively impact on racial attitudes.

3.6 WHY RACIST ATTITUDES EXIST

In addition to the Social Learning Theory, theories that explain racist attitudes are also explored and used to interpret the purpose of this research. Such an exploration is essential to any attempt to understand racial attitudes and to place attitudes to racial integration in a broader perspective. The basic assumptions people hold about why racist attitudes exist are varied and have implications for any attempt to resist negative behaviour. Traditionally, the approaches are divided into four theories: The Frustration-Aggression Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory, Realistic Conflict Theory and Social Identity theory.

3.6.1 THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS

Milner (1981) and De la Rey (1995) describe Dollard's Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis and his Scapegoat Theory which propose that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and that the existence of frustration leads to some form of aggression. The immediate question that arises, which undermines the credibility of this theory is, "What about aggression that is not preceded by frustration and frustration that does not lead to aggression?" The instances where frustration cannot be expressed through immediate aggression are particularly interesting when one considers the issue of prejudice, which may be detected in learners in integrated schools.

An assumption based on Freudian thinking is that the source of prejudice can be linked to a definite personality type. It is believed that a strict, rigid pattern of discipline during childhood leads to ambivalent feelings towards parents who are the power source. Outwardly children love parents, but inwardly they experience anger and hostility. They are unable to express these feelings of anger and frustration towards their parents since they are authority figures. They, therefore, suppress these feelings and later on in their lives project these feelings onto out-groups in the form of prejudice. The idea that racial

prejudice is a consequence of thousands of individuals having the same personality characteristics is generally viewed as too simplistic (De la Rey, 1995). According to Milner (1981), studies have shown that in social contexts with a tradition of racial intolerance, such as South Africa, socio-cultural factors are more important than personality variables in determining racial hostility. De la Rey (1995) also showed that there was very little support for the idea that prejudice and discrimination in South Africa are attributable to personality factors. On the other hand, Duckitt and Foster (1991) emphasise that authoritarianism and other personality-based determinants of prejudice are as important in South Africa as anywhere in the world.

Situations where frustration-aggression may be evident are integrated schools. Learners from different racial groups may be unable to express overt racist attitudes or behaviour, as they are fully aware that the school authority will condemn such behaviour. Although this theory is limited in explaining racism as a whole, it does bring to attention the emotional aspect of racism.

The Freudian concept of displacement of aggression and the idea of generalisation of aggression is based on the belief that individuals are motivated to achieve certain goals. Frustration is experienced when the individual is prevented from achieving these goals by some obstacle. If the individual cannot direct the aggression towards the source of the aggression, it may be displaced to similar targets through stimulus generalisation, or it may be displaced to quite dissimilar targets such as out-groups, who then become scapegoats who are blamed for the individual's frustration. This theory is generally viewed as reductionistic (De la Rey, 1995), locating its explanations at the level of the individual psychological functioning, rather than people's participation in more complex social behaviour. It has also been criticised for being too simplistic to offer a complete analysis of relations between social groups. Nevertheless, one cannot deny its usefulness. That individuals displace frustration-induced aggression onto scapegoats has been experimentally demonstrated and is not questioned (Milner, 1981).

As will be indicated later, learners in this study carry with them the frustrations of the apartheid era that often lead to aggressive outbursts, as is evident in the racial incidents that occur.

3.6.2 RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY

Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT) rests on the assumption that social unrest can be generated as a result of subjective feelings of discontent, based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to. The Potgietersrus incident is a case in point, where a previously White school governing body who had traditionally controlled educational resources felt that sharing with Black learners was unfair. Social discontent is likely to occur when there is a discrepancy between one's aspirations and reality. Discontentment will arise as a result of comparison of the in-groups' conditions with those of the out-group.

Nott (1999) points out, that in South Africa we have seen a marked effort by the ANC government to institute change in the distribution of resources, especially in the areas of housing, education and health. Affirmative action is an effective way to consciously change the power structures (Nott, 1999). However, these changes have not taught people how to deal with their feelings of resentment or how to come to terms with these changes. In a school environment, providing information and showing learners how the society perpetuates racism, will not alter their attitudes or behaviour. Nott (1999) points out that this could even provide them with an excuse to sit back and do nothing. She suggests a skills training programme involving a range of people who identify different issues and provide a collection of different points of view. "Through a process of action and reflection, learners learn in a more open-ended and experiential way about the injustices of the past" (Nott, 1999, pp. 46, 47).

Some learners in the integrated school under study experience discontentment that Blacks are depriving them of resources that was historically reserved for White learners. Others

are disgruntled that resources have to be shared with Indian, Black and Coloured learners. The perception is that this practice evidences unfairness.

3.6.3 REALISTIC CONFLICT THEORY

The realistic conflict theory (RCT) addresses the issue of conflict between groups, how the conflict is caused and how it can be resolved. The pivotal concepts of this theory are founded on the function of competition and super ordinate goals. Incompatible goals or competition between groups over scarce resources leads to inter group conflict and super-ordinate goals, while co-operative activities between groups induce social harmony (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). One of the criticisms of this theory is that while it addresses the psychological symptoms of inter-group conflict, it fails to challenge the causes of such conflict (De la Rey, 1995). A solution that has been suggested involves altering the perceptions of group members in order that the attainment of super-ordinate goals is replaced by the need to attain compatible goals. De la Rey (1995) draws attention to positive results that were attained in an American school by an exercise called “the jigsaw method” which is based on co-operative activities and super-ordinate goals. Learners had to complete a task through group work in which each member was responsible for a piece of information vital to the completed product. This interdependency led to harmonious working relations (De la Rey, 1995).

In an inter-racial school it would entail focusing on the super-ordinate goals of education and the effective functioning of the classroom, in order to derive maximum benefit from the lessons. It is important to remember that super-ordinate goals are not conditions to be forced upon one group by another. Furthermore, the assumption of the strategy is that there are areas of interdependence among the groups (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). Nott (1999) points out that a skills training programme should be implemented in schools. This should include aspects of democracy training, understanding how groups work by identifying the various groups that people belong to and the different dynamics that govern groups. Furthermore, it is pointed out that this approach constitutes change on a

cognitive level. However, favourable results on this aspect of the programme are no guarantee that learners will co-operate in a different context or that they gain an understanding of how racism operates at an organisational level.

RCT has not been considered as a strategy that is useful for reducing inter group tension in South Africa, since it does not include a change in the real source of conflict. The fact that it does not deal with the balance of power between groups further compromises its applicability. According to De la Rey (1995) the racial conflict in South Africa has its origin primarily in the power dynamics within groups. She, therefore, believes that the only way to solve the problem is to redistribute resources so that both Blacks and Whites have equal access to scarce resources.

The racial conflict caused in places like Potgietersrus resulted from providing equal access to scarce resources such as education. Those who control scarce resources will not just give them up for the sake of equity and better social relations. The Potgietersrus school was known as “the race row school” in the media (Lund, 1996a). The governing body of the school faced Supreme Court action because of their refusal to admit Black learners. As far as the governing body was concerned they believed that they reserved the right to “be allowed to say which pupils will preserve the language and culture of the school and which will not” (Lund, 1996a). The argument of the governing body chairman was that the issue was not a racial but a cultural one—a very thinly veiled excuse which supports Foster and Nel’s (1995, p. 371) belief that apartheid would continue to exist but in an altered form such as “culture” or “ethnicity”. The Supreme Court judge ruled against the governing body, and Black learners were admitted. Although the newspaper reported one child as indicating that the situation would be fine, it was clear that parents did not share the same sentiments. Some parents reacted by withdrawing their children from the school, starting private lessons at teachers’ homes and initiating proceedings to start a private school. This issue received media exposure over a number of months in 1996. Solomon (1996), in a letter to the editorial column of *The Star*, expressed the possibility that this incident would negatively impact learners. He pointed

out that when things returned to normal, with Black and White children firmly together, the children would never have confidence in their parents again.

3.6.4 SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

According to (De la Rey, 1995) this theory, which is based on a series of studies referred to as “the minimal group studies”, was developed by Tajfel as a reaction to the limitations of the previous theories. These studies indicated that the mere perception of belonging to two distinct groups was sufficient to produce inter-group discrimination in favour of the in-group. Fundamental to the Social Identity Theory are the concepts of social identity, social comparison and social categorisation.

Tajfel (1981a) purports the idea that people use a social categorisation process to locate themselves and others within a society. Categorising serves to simplify or systematise the vast amount of information received from the environment. Individuals place themselves in categories referred to as in-groups (“we”, “insiders”, “our people”) and refer to those categories to which they do not belong as out-groups (“they”, “outsiders”, “foreigners”). The significant differences regarding outsiders are given in terms of race, sex, culture or class. Ascribing significant differences to members of the out-group is called stereotyping. Tajfel (1981b) describes stereotyping as generalisations reached by individuals through the process of categorisation but which can only become social when they are “shared by large numbers of people within social groups or entities”. Social categories have an evaluative component, as they are perceived as either positive or negative. De la Rey (1995) points out that it is by social comparison that the evaluative aspect of group membership is determined. Social comparison results in a hierarchical arrangement according to status. The group status will impact either negatively or positively on the individual’s social identity since group membership constitutes part of the self-concept.

Eyber et al. (1997) indicate, that from this perspective, racism is fundamentally the outcome of faulty thinking where people make biased judgements on the basis of generalisations. People are not seen as individuals but rather as a generalised group to which specific labels such as “intelligent”, “loud”, or “musical” are attached. It is generally accepted that stereotypes develop as a result of socialisation, and are given content by parents, the mass media and social norms.

The general approach to altering stereotypes has been to put people in situations where they meet each other and discover similarities. This approach has generally been referred to as the “contact theory”. It is expected that people will discover that they share a common humanity and will give up their prejudices and stereotypes. However, as has been pointed out in the review of the literature in the previous chapter, contact does not necessarily improve inter-group relationships, nor does it result in the reduction of stereotypes. To the contrary it has been shown that contact can lead to polarisation of racial groups and an entrenchment of stereotypic views.

Learners in this research study face the challenge of resisting or accepting the temptation of social categorisation, social comparison and stereotyping by virtue of their belonging to distinct racial groups.

3.7 COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

In view of the variety, diversity and complexity of the theoretical perspectives on attitude formation, it is shortsighted to assume that any theory can singularly account for why individuals adopt a specific attitude towards a specific phenomenon. In addition, the issue is further complicated by the complexities of human characteristics and motivation. It would, therefore, seem simplistic to conclude that attitudes to racially integrated schooling could be explained by any one theory.

In attempting to frame this research, a number of theories have been alluded to, to explain racism. The researcher has chosen an eclectic approach to explaining attitudes to racial integration. The Social Learning Theory (SLT) and theories that explain racist attitudes in particular will be used to interpret the purpose, critical questions and data collected in this study.

Given the fact that human beings are multi-faceted and interact with people on a moment by moment basis, it is the view of the researcher that SLT predominates in the learning of attitudes. It is a well-known fact that the first five to seven years of a child's life are the most crucial to all aspects of development. During these formative years the primary caregivers (parents) and secondary caregivers (teachers, siblings) exert a phenomenal influence on children's learning. The manner in which parents and teachers condition children's attitudes, reinforce them and model behaviours reflective of specific attitudes, has a profound impact on the nature of the attitudes children adopt. In this study the influence of parents', peers' and teachers' attitudes on learners' attitudes to other races was apparent.

In a country such as South Africa, with a history of strained inter-racial relations originating from the apartheid era, it is highly likely that learners' attitudes to racial integration at schools has been coloured or shaped by the attitudes of parents and teachers.

In addition to the SLT, theories of racist attitudes also provide a framework for the understanding of attitudes in integrated schools. South African learners hail from a background of racial segregation, which symbolised discrimination and prejudice. The impact, therefore, of frustration, deprivation, conflicts and social identity on racial attitudes is a reality that is apparent even nine years after the abolition of segregation in schools.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the attitudes of learners to racial integration at schools. The point of departure in this chapter is that racial attitudes are formed

through social learning, frustration, deprivation, conflict and social identity. The purpose, critical questions and data will be interpreted in terms of this eclectic view.

Chapter four focuses on the research methodology that was followed to explore the purpose of the study and to answer the critical questions thereof.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter three provided an overview of relevant theories that explain attitude formation. Although an eclectic approach was used as a backdrop in this study to explain the attitudes of learners to racial integration, the Social Learning Theory and Theories of Racist Attitude Formation predominated.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to outline the methodology employed to investigate Grade ten learners' attitudes to racial integration and to indicate how data was collected to answer the following critical research questions:

- What are the attitudes of Grade ten learners toward racial integration?
- Do variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement influence racial attitudes to integrated schooling?

In addition, this chapter will describe the research design, data collection and sources, the location of the study, the sample, the measuring instruments, the procedure and ethical considerations.

4.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Descriptive research “describes the behaviour, thoughts or feelings of a particular group of subjects” (Leary, 1991, p. 17). Since this is precisely what this study sets out to do, the methods of descriptive research are therefore appropriate. At a basic level, when one wants to know someone's opinion, it is logical to enquire from that person. This point was made clear by (Fox, 1969, p. 25) when he indicated that more than

forty years ago the psychologist Floyd Allport noted, that if one wanted to know what someone thought, the best way to find out was to ask him. Consequently, a survey of opinions is indicated. A non-experimental design, often used interchangeably in the literature with the term “*survey design*” (Drew & Hardman, 1985) can, therefore, be seen to satisfy the methodological needs of this study.

This research is an investigation into the attitudes of learners to racial integration at a historically White, ex-Model C school viz.: Kloof High School. In order to investigate the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration, a descriptive survey was selected as the most appropriate research strategy. A survey was conducted with an ex-Model C school as a unit of analysis. Survey, in this study, is used to mean implicitly “sample survey”, as opposed to a study of all members of a given population or group. Typically, survey methods are used in the study of a segment or portion-a sample-of a population for the purpose of making estimated assertions about the nature of the total population from which the sample has been selected. According to Babbie (1990), survey samples must represent the populations from which they are drawn if they are to provide useful estimates of the characteristics of “that population”.

A survey was most suitable since it was the intention of the researcher to conduct a single-time descriptive study. Data is collected at one point in time from a sample selected to describe some larger population at that time (Babbie, 1990). Such a survey can be used, not only for purposes of description, but also for determination of relationships between variables at the time of study. Babbie (1990) describes the characteristics of Descriptive-Survey Research, which also typify this study:

- A sample is selected from the total student body.
- A questionnaire is constructed to elicit information e.g. attitudes.
- The questionnaires are administered to the sample.
- Learners’ responses are coded into a standardised form that can be recorded in a quantitative manner.

- Each learner's coded responses are transferred to disks. The standardised records for each child is subjected to an aggregated analysis to provide descriptions of the learners in the sample and to determine correlations among different responses.
- The descriptive and explanatory conclusions reached by the analysis are generalised to the population from which the sample was selected i.e. the student body.

The researcher will, in the course of this chapter, describe how the above procedure was followed in this descriptive study on learners' attitudes to integrated schooling. The purpose of this research was to make descriptive assertions about the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration in an ex-Model C School.

Cluster sampling was used to obtain the sample. According to Gay (1987), a cluster can be defined as any intact group having similar characteristics. Schools are an excellent example of such clusters. Cluster sampling involves the sampling of groups, not individuals. The research focused on the geographical location of KwaZulu - Natal, and in particular the Pinetown District. All the schools in this geographical area were listed. This resulted in a total of ten secondary schools, which constituted the survey population. Ten percent of the population was randomly selected, which resulted in one secondary school (Kloof High School) being chosen as the site (cluster) for the investigation.

The sample within the cluster was selected in the following manner. The number of Grade ten learners per school was estimated to be about 150. In ten schools the approximate number of Grade ten learners would be 1500. Out of 1500 learners, ten per cent (150) was chosen. All the Grade ten learners in the sample were included in the survey.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION AND SOURCES

If the survey design is about asking people their opinions, then there are two basic ways of asking. One way is by making use of a questionnaire and the other is by using the interview technique. Consequently, data was collected by means of:

- Questionnaires which comprised quantitative and qualitative items
- Interviews with two learners (1 male and 1 female) from each of the following race groups: Black, White, Indian and Coloured. The numbers were restricted because of time constraints.

