# A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON RACIAL INTEGRATION IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL IN KWAZULU-NATAL

DOTS AND DASHES – PATTERNS OF CO-EXISTENCE

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MASTER OF EDUCATION (SOCIAL JUSTICE)

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RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
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#### **ABSTRACT**

The study is an exploration of the processes of racial integration within a school. The purpose of the study is twofold:

- 1. To understand the pattern, extent and nature of racial integration between learners in the classroom and on the playgrounds.
- 2. To determine whether there are any barriers that prevent the interaction of learners of different races.

The school that was selected to participate in the research was an ex-House of Delegate's secondary school in KwaDuguza in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The participants in the study were the principal, two deputy principals, two level one educators and two focus groups of African and Indian learners. Each focus group was made up of six learners, two males and four females. They were representative of the gender and racial composition of the school. The research was a case study that used various qualitative methods of data collection. A questionnaire was administered to a selected sample of educators and learners to determine attitudes and perceptions of racial integration. These were followed up by semi-structured interviews that allowed the researcher to probe deeper into issues raised in the questionnaire. A week's observation schedule of learners in a classroom and the learners on the playground was conducted. This was followed by a review of school documents.

The varied methods of data collection revealed that positive racial integration is not taking place in the school. Although the educators and the learners are aware of the need for a fundamental change in the policies, organization and curriculum of the school they are unsure of how these changes need to be effected and what the nature of the change should be. In the absence of any concrete directions from the Education Department, an 'adds on' approach to integration is used. The result of such an approach is the polarization of learners along racial lines. The study concludes with recommendations for educators and the Department of Education.

#### **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this research study to my beloved wife

#### PADMANI NASAREE

for her

# CONSTANT ENCOURAGEMENT, UNSTINTING SUPPORT AND CRITICAL MIND

And to my son,

PRENESAN SHAILIN NASAREE

For

**BEARING WITH ME** 

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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To Dr. L. Ramrathan, Thank you for your patience and guidance through this stressful period. There were times when I felt like throwing in the towel. Your belief in the innate ability of your students speaks volumes about your professionalism but even more about your humanity.

To Dr. Michael Samuels, Your critical mind and elegant turn of phrase was a wonder to behold. I will be eternally grateful to you for propelling me towards re(searching). Your lectures did strike chords. They reverberate within me. Thank you for those moments of sublime wonder.

To the Principal, staff and learners who gave off their time and their self, I thank you and I hope that I did justice to your stories and that in the retelling I will strike a spark that will ignite a debate not in the hallways of academia but, in the corridors and staffrooms, where it really matters

To my beloved family, thank you.

#### **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

I, LEO NASAREE, declare that this dissertation is my own work and has not been submitted previously for any degree in any university.

Researcher

Supervisor

January 2005

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#### DOTS AND DASHES - PATTERNS OF CO-EXISTENCE

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The school I have been teaching in for the past 19 years has remained largely unchanged despite the political changes that have swept the country in the post- 1994 era. The educator component has remained, with one exception, Indian while the learner component has changed from being all Indian before 1992 to a mixed population of Indian and African learners, the latter stabilizing to approximately 25% of the school learner population of 1157 in 2004.

The African learners are drawn mainly from Maphumulo, a sprawling African location on the outskirts of KwaDuguza, which is about 100 kilometres north of Durban. They arrive at school, often late, transported to school by taxis, buses and frequently, as is most often the case, by kindly motorists who stop to give these hitch-hiking children a ride to school. The financial cost and effort to get to school is enormous.

What is it then that draws these learners to this school given the fact that there are schools situated within walking distance in Maphumulo? African parents who admit their children at the beginning of the school year report that they do so because they "wanted a better education for their children". They expressed despair at the state of education in the 'African' schools. Many wanted their children to learn English as they saw it as the key to success – a pre-requisite for entry into a university or technikon from whence the learners could launch themselves into the job market.

In spite of the many sacrifices that the parents make and the effort the learners put in to get to school every year, from my experience as a school teacher, many of the learners fail their examinations. The reasons, I believe, for the failure rate are many — they range from the learners being too tired to concentrate on school work as they expend so much energy getting to and from school that they are perpetually tired. The second reason is the language barrier. The school's medium of instruction is English. The additional

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language is Afrikaans and its second additional language is isiZulu. To pass the grade, the learner needs to pass both English and Afrikaans, an almost insurmountable barrier to learners who had been schooled in isiZulu in the primary school phase and whose home language and social interaction outside of school is conducted almost solely in isiZulu. The third reason is the difficulty the African learner experiences in adjusting to the strange and probably intimidating environment. It is in this area of shadows, disorienting confusion and fear, between the sounding of the bells that I wish to probe.

I do believe that it is in between the sounding of the bell that the African learners' psyche is tortured, their self-worth diminished and their hopes and their parents' wishes dashed. They are labeled 'hopeless' in conversations over cups of tea or in informal gatherings in corridors or more damagingly, 'not ready to progress' in the year- end report.

The educators in my school are not racist monsters who have no empathy for the learners of other races – they are victims as much as the learners are victims of a divided past. They have not been trained to deal with the dynamics of a multiracial, multilingual and multicultural class. They have been implicitly asked to carry on with teaching as if nothing had changed.

Who is then responsible for these dark shadows that settle in the spaces between us? How do we merge the spaces between us without erasing their presence entirely? How do we break their silence? When do we emerge from the silences and the spaces in-between?

The school ploughs steadily through the stormy waters of transition and then transformation, largely untouched, untroubled by the flurry of policy changes emanating from the National Department of Education. Secure in its vision "to provide a safe, secure and stimulating environment for the learners to fulfill their true potential" the school navigates the political crosscurrents and policy changes.

This anecdote is but one of many of my experiences as a teacher in a multiracial school. Are there similar stories/ experiences of teachers in other multiracial schools? How widespread is this experience? What can we as educators do to address the issues raised in this anecdote?

It is clear to me that there has to be a fundamental change in the organization of the school, the policies that underpin its ethos, the curriculum offerings and the teaching methodologies for it to positively integrate the changing learner population.

#### 1.2. WHY RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS?

#### WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY ...

Born in 1961, I grew up experiencing all the dislocations and disempowerments of apartheid. In the 1980s, as a student at the University of Durban-Westville, now renamed the University of KwaZulu-Natal, I was drawn into the student protests and ended up passionately believing that the way to a just society was to overthrow a racist government bent on separating people on the basis of race – thus consigning Non-Whites to the periphery of the dominant 'White' society, fed on its economic crumbs and psychologically bludgeoned into believing in their own inferiority. I, together with millions of my compatriots, celebrated the overthrow of apartheid.

#### WE SHALL OVERCOME SOMEDAY...

I believed, naively, that a just society rooted in the principles of the Freedom Charter would evolve now that the legislated monster of racial separation and inequality was slain. As an educator, I saw myself as being in the forefront of transforming society through my interaction with my learners in class, and, by extension, I saw my school as a transforming agency. Sadly, however, 10 years into our democracy I still see an emotionally scarred and racially polarized society. The monster of racism and inequality lives in the hearts and minds of the people. Allegations and incidents of racism within schools and in the broader society abound and are well-documented in our print and

electronic media. How then do we escape our racist past and realize the ideals of a non-racist and non-sexist democracy that is enshrined in our constitution?

I believe that we need to explore the processes of racial integration within our schools so that we may determine how they are taking place and if they are not taking place, to identify the barriers that prevent positive racial integration. Once we determine how it takes place we can then implement programmes that guide the process and when we discover barriers, we must eliminate them.

#### FOR DEEP IN MY HEART...

There are two critical questions that I wish to explore:

- ✓ HOW DOES RACIAL INTEGRATION TAKE
  PLACE IN SCHOOL?
- ✓ WHAT ARE THE BARRIERS TO RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOL?

#### 1.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I conducted a case study using only qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. The sample that I selected was secondary school educators and grade 10 learners from a class I taught. The educators comprised of the principal, deputy principals, heads of departments and two level one educators who taught the class. The learners comprised of a focus group of 6 African learners and 6 Indian learners. The groups were further divided into 2 males and 4 females in keeping with the demographics of the class and the school.

The focus groups of educators were selected to provide information on two aspects. The principal, deputy principals and heads of departments were selected to provide information on the organizational and policy formulation principles that underpinned the ethos of the school. The level one educators who taught the class were selected to provide information on the policies of the school from their perspectives as implementers of these policies and to

provide additional information on the learners interaction in the classroom. In this way I was able to triangulate information that I was provided by the managers and verify information I had received through my observations and interactions with the learners.

The grade 10 learners from a class I taught were selected for four reasons. Firstly, as their English language teacher, I was able to use the lesson time to observe the learners interaction within the class.

I was able to follow my natural role as educator to continue with my observations and interviews in a non-threatening manner. Secondly, the grade 10 class had a ratio of African to Indian learners that was proportional to the school's demographics. It thus had a representative racial sample. The division of the groups into genders was done to allow me to probe the dynamics of racial integration across the sexual divide thus providing me with a broader perspective of the processes of racial integration taking place in my school. Thirdly, the grade 10 learners were midpoint in the years at the school, from their entry into the school at grade 8 and the exit from the school at grade 12. Hence they had two years with their classmates to build up trust and forge friendships as well as being sufficiently immersed in the ethos of the school, both the written and the unwritten, to inform me of any organizational or policy barriers that prevented or hindered racial integration. Fourthly, unlike the grade 8 or 9 learners who are still orienting themselves in the school and coming to grips with the demands of secondary school or the grade 11 and 12 learners who are pressured into performing academically, grade 10 learners would be more likely to respond frankly to questions asked during the interviews or in the questionnaire on racial integration.

