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AFRICAN SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS' AND THEIR TEACHERS'

PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PERFORMANCE IN SELECTED SCHOOLS

BY

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DECLARATION

The Registrar (Academic)

University of Durban Westville

Dear Sir

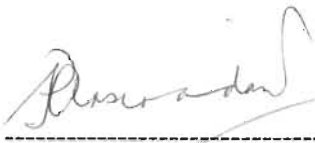
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is a result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been submitted in
part or in full for any other degree or to any other University.



(Signature)

30/06/99

Date

In memory of my late dad



'Since multi-cultural education is for all students, it should be broadly conceptualised and focused on school reform, such as changing the curriculum, the environment, the structure of schools and the instructional strategies so that all students can benefit' (Nieto, 1992: 213).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CEPD	Centre of Education and Policy Development
CSD	Centre for Science Development
CSS	Central Statistical Services
DET	Department of Education and Training
EPU	Education Policy Unit
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
HOA	House of Assembly
HOD	House of Delegates
HOR	House of Representatives
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NP	National Party
SA	South Africa
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
TLSA	Teachers' League of South Africa
USA	United States of America

ABSTRACT

The concept of racially-desegregated state schooling in South Africa was officially implemented in 1991. This change to racially-mixed schooling was not without problems. There are, to date, few known studies on this theme in South Africa although there are many overseas studies. The focus of the present study is on the implications of racially-desegregated schooling for the disadvantaged African population.

The study examines African secondary school pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performance in the context of racially-desegregated schools. It also aims to study these perceptions in the context of striving for 'equality of opportunity' in the light of current educational reforms in South Africa.

This study is located in the sociology of education framework, using a symbolic interactionist approach of analysis. Six schools in the suburb of Phoenix in Durban, originally designed for the Indian population, were used. A sample of 150 pupils belonging to both the middle and working class groups in the senior and junior phases of schooling was calculated. A sample of 68 teachers who teach pupils in the sample was also chosen. Questionnaires were administered to and interviews were conducted with both teachers and pupils. Objective data was also collected in the form of pupils' examination results over a period of a year. The Chi-square test of significance was used to establish if there were differences in performances of pupils within the social groups and within the phases of schooling.

The main findings indicate that:

1. There is no significant difference in perceptions of performance of pupils in the middle- and working class groups.
2. There is no significant difference in perceptions of performance of pupils in the junior and senior phases of secondary schooling.

However, although no intra-group differences in perceptions of performance were perceived, inter-group differences were perceived between Indian and African pupils. The predominant view of teachers was that African pupils were lacking in performance in the newly introduced context of racially-desegregated schooling. Recommendations are based on perceptions of performance and the implications for change. This includes changes to the teaching methods used, the subject matter taught and the forms of assessment used. The problem of proficiency in the language of instruction used needs to be addressed. Increased parental involvement in the curricula is proposed. Teachers also have a vitally active role to play in the context of a multi-cultural education. Material conditions that pupils are subject to must also improve for implications for improved performance.

An improvement in the performance of African pupils, arising from perceptions of African pupils, and their teachers, can result from an inter-play of the above factors that need to evolve. In this way, there will be a striving for equal educational outcomes in equitable education contexts.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem

The concept of 'open schooling' in South Africa was officially implemented in January 1991 in the form of three models of schooling to facilitate racial integration or mixing in schools. 'Open schools', sometimes referred to as desegregated, multi-racial or integrated schools, refers specifically to the admission of black pupils into schools previously reserved for white pupils. At this point, it is imperative to define concepts of 'Black' and 'African' as used in this study. The concept 'African' will be used to refer to the indigenous population of the country. The concept 'Black', on the other hand, would include all race groups other than White in South Africa. The present study is concerned with both Indian and African pupils who would together be referred to as 'Black'. The term 'African' is thus used to refer to a specific group of pupils in schools with a 'Black' population.

Since 1985, racial desegregation had begun in schools administered by education departments in the House of Representatives (HOR) for Coloured children and the House of Delegates (HOD) for Indian children, where pupils belonging to other race groups had been admitted to these schools. Racial desegregation in HOR and HOD schools increased significantly after February 1990.