This study used a conscious combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology.

4.4 THE LOCATION OF THE STUDY

This research endeavour was conducted at an ex-Model C School in Kloof, a suburb in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there has not been any study conducted in the area of Kloof on attitudes of learners to racial integration, to date. Kloof High School had been a segregated, Whites-only, government English medium, co-educational secondary school before 1991. At present the school has White, Black, Indian and Coloured learners in all grades.

4.5 THE SAMPLE

The total research sample consisted of 172 Grade ten learners, of whom 90 were girls and 82 were boys. The racial composition of the sample was as follows:

- White learners 73.8 %
- Indian learners 7.0 %
- Black learners 17.4%

- Coloured learners 1.7 %

Kloof is situated in a middle-to upper- class suburb that was previously predominantly White. The racial mix in the sample is largely representative of the demographics of the area. The primary language of all respondents was English.

The Grade ten learners were purposefully selected for the following reasons:

Firstly, as compared to the Grades eight and nine, the majority of Grade ten learners have attended Kloof High School for a minimum of two years. This period would have afforded them sufficient time to adjust to the transition from primary to high school, thus preventing adjustment difficulties from influencing their responses to the questionnaire. Secondly, most learners have interacted with members of other race groups for a minimum of two years, hence they were in a better position to provide reasonably calculated responses. Thirdly, the academic programmes of Grades eleven and twelve were too intense to allow them time to participate in the survey.

4.6 MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

The Questionnaire

The main objective of the questionnaire was to explore the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration. The two basic goals in questionnaire design according to Donald (1975), are to obtain information relevant to the purpose of the survey and to collect the information with maximal reliability and validity. These goals may be referred to as relevance and accuracy goals (Donald, 1975). The questionnaire was considered as the primary means of data collection appropriate for this investigation as it held many advantages as a data-gathering instrument, viz.:

- It is less time consuming than the interview method, especially when considering a sample of 172 learners
- It is far more economical than interviews
- It can be completed at leisure and a broader spectrum of views can be obtained

- It is preferable when a study deals with sensitive topics such as the attitudes learners hold towards racial integration
- The respondent may be more willing to answer questions if he or she does not have to discuss them, and may have greater trust in the confidentiality of the responses with a paper-and-pencil questionnaire.
- This approach also allows for greater use of rating scales and other forms of measurement that are either too unwieldy or too time consuming when read aloud by the interviewer (Donald, 1975).

For the purposes of this study, it was more appropriate to give a self-administered questionnaire to a large number of respondents, than to conduct an in-depth interview with all 172 learners because of cost and time constraints. A limited number of interviews were conducted for the purpose of validation of responses to the questionnaire. The relative ease of administration of the questionnaire meant that it was possible for the researcher to gather data simultaneously in seven classes during a relatively short period of time. The major aim of the questionnaire was to obtain data from individual learners about their attitudes towards the integration of their school.

4.6.1 The Pupils' Attitude to Integration Questionnaire

The Pupils Attitude to Integration Questionnaire (PAIQ) (Appendix 1) was used to investigate Grade ten learners' attitudes to racial integration. H.J. Burkhalter (1996) compiled this questionnaire for a study on pupils' attitude to integration in previously Whites-only State schools. This particular questionnaire was selected as it explores the theoretical knowledge of integration, the value of integration and the actual experience of being in an integrated school. Burkhalter (1996) used a range of analysis techniques to quantify the information that was gathered from the PAIQ. The factor structure of the questionnaire was analysed using a Principal Component Factor analysis. The Eigen value criteria of > 1 and the Harris-Kaiser oblique rotation technique was applied. Cattell's scree test was utilised to see which dominant factors were to be retained. A basic rationale of the scree test is that a battery of variables is measuring a limited number of factors well, and a large number of trivial, specific and

error factors less well (Gorsuch, 1974). The reliability of the questionnaire had been established by checking the mean split-half reliability co-efficient. Cronbach's co-efficient alpha of 0.94 was achieved. An item analysis, in which each item was intercorrelated with the whole scale, was performed to ensure that all the items reflected the single attitude in question. Those items that were highly intercorrelated with this attitude score were regarded as indicative of the underlying attitude, and the majority of items that did not correlate highly with the summed scores was deleted. As a result, most of those items that did not distinguish amongst subjects, or which were ambiguous or appeared to be measuring something other than the attitude in question, were removed, and the remaining intercorrelating and discriminating statements were selected for the final scale (Burkhalter, 1996).

The researcher established the reliability of the questionnaire for the purposes of this research. Cronbach's co-efficient alpha of 0.95 was achieved (Appendix 2).

The questionnaire was piloted to ensure that it was valid for the purpose of this specific study. The procedure that was followed will be further discussed later in this chapter.

4.6.2 Structure of The Questionnaire

Eight questions required biographical details and other relevant details viz.: gender, age, home language, ethnic group, number of years at the school, average symbol from previous term and attendance at an integrated primary school. Sixty-four items were of the closed type. Close-ended questions are very popular in survey research as they provide a greater uniformity of responses. In addition, they are easier to answer, easier to code and analyse, require less skill and effort on the part of the interviewer, makes it easier for the individual to comment on sensitive subjects and are more easily processed (Donald, 1975). Learners had to choose one response from a limited number of options. The method for scoring questionnaire items was as follows: (Appendix 3). Statements were arranged in terms of a 5-point rating scale, which included the following options: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree. When learners reflected strong agreement with a positive statement regarding integration they received a score of 5 points. When they strongly disagreed

with a positive statement they scored 1 point. Thus, the higher the individual's overall score the more positive was their attitude to integration. Three open-ended questions were used to obtain in-depth information regarding the difficulties and benefits learners' experience as a result of attending integrated schools and their suggestions regarding the interventions that were necessary to facilitate the integration process in schools. Donald (1975, p. 134) crystallises the advantages of this type of question in the following statements, "The beauty of open-ended questions lies in its freedom and spontaneity. The respondent can follow his own logic and chains of association, free from the constraints of an imposed scheme. There are also more opportunities for self-expression and verbal catharsis". Furthermore, inclusion of these qualitative questions were advantageous in that they would be less subject to the problem of reactivity to the attitude measurement procedure itself (Foster, 1991). According to Foster (1991, p. 503), " People may not, in fact, have well-defined views regarding a certain attitude object, yet in being required to respond to defined items they respond as if these were well thought out positions". Throughout, positions and attitudes could be "created" by measurement procedures.

4.7 FACE VALIDITY AND PILOTING OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In order to establish face validity (i.e. how well the questions indicate the concept) the questionnaire was given to three experts in the field of Educational Psychology for their comments and suggestions. They analysed the format, clarity, validity, sequencing and value of all questions in the questionnaire. Adaptations to the questionnaire were made on the basis of their recommendations, and a pilot questionnaire was drafted.

A pilot study was then undertaken to measure the reliability and validity of the questionnaire for the study before administering it to the main sample. Reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object would yield the same result each time (Babbie, 1990). Validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration (Babbie, 1990). Some of the aspects that were tested by the pilot study

were the length of the questionnaire, time management, ambiguity and clarity of the questions.

The pilot study was conducted on a sample of 10 Grade eleven learners from Kloof High School. They were representative of the sample that was used for the research. Learners were matched on age, gender and race group. The pilot questionnaire was administered in exactly the same manner as the research instrument was administered. The questionnaire contained all the intended questions, in the wording, format and sequence as the one used in the final survey. Learners were asked to indicate whether the questions were difficult or ambiguous, the time limit was adequate and the questionnaire was relatively easy to answer. The following changes were made following the pilot study. The pilot questionnaire included variables related to socio-economic status of the learners viz.: location of dwelling, parents' occupation, ownership of home, number of rooms in the home and number of holidays taken in a year. These details were considered problematic as learners either did not know the information or were not willing to divulge such information. These aspects were subsequently omitted from the final questionnaire. A second pilot study was conducted with five respondents to identify areas of difficulty regarding the questionnaire. There were no further problems with the questionnaire.

4.8 ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The Pupils' Attitude to Integration Questionnaire was administered to all Grade ten learners during school hours. The Principal requested that it be conducted in the last two periods of the day, as it would be least disruptive to the academic programme planned for the day. In the opinion of the researcher this was not the most suitable time, as some learners were not able to fully concentrate as a result of tiredness and the preoccupation with preparing to go home. Class teachers administered the questionnaire in the learners' registration classrooms. The researcher was present and performed a supervisory role while moving from class to class. A list of detailed instructions was given to each teacher (Appendix 4). All the questionnaires were collected immediately after they were completed. A total of 187 questionnaires were distributed to teachers, of which 172 (92 %) were answered, as 14 (7.4%) learners

were absent and one questionnaire (0.6%) was incomplete. The return rate was, therefore, 92%.

4.9 OBSERVATIONS DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

During the administration of the questionnaire some learners tended to tick neutral options without giving thought to their responses. Educators were advised by the researcher to encourage learners to think carefully about their responses and avoid a neutral response, “just for the sake of completing the questionnaire”. It was observed that learners began to consider their responses more seriously thereafter.

A few learners seemed to be preoccupied with the fact that it was the end of the day and became restless. Others began rushing through the questionnaire so that they could pack their bags for home. In both instances teachers were extremely helpful in refocusing learners on the task at hand and were successful in gaining most learners’ attention and concentration.

4.10 THE INTERVIEW

Interviews were conducted to elicit more detailed information on three aspects of the questionnaire viz.: difficulties experienced with integration at the school, benefits of integration and suggestions that learners may have that will improve racial integration (Appendix 5). Four respondents (two from each race group) were selected for the interview process using the purposive sampling technique.

The rationale behind the interview process was to select “information rich cases” to illuminate the questions under investigation (Patton, 1990). In addition, the interview is a well-established data-gathering tool in educational research (Cohen and Manion, 1983). It is a flexible, direct way of obtaining information. It enables the researcher to obtain information and understand issues relevant to the general aims and critical questions of the research project (Gillham, 2000). Questions can be clarified, and the strength of an attitude or opinion assessed. It allows the researcher to examine the nuances and complexities of the day-to-day experiences of pupils in greater depth

than is possible in other data-gathering methods. The interview situation was conducive to eliciting the sensitive material with which this study deals, such as the meanings which learners may ascribe to attitudes and behaviours displayed towards them by other race groups.

The responses provided insight and clarification regarding the difficulties learners experienced in an integrated school. They also provided information on the benefits that learners attributed to integrated schooling as well as suggestions that may improve racially integrated schooling. This qualitative research method provided an important basis for the global scenario that emerged in the study. However, it did not allow for a direct comparison of answers between respondents.

Even though a questionnaire and an interview schedule were used, the questions of the interview schedule were the same as the qualitative questions of the questionnaire. This was decided upon by the researcher because the responses to the qualitative questions regarding the benefits of integration and suggestions to facilitate integration were not answered by a number of learners, whilst others tended to avoid committing themselves to an opinion. The interviews allowed the researcher the opportunity to establish rapport with learners and to obtain their trust and co-operation. Subsequently, the researcher was able to probe difficult areas, with sensitivity. The interview, therefore, provided an opportunity for in-depth responses regarding learners' attitudes to the difficulties and benefits of integration as well as suggestions to facilitate integration. An added advantage of the interview was that the researcher was able to assist respondents with clarification and interpretation of questions. Misinterpretation of questions was thus avoided. The researcher also had greater control over the interaction with the participant. When the researcher needed to probe further regarding a specific response, she was in a position to do so, thereby obtaining the most accurate responses. All questions were open ended, requiring both thought and reflection. Interviews were planned to take a minimum of fifteen minutes and a maximum of twenty-five minutes per respondent. This was to prevent loss of concentration or boredom, which may adversely affect the results.

Finally, the interview responses also served to validate the responses obtained from the questionnaire.

4.11 PROCEDURE AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As a result of the sensitive nature of this research endeavour, many ethical issues had to be considered. Indeed, all research must be conducted ethically and morally. This is especially true in the behavioural sciences, but even more so when researching sensitive topics (Lee, 1993).

The research proposal was submitted to an ethics committee from the University of Durban Westville for their input and approval. The committee approved the study. Thereafter, the researcher set about addressing ethical issues regarding the actual survey at Kloof High School. A letter introducing the researcher and seeking permission to conduct the study was personally taken to the principal of Kloof High School (Appendix 6). The Deputy principal offered to obtain permission from the Department of Education and Culture of KwaZulu-Natal, which she did telephonically from Mr. Les Schwartz, Pinetown District Manager. Fully informed consent was obtained from all parents of learners who participated in the study (Appendix 7). Telephonic consent was obtained from parents of learners who participated in the interviews. The respondents were assured that confidentiality and anonymity would be maintained, that all information obtained would be used exclusively for the purpose of research and would remain in the possession of the researcher. Permission was obtained in writing from Mrs.H.J.Burkhalter to use the Pupils' Attitude to Integration Questionnaire, which she constructed in 1996 (Appendix 8). Once the Department of Education and Culture granted permission and consent was received from parents, the researcher conducted a meeting with all Grade ten teachers and the Head of Department. At this meeting the aims of the research and ethical issues such as confidentiality and anonymity were discussed. At the suggestion of the Head of Department, it was agreed that teachers would administer the questionnaire. The researcher did a briefing on the procedure to be followed.

4.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a detailed discussion of the methodology used in this research. This included the research design, data collection and sources, location of study, the sample, the measuring instruments and the procedure and ethical considerations.

Chapter five will focus on the analysis of data collected in this research using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Quantitative data from the data collection process were captured on an electronic database using a computer software programme called Microsoft Excel. The data was coded and captured to establish categories of responses and frequencies. Descriptive statistics were used to provide a convenient and precise summary of the data that permitted the researcher to describe the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration (Drew, 1976). The primary intention of the present investigation was to describe the attitudes of the group under consideration and, therefore, the computation of descriptive statistics was appropriate. Data from the interviews was gathered by means of recorded interviews, which were transcribed. From the transcribed data, key analytical codes and categories were formulated.

The presentation of the findings of this study and the analysis of the results constitute a major part of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter provided a detailed explanation of the processes involved in the research methodology used in this research. The purpose of this chapter is to present a summary of the results of the data analysis and a discussion of findings, with a view to addressing the purpose and critical questions underpinning this study.

The purpose of this research was to explore the attitudes of grade ten learners to racial integration. The critical questions were as follows:

- What are the attitudes of Grade ten learners to racial integration?
- Do variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement influence learners' attitudes towards integrated schooling?

Section B of the Pupils Attitude to Integration Questionnaire (PAIQ) was useful in answering the first critical question, while the information obtained in Section A was used to answer the remaining critical question. In addition the data that surfaced sheds light and provides insight and information on other pertinent issues relevant to the concept of racial integration.

Racial integration is an extremely complex phenomenon and is the outcome of many inter-related factors. Ideally, all factors that bear upon racial attitude formation should be identified and their inter-relatedness indicated. For each individual, the formation of attitudes towards other races is a unique mix of biographical, environmental, social, personality, experiential and cognitive factors. Without losing sight of the inter-relatedness of these factors, it is the intention of the researcher to single out some of these factors and study them individually. Consequently, the study of the inter-relatedness of all factors forming racial attitudes is beyond the scope of this study.

Attitudes of learners toward racially integrated schooling have received much attention from researchers up until 1996. However, from then to date, very little research was carried out on this dynamic area of South African education. The researcher, therefore, conducted this study in an attempt to fill this gap.

5.2 QUESTIONNAIRE RETURN RATE

A total of 187 questionnaires were distributed to learners of which 172 were returned. The return rate was, therefore, 92.6%. The number of non-returns constituted 14 (7.4%) of which 6 resulted from absence of learners. 1 incomplete form was excluded from the data analysis. This was a good return rate (Babbie, 1990).

5.3 DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of data collected in this research was done using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). It was appropriate to use both descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics provide a convenient and precise summary of the data and permits the researcher to describe “what is” or “what happened” with regards to racial attitudes at the school (Drew, 1976). Chi-square analyses were necessary to analyse some of the data. All findings are reported in terms of the 95% level of confidence ($p < 0.05$). Percentages and frequencies are used to describe the data. The open-ended questions of the questionnaire as well as the interview questions will be analysed qualitatively in terms of common emergent themes. These themes will be used to substantiate emerging dominant influences from the quantitative analysis of the questionnaire.