The data was collected using the following instruments: questionnaire, semistructured interviews, observations and analysis of the school's policy documents such as the admission policy, the school's vision and mission statement, the school's learner code of conduct, the school's minutes of the disciplinary committee and the school's newsletter/ magazines. I transcribed all interviews. My role in the study varied from participant observer when with the focus groups from the grade 10 class to observer in the playgrounds during the breaks.

Chapter 3 will provide a more in-depth description of the research approach

I administered a questionnaire to both educators and learners. A cover letter informed the participant of his or her confidentiality and the purpose of the research. The questionnaire was divided into two sections. Section A requested personal details such as post held at school, number of years at the school and gender. Section B was divided into two categories. Category A was subtitled Macro-Category and dealt with issues related to the school's organization and policies. Category B was subtitled Micro-Category and dealt with learner interaction in the classroom and the playground.

The analysis of the responses in the questionnaire guided me in the formulation of questions for my interviews, however, the semi-structured interview was changed almost immediately for an unstructured interview when I realized that I was able to probe more effectively in this method while retaining all of the core areas I wished to investigate.

The focus group learners were observed interacting in the classroom and the playground. The school has a policy of separating boys from girls during the breaks. Girls were restricted to the 'bottom' ground where the netball field was situated and the boys were consigned to the top ground where the soccer ground was situated. The school tuck-shop, which opened during the breaks, was situated in the administration block. Learners of both sexes were allowed to mingle in the assembly quadrangle that is directly adjacent the administration building. The observation of the learners had to be split between the boys' ground, the girls' ground and the assembly quadrangle. The observation of my grade 10 class continued for a week during the periods that I taught them. In addition to the above data collection plan, an examination of school documents was conducted.

#### 1.4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings of the study could be useful to:

- ✓ Policy formulators within the National and Provincial Departments of Education in designing policies and providing guidelines for school managers and educators in facilitating racial integration within the schools.
- ✓ Regional directors and district managers of the Provincial Department of Educators with insights into the dynamics of racial integration within the schools they are in charge of so that they can develop protocols to be used during racial conflict situations and provide workshops to educators on dealing with multiracial classroom populations.
- Curriculum planners when determining the scope and outcomes of the curriculum.
- ✓ The principals, educators, the school governing bodies and
  parents from the broader communities who may gain new
  insights into the issues of racial integration in schools and
  society at large.
- ✓ Universities and Technikons that are also faced with the challenges of racial integration in their institutions.
- ✓ While the school has a typical racial composition of learners, the findings of the study cannot be generalized as typical of racial integration at other schools.
- ✓ However, the findings will provide insights, illuminate areas of policy, organization or teaching methodology that may find some resonance in other schools.

The findings of the study will benefit the school being studied through uncovering the processes of integration, allowing learners and educators to relook at their interaction and allowing the school to interrogate its policies and organization with the purpose of amending them for positive change.

#### 1.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As this was a case study, the data collected was limited to a small sample of learners and educators from a secondary school in KwaDuguza. Transferability therefore becomes problematic.

A further limitation is that of participant observer. This may have affected the responses and conduct of learners during the interviews as well as during the observations. The danger, when conducting research on a highly emotive issue such as racial integration, given our past history of racial intolerance, is that the responses may be politically correct and not what the educator or learner really feels. As educator colleague, I may have affected the responses of the educators participating in the interviews or their responses in the questionnaire.

The school I researched is not typical of all the schools in the province or indeed the country. It was an ex HOD [House of Delegates] school with a majority Indian learner population.

The school calendar is filled with all sorts of activities, from examinations, class tests, excursions, sporting activities, etc. It was difficult to ascertain whether other tensions such as preparing for a test had not affected the responses or their behaviour. The window period for collecting data is relatively small considering that the learner has to contend with so many competing demands for his/her attention.

The language difficulties experienced by the African learners in understanding the questions or in expressing their thoughts and feelings effectively were a further limitation. This may have resulted in misdirection, misunderstanding or misinterpretations by the researcher or the learners.

In this chapter, the personal experiences of integration in a multiracial school and the history of racial integration in South Africa are juxtaposed to interrogate the nature of racial integration in post-apartheid South Africa.

#### 1.6. CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One has outlined the concerns over the integration of learners, the language difficulties they experience and the difficulties faced by educators in integrating learners. Chapter Two provides an overview of the literature drawn up for the study. A theoretical framework is also discussed. Chapter Three provides an account of the methodological choices and procedures guiding the research design. Here a case is made for the adoption of the qualitative approach, the selection of samples, the instruments to be used to generate data, the methods of analysis, the difficulties encountered and the possible limitations of the study. In Chapter Four the findings from the interviews of educators, managers and the learner focus groups are presented, responses from the questionnaires are described and the findings of the observation of learners' interaction in the classroom and the playground are explained. In this chapter emerging patterns and themes are discovered. Chapter Five presents the insights to this study and sets out recommendation for educators and the Department of Education dealing with racial integration in schools.

#### 1.7. CONCLUSION

The chapter gives the background information on the rationale for the study. In this chapter the critical questions of the study are presented. The next chapter will provide the theoretical framework of the study as well as the literature review.

#### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter One raised concerns over the integration of learners, institutional paralysis in a changed socio-political reality and the need for a focus on education for social justice. These concerns although passionately felt, are generalized and need to be set against the existing theoretical and conceptual frameworks to be properly understood. This chapter thus presents a review of literature related to social justice, racial integration and a theoretical framework within which this study is located.

#### 2.2. EDUCATIONAL CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African history from 1652 onwards can best be described as the struggle between colonizers and colonized. Education thus was always inextricably linked to the goals of political, economic and social domination. Education, for the indigenous population and later the slave and indentured population, was rudimentary at best. The first recorded schools for the indigenous were the missionary schools whose express purpose was to spread the gospel. The move towards a more formal education for the 'non-White' population gathered momentum only towards the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; this was probably precipitated by a movement from a more agrarian / mining economy to a more urban, industrialized economy where the need for semi-skilled to skilled labour was more necessary.

In 1948, The Nationalist Party won the election and began implementing a policy of separate development, a policy more infamously known as apartheid. Vally and Dalamba (1999) state:

Through the legislative provisions contained in the Bantu Education Act of 1953, The Extension of the University Education Act of 1959, The Coloured Persons Act of 1963, The Indian Education Act of 1965 and the National Education Act of 1967, education for Black people was linked explicitly to the goals of political, economic and social domination of all Black people.

Resistance to inferior education continued sporadically through the years and intensified in the late 1960s and 1970s, culminating in the Soweto Uprising in 1976.

Reform in education began as early as the 1970s when private Catholic schools decided to enrol Black learners in opposition to the apartheid educational legislation. In October 1990, Piet Clase, The Minister of Education in The House of Assembly semi-privatized public White schools by transferring to them a shared responsibility in the governance of the school. The schools had to elect a management committee made up of parents of the school and together with the principal they were given the power to appoint educators, determine the admission policy and the curriculum of the school and to raise monies through levying school fees.

Through this sleight of hand the government was able to transfer much of its responsibility on the transformation of schools to the various management committees and principals. The net result of this diffusion of responsibility was to slow the pace of reform in education.

The response of the management committees and principals to the pressure to open the gates of their schools to 'non-White' learners was varied. However, the majority chose to keep the schools exclusively White by instituting measures that resulted in the exclusion of 'non-White' learners. These measures ranged from the setting of high school fees to applying an admission test for learners based on a meritocracy.

By 1993, all formal restrictions to desegregation had fallen away. The total population of Black learners at white schools was 60 000 and the total number of African learners at Indian and Coloured schools was 40 000 (Naidoo, 1996; Vally & Dalamba, (1999). At the end of 1995, the total number of African learners at Indian, Coloured and White schools (sic) had risen to 200 000 (Naidoo, 1996; 9). The total number of Indian, Coloured and White schools number almost 5000, making up proximately 20% of the total number of

schools in Kwazulu-Natal. The movement of African learners to Indian, Coloured and White schools was one way because these schools were better equipped and had a better qualified staff. Probably a more pressing incentive for African learners and parents was the desire for upward socio-economic mobility that a better education would provide. However, the number of African learners that could be accommodated in Indian, Coloured and White schools was finite. The result of such pressure for space was the adoption by schools of admission policies that, while in keeping with the South African Schools Act 108 of 1996, had the result of excluding African learners. Exorbitant school fees and geographical proximity were some of the criteria that were used that had the effect of excluding African learners. While a measure of cultural mixing has occurred in these schools, African schools have remained largely uniracial and monocultural.

#### 2.3. POST- 1994: CONSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES

The Bill Of Rights, in particular section 29 of the Constitution of The Republic of South Africa guarantees free, unrestricted access to education for all learners. Section 29 of The Bill of Rights states, inter alia:

#### (1) Everyone has the right -

(a) to basic education, including adult basic education.