Racially desegregated schools are an attempt to create equitable educational opportunities for pupils from all race groups by allowing them access to all schools. However, there has been much resistance to 'open schools' in South Africa (SA), overtly so in schooling

administered by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly (HOA) which administers the education of white children. This arose from the fear of standards of education in these schools being compromised. Racially segregated schooling in SA has resulted in qualitative differences in access to educational institutions and thus the opportunity to develop academic potential. This led to the majority of African pupils being educationally 'disadvantaged'. The political history to which African people were subjected also gave rise to the qualitative differences in the quality of life led by the different racial groups. Racially desegregated schools have brought to light vastly differing performance amongst the racial groups. Carrim (1992) concluded his study on desegregation in Indian and Coloured schools in SA by stating 'Both HOD and HOR schools experience problems of 'inferential racism', language and different ability children' (Carrim, 1992: 34). Gaganakis (1990), cited in Freer (1991) found that African pupils were experiencing difficulties with the transition from Bantu education to a more privileged education.

There are also many overseas studies that support evidence for Black or ethnic-minority groups performing poorly as compared to their white or ethnic majority counterparts. The Committee of Enquiry into the education of children from ethnic-groups, commonly referred to as 'The Swann Committee' in England (1985) stated, as part of its findings, that 'black pupils performed consistently worse than other school-leavers and were less well-represented amongst those who went to university' (cited in Mehan, 1992). Mehan (1992: 3) stressed that, 'By almost any criterion, and with few exceptions, students from working class and ethnic-minority backgrounds do poorly in school. They drop out at a

higher rate than do their middle-income and ethnic-majority contemporaries. Their grades are lower' (Coleman et al 1996; Haycock and Navano, 1988; Jencks et al, 1972; National Centre for Education Statistics, 1986) (cited in Mehan 1992: 3).

The present study is concerned with African pupils in secondary schools controlled by the former HOD. It is specifically concerned with the performances of African pupils in the new context of 'desegregated schooling' as perceived by themselves and their teachers. 'Perceptions', in the context of the study, focuses on the all-round integration of the pupil into the fabric of the desegregated schooling context. This includes the pupils' academic output, their interaction with other pupils, their responses to teachers and the learning process and their involvement in the extra-curricular activities of the school.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the investigation

Against the background of the theoretical framework for this study, the following Aims and objectives are outlined below.

1.2.1 Aims of the present study

1.2.1.1 To examine African secondary school pupils' perceptions of their performance in racially- desegregated schools in South Africa so as to understand their experiences in the context of schooling, which was historically designed for Indians.

1.2.1.2 To examine perceptions of the teachers of these pupils as a minority group in these schools, but who come from the majority racial group in the South African society.

1.2.2 Objectives of the present study

1.2.2.1 To examine the relationship between pupils' perceptions of their schooling history and pupil performance.

1.2.2.2 To analyse teachers' broad perceptions of pupil performance.

1.2.2.3 To examine teachers' perceptions of African pupils' responses to subject-matter and instruction.

1.2.2.4 To examine teachers' perceptions of African pupils' background and its influence on their performance.

1.2.2.5 To examine teachers' perceptions of African pupils' interaction with peers and its influence on their performance.

1.3 Theoretical framework of the present study:

This study is located within the framework of the sociology of education, using the symbolic interactionist theory of approach. The term 'symbolic interactionism', coined by Blume (1937), cited in Haralambos (1991:) focuses on the way social interaction is shaped and guided. Unlike macro-theories like functionalism and marxism which see man's behaviour as shaped by values of the social system and the economy respectively, symbolic interactionism focuses on small-scale interaction between and amongst individuals.

Action is meaningful to those actors involved in that interaction. It is understood through an interpretation of the meanings actors give to their activities. Meanings are influenced by the context of the interaction and, in turn, influence action. In the context of the present study, meanings are shaped by social convention and the existing confines of the context

of the school, a setting in which all pupils are not necessarily comfortable. Pupils who are not performing well could be considered to be 'uncomfortable' in their interaction with other pupils and teachers in that situation as he may feel 'distanced' or 'detached' from it by its strangeness. This is measured against his previous schooling experiences or the different level of language and knowledge with which he comes to interact in this new racially desegregated context. To improve performance, the context has to be constantly modified to re-construct meanings suitable to that pupil.