5.4 PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH DATA

The data collected in this study are organised in the form of tables, descriptive statements and themes. This chapter is divided into two sections:

SECTION A: Statement and Analysis of Results

This section focuses on the following central aspects:

- Description of the Sample
- Attitudes of all Learners towards integrated schooling
- Attitudes of Learners according to Race
- Attitudes of Learners according to Age
- Attitudes of Learners according to Gender
- Attitudes of Learners according to Scholastic Achievement
- Analysis of open-ended questions in the PAIQ
- Analysis of interviews with learners

SECTION B: Discussion of Results

This section focuses on the following central aspects:

- Description of sample
- Attitudes of all learners towards integrated schooling
- Attitudes of learners according to variables race, age, gender and scholastic achievement
- Discussion of the results of open-ended questions of the PAIQ and face-to-face Interviews

5.4.1 SECTION A: STATEMENT OF RESULTS

5.4.1.1 DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

The constitution of the sample in this study was 172 English-speaking learners. Each learner completed the PAIQ, while eight learners were involved in face-to-face interviews. The table below describes the sample of learners involved in this study.

Table 5.1 Profile of learners according to gender

GENDER	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Male	82	47.7
Female	90	52.3
Total	172	100.0

Table 5.1 reflects that 47.7% of the sample were males as compared to 52.3% who were females. The discrepancy in the representation of males and females in the sample was not significant.

Table 5.2 Profile of learners according to age

AGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
14 years	7	4.1
15 years	115	66.9
16 years	44	25.6
Older than 16 years	6	3.5
Total	172	100.0

Table 5.2 reflects that 4.1% of learners were in the 14 year age group, 66.9% were in the 15 year age group, 25.6 fell into the 16 year age group while 3.5% of the sample were over the age of 16 years. The majority of learners (92.5%) were 15-16 years old.

Table 5.3 Profile of learners according to language spoken most often at home.

LANGUAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
English	143	83.1
Zulu	20	12.2
Afrikaans	6	3.5
Xhosa	1	0.6
Tamil	1	0.6
Total	172	100.0

According to Table 5.3, 83.1% of learners speak English most often at home, 12.2% speak Zulu, 3.5% speak Afrikaans, 0.6 speak Xhosa, and 0.6 speak Tamil. At the time of the questionnaire administration, the researcher established from the learners that they were all fluent in English.

Table 5.4 Profiles of learners according to race groups

ETHNIC GROUP	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
White	127	73.8
Black	30	17.5
Coloured	3	1.7
Indian	12	7.0
Total	172	100.0

The statistics in Table 5.4 indicate that 73.8% of the sample were from the White population group; 17.5% were from the Black population group; 7.0% were from the Indian population group and 1.7% were from the Coloured population group. The highest number of White learners results from the fact that the school in which the study was conducted was an ex-Model C school. The racial composition of the sample is representative of the demographics of the Kloof area.

Table 5.5 Profile of learners according to length of attendance at Kloof High School

LENGTH OF ATTENDANCE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Less than 1 year	19	11.0
1 year	2	1.2
2 years	40	23.3
3 years	110	64
4 years or more	1	0.6
Total	172	100.0

Data from Table 5.5 denotes that 64% of the learners have attended the school for 3 years, 23.3% for 2 years, 1.2% for 1 year, 11% for less than 1 year and 0.6% are at the school for more than 4 years. The majority of learners are at the school for 2-3 years.

Table 5.6 Profile of learners according to average symbol

SYMBOL	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
A	26	15.1
B	47	27.3
C	64	36.6
D	31	18.7
E	3	1.7
F and lower	1	0.6
Total	172	100.0

From Table 5.6 it is evident that 36.6% of the sample obtained a “C” symbol, whilst 27.3% obtained a “B” symbol. Eighteen point seven per cent obtained a “D” symbol, 15% an “A” symbol and 1.7% scored an “E” symbol. 0.6% of the learners obtained a symbol of “F” and lower. Seventy nine per cent of the sample achieved average and above average symbols.

Table 5.7 Profile of learners who attended integrated Primary Schools

ATTENDANCE AT INTEGRATED SCHOOL	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Yes	172	100
No	0	0
Total	172	100.0

This table shows that 100% of the learners attended integrated Primary Schools.

5.4.1.2 ATTITUDES OF ALL LEARNERS TOWARD INTEGRATION

Table 5.8 Overall attitudes of learners

ATTITUDE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Strongly Agree/ Agree	7	4.1
Neutral	64	37.2
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	101	58.7
Total	172	100.0

The overall attitude of learners was positive with 58.7% of the sample indicating that they were in favour of integrated schooling, 4.1% of the sample were negative regarding integrated schooling and 37.2% were neutral.

Table 5.9 Means and Standard Deviations of overall attitudes

Mean	3.6061
Median	3.6641
Mode	3.92
Standard Deviation	0.59242
Minimum	1.89
Maximum	4.72

According to Table 5.9 the overall attitude of the sample was positive with a mean score of 3.6. The attitudes of the learners ranged from negative (1.89) to positive (4.72).

Analysis of Questionnaire Items according to the factors of Integration

An analysis of learners' responses to individual questionnaire items measuring the three factors of integration (theoretical principles, value and experiences) was conducted and yielded the following results:

The statistics in appendix 9 indicate learners' percentage responses to individual questions measuring the theoretical principles of integration. All items with a * denote negative responses. The overall attitude of learners to this factor was negative with an 88% score. Appendix 10 indicates the percentage of learners' responses to individual questionnaire items measuring the value of integration. All items with a * denote negative responses. Learners' attitudes to this factor were negative with a 66.6% score. Appendix 11 depicts the percentage of learners' responses to individual questionnaire items measuring the experiences of integration. All items with an * denote a positive response. Learners' attitudes to this factor were positive with a 56.25% score.

Means and standard deviation of learners' responses to the factors measuring integration were also calculated. Considering that the maximum in the section measuring attitudes to the theoretical principles of integration was 5, it seems that learners experience difficulty with this aspect of integration. This is supported by the fact that the mean scores are high, with the majority ranging from 3.05 to 4.86 (Refer to Appendix 12). The mean scores for the section measuring the value of integration ranged from 2.12 to 4.38, indicating that some aspects regarding the value of integration may present difficulties to learners (Refer to Appendix 13). With regards to the experiences of integration, the mean scores section ranged from 2.00 to 4.72. (Refer to Appendix 14). It appears that some experiences of integration did not present difficulties whereas others may be of extreme concern to learners.

5.4.1.3 ATTITUDES OF LEARNERS ACCORDING TO VARIABLES (RACE, AGE, GENDER AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT)

Chi-squares were used to establish whether significant differences existed in respect of race, age, gender and average symbol of learners. All findings are represented in terms of the 95% level of confidence ($p < 0.05$).

Table 5.10

ATTITUDE OF THE DIFFERENT RACE GROUPS TO INTEGRATION

			Race Group				Total
			White	Black	Coloured	Indian	
Attitude	Strongly Agree/Agree	Count	7	0	0	0	7
		% within Race Group	5.5%	0%	0%	0%	4.1%
	Neutral	Count	59	2	0	3	64
		% within Race Group	46.5%	6.7%	0%	25.0%	37.2%
	Strongly Disagree/Disagree	Count	61	28	3	9	101
		% within Race Group	48.0%	93.3%	100%	75.0%	58.7%
Total		Count	127	30	3	12	172
		% within Race Group	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is evident from Table 5.10 that Coloured learners were most positive (100%) to integration, followed by Black learners (93.3%) and Indian learners (75.0%). White learners were least positive (48.0%). An almost equal percentage of White learners chose to remain neutral (46.5%). Twenty five per cent of Indian learners were neutral whilst only 6.7% Black learners held neutral responses. Five point five per cent of White learners held a negative attitude towards integration as opposed to 0% negative responses from the other three race groups.

Table 5.11 Mean scores for attitude according to Race

	Mean	Std Deviation	f	p
White	3.4745	0.57451		
Black	4.0490	0.46182		
Coloured	4.2708	0.20807		
Indian	3.7253	0.48405	10.635	0.000

Table 5.11 indicates a significant difference between the attitudes of Coloureds, Blacks, Indian and White learners ($p = 0.000$).

Table 5.12 Attitudes of Learners according to Age

Age	Mean	Std Deviation	f	p
14 Years	3.8438	0.33982		
15 Years	3.6167	0.58402		
16 Years	3.5643	0.62235		
Older than 16	3.4323	0.78962	0.629	0.597

In terms of Table 5.12 there was no significant difference in attitudes between the various age groups of learners ($p = 0.597$).

Table 5.13 Attitudes of Learners according to Gender

	Mean	Std Deviation	t	p
Male	3.4	0.62952		
Female	3.7	0.53782	-2.508	0.013

According to the statistics in Table 5.13 there is a significant difference between males and females ($t = 2.508$, $p = 0.013$). Females were more positive to integration than males.

Table 5.14 Attitudes of learners according to Average Symbol

Average Symbol	Mean	Std Deviation	f	p
A & B	4.21	1.092		
C	4.25	0.976		
D & Below	3.57	1.420	4.736	0.010

It is evident from the data provided in Table 5.13 that scholastic achievement was a significant variable influencing learners' attitudes towards integration ($p = 0.010$). Learners with an average symbol (C) and above average symbols (A & B) were more positive towards integration than learners with below average symbols (D and Below). The mean scores were 4.21(A & B), 4.25 (C) and 3.57 (D and Below).

5.4.1.4 ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS IN THE PAIQ

Content analysis was conducted to organise the substantive responses to the three qualitative questions of the PAIQ into the following categories, which pertained to the questions viz.: difficulties with integration, benefits of integration and suggestions to facilitate integration.

Difficulties with Integration

Responses regarding difficulties with integration were coded according to the following common themes that emerged:

- Racial prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping and conflict
- Communication difficulties and barriers
- Racial in-group preference

- Compromise of educational standards
- Cultural differences
- Teacher Learner difficulties
- Superficial relationships

Benefits of Integration

Responses in respect of the benefits of integration were coded according to the following themes:

- Cross-Cultural exposure
- Cross-Cultural Understanding
- Social relationships/Friendships
- Equality of Races
- Preparation for future life in South Africa

Suggestions to Improve Integration

Responses regarding suggestions to improve integration were coded according to common themes below:

- Greater efforts by the school
- More social activities
- Multi-racial teaching staff
- Teacher/principal co-operation
- Segregated schools
- Nothing can really be done

5.4.1.5. ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS WITH LEARNERS

The open-ended questions that were presented to learners in the PAIQ were the same questions that were presented during interviews with learners. The rationale was that a number of learners did not adequately answer these questions on the questionnaire.

Questions regarding the benefits of integration and suggestions to improve integration, in particular, contained a large number of “none” responses. In order to gain a deeper insight into learners’ true feelings regarding these aspects of integration, interviews were conducted. It was noted that a very large percentage of responses that emerged during interviews correlated closely with the responses in the open-ended questions of the questionnaire. The order of presentation of data will, therefore, follow a similar format to the analysis of open-ended questions in this section, in order to provide logic and coherence, and to highlight patterns of responses that surfaced. Interview responses were clustered into the following categories viz.: Difficulties with Integration, Benefits of Integration and Suggestions to Improve Integration. Examples of learners’ responses will be provided in each category.

Difficulties with Integration

- “Pupils joke around a lot about racial issues, but sometimes they take it too far. Frustration builds up and this leads to fights”.
- “Whites exclude other children on the grounds of race”.
- “There is animosity between White and Indian boys, but girls of the different race groups get along well”.
- “They make racist comments. One White boy called me a “coolie”. I flipped, I blew up. They threw water bombs at us and one boy threw a can at us. We ended up in a physical fight”.
- “Outside of school Whites are still negative, especially towards Blacks. It’s a reflection of the homes they come out of really racist, White people. They don’t like other races entering the school”.
- “Blacks are too noisy, rowdy, and loud. Blacks are racist, they interpret everything we say as racism”.
- “As an Indian I am out-numbered. Being in the minority I become a target. I can’t fight for rights-its pointless when you are in the minority, you get no support”.
- “When discussions come up, true feelings come out. People get angry and hostile and it ends up in a fight. Debates always take on a racial tone”.
- “Blacks speak in their own language and it is annoying because it seems they are talking about us”.

- “There is no unity between groups. Each race group is on their own at school. In class you are friends, but on the field and out of school we are separate”.
- “Some teachers are racist. They are lenient when White boys break the rules but discipline us when we get into trouble. When I felt I should complain to the head teacher I decided not to, so I do not get into his bad books”.
- “Teachers are racist. They are not even aware of what they say. Many try to hide it, but it slips out e.g. they don’t refer to us Blacks by name, but say, You people over there...as opposed to Miss... when addressing White girls, as if we don’t have names. They would never do that to a White child. But I’m used to it now, it doesn’t faze me ... its part of most days”.
- “If anything causes racism in our school it’s teaching us about apartheid and making it a part of the syllabus. It teaches things we did not know about the Whites. Before that we did not feel animosity, but afterwards we feel racist towards them”.
- “We have huge debates about culture and religion, which result in violent verbal interactions and aggressive behaviour”.
- “They try too hard to be our friends, but deep inside they are thinking, “Those Black people...” Pupils are not honest. They are friendly in front of you but talk about you behind your back. They are hypocrites”.

Benefits of Integration

- “We learn an incredible amount about different cultures, languages, traditions, customs, and lifestyles, which we will not be able to learn from books”.
- “We learn that we have so much in common”.
- We learn to understand what people really are like and therefore we accept and tolerate each other”.
- “At one stage I accepted what my friends said about others, but I found out they were wrong”.
- “We soon see that not all pupils are racist”.
- “I have more friends in an integrated school than I would have had in a segregated school. We socialise with pupils from all races”.

- “We come to see that we are equal. Colour is only skin deep. If we get cut we all bleed the same colour blood. Inside we are the same, it’s only our physical features that are different”.
- “We learn to see people for who they are not what they are”.
- “We understand that Whites are not superior, as my parents used to believe. I know we are all equal”.
- “Integration prepares you for the real world. We will be able to get along in work places where there are different races”.
- “As a Black, integration is a major step for me, there’s still hope of something better”.

Suggestions to improve Integration

- “Schools should get pupils to communicate with one another and do things together e.g. sport, cultural days and spring walks so we find the things we have in common”.
- “Children should take time to get to know each other”.
- “Orientation programmes should be held for Grade 6’s when they enter the school.
- “Use Life Orientation lessons to talk about yourself so pupils get to know you better. More counselling of pupils with racial prejudices”.
- “Make changes to the syllabus e.g. remove apartheid and stop focusing on racism, include the history of all race groups in even depth, not only White and Black history”.
- “Religious Education should embrace all religions”.
- “Teachers should mix pupils up, and not always let children choose where to sit. They should help us to try and break out of our own race groups, and make us friends”.
- “The principal and teachers should give Indians, Coloureds and Blacks more chances of becoming prefects. There is a huge majority of White prefects with “token” Indians and Blacks. Pupils should not vote for and nominate prefects because there are more White pupils and therefore more Whites get chosen. This is very unfair. Whites are favoured”.

- “The principal and teachers should severely deal with racial incidents, not just ignore them”.
- “Teachers should not allow fights over race to manifest in class. When fights break out some teachers just sit there and do nothing, they should control the situation”.
- “There should be more Indian and Black teachers in this school”.
- “I’d rather be in a segregated school than being in the minority. The government should rather improve the status of segregated schools. We have to come to integrated schools for a better education”.
- “Racism can work if parents have the right attitudes because children bring racist attitudes from home”.
- “It’s up to people to change and give other races a chance, but it’s very difficult to change others”.
- “There’s not much you can do. Race will always be an issue unless people choose not to make it an issue”.
- “The principal can’t change people alone, it takes everyone, especially parents”.