While the Constitution guarantees unrestricted access to education, the reality on the ground is that there are still restrictions to access. The challenges facing schools and educators are clearly enunciated in the South African Schools Act 108 of 1996. The preamble to this Act states:

Whereas the achievement of democracy in South Africa has consigned to history the past system of education which was based on racial inequality and segregation; and WHEREAS this country requires a new national system for schools which will redress the past injustices in educational provisions, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners and in so doing lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities, advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination.

On July 26, 1999, Kader Asmal, the Minister of Education, issued a statement to the Nation in response to the President's question, 'Is our education system on the road to the 21<sup>st</sup> century?' For the purposes of this study I will only refer to portions of his statement that are relevant to my argument. After extensive consultations he points to certain positives in education. Amongst them he lists a committed leadership and excellent policies and laws for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. He points, however, to the failure of our education system in, eradicating 'rampant inequality of access to educational opportunities of satisfactory standards', 'low teacher morale' and incapacity in 'governance and management' in many parts of the system.

He concludes, 'For such children of democratic South Africa, the promises of the Bill of Rights remain a distant dream. Without a solid foundation of learning, their chances of educational and economic success in later years are dim. So poverty reproduces itself.'

He identified nine priorities as 'areas of need'. They are:

- ✓ We must make our provincial systems work by making cooperative government work.
- ✓ We must break the back of illiteracy among adults and youths in five years.
- ✓ Schools must become centres of community life.
- ✓ We must end conditions of physical degradation in South
  African schools.
- ✓ We must develop the professional quality of our teaching force.
- ✓ We must ensure the success of active learning through outcomes-based education.
- ✓ We must create a vibrant further education and training system
  to equip youth and adults to meet the social and economic
  needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- ✓ We must implement a rational, seamless higher education system that grasps the intellectual and professional challenges facing South Africans in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

✓ We must deal urgently and purposefully with the Human Immuno Virus / Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome or HIV/ AIDS emergency in and through the education and training system.

Unfortunately, the need for a comprehensive policy to attend to racial integration in schools is not mentioned. In our haste to improve the infrastructure of schools and provide for more resources in the expectation that that alone will erase the effects of apartheid, we have forgotten the less noticeable, the emotional and psychological scars of apartheid, the need to build not just a globally competitive nation but a nation grounded in social justice.

#### 2.4. TRANSFORMING THE EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE

#### 2.4.1. Conceptual framework

#### 2.4.1.1. Critical social science

How do we heal a society fragmented by racism? For the purpose of my study, I adopted critical pedagogy as my lens. Alternatively called dialectical materialism, class analysis and structuralism, this approach can be traced from Erich From (1900 – 1980) to Sigmund Freud (1856 –1939) to Karl Marx (1818 – 1883).

Critical Social Science defines social science (of which education is a part) as a critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves.

Fay's view (cited in Webster 1997) that the purpose of research is "to explain a social order in such a way that it becomes itself the catalyst which leads to the transformation of this social order" echoes this belief. In order to achieve this, the critical researcher has to ask embarrassing questions, expose hypocrisy, and investigate conditions in order to encourage grass-roots action.

The goal of critical social science is to empower individuals. To achieve this the

critical researcher adopts a realist position that posits that social reality is out there waiting to be discovered and that social reality is always in a state of flux, dependent on the tensions, conflicts or contradictions within social relations or institutions. The critical researcher adopts the position that change is possible. It may occur slowly before eventually speeding up but change is possible. The critical researcher studies the past or different societies in order to better see change or to discover alternative ways to organize social life.

It follows then that the critical researcher is interested in the development of new social relations, the evolution of social institutions or societies and the causes of major social changes. More importantly, for the purposes of data collection, analysis and interpretation, the critical researcher believes that the facts of material condition exists independent of subjective perceptions, but that facts are not theory neutral but require interpretation from within a framework of values, theory and meaning.

This theoretical framework is useful in the interpretation of data generated from learners, educators and managers based on the understanding that whatever view is relayed is infused with its own subjective content or in other words, reality is what I perceive to be real. The challenge then is to separate the subjective reality from the real because a social reality does exist and can be transformed through specific interventions.

## 2.5. FROM ASSIMILATION, MULTICULTURALISM, ANTI-RACISM AND BEYOND

In the theoretical framework, as a critical researcher, I stated that a social reality existed although the perception of this reality may differ from individual to individual. This social reality can be changed. To understand what were the 'norms' of racial integration and whether they were unfolding in multiracial schools as they ought to be, it was necessary to conduct a literature review on international and local experiences with racial integration,

the policies that were adopted for racial integration, the advantages and drawbacks of such policies and to determine their appropriateness for the South African context.

#### 2.5.1. INTEGRATION AND DESEGREGATION

The general consensus on desegregation is that it is a mechanical process that involves the removal of restrictions to establish the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school. The American and South African experience of desegregation are cases in point. This mechanistic process reveals nothing about the quality of the interracial contact. In the South African context, an example of desegregation would be the opening of racially exclusive schools to members of all races.

Integration on the other hand is a complex social process that evolves over a long period of time (Naidoo, 1996). Naidoo, (1996), building on the work of Smith, Downs and Lachman (1973) notes that for positive intergroup contact to be fostered, educational institutions have to undergo fundamental changes. The institutional patterns and arrangements of the school, attitudes and behaviour patterns of learners and teachers of minority and majority groups must change. For effective integration to take place schools must become 'new' schools (Smith, Down, and Lachman, 1973).

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) report on Racism, Racial Integration and Desegregation in South African Public Schools, reported on by Vally and Dalamba, (1999: 24) concur that fundamental integration can only effectively take place if there are fundamental changes not only in the personal attitudes of learners and educators but also in the institutional arrangements, policies and ethos of the school.

#### 2.5.2. ASSIMILATION

The assimilationist approach attempts to make the foreign (minority) learner fit into the existing ethos of the school. This adds on approach entails no fundamental shift in the school's policy, organization or in the personal attitudes of the educators or the majority of the learners.

Samiera Zafar's study (cited in Naidoo, J. P. 1996) of a former White school and an Indian school in KwaZulu-Natal found that the assimilationist approach to multicultural education was the dominant approach in KwaZulu-Natal. She found that Black learners entering the previously ex-Model C schools had to adapt to the ethos of the school. The school policies remained unchanged. Her findings reveal the failure of schools to recognize and accommodate the different racial and cultural backgrounds of learners within the existing school structures.

The failure to take cognizance of the learner's lived reality, his or her cultural and language differences from the dominant culture is part of the reasons Glazer (1997: 121) sees as the failure of assimilation despite its laudable intentions.

The Wexler Middle School, the site of an intense four year study of peer relations in a desegregated school further cements the idea that race is a fundamentally intrinsic construction that learners bring into the school. Learners see each other through racial lenses. Despite the school subscribing to a colour-blind view of interracial schooling, the study revealed that the learners perceived each other in racial terms.

Mukhopadhyay's and Henze's (2003: 99) observation from an anthropological perspective that race is not a scientifically valid biological category merely highlights the idiosyncratic nature of racial construction however this does nothing to diminish its potency in determining the nature and patterns of relationships.

The assimilationist approach is thus inadequate in catering for the increased desire for mother tongue education and cultural and religious affirmation amongst minorities. The other extreme would be to balkanize learners as separate but homogenous units within schools, hence, perpetuating the racial

polarization that so bedeviled this country previously. Should the language and culture of the minority learners within the school be sidelined in favour of equalizing opportunities for the minority learners through achievement of competence in the dominant English language? Should schools (that are already balkanized according to race, language and privilege) be allowed to determine the manner in which racial integration will be pursued or should we adopt a more centrist position and allow the Department of Education to decide the nature of integration that will take place at school? Will the former not entrench differences and will the latter not excite resistance? Where to then?

#### 2.5.3.MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

A distinction needs to be made between multicultural education and multiculturalism. While the latter has evolved out of the former as a result of a perceived inadequacy in its objectives, they both broadly are responding to the need for a curriculum designed to cater for cultural diversity within schools. Multicultural education focuses on the celebration of diversity and the concomitant psycho-social objectives of instilling respect for and tolerance of minority cultures and religion.

#### Webster (1997) reports that:

It (multicultural education) is generally presented as the most viable means of maintaining America's pluralistic heritage and egalitarian ideals. As curriculum and pedagogic reforms, it constitutes a set of measures aimed at building the self-esteem of 'students of colour' creating respect for cultural differences, removing racist, sexist, and ethnocentric biases from textbooks, and ensuring excellence and equity in educational outcomes.

To overcome the problem of teachers bringing in their culture specific traits and behaviour into the classroom, some advocates of multicultural education recommend staff development programmes and workshops by trained multicultural consultants.

A fundamental criticism of the multicultural approach is that it still sees, implicitly and explicitly, the dominant race, religion and culture as the norm and that schools should provide for the co-existence of minorities. The efficacy of workshops to eliminate teacher cultural and behavioural traits is questionable because these are deeply ingrained character traits that cannot be expunged by workshops. More fundamentally, however, it disrespects the culture, religion and race of the very person expected to teach respect and tolerance of race, religion and culture of minorities.