The school ethos and tone imposes meanings on members. Some pupils 'fit in' well in the organisation of the school as their perceptions of the context and its demands are compatible with what the organisation offers. Actions of an individual (actor), or pupil, as in the present study, will also be influenced by his interpretation of the way others (teachers and fellow peers) perceive him. This perception shapes the self-image or self-concept of the pupil. This, in turn, has an influence on his performance.

Positivist approaches to performance have focused on pupil-performance being a result of his position in the class-structure. This means that those belonging to the working class group in society tend to fail or perform poorly and those belonging to the middle-class group excel. But in symbolic interactionism, man actively constructs social reality. Meanings are 'worked out' in the context of interaction. Failure in school is determined by meanings shaped and negotiated in that schooling context.

Thus, teachers play an important role in shaping pupils' self-concept. Classification of

pupils according to a chosen norm of performance that is distant from the pupils' experience can also bring about failure or poor performance. Teachers' perceptions of pupils as measured against an 'ideal' pupil can affect performance of pupils. For example, teachers perceiving African pupils as poorly behaved, defiant or lazy can affect their performance negatively.

Learning and teaching styles can also influence performance. The form of tests and assignments administered can also affect pupils' performance if meanings attributed to them are not consistent with their own meanings. In the present study, African pupils are in a state of transition from a familiar, rural township- schooling context where only African pupils were schooled, to urban, predominantly Indian-occupied schools. They were faced with differences in the character and nature of the areas of schooling, and differences in the teacher and pupil racial population. The ethos and functioning of the schools differed.

1.4 Brief literature review

Much research was done in South Africa on issues pertaining to racially desegregated schooling. However, there are few known published research studies on African pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performance in public or state schools originally legislated for Indian pupils only. Penny, *et al* (1993), examined principals' perceptions on aspects of racial integration in public schools previously administered by the HOA, HOD and HOR.

Bhana (1994) analysed teacher and pupil responses, in a predominantly Indian school. She

used the concepts of the 'other' and the 'same' to explain the extent of acceptability of African pupils by Indian teachers and pupils in that school. There have, however, been interpretive studies conducted on racial mixing in private schools that opened admission to pupils of all races in 1976. Interpretive studies are those by Christie (1990), Gaganakis (1990), Freer and Christie (1990) and Lit (1991), all cited in Freer (1991). The interpretive approach which has a micro-orientation, examines the interactions between pupils and teachers in the learning situation and the effect it has on pupils' perceptions of themselves and thus their performance. Performance of pupils can be assessed in terms of teachers' expectations of their ability. These expectations are derived from one's culture and from 'judgements of pupils' social, moral and intellectual behaviour' (McKay, 1995: 49). These studies deal with stereotyped racial and cultural prejudices that affect attitudes of pupils and thus performance, socialization patterns that affect the self-esteem of pupils and broad perceptions of pupils that influence their integration in racially desegregated schools. On a broad scope, these studies deal with pupils' experiences in the transition from Bantu education to the more privileged education in a private school.

Studies conducted in the United States of America (USA) and Britain by researchers such as Kowalczewski (1982), Troyna and Williams (1986), Troyna (1987), Verma (1989) and Mehan (1992) identify cultural and structural factors influencing the performance of Black and ethnic-minority pupils. A study of Zimbabwean schools in a newly legislated context of racially desegregated schooling by Frederikse (1994) is of close significance to the present study. She examines teachers' and pupils' perceptions of their performance, by discussing patterns of racism, social class, language difficulties, socialisation patterns and

problems of access to schools. These studies will be examined in greater detail in Chapter three on 'Literature Review.' Structural approaches to explanations of inequality in education and thus unequal outcomes were conducted by Bot (1990), Metcalfe (1991), Morrell (1991) and Carrim and Mkwanaazi (1992). These studies also focused on reforms in society that could facilitate equality for all in education.