5.4.2 SECTION B: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The analysis and description of results will assume the same order in which the results were stated. The results of this study must be viewed with caution, as they may not be generalised, on account of the small sample size. They may not adequately represent individual race and gender groups. This section of the chapter focuses on a summation of important findings of this research, within the framework of the purpose and critical questions that underpin this study. It is in the context of the reviewed literature and the theoretical framework guiding the study, that this exercise is conducted.

5.4.2.1 DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

The analysis of results in the first section of this chapter provided profiles of learners in terms of descriptors such as biographical information, attendance at integrated schools, language orientation and scholastic achievement.

With respect to the gender distribution of the sample, the results indicated that 47.7% were male and 52.3% were female. There was, therefore, a more or less equal gender representation in the sample. The biographical statistics revealed that the majority of respondents were 15 and 16 years old (92.5%). A small minority of learners (7.6%) constituted the 14-year and over 16-year age groups. It may be assumed, although not categorically so, that learners were more or less of the same level of maturity in terms of their responses to the questionnaire. It therefore suggests that age may not have significantly influenced the results. In the analysis of the impact of age on learners it was confirmed that age was not a significant variable.

According to the results presented in table 5.3 the majority of learners in the sample speak English frequently at home (83.7%). Although 16.3% of learners spoke their mother tongue most frequently they were all fluent English speakers. This was established with information provided by the teachers at the time of the questionnaire administration.

The important data reflected in table 5.4 indicate that the sample was predominantly White (73.8%). The Black population constituted 17.4% of the sample. There were 7.0% Indian learners and 1.7% Coloured learners in the sample. Indian and Coloured learners were in the minority and together, constituted 8.7% of the sample. In view of this, it is important that caution be exercised when making comparisons with regard to race and attitude. The imbalance with regards to the racial distribution of learners across the sample was due to the fact that the school surveyed was historically a White Model C school. This may be due to the demographics of the Kloof area, which determined to a large extent the racial composition of the sample.

The information presented in Table 5.5 indicates that the majority of learners (87.3%) had been at the school for either two or three years. This implies that learners have spent a reasonable time at the school and were probably in a position to provide fairly accurate responses to the questionnaire.

According to the results provided in Table 5.6 learners with average (C) and above average symbols (A and B) were in the majority (79.7%). The discrepancy in the achievement levels of learners may influence the way in which integrated schooling is perceived.

An interesting result emerged in Table 5.7. Statistically, it is evident that all Grade ten learners in this study had previously attended integrated primary schools. It may be, therefore, hypothesised that these learners' attitudes to integration would be highly positive.

5.4.2.2 ATTITUDES OF ALL LEARNERS TOWARD INTEGRATION

Results of the study indicated that 58.7% of learners were positive towards integrated schooling, while 4.1 % held negative attitudes. This result reveals that the positive attitudes of learners were just above average with a mean score of 3.66.

Coloured learners were the most positive towards integrated schooling followed by Black, Indian and White learners. In a study of post-apartheid attitudes of White learners to integration by Burkhalter (1996), Coloured learners also emerged as most positive to integrated schooling. Fisher and Sonn (1999) offer an explanation for the notable increase of positive attitudes of Coloureds towards Whites. He indicates that it is an attempt to retain their relative advantage over Blacks allotted to them during apartheid. Furthermore, Coloureds had historically a heritage of identifying with and aspiring to be members of the White community. Unterhalter (1975) found that urban Coloureds had a tendency to reject rather than align themselves with Blacks. However, considering that this study was done twenty eight years ago, it is possible that this attitude may have changed. If one takes into account the current South African context, it may be to the advantage of the Coloured population to align themselves with Blacks. Whether this will occur is not within the scope of this research to ascertain. It may also be assumed that being the smallest racial group in the sample, Coloured learners were more accepting of other race group learners, in an attempt to be accepted by the majority of other learners.

Of significance in the results of this study, is the high percentage of neutral responses (37.2%) which constituted over one third of the responses. This indicates that a large

percentage of learners chose to reflect neither positive nor negative attitudes to racial integration. In terms of the statistical results presented in Section A of this chapter, White learners (46.5%) volunteered the majority of neutral responses. Indian learners accounted for 25.0% of neutral responses. A small percentage of Black (6.7%) learners chose to remain neutral, whilst there were no neutral responses from Coloured learners. It appears that White and Indian learners were reluctant to commit themselves to a true reflection of their attitudes. It may be surmised that had these learners' attitudes been positive, there would not have been hesitance or a reluctance to disclose their true feelings towards integrated schooling. This notion is supported by the responses of two interviewees who indicated that they sometimes did not commit themselves to questionnaire items, "for fear of appearing racist". Despite this consideration, the actual percentage of learners who displayed negative attitudes was 4.1% (White learners). There were no negative attitudes towards integrated schooling among the Black, Indian and Coloured learners.

- **Analysis of the (PAIQ) and Selected Questionnaire Items**

The percentage response per learner, to the total number of statements was established, in order to provide some indication of how positive (score of 4 or 5), negative (score of 1 or 2) or neutral (score of 3) learners felt towards the integration of schools. Fifty eight point seven percent of learners' responses to the questionnaire scored either 4 or 5 points. It is, therefore, concluded that just over half of the responses indicated a positive attitude towards integration. A relatively small percentage of learners (4.1%) scored either 1 or 2 points, indicating a negative response. Thirty seven point two per cent of learners scored 3 points. It is, therefore, evident that just over one third of the sample chose to maintain a neutral attitude towards integrated schooling.

In view of the high percentage of neutral responses (37.2%) and the slightly above average (58.7%) positive results obtained, the researcher felt it necessary to conduct a more detailed analysis of the questionnaire responses, in order to obtain a more accurate and realistic picture of learners' attitudes. The individual questions were categorised according to the three factors of the questionnaire that measured attitudes viz.: the theoretical principles of integration, the value of integration and the actual

experience of being in an integrated school, and were further analysed. For the purposes of the analysis, the categories “strongly agree” and “agree” were combined and the categories “strongly disagree” and “disagree” were combined.

- **Theoretical Principles of Integration**

Learners’ scores on questions 1,2,3,4,11,14,19,20,22,23,27,30,31,37,40,43 and 48, which measured the theoretical principles underlying integration, were highly negative. Of the 17 questions measuring this factor, 15 were negatively responded to, resulting in an 88% negative response (refer to Appendix 9). The mean scores ranged between 3.05 and 4.86 (refer to Appendix 12). These results provide a clear indication that learners were extremely negative to the fundamental principles underlying integration. It appears that learners coming from different racial backgrounds do not yet understand and appreciate the need for non-racialism as reflected by their highly negative scores.

Selected individual statements analysed below will be used to elucidate the findings.

Questionnaire item 22, *“Every student, regardless of race, should have equal rights with regard to holding a position such as prefect and house captain”*, and Questionnaire item 23, *“Every student, regardless of race, should be allowed to play for school sports teams, if he/she has the ability to make the team”*, received highly negative responses. Ninety four point eight per cent and 95.3% of learners respectively, disagreed with these statements. Mean scores of 4.85 and 4.86 were obtained respectively. Only 2.3% of learners agreed or remained neutral. It seems that learners are still not convinced that all race groups should enjoy equality of status with respect to participation in school activities.

The responses obtained to questionnaire item 3, *“All South African children, regardless of race, should receive equal education”*, were also negative. Eighty nine per cent of learners disagreed. The mean score was 4.72. Once again the outcome confirms that learners have yet to accept that all children have an equal right to education.

It is also evident from responses elicited to statement 19, “*I am not willing to accept, as an equal, a member of another race into a club or team to which I belong*”, that members of other races are not perceived as being equal. This implies that learners do not agree with a basic principle of integrated schooling viz.: equality of races. This contention is supported by the fact that 86.6% of respondents disagreed with the above statement. The mean score was 4.6.

By contrast, learners responded positively to statements 4 and 43. Questionnaire item 4 read as follows: “*Children of different race groups should be taught separately*”. The mean score for this statement was 4.6 with 85.4% respondents disagreeing. Statement 43, “*Teachers should teach only students of their own racial group*”, was also disagreed with by 82.6% of subjects. The mean score was 4.48. These were the only two items to which learners responded positively out of a total of 17 items, measuring attitudes to principles of integration.

It, therefore, appears that learners do not accept equality amongst racial groups with regards to participation in school activities. However, there is a strong acceptance of integration of learners and teachers into a multicultural learning and teaching environment.

These results are in contrast to a study by Ranchod (1997), who found that children who came from previously oppressed backgrounds understand and appreciate the necessity of integration. These learners scored highly positive scores on the theoretical principles of integration. Her study examined Indian and African pupils’ attitudes to integrated schooling in previously segregated Indian schools. The difference in outcomes may be attributed to the fact that her sample constituted learners from previously disadvantaged backgrounds. In terms of the sample of learners in this study, the majority come from previously advantaged backgrounds and may, therefore, find it difficult to share resources that were previously reserved for them. This assertion is based on the Relative Deprivation Theory.

Burkhalter (1996) on the other hand, found positive results regarding the theoretical principles of integration among learners in a study on post-apartheid attitudes of High school children towards integration of schools in South Africa. The sample was drawn from both ex-Model C and ex-Model B schools and was predominantly White.

- **Value of integration**

With regard to the questionnaire items that explored the value of integration, learners' scores ranged from 19% to 77.9% (refer to Appendix 10). The mean scores ranged from 2.12 to 4.38 (refer to Appendix 13). The responses were varied. These statements included items 6,7,8,9,10,35, 42, 46,47,49,50,51,52,53 and 61. Of the total number of questions (15) measuring the value of integration, 10 were negatively responded to, resulting in a 66.6% negative response. These results suggest that the majority of learners do not recognise the value of integrated schooling as illustrated by the following examples of responses to selected statements.

On analysing item 49, "*School integration has encouraged social mixing between races*", it emerged that 77.9% of respondents disagreed, 13.4% remained neutral and only 8.7% agreed with the statement. This response corresponds with the themes that emerged during interviews with learners, who indicated that children tend to "stick" to their own race groups. Mixing tends to only occur in class but very little mixing occurs during breaks and after school hours.

Seventy three per cent of learners disagreed with item 47, "*The sharing of cultural ideas in integrated schools has led to a better understanding amongst different racial groups*". Fourteen per cent of learners remained neutral. Despite exposure to other cultures, learners seem to experience difficulties in this area. This may be supported by the suggestion made by some learners during the interviews, that the school initiate more cultural activities, so that they get to know one another better. This would increase their understanding of other race groups.

Learners' responses to item 35, "*The racial mixing of schools is helping pupils to better communicate with all racial groups in South Africa*", was highly negative with 72.1% of learners disagreeing, 17.4% remaining neutral and only 10.5% agreeing. These findings were confirmed during interviews, where all learners complained bitterly about the difficulties with inter-racial communication. White and Indian learners were disgruntled that Black learners constantly spoke in their mother tongue, thereby creating suspicion that they were being spoken about. On the other hand, Black learners complained that Whites were "paranoid" about them talking in their own language about them, when that was not the case.

Zafar (1998) reported similar statements made by a White learner at an ex-House of Assembly school in South Africa. "I do not mind people speaking in their own language, but what is irritating is when a Zulu speaking person knows that I don't know what he/she is, saying and still chooses to have a conversation in Zulu. It does get irritating and that could be deliberately done for a number of reasons. When they talk among themselves they always talk Zulu" (Zafar, 1998, p.22) .

Zafar (1998) provides an explanation for this phenomenon. She asserts that according to data obtained in her study on school-based initiatives to address racial and cultural diversity in newly integrating public schools, the perceptions that White and Indian learners have of Black learners are based on perceived differences and result in subtle practices of exclusion. As a result, their own positions have become dominant while the discourse of the Black learner has been marginalised. Black learners, are attempting to assert their identity by, for example, speaking in Zulu in the corridors and classrooms. They also tend to congregate in large, somewhat noisy, friendship groups.

Seventy two per cent of subjects disagreed with item 54, "*In integrated schools we are learning to respect people from other racial groups.*" 11.6% agreed whilst 16% chose to remain neutral. Sixty eight per cent of learners also disagreed with item 42, "*School integration is leading to better relationships among racial groups*". Eighteen point six per cent of respondents agreed with the statement and 13.4% were neutral.

From the discussion thus far, it seems that in terms of social contact and interpersonal relationships, learners seem to hold extremely negative views. It seems that being in a racially mixed school has not resulted in learners relating more positively, neither has there been greater respect engendered amongst them for each other. This result supports studies that have disproved the assumption of the classic contact hypothesis, that inter-racial contact in and of itself leads to a reduction of negative attitudes. Walker (1989) emphasises that contact does not necessarily improve intergroup relations.

When analysing questionnaire items 6 and 7, however, which explored the different aspects of integrated educational material, a more positive attitude has been noted. To

item 6, “*All children should learn an African language at school*” there was a 64.0% positive response, 19.8% negative response and 16.3% neutral response. This suggests that most learners recognise the value of knowing an African language, especially in the present South African context, where there are 11 official languages and multi-lingualism is emphasised. By implication, this may mean that when it concerns empowerment to succeed in an integrated environment the majority of learners agree that an African language is valuable. The value of learning about other races in school is suggested by responses to statement 7, “*The syllabus of most subjects should be changed to include material relevant to pupils of all races (e.g. African Literature)*”. A majority of 44.2% of respondents agreed, 27.3% disagreed and 28.5% remained neutral. Although there was a majority of positive responses, the large percentage of neutral responses may imply a reluctance to commit to an opinion, as has been noted in the large percentage of neutral responses to many other questionnaire items.

In sum, it is suggested that although there was a largely negative attitude displayed towards the value of integration, learners are aware of the benefits to some extent. They appear to feel uncertain and ambivalent about this relatively new process.

- **The experiences of integration**

Questionnaire items 5,12,13,15,16,17,18, 21,24,25,26,28,29,32,33,34,36,38,39,41,44, 45,54-60,62,63 and 64 measured the actual experiences of integration (refer to Appendix 11). Out of 32 items 18 (56.25%), were positively responded to. However, percentages ranged from 19.2% to 90.1%, indicating varied responses from very positive to very negative. Forty three point seventy five per cent of responses were negative. The mean score range was between 2.00 and 4.72 (refer to Appendix 14). It seems that most learners have experienced actual integration positively. At the same time the wide range of responses suggests dissatisfaction with some experiences of integration. The analysis of selected statements serves to illustrate this point.

With regard to item 29, “*I will not vote for any pupil for student office (e.g. prefect) unless he/she is of my race*”, 90.1% of subjects disagreed, whilst 5.8% agreed. Interestingly, this response contradicts the response provided to item 22, which was,

“Every student, regardless of race, should have equal rights with regard to holding a position such as prefect and house captain”. A possible explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the tenets of the Balance Theory, which assumes that if learners hold similar attitudes to an event and the person, the event is ascribed to the person. A state of imbalance exists when there is a discrepancy between the attitude to the event and person. In this study learners seem to experience an imbalance in their attitude towards the “event” (positions at school) and the “person” (learners from other race groups). In terms of the above, tension may result if the state of imbalance is not restored. During the interviews, non-White learners expressed extreme anger that the majority of prefects were White. Prefects were nominated by the matrices who were predominantly White.

When analysing the attitude to item 17, *“When pupils of other races groups are admitted into my school, I have done my best to accept them as classmates and equals”*, it was found that 83.7% of respondents disagreed, only 4.1% agreed and 12.2% were neutral. These attitudes conflict with those reflected in item 29. It also supports the assertion made concerning items 22 and 23, that learners find it difficult to accept learners of other races as equals. This negative attitude towards acceptance of other race groups is also evident in negative responses to item 24, *“If I like a person of another race well enough I accept him/her into the group I hang around with”*. These types of responses also surfaced during interviews with learners. A White male and a White female learner indicated that White learners find it difficult to accept learners of other race groups.

Despite these negative attitudes expressed by learners, some positive results were obtained. Seventy one point five per cent of respondents disagreed with statement 63, *“I do not think that I will ever feel that I am really welcome at an integrated school”*, whilst 11.0% agreed and 17.4% volunteered a neutral response. This result suggests that although learners’ experiences have led to some negative attitudes, they do feel accepted in an integrated school. These results were supported by learners’ responses to item 34, *“Attending a mixed school has resulted in my feeling worse about myself (e.g. inferior, stupid, inadequate)”*, which reflected 75.6% disagreement, 7.6% agreement and 16.9% neutrality.