Multiculturalism extends the objectives of multicultural education to include the eradication of White racism, the oppression of women, people of colour, homosexuals and the poor. The challenge for multiculturalism lies in effectively traversing the divide between celebrating cultural diversity with the focus on difference and the promotion of a non racial, non sexist society. Will cultural and racial separatism be the natural outcome of a focus on diversity. Will the focus on non racism and non sexism dilute and eventually eradicate the rich cultural diversity that permeates our country. What role does language play in preserving culture? How is language going to be incorporated in the curriculum? How do you avoid stereotyping? What becomes of the Constitutional imperative to promote a 'non-racial and non-sexist' society? Is this apartheid revisited?

#### 2.5.4. ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

Webster (1997) describes anti-racist education as follow:

Anti- racist education is grounded in a racial classification of persons and the thesis that racist beliefs and practices permeate school and society. It argues that,

- 1. Schools should function to equalize opportunity.
- Because all cultures and their knowledge are equal and autonomous, single cultures and their knowledge should be equally represented in the curriculum.

3. Because the dominant culture is racist, the curriculum must be divested of racial texts, practices and influences.

The focus of anti-racist education is ironically on race. Given South Africa's history of racial classification should we dare venture back into racial classification only to eliminate racist practices? Who will then determine the race of a learner? How will the race be determined?

#### 2.5.5. RACE AND RACISM

While the literature on race is conclusive on the absurdity of classifying individuals according to race, it still exists as a potent mental construction that individuals use to identify themselves. The scope of my study does not allow me to explore the reasons for such a social construction. However, the recent developments in Europe, in Africa, Australia and elsewhere remind us of the strength of race. For the purposes of educational and social reconstruction, race must be taken into account because any curriculum that advocates racial classification would only begin to entrench racial differences and consolidate racial stereotypes.

What is racism then? Racism is described generally as a morbid mental state, an irrational belief system or an institutionalized condition of discrimination that may be rooted in economic conditions and class considerations. Therefore racism is seen as a malaise affecting White people only. Blacks do not have power and therefore cannot be racists. Racism and power are inextricably linked.

The concept of racism is inseparable from the racial classification of persons. Any curriculum that promotes racial distinctions cannot eliminate stereotyping and discrimination for it would consolidate racial identities, racial generalization and the in-group out-group distinctions that underlie discrimination. (Webster 1997)

What approach to integration should we then adopt? The current practice of leaving it to the school to determine the way in which integration takes place is too dangerous. Assimilation is obviously inadequate in developing a new South African society based on the acknowledgement of our racial and cultural diversity while multicultural education, multiculturalism and antiracist education have as their focus an emphasis on diversity at the expense of unity. These polar opposites will not then be able to assist us in scaling the barriers of racism.

#### 2.6. CONCLUSION

It seems then that education in South Africa faces the challenge of transforming post-1994 society without repeating the mistakes of racial classification and racial separation of the past. Questions such as which approach to racial integration should be adopted, how do we celebrate diversity without entrenching racial and cultural exclusivity are critical to the development of a future non racial and non sexist society. How do we equalize opportunities? How do we incorporate minority languages in the curriculum without diminishing the role of English in equalizing opportunities for our learners. Chapter Three describes the methodology that was used to collect data, the instruments that were used to generate data and the method that was used to analyse the data.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will explain in detail the methodology that was used to

collect data to answer the following critical questions:

✓ HOW DOES RACIAL INTEGRATION TAKE PLACE IN

SCHOOL?

✓ WHAT ARE THE BARRIERS TO RACIAL INTEGRATION

IN SCHOOL?

This research is a case study using only qualitative methods of data collection

and analysis.

3.2. WHY QUALITATIVE RESEARCH?

The nature of the study often determines the type of research that needs to be

undertaken. I chose a qualitative approach because race and racial integration

is such an emotionally charged, subjectively and contextually driven area of

research.

Racial integration cannot be reduced to a set of scores or frequencies alone. Its

emotional impact on the respondents as well as the behavioural manifestations

need to be faithfully recorded and explored for the true nature of racial

integration to be revealed.

A case study was used because it allowed for more intense and in-depth

exploration of racial integration over an extended period.

3.3. SAMPLING

3.3.1. Selection of sample

3.3.1.1. School

As was explained in Chapter One, the factors determining the selection of the

school were based on convenience, time for the research and that the school

afforded me as critical educator researcher, an opportunity to go beyond

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surface illusions to uncover the real structures in order to assist people change the conditions in which they engage with each other for the better.

The school was a typical ex-HOD school, with a large dominant population of Indian learners and 20 percent of African learners. The educators were Indian except for an African educator who taught isiZulu to grades 8 and 9 learners.

The school is geographically located in a predominantly Indian suburb that borders a peri-urban and rural African population. While some African parents have purchased houses in the suburb, most African learners are transported to school.

Permission to conduct research was not difficult to obtain. However, at a school governing body meeting where I tabled my request, the chairperson acceded to the request provided that the research "did not interfere with my school work."

Can educator researchers conduct research without it interfering with their professional duties? My experience tells me that it does. The time taken to design a research methodology, collect and analyze data collected is no less time consuming and exacting than for an educator to perform his/her duties. Faced with this dilemma, I rationalized that the outcomes of my studies was to improve the organization and policy formulations of the school and review teaching strategies towards a positive racial integration.

### 3.3.1.2. Selection of educators

Using purposeful sampling technique, the principal, the two deputy principals, and 2 educators, one male and one female were selected. The principal and the two deputies were selected to provide insights into the school's organization and policy formulation.

The male educator was chosen because he taught the grade 10 class and seemed to have established a rapport with both African and Indian learners.

The female educator was our unofficial guidance counsellor and she taught the grade 10 class.

The male and female educators, as implementers of policies would provide me with information on:

- ✓ Policy and practice.
- ✓ Their observations of racial integration in the grade 10 class.

  This allowed me to cross reference with my observations so that I could be alerted to staged or socially desirable patterns of behaviour.
- ✓ Their attitudes and perceptions of racial integration in the classroom and the playgrounds.

The female educator slash guidance counsellor would be able to provide me with information on whether there were any reported incidents of racial conflicts or racial tensions in the school.

#### 3.3.1.3. Selection of learners

The target population of learners for my study on racial integration in school was a grade 10 class that I taught. It provided me with an opportunity to observe the interaction of the learners while performing my duties as an educator. In addition, the class had a proportional ratio of African to Indian learners that was reflective of the school population.

Of this target population, a specific population sample was chosen for my two focus groups. The focus groups were made up of a homogenous lot of African and Indian learners. Each group comprised of two males and four females, a gender breakdown that was reflective of the school and class composition. Each focus group would be interviewed separately and then merged as a group and then interviewed.

The smaller focus groups would provide me with an opportunity to dialogue intensely on their thoughts and attitudes towards racial integration.

Instead of opting for a random sampling of learners for the focus group, I chose learners who were relatively articulate and who, by virtue of my observations, would be rich sources of information on racial integration. At first the learners were not enthusiastic, but after explaining the purpose of the study and the expected duration of their participation, they consented to be a part of the study.

#### 3.4. DATA COLLECTION PLAN

#### 3.4.1. Method

#### 3.4.1.1. Questionnaire

1. April 2004 – Administered to the principal, deputy principals, the educators and the two focus groups.

#### 3.4.1.2. Interviews

- 1. April 2004 with the principal, deputy principals and educators
- 2. April 2004 with the African focus group.
- 3. April 2004 with the Indian focus group.
- 4. April 2004 with the merged groups.

#### 3.4.1.3. Observations

- April 2004 Observe Grade 10 learners interaction in class.
- April 2004 Observe learner interaction on the boys' ground.
- April 2004 Observe learner interaction on the girls' ground.
- 4. April 2004 Observe learner interaction in the Assembly area.

#### 3.4.1.4. Documents

1. April 2004 – search and analysis of relevant documents.

#### 3.4.1.5. Data Analysis - July 2004

#### 3.5. THE INSTRUMENTS USED

The instruments used in the study included the following: a Likert scale / self report questionnaire, a semi-structured interview, observations and documents.

#### 3.5.1. Questionnaire to all participants

A combination of checklist, Likert-scale style and self report questionnaire was used to generate data. The checklist was used to generate biographical details of the respondents. This included their:

- ✓ Status at the school for e.g. principal, learner.
- ✓ Years at the school.
- ✓ Gender.

The Likert-scale style questions were used to determine attitudes and perceptions of racial integration at the school. A five point Likert-scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree was used. Five Likert-scale items focused on the school's policy and organization and a further three items were used to generate data on learner and educator racial interaction in the class and on the playground.

The self report statements were used to generate data on the respondents' perception on policies, barriers and patterns relating to racial integration.

To achieve internal validity and reliability, questions were repeated with slight alterations in phrasing. Cross validity checks across instruments were used to ensure reliability in the data.

The data generated was analysed according to the following frameworkattitudes and perceptions of racial integration; racial integration and policies, barriers and patterns of racial integration.