1.5 Delimitation and restrictions of the present study

There is an absence of a firm theoretical base on which to base this study in the South African context. However, much research conducted in countries other than in South Africa provides a fairly strong theoretical base from which the present study could be guided.

The scope, and scale of this study is determined by cost, time and human resources available. It is thus restricted to a workable area-demarcation. The Eastern section of Phoenix, the largest area in Durban designated for Indians under the previous Group Areas Act (1950), was selected as the area of study. This section was chosen as it is an established and developed residential area. It was also found, at the outset of initiating the present study, that schools in that section of Phoenix had the largest intake of African pupils since 1990. The choice of area can thus be considered a representative context for the study of perceptions of African pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performances in a racially desegregated context of schooling.

The accuracy of findings from responses in questionnaires and interviews was attempted

by checking for omissions and errors before coding. However, findings could be affected by the timing of interviews being conducted and questionnaires being administered. Every effort was made to anticipate problems and efforts were made to alleviate or minimise them.

1.6 General structure of the present study

In Chapter One, the study begins by stating the problem under investigation. It explores the aims, objectives and possibilities of the study in the direction of establishing a theoretical base for future studies of this nature and concern. Chapter two examines the transition from racially segregated to racially desegregated schooling. It examines the history of racially desegregated education in South Africa and critically examines the reforms at racially desegregated schooling to the immediate present. Chapter Three is a literature review of similar studies undertaken both locally and internationally. The relevance of previous studies to the present study is shown. Concepts used in previous studies and intended for use in the present study also are examined within the context of existing theories that provide explanations for the problem under investigation. Chapter Four explains the design of the study by outlining the population of the study, the sampling procedures used, the variables used to classify samples, the design and administration of questionnaires and the conducting of interviews, and finally an explanation of the statistical procedures used. The findings and analysis of the study are presented in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Five focuses on the findings of pupils' perceptions of their performance and Chapter Six focuses on teachers' perceptions. Finally, Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter, which also presents recommendations of

the study.

1.7 Relevance of the present study

The relevance of the present study can be seen in the context of an analysis of the history of education in South Africa, from the philosophical underpinnings in Bantu education to the philosophy underlying current reforms aimed at 'equitable' conditions for all in terms of reconstruction, development and transformation. Thus, a history of segregated education in SA and current reforms in education relevant to the present study will be discussed in chapter two. An analysis of how differences are historically constructed will be undertaken.

CHAPTER TWO - THE TRANSITION FROM RACIALLY-SEGREGATED TO RACIALLY-DESEGREGATED SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In the analysis of the history of education in South Africa, 'we see how the struggle for education is closely tied to the broader political struggle' (Christie, 1985: 7). A discussion on the history spanning more than three hundred years will be divided into three time spans: Pre-Colonial and Colonial Periods (1880-1910), Segregated education in the Post-Colonial period (1910-1990) and Education from 1990 to the present. Finally, reforms aimed at equality and equity in education through racially desegregated schooling will be discussed. It can be argued that segregated education has had an impact on the majority of African pupils presently in racially desegregated schools. Although Indian pupils were also disadvantaged compared to white pupils, their educational situation was far improved as compared to the education the African pupils were subjected to. Therefore a constant comparison between the history of education for White and African children is imperative to show the widest discrepancy in education between race groups in SA.

2.2 Education in the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Periods (1880-1910)

Education in the Pre-Colonial Period was not formalised although education did occur in communities. During the Dutch regime, African pupils in the few formal schools that were in existence were subjected to learning religious content for conformity and obedience to the values of the dominant group in society. Racially segregated education and education based on social class had its roots in the Colonial period (1815-1910). With British

control, English was emphasised as the language of instruction despite it not being the home language of the African child. This has remained largely unchanged today in the schools in the present study. The majority of African pupils who speak Zulu most often at school and outside school are formally educated in the medium of English. In the Colonial period, different people had different access to education in a society where race and social class, were superimposed. For example, lower class Whites and African people were often educated in the same mission schools. People in both racial groups belonging to middle-class families attended private schools. This was a result of secondary education not being free. Education was thus a form of perpetuating social inequalities.