A positive attitude was also reflected in response to item 55, "*My parents are against the integration of schools*". Seventy three point three per cent of subjects disagreed, 9.9% agreed and 16.9% remained neutral. A similar response was given to item 21, "*I do not invite students of other races home with me because my parents would not like it*". Whilst 77.3% of respondents disagreed, 12.8% agreed and 9.9% were neutral. A large majority of learners (81.4%) also disagreed with statement 15, "*I would not invite a pupil from another race home with me*". Eleven per cent agreed and 7.6% remained neutral.

In terms of the attitudes which reflect home and parental influence, learners volunteered positive attitudes. The contradiction, however, lies in their own negative attitudes to close social interaction with other race groups as depicted in responses to items 17, 24, 26 33 and 36. Forty seven point seven per cent of learners found dating between races to be a serious problem, whilst 18.0% remained neutral (item 26). Sixty five point one per cent of learners were not pleased that their school was racially mixed, while 25.0% remained neutral (item 33). Fifty four point one per cent of learners disagreed that their close circle of friends included learners from other race groups, while 17.4% remained neutral (item 36). This discrepancy may have resulted from learners' reluctance to portray their parents in a negative light or as racist. The sensitive nature of the questionnaire items may have influenced learners' responses. The attitudes of the learners compared to their parents were incongruent and went against the principles of Social Learning Theory.

This theory highlights the view that the majority of children express social views highly similar to those of parents and families. Children also acquire attitudes vicariously by observing the behaviour of others. Although they may be admonished by parents to "do as I say, not as I do", children use the behaviour of significant others as a paradigm for their own. Quite often children hear parents utter negative comments or observe parents adopt attitudes that they instruct them not to adopt. In this way the child receives the message to do as their parents do and not as they say. The responses received from learners during the interviews throw light on this contention. To quote a White learner, "Outside of school Whites are still negative towards, especially Black pupils. It's because of how they were brought up. It's a reflection of the homes they come out of really racist, White people".



Although 72.1% of learners disagreed that, “*A member of another race has become a close friend of mine*”, 16.9% agreed and 11.0% were neutral, they also disagreed with item 32 that, “*People from different race groups are too different to ever become close friends*”, with 75.0% disagreeing, 11.0% agreeing and 14.0% remaining neutral. These contradictory responses may imply that, although at present learners have not established close friendship bonds, they seem to recognise the potential for such friendships to develop. This outcome may be explained by the cognitive consistency theory, which purports that people strive for coherence and meaning among their beliefs, attitudes and actions. This may be even more relevant given the transition learners are going through regarding integrated schooling.

With regard to other experiences of integration, learners were more positive.

Learners’ attitudes to attending an integrated school were positive as indicated by responses to items 4 and 44. Whilst 85.4% of subjects disagreed that children of different race groups should be taught separately, 5.3% agreed and 9.4% remained neutral (item 4). In support of this response, 70.3% learners also disagreed that they would prefer to attend segregated schools, 14.5% agreed and 15.1% were neutral (item 44). Learners also held positive attitudes towards the educational aspects of integration. On both items 12 and 18 which referred to lowering of standards as a result of integration, the majority of learners disagreed, with percentages of responses of 48.3% and 52.9% respectively. On the issues of loss of cultural identity and cultural differences negatively impacting education, learners held positive attitudes as evidenced by items 13, 54 and 64. The percentages were 47.7%, 54.7% and 64.5% respectively.

From the above discussion regarding learners’ attitudes towards the three aspects of integration measured by the PAIQ, it is evident that learners have extremely negative attitudes towards the principles underpinning integration as well as to the value of integrated schooling. Interestingly, and by contrast, learners hold a more positive attitude towards the actual experience of being in an integrated school. There, therefore, seems to be a discrepancy between the learners’ perceptions of integration and the reality of interacting in a racially mixed environment. This discrepancy may be accounted for by a number of factors.

Given the fact that this country has been divided by apartheid for over 300 years, it is possible that learners still enter integrated environments with inherent fears, suspicions, prejudices and stereotypes. These perceptions make it difficult, and in some cases, impossible for learners to appreciate the basic principles of equality, fairness, unconditional acceptance and liberation. They also obscure the benefits of integration so that learners are unable to appreciate the value for humanity in general and for themselves, in particular.

As mentioned earlier the impact of the social environment plays a crucial role in shaping attitudes, thinking and behaviour among learners. Parents, families, teachers, the media and society at large provide models whom children imitate. Should these highly influential forces hold negative racial attitudes, learners would almost certainly adopt them and perpetuate racism and discrimination.

Finally, it appears that learners are in a state of adjustment and adaptation with regard to integrated schooling. The fact that the “real” situation is producing positive outcomes despite learners’ perceptions, suggests that with continued integration, learners may begin to fully appreciate the value of this most humane phenomenon of racial integration at South African schools.

5.4.2.3 DISCUSSION OF ATTITUDES OF LEARNERS ACCORDING TO VARIABLES (RACE, AGE, GENDER AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT)

- **Influence of Race on attitudes towards integration**

The attitudes of learners towards racially integrated schooling are significantly influenced by race group membership ($p = 0.000$).

The attitude of White learners was the least positive of the various race groups. This trend has been observed over many, years. They are consistent with those documented by Whitmore (1956), who as far back as forty seven years ago, reported, that White learners who were tested after desegregation displayed negative attitudes

towards Black learners when compared to those who were tested before desegregation. Burkhalter (1996), forty years later, also found that White learners were least positive about integrated schooling compared to other race groups. Christie (1990) and Bradnum et al. (1993) documented similar results, although their studies were conducted before the advent of democracy in South Africa. The current study also confirms previous South African research findings (for example Nieuwoudt, Plug & Mynardt, 1977 & Thiele, 1988). These researchers point out that White attitudes over the past sixty years have been predominantly stable with regard to racial attitudes. Foster and Nel (1995) contend that White attitudes have been relatively stable with some evidence of shifts of degree rather than kind during the 1980's. According to Burkhalter (1996), the nineties did not appear to be any different. The current study confirms that this trend seems to prevail even in the 21st century. It appears that race group membership is a relatively stable and constant variable in respect of the attitudes of learners towards racial integration (Burkhalter, 1996). Similar outcomes were reported in a study conducted by Bradnum, Nieuwoudt & Tredoux (1993). The racial attitudinal patterns that emerged in the study were that Whites exhibited determinedly negative attitudes towards other racial groups.

According to Dutton et.al. (1998), Black students showed more acceptance of White students than White students did of them. They also showed a much lower degree of ethnocentrism. In this study 93.3% of Black learners were positive towards integrated schooling. This may result from Blacks perceiving the opportunities for racial mixing as more beneficial than White learners (Freer & Christie, 1992). One Black learner that was interviewed by the researcher indicated, that despite her difficulties with school integration, it was "a hope of something better" and that, "it was a major step to be in an integrated school" for her as a Black. These responses may be the consequence of extremely negative experiences in previously Black segregated schools prior to the dismantling of apartheid. It was, and still is common today, for a vast number of Black learners to be faced with the challenges of a scarcity of educational resources, overcrowding of classes, underqualified teachers, high pupil-teacher ratios, disruption of classes as a result of political upheaval and a general lack of a culture of teaching and learning that is conducive to academic success. As a result this group of learners may appreciate the benefits of equality of educational opportunities far more than White learners would.

In a study on racism conducted by Smith & Stones (1999) it was found that Black and Coloured learners held tolerant attitudes towards Whites whilst White learners held clearly pro-White attitudes (Smith & Stones, 1999). The results, therefore, indicate that Whites have yet to become as tolerant as their Black and Coloured counterparts whose attitudes were predominantly positive.

- **Influence of Age on attitudes towards integration**

Age as a variable influencing racial attitudes to integration was not found to be significant in this study. However, a number of studies have pointed out that younger children display less prejudiced towards learners of other race groups and reveal more positive attitudes. St. John (1975) in a review of over 100 studies found more frequent positive findings for younger White learners compared to older White learners. Burkhalter (1996) found younger White children to be more positive about racial integration than younger Black learners, who were less positive. However, generally, literature suggests that inter-racial difficulties are less evident in primary schools as compared to secondary schools (Carrim, 1992; Christie, 1990 & Eyber et al. 1997). International studies (Frederikse, 1992) also support these findings. According to Bot (1992), positive outcomes of desegregation are totally restricted to the younger primary school learner.

A possible explanation for these findings is that younger children, being more impressionable, are more amenable to change and adaptation to a racially mixed environment than older children whose attitudes are ingrained. One of the important characteristics of attitudes, as pointed out in chapter three, is that they are usually very difficult to change once formed (Baron & Byrne, 2000). They also tend to persist, strongly influence perceptions about people, and impact on an individual's behaviour and social thinking. Individuals then hold specific attitudes towards specific people, which impact heavily on interpersonal relationships. Altering attitudes of older children, which have already been shaped by the history of discrimination and injustice in South Africa, is extremely challenging.

Another view may be that it is less likely that older White children have experienced inter-racial contact at an early age in their primary school years. Many researchers believe that if contact occurs at an early age, the possibilities of positive outcomes are more likely (Carter, De Tine, Spero & Benson, 1975). Carter et al., (1975), also emphasise, that the type of contact is more important than the frequency of contact in respect of promoting positive inter-racial attitudes. On the other hand, other studies have shown more positive attitudes among older Black learners.

- **Influence of Gender on attitudes towards integration**

With regard to the influence of gender on racial attitudes in this study, a significant difference was found between males and females ($p = 0.000$), with females holding more positive attitudes than males. This outcome is consistent with the majority of studies that have examined the impact of gender on racial attitudes. St. John and Lewis (1975) found gender to be a more influential source of cleavage than race.

Researchers such as Williams (1955); Useem (1971); Freer & Christie (1992) and Pillay (1996), all found more favourable attitudes to other race groups among girls than boys. Lits (1992) found that boys were more socially constrained than girls. Schofield (1982) and Patchen (1982) also found that White males were more negatively affected by the social threat of integration and had more negative attitudes towards Blacks. Schofield (1982) found that White boys were more intimidated by Black boys whom they perceived to be physically stronger. They, therefore, reacted by forming gangs against Black boys.

The Social Identity Theory provides an explanation for this phenomenon of attaching a stereotype to a group, which influences one's attitudes and hence one's behaviour towards that group. People tend to categorise themselves and others in order to position themselves and others in a society. People place themselves in "in-groups" to which they belong and refer to those categories to which they do not belong as "out-groups". Stereotypes are given to these out-group members who are perceived as either negative or positive. Social comparison leads to a hierarchical arrangement in terms of status. The status ascribed to a group will impact either positively or

negatively on the individual's identity since group membership is part and parcel of the self-concept.

In terms of the above discussion, racial attitudes result from faulty thinking based on generalisations. People are seen as a general group to which specific labels are attached, and not as individuals. In the case of the above scenario Black boys are labelled as stronger and this poses a threat to White boys who react by forming gangs. In the present study, the researcher discovered by way of the interviews that there is constant tension between boys. One learner indicated that Indian, Black and White boys often got into fights. An Indian male felt intimidated by White boys and this made him very angry. These boys often form gangs and become involved in physical fights.

On the other hand, some studies found that boys displayed more favourable inter-racial attitudes than girls did. Schofield (1982) for example, found that girls tended to cluster more in their own racial groups than boys did. She also found more frequent interaction between White boys and other race groups than girls.

- **Influence of Scholastic Achievement on attitudes to Integration**

A significant difference was found between learners with average and above average symbols and those with below average symbols ($p = 0.010$). This result has surfaced in many studies exploring racial attitudes towards integration (Lombardi, 1962; Singer, 1975; Useem, 1971; St. John & Lewis, 1975 & Ranchod, 1997). Patchen (1982) found that Black learners with higher IQ scores held more positive attitudes towards White learners compared to Black learners with lower IQ scores. The interpretation was that Black learners with higher IQ scores possessed intellectual abilities that helped them to view the world non-simplistically. As a result, they were more resistant to the influence of stereotypes and prejudices. Compared to lower achievers, higher achievers have fewer reasons to feel resentful and defensive about their academic status. Similarly, White learners with higher IQ scores enjoyed a friendlier relationship with their peers. Singer (1975) also found that White learners with high IQ scores evidenced a favourable change towards Black learners in an

environment with inter-racial contact. Lombardi (1962 a & b) supported these findings in the early sixties as well. He reported that White learners, whose grades had decreased, displayed hostile attitudes towards other racial groups entering the school. By contrast Lombardi in St. John (1975) found no real relationship between the IQ of White high school learners and their attitude change towards Blacks. Bukhalter's (1996) findings are consistent with the results of the current study as she also found that the lower the average symbol, the more negative the attitudes of learners towards integration. In keeping with these results, Ranchod (1997) reported that among Indian and Black pupils, those who obtained a high average symbol were most positive to racial integration, whilst those who obtained lower symbols were least positive.

An attempt is made to explain these consistent outcomes of negative attitudes among lower achieving learners. At present in South Africa, learners exiting formal schooling are faced with an enormous challenge regarding employment opportunities, as a result of a dearth of jobs. This situation may lead to intense competition amongst school leavers as well as those in the secondary school phase. In the context of equal educational opportunities available to all South Africans irrespective of race, poor achievers may experience increased, intense feelings of intimidation and threat, given the scarcity of jobs. This may be especially significant for White learners who previously enjoyed greater privileges and opportunities as a result of the governments' protection of their interests. In addition, learners who experience a decline in their achievement may be further frustrated. They may therefore vent this frustration on non-White learners in the form of prejudice and aggression (Lombardi, 1962a), thus making them the scapegoats.

This type of reaction is clearly expounded by Dollard's Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis and his Scapegoat Theory. He purports that the existence of frustration leads to some form of aggression. Prejudice may be a milder form of aggression. This notion is further supported by the Freudian concept of displacement of aggression. The premise is that individuals are motivated to achieve certain goals. Frustration sets in when they are prevented from achieving these goals by some obstacle. Should the individual be unable to vent his/her aggression towards the

source of such aggression, it may be displaced to dissimilar targets such as out-groups who then become the scapegoats, who are blamed for the individual's frustration.

In summary, race group membership, gender and scholastic achievement significantly influence the attitudes of learners. Age did not surface as a significant factor impacting on racial attitudes. Coloured learners held the most positive attitudes, followed by Black learners, Indian learners and White learners. Girl's attitudes were found to be more positive than boys. Learners with average and above average achievement as measured by their symbols were more positive to racially integrated schooling than those with below average achievement.

5.4.2.4 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS OF THE PAIQ AND INTERVIEWS WITH LEARNERS

A detailed discussion of the themes that emerged during interviews with learners constitutes this section. It was noted that a very large percentage of responses that emerged during interviews correlated closely with the responses in the questionnaire. This discussion, will, therefore cover themes common to both the questionnaire items and the interviews with learners.

The researcher used the phenomenological framework to analyse the responses from the interviews and questionnaire. This process resulted in a qualitative description of learners' attitudes to difficulties of integrated schooling, the benefits of integration and suggestions to improve integration in schools. Following this, the researcher extracted the natural meanings units in accordance with the purpose of this research, which is to investigate the attitudes of learners to racially integrated schooling, and transformed them into psychological themes as advised by Kruger (1988).

In order to fulfil the objective of providing descriptions of learners' attitudes to racial integration of schools, the researcher identified recurring themes among respondents and arranged them into focal themes. These themes constitute the basis of the discussion of results that ensues.

Difficulties with Integration

- **Racial Prejudice, Discrimination and Conflicts**

Some of the greatest difficulties facing learners concern racism, prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and conflicts in the school environment.

Respondents from all race groups mentioned that most class discussions invariably take on a racist slant and often result in violent verbal outbursts and aggressiveness. An Indian female emphasised that racial jokes are often “pushed too far”. Learners tend to use racial jokes to vent their true feelings towards one another, in keeping with the old adage, “Many a truth is spoken in a jest”. This often leads to vicious inter-racial fights. Interviewees also appeared extremely perturbed with derogatory name-calling such as “coolie”.