#### 3.5.1.1 Analysis of data generated through the questionnaire

The Likert scale items were coded and clustered according to frequency. The self report items were clustered around the three items: the school's policies and organization in promoting racial integration, are there any barriers to racial integration and the dominant patterns of interaction between learners of different races on the sportsfields and in the classroom. The items were analysed through scores, deductive and inductive reasoning, comparisons and contrasts to detect any emerging themes or patterns.

The data collated was used to generate questions for the semi-structured interviews. The information collected provided the basis for the questions I included in the semi-structured interviews. Other than for purposes of credibility and triangulation, the interview allowed me to probe deeper in the areas that the questionnaire had only hinted at.

An additional advantage was that it allowed me to reflexively interrogate the information provided in both the questionnaire and the interviews. I was able to go back and forth between the responses in the interview and those in the questionnaire. This process of constant comparisons made it possible to categorize emerging patterns and themes.

A particular concern of mine was the danger of the respondents providing socially desirable and politically correct responses for two reasons, one, the social and political sensitivity of the research topic and two, my role as educator researcher. The questionnaire and the interview were designed to minimize such a risk.

# 3.5.1.2. Limitations of the questionnaire instrument used

As a result of time constraints, a pilot questionnaire was not administered. Hence, questions or statements or words presented may have been understood differently by each of the respondents. This then would reduce the validity and reliability of the data. In addition, the persistent problems associated with questionnaires such as response sets, social desirability and faking cannot be eliminated entirely from the data gathered.

# 3.5.2. INTERVIEWS WITH EDUCATORS

I conducted five interviews with the educators, beginning with the principal, the 2 deputy principals and lastly the two educators. All educators were interviewed individually.

The purpose of the interview was to establish the educators' understanding of racial integration, to probe their views of the school's policies, the organization and their attitudes towards integration and to connect their perceptions and observations of racial integration with my own.

The interviews were conducted during my non-teaching periods whenever this coincided with those who were to be interviewed. The interview was conducted in an informal manner with the participant being informed of purpose of the study and the confidentiality of their responses. The responses to questions were recorded in short- hand and questions requiring clarity or prompting for additional information were used. At the end of each question the responses were read to the respondent for confirmation of their accuracy. This method ensured the reliability of the data collected.

# 3.5.3. INTERVIEWS WITH FOCUS GROUPS

The focus group interviews were conducted during the intervals. The intervals were of 25 to 30 minute durations (including time for learners to refresh themselves). The interview sessions were conducted in the classroom. As this was the learners' form class, they were quickly at ease and were able to talk 'freely' over the issue of racial integration in the school.

The sessions had to be continued over three consecutive interval breaks for me to go through the broad categories of questions I had structured. The recording of responses in shorthand and then reading them to the group minimized the disruptive nature of the short sessions as I was able to pick up the strands at the next session quite easily.

As intervals are treasured by learners, I was happy to conclude the interviews over four sessions. I went into the interviews determined to ensure that all learners would have a chance to speak by drawing out reluctant speakers and controlling garrulous speakers. The setting was as informal as I could possibly make it. The learners were initially reluctant to speak over as the sessions progressed they were able to express their thoughts and feelings albeit with liberal promptings.

The recording of the responses was made easier as selections of responses that only highlighted issues of racial integration were recorded. The two groups were cautioned not to communicate with each other over the issues discussed to prevent a tainting of their responses.

Once the interviews with the two focus groups were over, I arranged to meet with the merged group at a later stage. The meeting with the varied group took place a week after the last focus group meeting. As a result of its size, it was difficult to work with. However, the learners had become quite familiar with the questions and responded enthusiastically. There seemed to be no consciousness of the changed dynamics in the new grouping.

#### 3.5.4. OBSERVATION OF LEARNERS

The observation of learners alternated with the interview sessions conducted with educators and learners and the administration of the questionnaire to the learners and educators.

As the school had three designated areas for learners to congregate during the breaks – the boys on the boys' ground, the girls on the girls' ground and the assembly area which allowed for the intermingling of girls and boys, I chose to spend alternate days doing observations at each site.

I was looking for dominant patterns of interaction between races, the kind of interaction, frequency and duration. Any departure from the norm was recorded and the learner was approached to find out the reason for the 'unusual' interaction.

My role as observer participant on the playground changed to participant observer in the classroom. Both, of course, created certain limitations. However, as time passed my presence was 'ignored' and the learners went back to their 'natural' behaviour.

The observation in the classroom was time structured where I recorded my observations within a pre-determined time period. Pre-determined patterns of behaviour such as seating arrangements, frequency of communication, duration, nature of communication such as whether it dealt with academic matters, e.g. request for assistance to perform a class task or social banter. Observer's comments were recorded at the end of the period. This would involve subjective value judgements, e.g. 'Tiny was not happy although she claimed she was'. I would have preferred an unstructured observation, however time constraints and my professional duties necessitated that I adopt this structured approach. The observation on the playground and in the classroom took place for five days.

# 3.5.5. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The school's admission policy, curriculum and time-tabling, the learners' code of conduct, the school's vision and mission statements, the constitution of the school's governing body, the budget, correspondence to parents, and the school magazines, newsletters and yearbooks were reviewed to determine:

- ✓ Whether there had been any organizational or policy changes over the
  years to accommodate the changing composition of the learner population.
- ✓ Whether there are any organizational or policy barriers to racial integration.

The review of the documents was done with the understanding that schools had both covert and overt policies, that is, the written policies and the unwritten policies found in the behaviour and assumptions that determined the ethos of the school.

# 3.6. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

The multiple instruments that had to be applied to obtain credible findings exacerbated the time constraints under which the data collection had to take place. Respondents falling ill, absenteeism, emergencies that often made educators beg to be excused and other crisis had to be dealt with within a short window period before the examinations. Often learners would be called away from the interview when I was busy with a focus group. My duties as an educator quite often clashed with my role as researcher.

Tracking policy documents over a ten year period was difficult. Often the secretary was busy dealing with other matters and was unable to assist me with locating the necessary documents. Haphazard filing, loss of relevant documents all played there part in adding to the difficulty.

#### 3.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The limitations of the research design could be briefly outlined as follows:

- ✓ My role as researcher alternated between observer participant on the playground to participant observer in the classroom may have affected the reactions and responses of the learners.
- ✓ The nature of the topic and my role as educator colleague to fellow teachers or teacher to the learners may have increased the possibility of socially desirable and politically correct responses.
- ✓ A third difficulty that I encountered was the difficulty learners had in expressing their thoughts intelligibly and accurately. The time spent clarifying responses was acutely felt.

Perhaps a different group of participants or an extended period of time for data collection may result in a different set of conclusions.

# 3.7. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

To ensure that the research findings were credible, a multi-data collection approach was designed. Similar questions were posed in all the instruments used across the specific target groups.

This design allowed me to constantly cross reference the data being collected with the data collected with the previous instruments hence, facilitating the crystallization of emerging patterns, trends and themes. This triangulation of data made it possible for data to be more credible.

A rigorous recording of observations was adopted to promote reliability. In addition, wherever possible, transcripts of the interviews were provided to the respondents with a view to their correcting or amending the transcription. To ensure that the respondent's thoughts were captured accurately and in their entirety, the main questions were followed by questions that probed for clarity

and completeness. The participants were reassured both verbally and in writing about the confidentiality of their responses.

# 3.8. ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data collected by the three instruments used were categorized to establish patterns and themes. Through constant comparison, the data was sorted into categories and themes. While an 'a priori' set of categories was established by me in the design of the observation schedule to the semi-structured interview questions [to answer the critical questions], I was mindful of the limitations this imposed on the data collection. The data was allowed to emerge as naturally as possible.

# 3.9. CONCLUSION

To summarize, Chapter Three explained the choice of the case study approach, the multiple data collection instruments that were used, their limitations and the difficulties encountered when gathering data, the process used to analyse data and the attempts to ensure validity and reliability of the data generated. In Chapter Four the data generated by the various instruments were examined and interpreted.

# CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

# 4.1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Three, I described the research methodology, focusing on the multi-faceted approach to data collection and the reasons for such an approach, the various instruments used to generate data, the method adopted to ensure the credibility of the data generated and how the data generated would be categorized through a constant process of comparison to detect emerging themes or patterns.

The questionnaire responses were coded, thematically arranged or clustered and emerging themes or patterns were identified.

The data generated in the educator interviews were categorized into five broad themes namely, the conceptualization of racial integration, the admission policy, curriculum changes, integration or resegregation and barriers to integration. The phrasing of the questions and order for the learner focus group were refined to fit in with the respondents.

# 4.2. SUMMARY OF THE KEY FINDINGS: QUESTIONNAIRE

In the Likert scale style items certain clear patterns of data were observed. All sectors of respondents were certain that the school's policies and organization were non-discriminatory. All were of the view that the school actively promoted racial integration. There were mixed responses on whether the school's language policy catered for African learners. Surprisingly, the learners seemed to believe that the language policy catered for the African learner while the educators and administrators believed that this was not the case. All strongly felt that the African learners' culture was not celebrated equally to the dominant culture and that the staff demographics did not reflect the demographics of the province.

The further three items to gauge learner and educator interaction within the classroom and on the playground indicated that all agreed that learners from different racial groups respected each other. There was a surprising split

between managers on the one hand and learners and educators on the other as to whether educators actively promoted racial integration in class. Managers were not so convinced that this was taking place while educators and learners agreed that educators were promoting racial integration actively. Finally, all sectors seemed certain that special interventions were needed to assist in promoting racial integration.