The shift from the emphasis on social class to racial segregation in education between 1940 and 1980 began with the discovery of the economic potential of the country. Education for Africans was 'to produce a sufficiently docile, colonised population to prevent the emergence of an outright political challenge to the status quo, yet at the same time there is a demand for appropriate 'manpower' for ever-increasing mechanisation and technological sophistication' (Kallaway, 1984: 8). The period between the 1940's and 1980's showed clearly the resultant segregation and unequal education in South Africa.

2.3 Segregated Education in SA from 1910-1990

Education from 1910 was provincially controlled and administered. Education developed along lines of social class and race. For Whites, education was free and compulsory. Africans still attended missionary schools that received no funding. Education for Africans

was not compulsory. Thus material conditions and the quality of teachers at schools for Africans were poor. Again, we see the inequalities between the Africans and Whites broadening. Most African pupils did not attend school as a result of economic constraints. In 1948, the National Party (NP) government came into power and brought with it stringent laws of segregation that ensured that black and white people live and develop separately. This was called the policy of 'Apartheid'. The 1913 Land Act was passed as a basis for 'homeland' or 'bantustan' policy where the African population lived in rural townships far removed from areas of White settlement. Until the end of NP rule in 1994, the homelands, which were still strictly in existence, were characterised by a poor infrastructure and many socio-economic problems. The majority of African pupils in the present study come from township areas in Kwa-Zulu, which was a homeland in the province of Natal.

Many Education Acts were passed along lines of race. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed. All schools for Africans had to be registered with the government who dictated education policy. The Bantu Education Act was part of the Bantu Authorities Act, the aim of which was to 're-establish tribalism in the midst of industrialism' (Tabata, 1958: 7). It was geared to create a subordinate group to serve the needs of capitalism. 'Not only would blacks learn the skills necessary for the participation in the capitalist mode of production; they will also acquire, through the particular form of schooling provided for Blacks, an ideological orientation geared towards appropriate work attitudes such as diligence and punctuality, the operation of the colour-cast system, and their

subordinate position in the school relations of dominance and subordination in South Africa' (Christie and Collins, 1984: 169). This confirmed inferior education for Africans, that manifested itself in the curriculum, inferior school buildings, equipment, textbooks, facilities, training for teachers and thus the quality of teachers.

There was inequitable funding in education between the Whites and Africans. 'It is self evident that the quality of schooling provided for blacks could not equal that provided for Whites' (Christie and Collins, 1984: 181). The vast discrepancies in the funding of education of the different racial groups was in existence till 1994. Even the syllabi for African pupils were inferior so that they were not intellectually equipped to challenge the system of injustice. Verwoed, the Minister of Education in 1956, aimed, in the quality and type of education planned for Africans, to keep them docile, defenceless, vote-less, unskilled, menial workers. Education was based on the principles of Christian National Education (CNE). African pupils were schooled in English and indoctrinated in western history and culture.

Education leading up to the 1980's gave rise to 17 education departments, ideologically stereotyped along lines of race and ethnicity. These include the House of Delegates (HOD), the House Of Representatives (HOR), the House of Assembly (HOA) and the Department of Education and Training (DET) responsible for the administration and control of Indians, Coloureds, Whites and Africans respectively. The matriculation results of pupils in the different departments bear testimony to the vast disparities that persisted in

education. According to Hartshorne (1992: 67), the period 1980 to 1989 show that matriculation passes of African pupils decreased from 52.4% to 41.8%. Of this, matriculation exemption passes decreased from 14.9% in 1980 to 10.2% in 1989. Failure increased from 47.6% in 1980 to 58.2% in 1989. Of those who passed, 56.2% passed at the lowest level possible in 1989. The matriculation pass rates in the different racial departments also show major discrepancies in the variables influencing educational outcomes: In 1989, 41.8% of African pupils passed, 72.6% Coloured, 93.6% Indians and 96% Whites passed. The low pass rates of African pupils reveal vast injustices that they were subjected to in the education system in the apartheid era.