Stereotyping among learners was evident during interviews. Black learners were stereotyped as “loud”, “noisy”, “unhygienic”, “disrespectful”, and “thieves”. They were also perceived by White and Indian learners as interpreting everything that is said and done in a racist way. There was a feeling that Black learners wanted everything for themselves, as expressed by one learner “Blacks are taking over this country, this is a Black man’s land”. They were also accused of always assuming that discussions and arguments are racially motivated. Black learners, on the other hand, perceived White learners as racist. White learners in turn felt prejudiced that they were perceived as racist because of the previous apartheid system in this country.

Racial conflicts have been serious in some instances. An interviewee recounted that in one incident Black learners threatened White learners to infect them with AIDS and vice versa. Another learner reported that a Coloured student attacked one of his White friends and he had to obtain a restraining order against him.

The general perception among learners was that girls of different race groups get along better than boys. This observation supports the outcome of this study that boys are less positive towards integration than girls. Useem (1971), Freer & Christie (1992) and Pillay (1996) reported similar results in their studies of racial attitude. An

explanation for this may be that boys are more intimidated by one another and therefore resort to measures that allow them to assert themselves.

Generally, it seems that learners are suspicious and distrustful of one another. They appear to have entered the integrated schooling environment with attitudes and perceptions that were already coloured by the social environments from which they come.

- **Communication Difficulties and Barriers**

A number of learners were disgruntled by the fact that Black learners communicate in their own language which they are unable to understand. This creates an obstacle to communication between the race groups. Some learners were infuriated that even when this is pointed out to Black learners they persist with the practice. The assumption by White and Indian learners, is that they are being spoken about in a derogatory manner. The Black learner on the other hand felt that Whites were “paranoid” because whenever they spoke in Zulu they believed they were being spoken about. Other communication difficulties centred on the levels of communication between races, which was not always the same. This presented a further obstacle to learners.

- **Racial In-Group Preference**

All interviewees indicated that racial polarisation is a common, daily practice amongst learners. One learner described the situation as follows; “This school is not really integrated. There is no unity among races. During breaks races stick together. The only time we mix is in the classroom. There is no interaction among us out of school”. Christie (1990) also found that for many learners in integrated schools, social relationships ended with the ringing of the bell at the end of each school day. A White male, who was interviewed by the researcher, described the impact of racial homogeneity in the following way, “Groups of people stick to their own race groups. Even if you have friends in other race groups you are not free to join because you will

stick out. If you have an opinion about this as an individual, it changes when you are with your own race group". American and British studies also suggest that in racially mixed schools, homogeneity is a salient feature of peer groups (Cohen & Manion, 1983).

- **Compromised educational standards**

In this category of responses, some learners expressed the view that the standards of education were dropping. The pace of work was slow and the level of work was easier. Frustration was experienced when teachers have "to go over the same work several times because some pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds do not understand. This wastes the time of the rest of the class". Other difficulties were overcrowding and large classes. It is evident that some learners are not ready to compromise in an integrated school, although they are aware that some learners are at a disadvantage.

- **Cultural Differences**

A number of responses emphasised that cultural differences impacted negatively on racial attitudes. Many cultural differences become obstacles to classroom discussions. Some learners were of the opinion that cultural disparities severely hampered interaction. One White learner expressed her feelings in the following way, "Cultures are different, so the way we treat one another is different e.g. Blacks believe women are inferior to men so they treat girls differently". Another indicated, "We don't have the same goals. We have higher goals in life, therefore, each group acts differently". Others felt that the racial groups act and behave very differently and this hampers understanding among them. A learner summed up her feelings as follows, "Different cultures, religions and ways of life cause problems and frustrations".

- **Teacher-Learner Difficulties**

In general, a large number of respondents reported that teachers favoured their own race group learners and treated other learners differently. Complaints lodged with teachers were not given serious consideration. They also felt that the Principal tends to ignore serious racial problems that occur, and this causes frustration amongst them. Both Black and Indian learners felt that some White teachers were more positive towards White learners than to other race groups. A Black female learner indicated that teachers were blatantly racist in the manner of addressing them and the type of comments made. An Indian male learner expressed dissatisfaction that White learners were not as severely disciplined as other learners. He quoted an instance when White matric learners and Indian learners were caught throwing water bombs. The Indian learners had to stand in the principal's quad as punishment, whilst the matric learners were not punished.

- **Superficial Relationships**

Black learners expressed annoyance that often relationships were not genuine, but superficial. A Black learner said, "People from other races try to be nice but you see that it is hard to accept a different race. They try too hard, almost pretend to have welcomed you".

Benefits of Integration

- **Cross Cultural Exposure**

The majority of responses to this category indicated that learning about other cultures, religions, beliefs, languages, customs and lifestyles was the greatest benefit of integration. The experience has greatly illuminated them and increased their knowledge regarding other races. They have also learnt much from other races.

- **Cross Cultural Understanding/ Acceptance**

Learners indicated that by being exposed to integrated schooling they are able to better understand the views, opinions and behaviour of other race groups. They become aware of each other's likes and dislikes and try to compromise. One learner indicated that since she was aware that White children hate it when she spoke in Zulu, she would try to refrain from doing so. Another female learner was glad, that by integrating with other race groups she discovered that they could be understood.

In terms of this category, a number of learners expressed that integration has led to them becoming more accepting of other races. A White learner indicated that she has positively changed her relationships with learners of all race groups. She expressed her feelings as follows, "Yes! I accept them. I don't look at their skin colour". A Black learner said that he has learnt to accept people for who they are, irrespective of race.

- **Social Relationships/Friendships**

Racial integration has helped learners to relate better to learners of other race groups. It has also improved their communication with one another. In so doing they have grown to respect other learners. A large number of learners pointed out that they have increased their friendships across the racial divide and become good friends with children of different races. One learner described her experience as having "met true friends".

These responses are heartening amidst the negative responses in terms of learners' difficulties with integration. This outcome is consistent with studies which tested the contact theory and concluded that as inter-racial contact increases so do positive racial attitudes (Aboud, Taylor & Doumani, 1973; Amir, 1969; Desforjes et al. 1991; Sigelman & Welch, 1993; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978; Williams & Byars, 1970; and Mc Conahay, 1981).

- **Equality of Races**

One of the most positive outcomes of integrated schooling was that learners have learnt and accepted that people are equal, they can live together in harmony and treat one another equally. Learners also commented that they have discovered commonalities amongst them that they never knew existed. The only differences are physical ones. A White female learner said, “Now I know that they are just as capable as I am. There is no difference”.

- **Preparation for future life in South Africa**

A few learners stated that attending an integrated school has equipped them for the “real world”. They feel more confident and comfortable among other race groups. In particular, the non-White learners said that they do not feel afraid to venture out into an inter-racial society, as their parents did. This view may be seen from the perspective of White domination and subordination of other races in the days of apartheid. The White person was perceived as “superior” to other race groups, as articulated by an Indian male learner. Learners expressed that they have also shed stereotypes of other race groups and, therefore, will be able to interact more successfully in jobs.

Suggestions to facilitate integration

- **Greater Effort by The School**

All learners interviewed expressed the view that the school needs to put in much more effort to ensure that learners interact with and get along better with each other. There were suggestions that activities such as sport, cultural days and spring walks increase, so that learners could discover their commonalities. The school should literally mix learners and as one learner expressed it, “to make us friends”. Learners also suggested that the syllabus include the history of all race groups.

Suggestions were made to exclude the study of apartheid as it fuels animosity and racist attitudes within learners. This view of learners is significant and is supported by Nott (1999) who emphasises, that providing information and showing learners how society has perpetuated racism will not alter their attitudes or behaviour. She points out that this could give learners an excuse to sit back and do nothing. This is precisely what a large number of learners in this study expressed in both the questionnaire and the interviews. Nott (1999) suggests that a skills training programme involving a range of people who identify different issues and provide a collection of different points of view be implemented. "Through a process of action and reflection learners learn in a more open-ended and experiential way about the injustices of the past" (Nott, 1999, p. 46, 47).

- **Multi-racial Teaching Staff**

A number of learners were adamant that there were too few teachers of colour. There should be more Indian and Black teachers employed at the school.

- **Segregated Schools**

A small number of learners felt they were more comfortable in a segregated school and suggested that the conditions in those schools be upgraded.

- **"Nothing can really be done"**

A large number of learners indicated that they had no suggestions as to how integration may be improved. Some learners were convinced that nothing could be done to improve integration if people themselves did not want to change. They were of the opinion that learners came into school with values of their parents, and therefore, the situation was hopeless. A few learners indicated that integration does not stop racism but contributes to it. One learner felt that no matter how one tries to improve racial integration there would always be racism so, "why try?"

There appears to be a degree of pessimism among some learners with regard to improving inter-racial attitudes in schools.

In sum, it appears that learners are experiencing more difficulties than benefits as a consequence of integration, and had few suggestions to improve integration. These results are inconsistent with other studies, which investigated similar aspects of integrated schooling (Burkhalter, 1996; Ranchod, 1997). In Burkhalter's (1996) study, results indicated that learners experienced more benefits than difficulties, while Ranchod's (1997) study reported a mixture of benefits and difficulties. The sample in Ranchod's study constituted Black and Indian learners from previously segregated schools. Both these groups had been severely disadvantaged by the previous apartheid system of education. It therefore seems likely that as a result of a protracted period of integration in Indian schools, learners may have developed positive attitudes as a result of positive inter-racial contact. This outcome mirrors the conclusion arrived at by Cohen and Manion (1983) that schools with a long history of integration present a more optimistic view of integration (Ranchod, 1997).

A possible explanation for such a negative outlook among learners at the high school in this study may be that the level and frequency of contact has been quite limited. Furthermore, integration is a recent phenomenon. Learners have, therefore, not experienced inter-racial mixing for a long enough period in order to view integrated schooling in a positive light. According to the contact hypothesis, becoming familiar with members of a stereotyped group will lead to a reduction in negative attitudes toward that group. This is supported by some learners' comments that when they took the time to get to know learners from other race groups, they changed their views of them.

It may, therefore, be concluded, that as the school becomes more integrated in terms of a more even distribution of learners across the racial groups, the positive impact of increased contact will result in more positive attitudes towards integrated schooling.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The focus of this study was to investigate the attitude of Grade ten learners towards racial integration. More specifically, this research sought to establish whether variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement exert an influence on learners' attitudes. The following critical questions provided the framework to guide the study and to achieve the purpose thereof.

- What are the attitudes of Grade ten learners towards racial integration?
- Do variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement influence learners' attitudes to integrated schooling?

6.1 CONCLUSION

Results of this research have indicated that generally, learners have a positive attitude towards racially integrated schooling, as evidenced by a percentage response of 58.7%. An insignificant percentage of learners showed a negative response towards racial integration. It is encouraging to note that, generally, the past system of segregated schooling in South Africa has not adversely impacted on learners towards integrated schooling. This observation should be viewed against a background of severe prejudice, discrimination and unfairness that characterised the previous system of education.

However, of significance in the results mentioned above, was the alarmingly high percentage of learners who chose to adopt a neutral stance in terms of their attitudes towards integrated schooling. It was this outcome that prompted the researcher to

further analyse learners' attitudes in respect of the specific factors measuring attitudes viz.: the theoretical principles underlying integration, the value of integration and the experiences of being integrated. The results then revealed that 88% of learners held negative attitudes towards the basic principles of integrated schooling and 66.6% of them were negative regarding the value that integration held for them. However, 56.2% of learners were positive about the actual, practical experiences of being in an integrated environment. This inconsistency between different aspects of integration was in support of a vast number of reviews of studies which reported, that attitudes towards integration were inconsistent. Many studies yielded positive outcomes, a large number of studies yielded negative outcomes and still others observed positive attitudes towards some aspects of integrated schooling and negative attitudes towards others, sometimes within the same study. The salient feature of this research, however, which the researcher has not encountered in her review of a vast amount of literature, was the high percentage of learners who were neutral in their attitudes towards racial integration of learners. Furthermore, there was a discrepancy between the learners' perceptions of the principles of integration and the value it has for them, and the reality of integration on a day-to-day basis. The real situation was far more positive than learners' beliefs about being integrated. It may, therefore, be assumed that learners' perceptions of integration have been coloured by a multiplicity of factors that have come to bear on their attitudes. A few of these will be highlighted.

The impact of the social environment on learning should not be underestimated in attempting to explain the huge discrepancy in learners' perceptions of integration and the reality it holds for them. As clichéd as it may sound, in part, it seems that the legacy of apartheid had roots that spread deeper and wider than may be assumed. In Furthermore, parents, teachers, community members, the media and society at large, play a decisive role in the manner in which learners' attitudes are moulded and shaped. Therefore, the social context within which these significant influences live and interact and the impact it has on them must be considered in the interpretation of the results of this study. Given the tensions and conflicts that South Africans are experiencing at present with regards to race relations, one cannot ignore the impact that these factors may have on learners' attitudes in mixed schools. After all, these learners are products of a troubled society, in transition. The media highlights racial tensions on an ongoing basis. The crime rate in the country is fuelling distrust,

suspicion, anger and hatred among the different races. Hijackings, taxi wars (which have escalated in recent months) (Daily News, 2003), rape, senseless murders, and burglaries are the “order of the day” in South Africa, at present. Racial stereotyping is rampant. There is morbid fear among South Africans and extreme distrust of other race groups. It is in this context that learners’ attitudes are being formed.

It is possible that significant others, as well as society in general hold racist views as a result of their own experiences or vicarious ones. At some point, at different levels and in varying degrees, learners may have imbibed some of these negative perceptions and internalised them as part of their own mental schemas (or frameworks), which centre around racial themes that impact on their attitudes towards the integration of races in schools. Racist attitudes may result from learners forming associations between the negative responses of significant others and society, and the target of these responses (a specific race group). Learners may also adopt negative racial attitudes as a result of being rewarded for perpetuating the “right” views i.e. those accepted by parents, peers, siblings and their community. One of the most influential ways, in which children take on the racist attitudes of social influences, is by observing and modelling their behaviour.

Negative racial attitudes may also result from social tensions, which emanate from feelings of discontent, based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to. The desegregation of schools has been an initiative of the ANC government to make resources in the area of education available to all South Africans, irrespective of race. This meant, in effect, that White learners have to share resources that were historically reserved for them, with Black, Indian and Coloured learners. There may, therefore, be a perception of unfairness by the present government. White learners may feel deprived of what they believe is rightfully theirs. Some White learners in this study did indicate that, “the Blacks were taking over everything” in their school. A White male learner suggested that Whites remain in White schools and other races “go back to their own schools”. The feeling that resources are becoming scarce may fuel competition amongst learners, which may lead to antagonism among them. In some instances, learners focus on attaining super-ordinate goals. A White learner stated that they (Whites) had higher goals than other

race groups and, therefore, they have problems between them. Sherif & Sherif (1969) point out that incompatible goals or competition over scarce resources leads to inter-group conflict and super-ordinate goals. Negative racial attitudes often result from faulty thinking, where learners make biased judgements on the basis of stereotypes. People are not seen as individuals but as a generalised group, to which specific labels are assigned such as “loud”, “cheeky” and “intelligent”, to name a few that surfaced in the current study. The general belief is that such stereotypes develop as a result of socialisation and are given content by parents, the mass media and social norms.

Despite the above assumptions made regarding the negative perceptions learners have of integration, the results show that learners *are* positive about the reality of integrating with learners of other race groups. An observation made by the researcher during interviews and anecdotal observations at the school is that learners seem to get along well. They appear to mix before school hours, on the corridors, after school and while waiting for their lifts. On several occasions they were observed hugging one another good-bye.

The study has also revealed that despite the difficulties learners’ face, there is a desire to improve the inter-racial interactions at the school and see greater benefits of integration, as indicated by their suggestions.

With regard to the influence of the variables influencing attitudes, age was the only insignificant one.