The self report items revealed that while the school policies and organization were promoting racial integration through being non-discriminatory there had been limited success. Two barriers, namely language and culture were identified as inhibitors to racial integration. The self report indicated that a concern is the continued separation of learners according to racial lines. This concern is re-inforced by the observation that the dominant pattern of behaviour amongst learners is to divide themselves along racial lines.

# 4.3. KEY FINDINGS THROUGH THE EDUCATOR INTERVIEWS 4.3.1. TABLE 1 : EDUCATOR PROFILES

NO.	DESCRIPTION OF	POST	YEARS AT	GENDER
	EDUCATOR	LEVEL	SCHOOL	
1.	Principal	4	0-5	Male
2.	Deputy Principal	3	> 15	Male
3.	Deputy Principal	3	> 15	Male
4.	Educator	1	0-5	Male
5.	Educator	1	6-15	Female

Table 1 is a representation that provides details about the post level of the specific target group of educators interviewed, the number of years they were at the school, and their gender. All of the educators were of Indian origin. The African educator who taught isiZulu was unavailable for the research study as she was away on accouchement leave and her replacement was unsuitable as

he had not spent enough time at the school to provide me with information on racial integration amongst learners.

# 4.3.2. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RACIAL INTEGRATION

# 4.3.2.1. What do you understand by the term 'racial integration'?

There was a marked difference in the conceptualization of racial integration between the managers (the principal and deputy principals) and the level one educators. The principal saw racial integration as a process that must be 'promoted' with 'control'.

#### He claimed:

'Learners of different races are free to be together. They must be taught to understand the different ideas and customs ... integrate that ( ideas and customs). You must promote racial integration with control. If there is no control, the Indian child will remain separate from the Black child. However, systems are in place to ensure this doesn't happen. For example, in sports, teams have to be mixed. Currently, however, the reality is that Black learners have their lunch together. Change will come with time. At the moment, we do things in compartments.'

The deputy principal referred to racial integration in the following way: 'Basically it is [sic] the mixing of learners of different races.[sic] It is about normalizing the child's life at school [sic] where they share equally and benefit [sic] equally.'

It is clear that the managers are expounding an assimilationist approach to integration without really realizing it. The assimilationist motivation of a mutually sharing and mutually benefiting dominant and minority culture is echoed in the deputy principal's catchphrase 'equally sharing and equally benefiting'. The reference to sports and time as the panacea for change is a mask that attempts to hide the lack of any real programmes to effect and affect change, probably because there had been no interrogation of the changed

nature of the school and the concomitant fundamental changes that entailed in the organization and policies of the school.

On the other hand, the level one educators seemed to be aware of the complex dynamics of racial integration, its hegemonic tendencies and the subsuming of the minority culture within the dominant one. As a result of this they saw integration as discreet racial groups existing side by side, kept in check by 'respect' and 'tolerance' while ultimately seeking 'common ground' — an unspoken multicultural position.

One level one educator described integration as:

'Racial integration [sic] is a coming together of cultures or [sic] of people of different races. They mix with each other and share ideas, not necessarily conforming to the other culture ... dominant culture. (In our school the Indian culture is the dominant culture.) but respecting, tolerating and finding common ground.'

The managers seemed to have adopted, unsurprisingly, an assimilationist approach for integration while the educators seemed to be more inclined to a multicultural approach. While these two approaches can cohabit, what these two approaches however reveal, is the lack of any coordinated or comprehensive policy guiding the implementation of integration or any residual attempts at adapting curriculum and methodological strategies to accommodate the African learner.

#### 4.3.3. ADMISSION POLICY

The educators were unanimous in their view that the school policies were non-discriminatory and promoted racial integration. Evidence that was used to support this contention was that the criterion used to determine admission for learners into the school was proximity to the school. As one educator remarked:

<sup>&#</sup>x27;It was purely geographical.'

Although the Group Areas Act, which is largely responsible for the concentration of settlements along racial lines, has been repealed, its effects are still evident. These African learners were still disadvantaged because their homes were some distance away from the 'Indian' schools they wished to attend. While the school may claim that proximity to school was the sole criterion used to admit learners, it was the criterion that was most likely to disadvantage African learners.

The educators claimed that school's admission policy was designed to promote racial integration. One educator had this to say in this regard:

'Basically when learners are being taught, they (the educators) consider (the learners) background, social status, language barriers ... However, we normally don't take any learners who do isiZulu as a primary language.'

This contradicted the earlier claim that proximity was the sole criterion for admission to the school. Inability to speak or read in English was considered by the educators as sufficient reason for exclusion.

The adaptation of the curriculum to meet the needs of the multicultural and multilingual learner population in the class (If 'consider' may be assumed to mean 'adapt' and not a temporal hiatus) then what is being 'considered' needs to be unpacked. The subsequent statement destroys any consideration for learners who are not English speakers.

#### The educator states:

'Normally, we don't take any learners who do isiZulu as a primary language.'

This would exclude all African learners who were educated in African schools. Those African learners who were fortunate enough to be schooled from a young age in Indian primary schools would escape such exclusion.

For multicultural education to take place, a three-way relationship between the admission policy, multicultural classrooms and the revised national

curriculum needs to exist. The school's admission must support the creation of a multicultural school. Hence, there is a need for a purposeful admission policy that ensures a multicultural intake of learners. Once a multicultural learner population is established there is a need for the curriculum to be reconstructed to cater for this diversity. Classroom teaching, content matter and social interaction must reflect the multicultural reality of the school population and reinforce and celebrate racial and cultural diversity.

#### 4.3.4. CURRICULUM CHANGES

When questioned whether the curriculum had been changed to accommodate African learners the educators responded with:

'Some of the English textbooks prescribed for study have been changed. African literature is now being studied because it builds the African learners self-esteem. We have found that this has had an impact, for example, where previously learners used Eurocentric names such as John or James in compositions they now use African names.'

Further questions revealed that changes in the curriculum were *ad hoc* and left to the discretion of the educator. One educator reported:

'It [sic] (curriculum changes) was left to educators [sic] (in the Languages Department) to put African literature on the map.'

Asked as to whether other subject teachers adopted a similar approach to curriculum changes, the educator remarked:

'I hope they also feel the same way. (I) [sic] can't see any reason for dissension. Even if you teach mathematics, (You must) [sic] teach it in a way that shows tolerance for the indigenous people of Africa.'

In reply to a question on whether the school actively promoted racial integration, there were conflicting views. The administrators believed that the school actively encouraged racial integration. One of the deputy principals cited the introduction of isiZulu as a part of the curriculum as evidence of the school's encouragement of racial integration. He claimed,

'We introduced isiZulu as an additional language.'

He agreed in the same breath almost that that was not sufficient. He added:

'Really speaking, if we look at the demographics of the school, it is obviously not representative. The African learners constitute 25% of our total learner population.'

When questioned why isiZulu was limited to grades 8 and 9 and not offered up to grade 12 as an examination subject, he had this to say:

'Although it was offered to learners as an option, the learners chose not to take up the option – they said it was too difficult. Also we are not too certain whether the educators on the plant will be able to teach (isiZulu) at grade 12 level.'

It is quite evident that the curriculum changes implemented by teachers is cosmetic, e.g. changes in names, additional language, etc. Cosmetic changes are, however, insufficient to bridge the chasm between racially divided societies. Teaching methodologies that target the exploration of cultural issues, e.g. group work on gender issues, the new toll road in the Wild Coast, affirmative action, etc. may allow learners to explore their own racial and cultural values while simultaneously being exposed to other learners' values and realities.

#### 4.3.5. INTEGRATION OR RESEGREGATION

When the level one educators were asked if the school actively pursued racial integration they vehemently denied this. One educator had this to say:

'To be honest, no. We don't do anything to promote racial integration actively. We are asked to mix classes or groups but that is as far as it goes.'

The same educator added that they had no control over relationships on the playground. 'This was a good thing,' according to the educator. She went on to offer this bit of wisdom:

'We cannot create artificial relationships. That should be left to parents and not [sic] the teachers.'

She observed that there was a gender bias when it came to racial integration. She explained:

'An Indian child will have friends from both genders but if the child has friends with the other race (African friend) it will be of the same gender. It is very rare to find an Indian girl with a Black boy as her friend.'

When pursued on what could be the reason for this, she replied:

'Perhaps it is through a lack of knowledge, fear, ignorance.'

When questioned whether the school frowned on relationships such as this, she denied this. She stated:

'The school frowns on all relationships.'

While the level one educators were critical of the school's lack of a policy of racial integration, they had no alternative to offer. Relationships were deemed 'artificial' if brought about by the school. The educators believed that the responsibility for fostering racial integration lay with the parents. Hence, educators sidestepped their role in creating a multicultural society.

# 4.3.6. BARRIERS TO INTEGRATION

It is clear from the often contradictory views expressed by managers and educators on the conception of racial integration, the admission policy, the adaptation of the curriculum and teaching methodology, the promotion of racial integration that no clear policy had been designed to meet the challenges of a multicultural school population. Socially desirable and politically correct epithets such as 'respect' and 'tolerance' were mentioned in the absence of a clear policy that would define what structural changes and curriculum and teaching strategies were necessary to accommodate the African learners.