The dire shortage of teachers in DET schools was evident in the large teacher-pupil ratios. In 1991/2, there were only 0,25 million African teachers to 2,5 million African pupils in secondary schools. Discrepancies in the per capita expenditure on education per pupil per race also revealed vast inequalities in opportunities offered to the African child as compared to the white child with R1248 and R4448 allocated respectively' (The Central Statistical Service, 1993: 9). Hartshorne summed up his perceptions on secondary education for African pupils by stating , 'There can be no question as to the accuracy of describing secondary schooling as being in a state of crisis' (Hartshorne, 1992: 109).

The on-going crisis in African education could, therefore, largely be attributed to the discrepancies in the different departments that led to unequal and unfair opportunities in education amongst the different racial groupings. It thus becomes clear why African

pupils, in growing numbers, are seeking enrolment in schools originally administered for other race groups. Many reforms were proposed in response to this crisis in education, but these did not change the racial character of education. 'Reforms such as the 1981 De Lange Commission Report and the 1983 White Paper on the provision of education do not advocate the abandonment of racially differentiated schooling' (Nasson, 1990: 104). These reforms, instead fostered the idea of 'separate but equal education', thus preserving racially-segregated schooling.

2.4 History of racially-desegregated education in South Africa from 1990 to the present.

This period was one of racial-desegregation in schooling. In 1976, demands for racially desegregating schools were initiated by private schools and schools under the control of the Catholic churches. This was a response to the growing crisis in Black education, which culminated in the 1976 Student Revolt in Soweto. It was also a response to schools responding to 'financial exigencies as well, admitting those who could pay to fill places falling vacant due to the falling white population birth rate' (Muller, 1987: 46). This demand was met with much resistance by the state. The state required that they have the prerogative to grant permission, via the respective provincial departments, for Black pupils to attend private schools. 'By 1977, there were only 200 pupils in white private schools' (Muller, 1987: 39). In the 1980's, the state imposed racial quotas for admission of Black pupils to private schools. The state stipulated in the Private Schools Act of 1986 that 'all white private schools were to re-register with the 'white' department, provided that they had a simple majority of white pupils' (Muller, 1987: 47). The state subsidy to

private schools was to be determined by the racial composition of the school. 'A 45% subsidy would be given to schools that were 90% White and a 15% subsidy to those that were 80% White, and that to qualify for registration at all, schools would have to be at least 70% white' (Christie, 1990: 63). 'The percentage of pupils in private schools in South Africa is approximately 1%. In other words, very few pupils other-than-white children attend private schools, proportionately speaking' (Muller, 1987: 52). This brings into focus the majority of African pupils who were attending public schools. The only option open to them was Bantu education.

In 1985 the government announced plans for a new education act for private schools. Indian and Coloured schools began admitting pupils from other race groups on a limited scale. This was a response to a foreseeable change in public schooling that was still segregated along racial lines. Reforms to racially-desegregate schools were also a response to concerns similar to that raised by Van Zijl, Executive Director of the Education Foundation who said, 'estimates indicate that there will be a shortage of more than 500 000 skilled workers by the year 2000 - professional, technical, highly skilled, executive and managerial - and a surplus of 2,4 million unskilled workers' (Race Relations Survey : 1992/ 1993). There have been many attempts at reforming education in South Africa from 1990 onwards. Such reforms include the Clase Proposals on the Models of Schooling (1990) by the Department of National Education, The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) (1992) by The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), The Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) (1992) by the NP government, The

ANC Policy Framework for Education and Training (1994), the White Paper on Education and Training in a Democratic South Africa (1995), and the latest White Paper on the Organisation, Governance and Funding of schools (1996), by the Department of Education under the control of the ANC government.

Proposals in each document include many and varied aspects of education, but only those relevant to this study will be described and analysed. This will be done in the context of the broad ideology of 'equity in education for all' and the inclusion of the demand of the progressive education movement of 'transforming the educational system to redress apartheid inequalities and increase access to education for all South Africans' (Carrim and Sayed, 1992: 29).