Race emerged as a significant factor influencing attitudes of learners. Coloured learners were most positive, followed by Black, Indian and White learners. It appears that Coloured, Black, and Indian learners, having been educationally disadvantaged in the previous educational dispensation in this country, perceive integration as a “step up” and extremely beneficial for them. White learners, on the other hand, may be less positive about the benefits of integration for them as it means deprivation of resources and a “step down” in a sense.

In terms of gender as an influence, it was noted that girls were more positive than boys. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that boys, by nature, tend to

display physical and other prowesses. Therefore, males in an integrated setting with an imbalance in demographics may respond to feelings of intimidation about one another in negative ways. In addition it may be that a “softening of attitudes” may appear as a sign of weakness, which they probably believe should not surface, at all costs.

In respect of scholastic achievement, learners with higher academic symbols were more positive towards integration than those with lower symbols. It is possible that, given the scarcity of employment opportunities in this country at the moment, lower achievers feel threatened by other race groups competing equally in an already depleted market. This may be especially relevant for White learners who were previously allowed more job opportunities. In addition, the frustration accompanying declining achievement may lead to increased prejudice towards other race groups, and the use of other race group learners as scapegoats.

The above findings suggest that the integration of schools has given rise to some very practical and real problems that need immediate and effective intervention by educational and school authorities. Approximately nine years after the dismantling of apartheid it has surfaced that schools face major challenges with regard to the racial integration of learners. It is therefore crucial, for the ultimate success of this process, that parents and teachers in particular, as well as society at large, reassess their own attitudes to other race groups in order to communicate positive messages to children. Learners are, to a large degree, a product of their environments. As such, it is incumbent upon society to assume the responsibility to engender positive feelings and perceptions amongst the future leaders of this land, so that the colours of this rainbow nation can glow together to produce a new light, that will radiate goodwill, care and understanding for the spirit of being human.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

There seems to be a misconception among state schools that by making schools accessible to all race groups and admitting Coloured, Black and Indian learners, the racism of apartheid will automatically be counteracted. (Christie, 1990; Carrim,

1992; Naidoo, 1996; Carrim, 1998 and Zafar, 1998) conclude that racism in schools will not disappear as a result of desegregation. Lemmer and Squelch (1993) and Louw (1992) express similar views. They contend that cultural prejudices and obstacles to inter-racial contact will not fall away naturally, nor will social contact become positive by simply bringing people together, who previously lived in isolation. Rather, Christie (1990, p.130) advocates that, "it is important to recognise that desegregation of White schools entails working with an existing legacy of assumptions and practices". St. John (1975, p. 105), further indicates that, "Desegregation exposes minority group pupils to cultural marginality and confusion". This view was confirmed by an Indian female learner in the present study who stated, "The problem of being in the minority is that you cannot fight back, you get no support... It's pointless prolonging an argument".

It is clear from the above discussion that there is an urgency to re-examine and revise the curriculum in order to cater for the unique needs of integrated schools. There seems to be a need for intensive teacher training, specifically aimed at multi-cultural, multi-racial classes, if learners are to wholeheartedly accept cultural diversity, which present is, at present, a major obstacle to positive attitudes among them.

The implementation of well thought-out intervention programmes to improve racial attitudes is imperative. The following suggestions are offered in this respect:

- Workshops focusing on interpersonal relations, cultural differences and prejudices should be held, with learners facilitating them.
- Implementation of anti-racist education strategies for both learners and teachers
- A weekly class should be held (as suggested by a learner), in which learners could discuss cultural differences and difficulties in an atmosphere of tolerance and acceptance.
- Teacher-learner communication programmes should be implemented since many learners perceive teachers as prejudiced and racist, especially towards disadvantaged learners.
- Teacher training and support is advised as it appears that many teachers lack the skills to cope in an integrated school. Teachers need to examine and deal with

their own prejudices towards learners of other race groups. Support groups to share experiences and find solutions should be initiated.

- Relevant cross-cultural counselling should be implemented to assist learners who experience difficulties.
- Workshops should be held for parents on a regular basis to enlighten them on difficulties that learners face in integrated schools and to impress upon them the defining influence that they have in shaping their children's' attitudes. This may help to stimulate learner contact outside school.

The degree to which integrated schooling succeeds is dependent on a multimodal approach. It will take a concerted effort on the part of parents, principals, management staff, teachers and all members of the community to seriously examine their roles in this vital process and define their contributions to individual learners with whom they come into contact. While engaging in such an exercise, they need to examine their own convictions and align them in accordance with what is necessary to truly promote positive inter-racial attitudes.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A limiting factor in this study was the small number of Coloured and Indian learners in the sample. Consequently, the results of this research must be interpreted with caution in respect of these racial groups. Furthermore, although the sample size was adequate for generalisations to be made to the Pinetown District, it was inadequate to be generalised to South Africa as a whole.

With regard to the administration of the questionnaire, the researcher had no control over the time during which it was conducted. The Deputy Principal took the decision. Consequently it was done in the last two periods of the day. As a result some learners became restless and were preoccupied with preparing to go home. It is, therefore, possible that they did not give their full concentration and attention.

It is important to bear in mind that the attitudes that were investigated were *stated* attitudes and may, therefore, not be a true reflection of learners' *actual* attitudes. In addition, the sensitive nature of the subject under investigation may have also contributed to this outcome.

The following context must be taken into account when interpreting stated attitudes towards racial integration. The majority of respondents in the sample were White learners from a previously "Whites only" school. In essence, many of the non-white learners are being assimilated into a predominantly White ethos that is still very much part of the school.

In a study dealing with issues of a sensitive nature such as racial attitudes, the validity of results may be a contentious issue. It is quite possible that learners were not totally honest in their responses, in an attempt to appear non-racist. The researcher nevertheless, made a concerted effort to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

- In view of the small sample size of Coloured and Indian learners and the relatively small sample of Black learners in the study, further research is needed to investigate the attitudes of these race group learners towards racial integration.
- In order to obtain a more representative result of learners' attitudes towards racial integration in ex-Model C schools, a cross-section of ex-Model C schools should be researched.
- Research needs to be conducted to design relevant programmes that focus on fostering positive inter-racial attitudes.
- Teachers' attitudes of integrated schooling at ex-Model C schools need to be researched in order to establish their attitudes, identify difficulties and design relevant and effective intervention strategies.

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APPENDIX 1 LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE ON INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain an indication of the attitudes of learners to racial integration. The information received will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and will only be used for research purposes. This questionnaire is ANONYMOUS.

Please ensure that your answers reflect what you REALLY think and how you REALLY feel. Answer as honestly and accurately as possible.

PLEASE NOTE: *In this questionnaire the term “integrated school” refers to a school that admits learners from all race groups.*

SECTION A

PLEASE MARK THE APPROPRIATE BOX WITH AN (X).

1. Please indicate whether you are:

MALE	1
FEMALE	2

2. How old are you?

13 YEARS	1
14 YEARS	2
15 YEARS	3
16 YEARS	4
OLDER THAN 16 YEARS	5

3. What language do you speak **most** often at home? (Choose only one).

ENGLISH	1
ZULU	2
AFRIKAANS	3
XHOSA	4
HINDI	5
TAMIL	6
TELEGU	7
OTHER (Please Specify)... ..	8

4. To which “ethnic” group do you belong?

“WHITE”	1
“BLACK”	2
“COLOURED”	3
“INDIAN”	4
OTHER (Please Specify)	5

5. How long have you attended Kloof High School?

LESS THAN 1 YEAR	1
1 YEAR	2
2 YEARS	3
3 YEARS	4
4 YEARS OR MORE	5

6. What was your average symbol last term?

A	1
B	2
C	3
D	4
E	5
F and lower	6

7. Place of Birth

SOUTH AFRICA	1
OTHER (Please Specify)No. of years in South Africa... ..	2

8. Name the Primary School you attended.

Did pupils from other race groups attend primary school with you?

1. YES	1
2. NO	2

SECTION B

- Some statements regarding integrated schooling are given below. Please respond to the statements in terms of a 5 point rating scale where **A = strongly agree**; **B = agree**; **C = neutral**; **D = disagree** and **E = strongly disagree**.
- MARK THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN WITH AN (X).**

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
1. Integrated schooling is preparing me for life in South African society.					
2. It does not matter what race the pupils in my class are, provided they are friendly.					
3. All South African children, regardless of race, should receive equal education.					
4. Children of different race groups should be taught separately.					
5. The integration of schools is not improving the relationships among the different races of pupils.					
6. All children should learn an African language at school.					
7. The syllabus of most subjects should be changed to include material relevant to pupils of all races (e.g. African literature).					
8. All schools need to give classes on how to improve relationships between the races.					
9. It is important that schools teach children of one race group the history and cultural backgrounds of other racial groups.					
10. The presence of children of different races has improved the school.					
11. The racial mix of a class does not matter as far as learning in a class is concerned.					
12. Racial integration in schools is leading to a lowering of standards of education.					
13. Differences in the cultural backgrounds of pupils is causing serious educational problems in integrated schools.					
14. It is a good thing if teachers of all races are introduced into all schools as soon as possible.					
15. I would not invite a pupil from another racial group home with me.					
16. When teachers and pupils are of different races it causes a communication problem.					

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
17. When pupils of other race groups are admitted into my school, I have done my best to accept them as classmates and equals.					
18. I think that academic standards at schools are dropping as a result of other races being admitted into schools.					
19. I am willing to accept, as an equal, a member of another race into a club or team to which I belong.					
20. It makes no difference to me if my teachers are of my own race or a different one.					
21. I do not invite students of other races home with me because my parents would not like it.					
22. Every student, regardless of race, should have equal rights with regard to holding a position such as prefect and house captain.					
23. Every student, regardless of race, should be allowed to play for school sports teams, if he/she has the ability to make the team.					
24. If I like a person of another race well enough, I accept him/her into the group I hang around with.					
24. A member of another race has become a very close friend of mine.					
26. I believe that dating between races is a serious problem.					
27. The government's decision to integrate other races into white schools was unfair.					
28. I will not dance with someone from another racial group at a school function.					
29. I will not vote for any pupil for student office (e.g. prefect) unless he/she is of my race.					
30. Pupils from all the racial groups are just as likely to get similar marks if they are given an equal education.					
31. I accept a teacher of another race just as much as I do a teacher of the same race as myself.					
32. People from different racial groups are too different to ever become close friends.					
33. I am pleased that this is a racially mixed school.					
34. Attending a mixed school has resulted in my feeling worse about myself (e.g. inferior, inadequate, stupid).					
35. The racial mixing of schools is helping pupils to better communicate with all the racial groups of South Africa.					
36. My close circle of friends includes pupils from other race groups.					

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
37. The only difference between racial groups are cultural differences (e.g. customs, language).					
38. It will be difficult to find work after leaving school as the integration of schools has led to more competition for limited job opportunities.					
39. Equal education for all has opened the doors of opportunity to me.					
40. The past inequalities in education have made it more difficult for "disadvantaged" groups to do well academically in mixed schools.					
41. The integration of pupils from all the racial groups into schools should be gradual.					
42. School integration is leading to better relationships among racial groups.					
43. Teachers should teach only students of their own racial group.					
44. I would prefer to attend a racially segregated school (i.e. no other races).					
45. I believe that pupils from certain racial groups are treated better than others at this school.					
46. The mixing of all schools will stop racial prejudice and discrimination from occurring.					
47. The sharing of cultural ideas in integrated schools has led to better understanding amongst different racial groups.					
48. The school is one of the most important places for establishing friendly relationships amongst different racial groups.					
49. School integration has encouraged social mixing between races.					
50. Schools should be integrated so that children do not become racists.					
51. Children are learning to value other cultures and religions in integrated schools.					
52. In integrated schools we are learning to respect people from other racial groups.					
53. School integration is promoting goodwill between races.					
54. School integration is leading to the loss of my cultural identity (e.g. loss of customs and traditions).					
55. My parents are against the integration of schools.					
56. School integration is resulting in too wide a range of ages in classes.					

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
57. Integration is leading to overcrowding in classes.					
58. The standard of English in English-Medium schools is getting worse with integration					
59. The opening of schools to all race groups is leading to aggression between pupils of different races.					
60. More demands are being made on me in my present school than in my previous school.					
61. Integration is improving the achievement of disadvantaged pupils.					
62. It is important for children from different race groups to mix with each other in and outside school.					
63. I do not think that I will ever feel that I am really welcome at an integrated school.					
64. I feel that I am expected to change some of my cultural ways so that I can fit into the school more.					

SECTION C

1. What difficulties have you experienced because of the fact that there are children from other race groups in your class?

2. What have you found to be good about having children of other races in your class?

3. If there is anything that you would like to add, please do so in the space provided below (e.g. suggestions/ ideas to make integration easier, strong feelings that you may experience).

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION IN ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

APPENDIX 2**Reliability**

***** Method 1 (space saver) will be used for this analysis *****

RELIABILITY ANALYSIS -

SCALE (ALPHA)

Item-total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
B1	226.9591	1391.7218	.5048	.9553
B2	226.7602	1381.9128	.6340	.9548
B3	226.5322	1395.8034	.5450	.9552
B4	226.7485	1382.2011	.6409	.9548
B5	227.6842	1383.1703	.5067	.9552
B6	228.8421	1391.9573	.3774	.9558
B7	228.3918	1394.8750	.3699	.9557
B8	228.2047	1391.2579	.3884	.9557
B9	228.0585	1384.0789	.4461	.9555
B10	227.8538	1378.5726	.6058	.9549
B11	227.0936	1374.9206	.6303	.9548
B12	227.7427	1376.8158	.5517	.9550
B13	227.8713	1386.5951	.4608	.9554
B14	227.7076	1381.4787	.5201	.9552
B15	226.9123	1375.3511	.6357	.9548
B16	228.1637	1377.8319	.5309	.9551
B17	226.9123	1392.0452	.5968	.9551
B18	227.6199	1371.6488	.6217	.9548
B19	226.7251	1384.1770	.6273	.9549
B20	227.2339	1366.1214	.6880	.9545
B21	227.0702	1388.0656	.4682	.9554
B22	226.4795	1392.3569	.6446	.9550
B23	226.4327	1405.3646	.4232	.9556
B24	226.7836	1397.1588	.4436	.9554
B25	227.1404	1377.2625	.5473	.9551
B26	228.3099	1366.2857	.5578	.9550
B27	228.9766	1485.4936	-.6497	.9593
B28	227.5263	1362.2272	.6854	.9545
B29	226.6550	1392.2861	.5770	.9551
B30	226.8772	1396.9907	.3957	.9556
B31	227.1637	1377.4436	.5952	.9549
B32	227.0936	1372.6735	.6543	.9547
B33	227.2632	1368.3245	.7230	.9544
B34	226.9298	1399.5127	.3875	.9556
B35	227.1813	1365.9964	.7641	.9543
B36	227.6491	1385.8056	.4178	.9556
B37	227.5263	1372.2625	.5680	.9550
B38	228.8070	1402.6861	.2644	.9562
B39	227.8304	1384.0946	.4659	.9554
B40	228.1111	1422.8052	.0648	.9568
B41	228.2749	1428.7534	-.0054	.9570

R E L I A B I L I T Y A N A L Y S I S
S C A L E (A L P H A)

Item-total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
B42	227.3684	1363.8341	.7266	.9544
B43	226.9181	1376.8168	.6622	.9547
B44	227.1813	1365.2316	.6968	.9545
B45	228.1579	1389.4043	.3794	.9558
B46	228.1696	1386.4475	.4122	.9556
B47	227.2632	1375.4539	.6762	.9546
B48	227.0585	1382.0907	.6119	.9549
B49	227.0468	1384.9390	.6238	.9549
B50	227.3743	1371.7532	.6113	.9548
B51	227.3977	1383.0527	.5646	.9550
B52	227.2222	1374.2327	.7099	.9546
B53	227.3158	1380.8644	.5905	.9549
B54	227.6082	1405.0044	.2717	.9561
B55	227.0526	1388.8266	.4999	.9553
B56	227.7953	1397.9637	.3454	.9558
B57	228.0819	1364.1933	.6291	.9547
B58	227.9708	1369.6286	.6164	.9548
B59	228.4327	1380.3763	.5267	.9551
B60	228.2982	1406.3164	.2233	.9564
B61	227.5673	1395.8116	.4029	.9556
B62	227.3158	1384.1467	.5297	.9551
B63	227.1871	1385.3883	.5268	.9552
B64	227.3801	1396.0135	.3385	.9559