When questioned on who should be responsible for providing programmes and workshops for educators and schools to deal with the changing multicultural reality of the school, the educators were unanimous that it should be the Department of Education.

One of the deputy principals had this to say:

'The Department should get experts to address the educators. This would have the effect of making our African educators and learners feel welcome. Given our demographics, there should be at least 5 to 6 black educators at our school.'

A recurring view of the educator was that the demographics of the school should be reflected in the educator corp. When questioned about the Employment Equity Act that is intended to make workplaces more reflective of the population demographics of the country, all the educators felt that it was a necessary step for normalizing society. One drawback, however, that educators pointed to was the apparent lack of 'competent' Black educators applying for vacancies in the school. When questioned why the racial composition of the school remained Indian and unchanged for so long, the educator had this to say:

'Perhaps no one applied – no one competent applied. At our school, there have been many excess educators – we needed to shed educators, as a result there were no vacancies.'

The deputy principal provided more insights:

'Very few African educators applied for vacancies advertised in the school or when they apply they fall short in the interviews. The governing body that conducts the selection process wants competent people. Very often the African educators with expertise do not want to leave their schools. So you often have educators who are inexperienced or unsuitable for the post, applying. The Department needs to intervene and send suitable people to schools.'

Responses to whether there were any barriers to racial integration at the school revealed only two barriers. One was cultural differences that had the possibility for misunderstanding or conflict. An educator mentioned the following cultural difference as an example:

'Black people communicate by looking in your eye directly. This may be interpreted as challenging but it is not.'

The second barrier that all educators agreed on was language.

Clearly, the educators and managers of the school believed that strategic interventions by the Department of Education would resolve all issues of racial integration. Such a myopic perspective restricted their ability to create an environment for learners of different races to interact positively.

#### 4.3.7. ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

The educators' attitude to racial integration was positive. They believed that it was necessary: it would be mutually [sic] 'beneficial' and that it would 'redress' past injustices.

They believed that a programme was needed to sensitize educators and learners to the cultural and racial diversity present in the school. They felt that they needed workshops to train them to adapt the content of the curriculum to be reflective of the learners' experiences. They believed that racial integration was taking place. The lack of incidents of racial conflict was to them evidence that integration was taking place in a positive way.

One educator attributed the lack of racial tension to:

'The guidance and counselling of learners. They are taught to respect the rights and dignity of others.'

When asked whether this 'positive' racial integration resonates outside of school, the educators believed that it was not taking place on a large scale and they attributed this to:

'Just a few [sic] (African parents) have moved into the area.'

# 4.3.8. CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON EDUCATOR INTERVIEWS

The prevailing approach to integration has been assimilation. The absence of any policy guidelines on integration by the Department of Education has meant that a *de facto* assimilationist approach should prevail. The consequence of such an approach is to ignore the cultural and racial diversity of the learner, their lived experience and intellectual capital in favour of a 'mixing' of the races.

The curriculum is altered superficially to reflect the multicultural nature of the learner population. This *ad hoc* change is dependent on the whim of educators. No cogent policy is designed to change the curriculum and teaching strategies fundamentally. The core curriculum remains the same. The implication is that African learners must adapt to the curriculum. The result of such an adaptation is probably one reason for the high failure rate of African learners during the first two years of their entry into the school.

The admission policy was largely non-discriminatory. Proximity to the school was the guide to admission of learners to the school. However, due to historical reasons most African learners are likely to live further away from the school. It is perhaps the reason why the school population has remained largely Indian.

The educators' attitude towards integration was positive. They believed that the absence of any 'racial incident' was evidence that integration was successful. This simple conclusion reflects and is consistent with the simplistic understanding of integration and race. Despite this, they were unanimous that the Department of Education should provide programmes and workshops on multicultural education. They also believed that the staffing corp should be representative of the demographics of the school.

Language was seen as the single most important barrier to the integration of African learners into the ethos of the school. This view supported the earlier conclusion that African learners should adapt to the school ethos and not the other way around.

# 4.4. KEY FINDINGS FROM THE FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

The focus group interviews were used to validate the responses in the educators' interviews. As stated in Chapter Three, I conducted interviews with two focus groups, one Indian and the other African. Each group comprised of 6 learners. There were 2 males and 4 females. At the end of the two focus group interviews, the two groups were combined to form a third focus group. The purpose of the mixed group interview was to determine whether there would be any changes in the responses the learners had made in the previous interviews. This would ensure the validity of the data generated.

Although the phrasing of the questions and their order had to be changed to fit the respondents, the substance of the questions remained unaltered and were designed to probe the critical questions, How does racial integration take place in school? What are the barriers to racial integration in school? The second reason for maintaining, while not identical questions, but similar questions to those posed to the educators was to cross validate the educators' responses with the learners' responses.

The semi-structured interview was used. To overcome the slight inflexibility of the semi-structured format, open-ended questions were posed. This allowed learners greater latitude in their responses. Inductive and deductive analysis, synthesizing of ideas, comparisons and contrasts of attitudes, were used to make sense of the data generated.

When asked whether race was an issue at school, the learners responded by stating that race was not an issue. However they were disturbed that learners were polarized along racial lines. As one learner describe this phenomenon:

'We Blacks sit with Blacks and the Indians sit with Indians- and that's how it has been.'

Implicit in this observation is the learner's definition of race along physiological lines. Race is seen as a physical construction, a grouping that finds particularity by comparison to the OTHER. Such a grouping of learners with similar physiological characteristics reinforces the notion of race. This view also counters the educators' view that learners were integrating.

When asked whether there were any barriers to racial integration at school, most learners identified language and socio-economic factors as the barriers to racial integration. These two factors were seen to be responsible for the separation of learners according to race. African learners were often embarrassed to eat lunch with the Indian learners. One African learner saw culture as a barrier. She described this in the following way:

'We have different interests. For example, the Indian girls talk about TV programmes they had watched the previous day. We don't seem to connect.'

Interestingly enough, the barriers the learners identified were similar to the ones identified by the educators. Language was seen as key to gaining access to an otherwise closed world of the dominant culture.

On whether the school promoted racial integration, the learners were not really certain. A few laughingly mentioned the gum boot dances during cultural days. They all agreed that there was no specific and sustained celebration of African culture. They felt that this was because there were almost only Indian teachers at the school. They questioned why isiZulu was offered only up to grade 9 and not up to grade 12. This went counter to the views expressed by the educators.

When asked whether socialization between Indian and African learners occurred outside of school, they replied in the negative. They ascribed this to geographical factors.

They believed that some educators tried to promote integration by mixing the groups and changing seating arrangements. They were uncomfortable with this kind of forced integration. This was consistent with the views expressed

by the educators. They reported that there had been fights between African and Indian boys but there was no racial tension at school. Where educators saw the lack of fights between African and Indian learners as proof of positive racial integration the learners did not seem to connect fights between learners as indicators of racial integration. They believed that racial harmony existed in spite of the fights.

# 4.5. SUMMARY OF FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Responses emerging from the learners' focus group interviews validate the educators' responses on many issues. There was consensus by the learners that the school's policies were not discriminatory and that there were no barriers to racial integration other than language and cultural differences.

An abiding concern of all the learners was the unchanging compositon of groups. African and Indian learners congregated in classrooms and on the playground along racial lines. Implicit in the concern is the notion that racial polarization should not be taking place. All agreed that the school's policies and organization while it promoted racial integration had met with limited success. Outside of school, the pattern of socialization by learners from different races, owing to historical and socio-economic factors, would remain the same for the foreseeable future.

The learners expressed the concerns of educators at the lack of African educators in the school. The cultural divide would be bridged if there were more African teachers in school.

# 4.6. OBSERVATION OF LEARNER INTERACTION

The observation of learners in the classroom and on the playground followed a rigid time structure. Observations took place during the breaks, at three different sites, the boys' ground, the girls' ground and the assembly area. The field notes were analysed according to dominant patterns of interaction. The

observations were used as a complementary tool to the interviews and the questionnaire.

The dominant pattern of interaction was learners fragmenting into racial groups. This finding was consistent with the observations of educators and learners during the interviews.

#### 4.7. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Analysis of documents was undertaken by looking for themes or patterns regarding racial integration at the school. From the documents reviewed there appeared to be no fundamental changes either in policy or organization of the school for the period after or before 1994. The school's admission policy that was pivotal to provision of access to African learners had remained largely unaltered. Previously 'Indian' primary schools had provided learners to the school – this had now changed. The criterion for admission was proximity to school. Letters to parents, the learner's code of conduct, examination manuals, time-tables, magazines have remained unchanged.

# 4.8. CONCLUSION

Patterns and themes have emerged from the multiple research instruments used. Responses across the various research instruments reveal an awareness of the inadequacies of the school's current response to the question of racial integration and the lack of competencies or the will to enact corrective measures. Learners are aware of the polarization of learners but they accept this as the norm.

CHAPTER FIVE: INSIGHTS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND

**CONCLUSIONS** 

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four recorded the findings generated by the different instruments.

The multiple qualitative tools were used to determine the two critical

questions:

✓ How does racial integration take place in school?