2.4.1 Clase's proposed models of schooling (1990)

The proposed models of schooling by the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Piet Clase, were introduced in 1990. This was the first attempt to racially-desegregate schools in SA. This reform was primarily a response to the threat of closure of many White state- schools as a result of decreasing numbers of White pupils. 'White school enrolments over recent years have reflected a progressive decline which has resulted in an oversupply of a minimum of 287 387 places in White schools in 1991. In addition, as many as 203 White schools have been closed in the last ten years (47 during 1990 alone)' (Metcalfé, 1991: XI). The differences amongst the models lie in the funding and the bodies responsible for the management of the school. In the Model A or the

private school option, a subsidy of 45% of operating expenses is granted by the state. Therefore considerable financial contributions in the form of tuition fees is required of parents. Admission to Model A schools is thus based solely on affordability, that is the social class to which one belongs. Other criteria such as previous performance of pupils gaining admission to these schools are specific to each school concerned. Model B is the state school with an open admission policy. Thus, pupils of all racial and social groupings are eligible for admission. Model C is a state-aided or semi-private school option, receiving 75% from the state towards the school's operating expenses. Substantial amounts, as compared to fee contributions made in public schools, in the form of fees also contribute to the school fund. Admission to Model C schools is thus based on affordability and the individual governing body's admission policy on race. By the end of 1991, Model D was introduced. This was like Model B but with no restrictions on the number of Black pupils gaining admission. Parents of existing state schools had to vote to adopt one of the proposed models.

At the beginning of 1992, 98% of historically-white schools had opted for Model B. Only 2% voted for Model C. All schools were subsequently forced to adopt the Model C option as the government stated that it could no longer finance white education as before. This move had immediate financial implications for parents admitting their pupils to Model C schools. 'Although the Model C conversion appears to be an attempt at equalisation, they ensure the maintenance of white privileges in education' (Carrim and Sayed, 1992: 29). The shift from race to social class in White public schools has been

made. This resulted in 'less than 0.01% of African school-goers being admitted in white schools' (Morrell, 1991: 65).

Various conditions were laid down for admission to Model C schools. There must be a majority of 51% white pupils, thus limiting the possibility of an influx of Black pupils. The cultural ethos of the school had to be maintained. No changes will be made to the curricula 'which are not only Eurocentric but biased towards Afrikaner nationalism and white supremacy in general' (Carrim and Mkwanazi, 1992: 182). This is unlike private schools which are 'allowed a greater degree of autonomy in respect of staffing, teaching methodology and content, all of which need to adapt and change somewhat in response to integration' (Bot, 1990: 76). Therefore 'students and parents may be incorporated into the values and cultural ethos of the white schools' (Carrim and Sayed, 1991: 24). This may have implications for the performance of pupils coming from schools controlled by education departments other than White.

What is evident in Clase's proposals is what Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992:174) describe as 'modern racism' where 'people use non race-related reasons to continue to deny blacks access to opportunities' (1992: 174). This is re-iterated in the statement that 'the Model C conversions attempt to place class at the centre of the stage while deracialising educational provision. In this way, inequality is perpetuated in the name of 'choice' and 'democracy' (Carrim and Sayed, 1991: 29).

2.4.2 The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI)-1992 and The Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS)-1992 Policy documents.

These policy documents were drawn up by the NECC, and the state respectively. Relevant proposals in these documents will be discussed concurrently as they refer to similar contexts. There are areas of similarities and differences in these documents, both of which will be discussed in terms of how they deal with racial desegregation and equality.

There is agreement on the issue of deracialisation in education and the establishment of a unitary system of education. They differ, however, on the mechanisms for implementing this change. The ERS proposes decentralised control for varying aspects of control and autonomy. This is in keeping with the Clase Models of schooling where school management councils could determine, amongst others, the criteria for admissions, the appointment of teachers and the medium of instruction, thus maintaining once again the dominant culture of the school. NEPI includes local control emanating from non-governmental organisations and civil society at large. This is aimed at eliminating the previously racially constituted departmental bodies of control, thus allowing equal access for all.