Reliability Coefficients

N of Cases = 171.0

N of Items = 64

Alpha = .9559

APPENDIX 3

METHOD FOR SCORING QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
1. Integrated schooling is preparing me for life in South African society.	5	4	3	2	1
2. It does not matter what race the pupils in my class are, provided they are friendly.	5	4	3	2	1
3. All South African children, regardless of race, should receive equal education.	5	4	3	2	1
4. Children of different race groups should be taught separately.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The integration of schools is not improving the relationships among the different races of pupils.	1	2	3	4	5
6. All children should learn an African language at school.	5	4	3	2	1
7. The syllabus of most subjects should be changed to include material relevant to pupils of all races (e.g. African literature).	5	4	3	2	1
8. All schools need to give classes on how to improve relationships between the races.	5	4	3	2	1
9. It is important that schools teach children of one race group the history and cultural backgrounds of other racial groups.	5	4	3	2	1
10. The presence of children of different races has improved the school.	5	4	3	2	1
11. The racial mix of a class does not matter as far as learning in a class is concerned.	5	4	3	2	1
12. Racial integration in schools is leading to a lowering of standards of education.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Differences in the cultural backgrounds of pupils is causing serious educational problems in integrated schools.	1	2	3	4	5
14. It is a good thing if teachers of all races are introduced into all schools as soon as possible.	5	4	3	2	1
15. I would not invite a pupil from another racial group home with me.	1	2	3	4	5
16. When teachers and pupils are of different races it causes a communication problem.	1	2	3	4	5

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
17. When pupils of other race groups are admitted into my school, I have done my best to accept them as classmates and equals.	5	4	3	2	1
18. I think that academic standards at schools are dropping as a result of other races being admitted into schools.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I am willing to accept, as an equal, a member of another race into a club or team to which I belong.	5	4	3	2	1
20. It makes no difference to me if my teachers are of my own race or a different one.	5	4	3	2	1
21. I do not invite students of other races home with me because my parents would not like it.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Every student, regardless of race, should have equal rights with regard to holding a position such as prefect and house captain.	5	4	3	2	1
23. Every student, regardless of race, should be allowed to play for school sports teams, if he/she has the ability to make the team.	5	4	3	2	1
24. If I like a person of another race well enough, I accept him/her into the group I hang around with.	5	4	3	2	1
25. A member of another race has become a very close friend of mine.	5	4	3	2	1
26. I believe that dating between races is a serious problem.	1	2	3	4	5
27. The government's decision to integrate other races into white schools was unfair.	5	4	3	2	1
28. I will not dance with someone from another racial group at a school function.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I will not vote for any pupil for student office (e.g. prefect) unless he/she is of my race.	1	2	3	4	5
30. Pupils from all the racial groups are just as likely to get similar marks if they are given an equal education.	5	4	3	2	1
31. I accept a teacher of another race just as much as I do a teacher of the same race as myself.	5	4	3	2	1
32. People from different racial groups are too different to ever become close friends.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I am pleased that this is a racially mixed school.	5	4	3	2	1
34. Attending a mixed school has resulted in my feeling worse about myself (e.g. inferior, inadequate, stupid).	1	2	3	4	5
35. The racial mixing of schools is helping pupils to better communicate with all the racial groups of South Africa.	5	4	3	2	1
36. My close circle of friends includes pupils from other race groups.	5	4	3	2	1

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
37. The only difference between racial groups are cultural differences (e.g. customs, language).	5	4	3	2	1
38. It will be difficult to find work after leaving school as the integration of schools has led to more competition for limited job opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5
39. Equal education for all has opened the doors of opportunity to me.	5	4	3	2	1
40. The past inequalities in education have made it more difficult for "disadvantaged" groups to do well academically in mixed schools.	5	4	3	2	1
41. The integration of pupils from all the racial groups into schools should be gradual.	1	2	3	4	5
42. School integration is leading to better relationships among racial groups.	5	4	3	2	1
43. Teachers should teach only students of their own racial group.	1	2	3	4	5
44. I would prefer to attend a racially segregated school (i.e. no other races).	1	2	3	4	5
45. I believe that pupils from certain racial groups are treated better than others at this school.	1	2	3	4	5
46. The mixing of all schools will stop racial prejudice and discrimination from occurring.	5	4	3	2	1
47. The sharing of cultural ideas in integrated schools has led to better understanding amongst different racial groups.	5	4	3	2	1
48. The school is one of the most important places for establishing friendly relationships amongst different racial groups.	5	4	3	2	1
49. School integration has encouraged social mixing between races.	5	4	3	2	1
50. Schools should be integrated so that children do not become racists.	5	4	3	2	1
51. Children are learning to value other cultures and religions in integrated schools.	5	4	3	2	1
52. In integrated schools we are learning to respect people from other racial groups.	5	4	3	2	1
53. School integration is promoting goodwill between races.	5	4	3	2	1
54. School integration is leading to the loss of my cultural identity (e.g. loss of customs and traditions).	1	2	3	4	5
55. My parents are against the integration of schools.	1	2	3	4	5
56. School integration is resulting in too wide a range of ages in classes.	1	2	3	4	5

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	A	B	C	D	E
57. Integration is leading to overcrowding in classes.	1	2	3	4	5
58. The standard of English in English-Medium schools is getting worse with integration	1	2	3	4	5
59. The opening of schools to all race groups is leading to aggression between pupils of different races.	1	2	3	4	5
60. More demands are being made on me in my present school than in my previous school.	1	2	3	4	5
61. Integration is improving the achievement of disadvantaged pupils.	5	4	3	2	1
62. It is important for children from different race groups to mix with each other in and outside school.	5	4	3	2	1
63. I do not think that I will ever feel that I am really welcome at an integrated school.	1	2	3	4	5
64. I feel that I am expected to change some of my cultural ways so that I can fit into the school more.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX 4

INSTRUCTIONS TO TEACHERS – ADMINISTRATION OF THE “PUPILS ATTITUDE TO INTEGRATION QUESTIONNAIRE”

- All learners should complete the questionnaire simultaneously.
- The questionnaire takes approximately 30 minutes to complete.
- Kindly **READ OUT** the italicised statement at the top of the first page to learners before they commence answering the questionnaire.
- Please reiterate to pupils that the questionnaire is **ANONYMOUS** and that their responses will not be seen by any one else.
- Learners should be told to, as far as possible, **AVOID A NEUTRAL** response (C).
- **SHOULD ANY QUERIES OCCUR DURING THE SESSION I WILL BE MOVING FROM CLASS TO CLASS TO ANSWER THEM.**
- Learners should ensure that the correct symbol is recorded for no. 6 (there is no indication of learners' identity whatsoever).
- Please thank learners for their willingness to participate in the survey.

Many thanks for your co-operation.

Sharon Enoch

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What difficulties have you experienced because of the fact that there are children from other race groups in your class?
2. What have you found to be good about having children of other races in your class?
3. Do you have any suggestions or ideas to make integration easier?

APPENDIX 6

P.O.Box 722
Kloof
3640
23 September 2002

The Principal
Kloof High School

Dear Mr. Seager

RE: Mini Dissertation

My name is Sharon Enoch. I am at present doing the Masters in Educational Psychology Degree at the University of Durban Westville. One of the requirements of the degree is a mini dissertation. I was interested in doing a "mini research" at your school in 2003.

TOPIC : Racial Integration : An Exploration of the Attitudes of
Grade ten Learners towards Racial Integration

PURPOSE OF STUDY : The purpose of the study is to determine the The Attitudes of Grade ten Learners towards Racial Integration

RATIONALE

Study of literature seems to indicate a gap in terms of the impact of integration on in Ex-Model C Schools in the Kloof area. There seems to be no baseline information relating to this particular topic. (Literature review is still in progress).

The results would be useful to the School Psychological Services in terms of providing input on areas of difficulty as well as areas in which learners are positive towards integrated schooling. Should the need arise, the input could guide policy around the development of strategies and skills to assist the integrated learner in his or her adjustment to integration..

CRITICAL QUESTIONS

- What are the attitudes of grade ten learners towards Racial Integration?
- Do variables such as race, age, gender and scholastic achievement influence learners attitudes to integration?

METHODOLOGY

Cluster sampling will be used.
Survey research will be done using questionnaires.
Semi-structured interviews will also be conducted.

The above is a brief overview of the study I would be conducting.

I would be most appreciative if you would allow me the privilege of carrying out this study at your school.

Should you require further information, I would be most willing to furnish such. Enclosed please find a letter of confirmation from the university.

Yours Faithfully

Sharon Enoch (Mrs)

APPENDIX 7

P.O.Box 722
Kloof
3640

Dear Parent

I am at present an Educational Psychology Masters student at the University of Durban Westville. I have received permission from the principal Mr. Seager to conduct research at Kloof High School, in order to meet with the requirements for the completion of the Degree.

The purpose of the research is to explore the attitudes of grade ten learners towards racial integration.

I hereby request permission for your son/daughter to participate in the survey, which will be conducted later in the year. Please be assured that anonymity and confidentiality of your child will be strictly maintained. The information obtained will be used exclusively for research purposes.

Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated.

Yours Faithfully

Mrs. S.D.Enoch

I hereby give / do not give permission for my child to participate in the research.

Kindly circle the relevant response.

HEIDI BURKHALTER

B.A. Hons. (Psych); M.Ed. (Psych)(Wits)
Practice No.: 8635641

REGISTERED PSYCHOLOGIST

P.O. Box 72317
Parkview
2122

86 Frances Road
Norwood

07 May 2003

ATTENTION: Sharon Enoch
FAX: 031 466 2049

To whom it may concern,

Sharon Enoch spoke with me telephonically this morning. I hereby grant my permission for Sharon to use, and adapt as required, the 'Pupils Attitude to Integration' questionnaire that I devised as part of my research report "Post-Apartheid Attitudes of High School Pupils Towards the Racial Integration of Schools in South Africa" in 1996.

If I can be of further assistance please do not hesitate to call.

Yours sincerely,

HJ Burkhalter

RECEIVED
BY FAX

APPENDIX 9

Percentages of Learners' Responses to Questions Measuring the Theoretical Principles of Integration

Question	%	Strongly Agree/Agree	Neutral	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree
1	%	7.6	10.5	82.0*
2	%	5.8	7.6	86.6*
3	%	2.9	8.1	89.0*
4	%	5.3	9.4	85.4
11	%	11.6	13.4	75.0*
14	%	23.3	26.7	50.0*
19	%	6.4	7.0	86.6*
20	%	16.3	13.4	70.3*
22	%	2.3	2.9	94.8*
23	%	2.3	2.3	95.3*
27	%	66.3	23.3	10.5*
30	%	9.3	8.7	82.0*
31	%	13.4	13.4	73.3*
37	%	25.0	11.6	63.4*
40	%	30.8	36.0	33.1*
43	%	8.7	8.7	82.6
48	%	9.9	11.6	78.5*

APPENDIX 10**Percentages of Learners' Responses to Questions Measuring the Value of Integration**

Question	%	Strongly Agree/Agree	Neutral	Strongly Disagree/Disagree
6	%	64.0	16.3	19.8
7	%	44.2	28.5	27.3
8	%	39.5	25.6	34.9
9	%	39.0	22.1	39.0
10	%	22.7	35.5	41.9*
35	%	10.5	17.4	72.1*
42	%	18.6	13.4	68.0*
46	%	43.0	19.8	37.2
47	%	12.8	14.0	73.3*
49	%	8.7	13.4	77.9*
50	%	18.0	16.9	65.1*
51	%	14.5	21.5	64.0*
52	%	11.6	16.3	72.1*
53	%	14.0	18.6	67.4*
61	%	18.6	23.8	57.6*

APPENDIX 11**Percentages of Learners' Responses to Questions Measuring the Experiences of integration**

Question	%	Strongly Agree/Agree	Neutral	Strongly Disagree/Disagree
5	%	23.3	25.6	51.2*
12	%	26.2	25.6	48.3*
13	%	30.2	22.1	47.7*
15	%	11.0	7.6	81.4*
16	%	41.3	22.1	36.6
17	%	4.1	12.2	83.7
18	%	26.2	20.9	52.9*
21	%	12.8	9.9	77.3*
24	%	4.7	9.3	86.0
25	%	16.9	11.0	72.1
26	%	47.7	18.0	34.3
28	%	21.5	20.9	57.6*
29	%	4.1	5.8	90.1*
32	%	11.0	14.0	75.0*
33	%	9.9	25.0	65.1
34	%	7.6	16.9	75.6*
36	%	28.5	17.4	54.1
38	%	69.2	11.6	19.2
39	%	30.8	25.0	44.2
41	%	39.0	33.7	27.3
44	%	14.5	15.1	70.3*
45	%	43.6	18.0	38.4
54	%	21.5	23.8	54.7
55	%	9.9	16.9	73.3*
56	%	26.2	26.7	47.1*
57	%	39.0	18.0	43.0*
58	%	36.0	20.3	43.6*
59	%	49.4	20.3	30.2
60	%	46.5	19.8	33.7
62	%	14.5	19.2	66.3
63	%	11.0	17.4	71.5*
64	%	18.6	16.9	64.5*

APPENDIX 12

Means and Standard Deviations of Learners' Responses to Questions Measuring the Theoretical Principles of Integration

Question	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	172	1	5	4.49	1.172
2	172	1	5	4.62	1.045
3	172	1	5	4.72	0.847
4	172	1	5	4.60	1.032
11	172	1	5	4.27	1.367
14	172	1	5	3.53	7.631
19	172	1	5	4.60	1.074
20	172	1	5	4.08	1.520
22	172	1	5	4.85	0.684
23	172	1	5	4.86	0.670
27	172	1	5	1.88	1.354
30	172	1	5	4.45	1.244
31	172	1	5	4.20	1.429
37	172	1	5	3.77	1.721
40	172	1	5	3.05	1.603
43	172	1	5	4.48	1.216
48	172	1	5	4.37	1.289

APPENDIX 13

Means and Standard Deviations of Learners' Responses to Questions Measuring the Value of Integration

Question	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
6	172	1	5	2.12	1.607
7	172	1	5	2.66	1.662
8	172	1	5	2.91	1.728
9	172	1	5	3.00	1.770
10	172	1	5	3.38	1.565
35	172	1	5	4.23	1.339
42	172	1	5	3.99	1.582
46	172	1	5	2.88	1.73
47	172	1	5	4.21	1.411
49	172	1	5	4.38	1.249
50	172	1	5	3.94	1.566
51	172	1	5	3.99	1.475
52	172	1	5	4.21	1.377
53	172	1	5	4.07	1.457
61	172	1	5	3.78	1.566

APPENDIX 14

Means and Standard Deviations of Learners' Responses to Questions Measuring Experiences of Integration

Question	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
5	172	1	5	3.56	1.637
12	172	1	5	3.44	1.673
13	172	1	5	3.35	1.736
15	172	1	5	4.41	1.315
16	172	1	5	2.91	1.768
17	172	1	5	4.59	0.990
18	172	1	5	3.53	1.701
21	172	1	5	4.29	1.396
24	172	1	5	4.63	0.992
25	172	1	5	4.10	1.533
26	172	1	5	2.73	1.796
28	172	1	5	3.72	1.630
29	172	1	5	4.72	0.900
32	172	1	5	4.28	1.348
33	172	1	5	4.10	1.338
34	172	1	5	4.36	1.218
36	172	1	5	3.51	1.749
38	172	1	5	2.00	1.597
39	172	1	5	3.27	1.716
41	172	1	5	2.77	1.616
44	172	1	5	4.12	1.470
45	172	1	5	2.90	1.813
54	172	1	5	3.66	1.619
55	172	1	5	4.27	1.315
56	172	1	5	3.42	1.665
57	172	1	5	3.08	1.814
58	172	1	5	3.15	1.784
59	172	1	5	2.62	1.748
60	172	1	5	2.74	1.778
62	172	1	5	4.03	1.475
63	172	1	5	4.21	1.360
64	172	1	5	3.92	1.580