✓ What are the barriers to racial integration in school?

Various cross validity checks were used to ensure that the data gathered were

credible.

5. 2. INSIGHTS

The desegregation of schools, however welcome it is, is seen as an end in

itself. All subsequent integrations have, in the absence of any guiding

principles, followed the assimilationist approach to integration. African

learners in search of a better education away from their often under-resourced

and largely dysfunctional schools have either had to seek admission in the ex-

HOD schools which are predominantly populated by Indian learners and

educators or the former House of Representative schools populated by

'Coloured' learners and educators or find a place in the ex-Model C schools

serving the White learner. They have had to adapt themselves to the dominant

culture in the school to find acceptance. But what is the dominant culture? In

this school it certainly is not Indian. The school is an English medium school

populated by Indians. The school has not adapted to accommodate the learner.

The unchanging nature of school policies, organization or staff composition in

the face of a fluid and changing society points to the dislocation of schools

from society. Schools should be agencies of transformation, seeking to lead

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our young learners from the bondage of race into a non-racial non-sexist future, but if this school is representative of what is happening in other schools then we seem to be trapped in a time warp, unable to escape the legacies of the past. Our schools then churn out learners who co-habit their schools and then co-habit their communities.

Waiting for external agencies as stimulus for change is a recipe for disaster and a good blame agent. The "waiting for the Department of Education" was a mantra trotted out whenever questions of implementation were asked.

Strangely, the only barrier the educators considered as a barrier to integration was language competence. Language to both learners and educators was a tool. For educators, it determined the learner's ability or lack thereof. Yet the educators never saw this barrier as discriminatory. Neither did they even consider the possibility that the school could be re-structured to accommodate the learners through its curriculum offerings and teaching strategies. For learners, language competence signaled success and acceptance. Both educators and learners were firmly and unconsciously rooted in the unchanging inviolability of the school — everything else needed to adapt to feed in to the ethos of the school. The result of assimilation is to change our schools into mono-cultural islands.

# 5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations flow from the findings of the study and the Constitutional exhortation to create a non-racial, non-sexist society, eradicate the injustices of the past and create a democratic society, build on the self-esteem of the learner, acknowledge cultural diversity and to restructure schools for positive change.

# 5.3.1. For educators

✓ Educators should focus on training and professional development in the content, teaching and learning processes in multicultural classes.

- ✓ Educators must not see language incompetence as learner weakness. Strategies must be developed to multiple language competence. This can only occur if there are fundamental changes to the curriculum. The knock on effect of this would be to alter the composition of the staff.
- ✓ Language competence must be seen as only one of several measures of learner ability. Alternate and multiple methods of measurement of skill or knowledge must be used.
- ✓ While attention to race, ethnicity and cultural diversity are necessary to affirm the learner's identity, they must not be used to entrench differences. There should be a focus on shared human experiences.
- ✓ Educators must encourage higher order thinking skills amongst learners. To this end, educators must adopt a critical thinking curriculum.
- ✓ The goal of teaching is to develop intellectual diversity in knowledge creation. Learners must be taught to value ideas above all else. This focus would shift the centre from race or culture to the purity of ideas.

# 5.3.2. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- ✓ Implement and monitor policy on racial integration at school.
- ✓ Provide sustained workshops for educators and administrators on teaching and assessments strategies for multicultural schools and monitor its implementation. While OBE [ Outcomes- Based Education ] addresses this, from my experience the implementation of such assessments has been neglected.
- ✓ Develop and disseminate learning materials that draw on the experiences of the different races. This must be underpinned by the principle that diversity in knowledge construction is the highest educational goal.

# 5.4. CONCLUSION

South African society will continue to be racially polarized if we do not have an education system in place that does not demystify the myths of race. Schools must not only be seen to equip our learners to be globally competitive but it must also be seen to be creating a South African identity free of racial stereotypes. How we move beyond race into intellectual diversity will depend on strategic interventions and structural changes initiated by the National Department of Education.

At school level, there is a willingness to change by all the stakeholders. However, the lack of a roadmap makes taking that first step into that unknown place of non-racialism all the more daunting. The existence of separate and distinct racially dominant schools will fragment our country for the foreseeable future. Schools need to adapt their curriculum and teaching strategies to accommodate the multiracial and multicultural learner populations. If not the vision of learners of different races co-existing in schools will continue to haunt us if we do not dispel the notion of race. If we want to escape the narrow bands of race, we must act now.

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# APPENDIX A

Letter requesting permission to conduct research at school.

P.O.Box 3814 Stanger 4450

30/11/03

# The Chairperson

The Governing Body Stanger Manor Secondary School

Sir,

# Re: Permission to conduct research in school

I am in the process of completing a master's degree in education at the University of KwaZulu- Natal, School for Educational Studies. Part of the requirement towards the completion of the master's programme is the presentation of a research dissertation in the field of education.

For my research, I have chosen to study racial integration in your school. I require your permission to embark on research within your school. Please note that, as researcher, I am bound by the ethics governing research, in particular, to respect the confidentiality of the respondents and the school within which the research is being undertaken, unless otherwise informed.

Your assistance in the above matter will be greatly appreciated. Thank you,

Yours faithfully

L Nasaree

# APPENDIX B

The cover letter for the questionnaire.

# **COVER LETTER**

# CONFIDENTIAL

You have been selected to complete this questionnaire on racial integration amongst learners at your school. The information requested is needed for the completion of a part dissertation towards a masters degree in education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The enclosed questionnaire has two parts: Section A requests your personal details that will be used to determine if all stakeholders of the specific target population has been reached. Section B will deal with your perceptions and attitude towards racial integration amongst learners at your school.

Your responses in this questionnaire are confidential as well as no individual will be requested to submit their names.

Yours in education,	
Yours faithfully,	
I Nasaree	

# APPENDIX C

<u>INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1</u>: Semi-structured interview involving the principal, deputy principals and educators on their attitudes and perceptions of racial integration of learners at a macro and micro level.

Macro level - School policies and Organization

Micro level - Learner interaction in the classroom and on the playground.

The purpose of this instrument was to determine:

- 1. The attitude of the educators and learners towards racial integration.
- 2. The school's policies towards racial integration.
- 3. Whether there were any organization barriers to racial integration.
- 4. The educators and learners perception of racial integration.

# Questions

- 1. What is your understanding of racial integration?
- 2. Are there any programmes or workshops on racial integration for educators and learners?
- 3. Have your dealt with racially motivated incidents or conflicts?
- 4. Has there been any curriculum changes to accommodate African learners?
- 5. How do educators feel about the Employment Equity Act?
- 6. Do educators encourage racial integration?
- 7. Are there any barriers that you can think of that hinders or prevents racial integration between learners?
- 8. Should there be programmes or workshops for racial integration?
- 9. Who should be responsible for such a programme and why?
- 10. Does the school' admission policy promote racial integration?

#### APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2: Semi- structured interview involving learners' perception of school policies and organization and whether they promote or prevent racial integration and learners' perceptions and attitudes towards racial integration in the classroom and on the playground.

The purpose of the interview was to cross validate the educators' responses with the learners. To determine also whether the school's policies and organization had an effect on the racial integration of the learners.

# Questions

- 1. Is race an issue at your school?
- 2. Are there any barriers to racial integration at your school?
- 3. Does your school actively promote racial integration in your school?
- 4. Do learners from different racial groups socialize outside of school?
- 5. Is it easier for boys or girls to integrate?
- 6. Do the educators actively promote racial integration at your school?
- 7. Have there been any racial conflicts at your school?

# APPENDIX E

<u>QUESTIONNAIRE</u>: This questionnaire was administered to specific target groups of educators and learners.

# **OUESTIONNAIRE**

# SECTION A: PERSONAL DETAILS

Please place a cross (X) in the appropriate column.

1. Please indicate your status in the school.

Principal	
Deputy Principal	
Head of Department	
Level 1 Educator	
Learner	

2. Please indicate the number of years you have been at this school.

0-5 years	
6 – 15 years	
Over 15 years	

3. Please indicate your gender.

Male	
Female	

# SECTION B: MACRO CATEGORY

This section requires your perceptions of racial relationships amongst the learners in your school. The questions are divided into two categories namely the macro category that deals with school policies and organization and the micro category that deals with learner interaction within the classroom, on the playground and, if possible, in the community at large.

# 1. MACRO CATEGORY: SCHOOL POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

1.1. The school's admission policy does not discriminate on the basis of race, language or religion.

			17.5111	
Strongly	agree	undecided	disagree	Strongly
agree				disagree

# MICRO CATEGORY: LEARNER INTERACTION

1.1. Learners from different race groups treat each other with respect.

Strongly	agree	undecided	disagree	Strongly
agree				disagree

1.2. Educators actively promote racial integration in the classroom, for example, by changing seating arrangements etc.

Strongly	agree	undecided	disagree	Strongly
agree				disagree

1.3. Learners need special interventions by the school management to promote racial integration amongst learners.

Strongly	agree	undecided	disagree	Strongly
agree				disagree

1.4	<ol> <li>Comment briefl amongst learner</li> </ol>	u believe t	here are an	y barriers	to racial	integration
_						
_						
1.5	5. Comment briefle the different race					
_	-	 				