NEPI focused on the principle redistribution of finance where the privileged White community who would have to contribute more to the greater schooling costs. Policy options for NEPI included expansion and desegregation of formerly White schools,

subsidised transport for Black pupils travelling long distances from school and greater subsidisation to schools in low-income areas. This is to lessen the financial burdens felt by parents of the majority of African pupils.

The ERS proposes equal expenditure for all pupils up to standard seven. This does not cater for or redress financial imbalances that have existed in education amongst the race groups. As late as the end of 1991, 'every white child received a R 4103 state subsidy while every black child received R 777,73 and R 1560,47 in primary and secondary schools respectively' (Carrim and Sayed, 1992: 28).

Both agree on the revision of the curriculum to cater for pupils entering the job market at different points of exit. To date, the emphasis in township schools was on subjects like history, geography and agricultural science. These choices were limited and thus did not allow African pupils the opportunity to enter the technical, commercial and science fields in the job market. The Research Institute for Education Planning in 1990 indicates differences in subjects chosen at the matriculation level by Indian and African pupils. These differences are highlighted in the table that follows.

Table 2.1: Subjects chosen at the matriculation level by Indian and African pupils

Subject Orientation	Indian Pupils-Percentage	African Pupils-Percentage
Technical	12	0.4
Commerce	92	22
Science - Physical Science	40	16
Mathematics	69	27

NEPI proposes a high level of general education with a balance between the academic and vocational in the senior secondary phase. The ERS proposes that vocational education be introduced earlier in the school career. Academic education thereafter will not be free. Vocational education will be subsidised by the state. Again we see the class-based nature of education re-iterated. This means that the majority of African pupils will not be able to afford an academic education and will thus follow the vocational path, thus entrenching a social class bias in society along lines of race. There will not be much change in educational outcomes with respect to the majority of African pupils. They will, as a result of not being able to afford academic education, follow the path of technical education. A change in curriculum in this way will not mean that the majority of African pupils will be given the opportunity to follow professional careers.

With respect to the medium of instruction, NEPI considers a bilingual approach whereby

there is a gradual change from the mother tongue to English. The ERS proposes the introduction of three languages: English, Afrikaans and a regionally dominant indigenous language, but the choice of the medium of instruction should be the decision of each school. With the 51% White majority population in schools proposed in the Clase Models, it is clear that there is no possibility of an indigenous or African language being made the medium of instruction. Although desegregation has found its place in legislation, it would not mean much change for the majority of African pupils, as language will, in most cases, be retained. Again, they will still be learning through the medium of what may be a second language for them. Therefore, although there are some similarities between the policies, differences lie in the mechanisms intended by which 'equity' is to be achieved.

2.4.3 ANC Policy Framework for Education and Training -January 1994

The ANC policy framework for education and training is a culmination of work by policy forums over the previous three years or more, based on the vision enclosed in the Freedom Charter of the ANC : 'The doors of learning and culture shall be open to all.' It is the basis from which strategies for change can be initiated. 'The document rests on a substantial process of policy discussion, much broader than the former government's 'ERS' and is significantly more concrete than the democratic movement's NEPI in its proposals' (Greenstein, et al, 1994: 83).

The main point stressed in the document is the link between education, training and the economy in the restructuring of education. The new emphasis will thus be the inclusion of

vocational education in the curriculum. This was a proposal made by the ANC Government in the ERS proposal. But in doing this, 'the focus appears to be on structures rather than the content of education and training and leads to an underplaying of policies and strategies to address racism, sexism and authoritarian control' (Greenstein, et al, 1994: 83). Therefore, exactly how the curriculum will change to accommodate learners from all races and cultural groups will have to be addressed. Policies also need to address the means by which a culture of learning can be restored.

This document places emphasis on the unitary control of education to ease out imbalances in education but it overlooks the vast inequalities that exist on a local scale. For example, different areas in Kwa- Zulu Natal show vast disparities in education. Examples include areas like Durban-North as opposed to Kwa-Mashu, both in reasonable proximity to each other. Although it is important to address racial imbalances nation-wide, the distribution of resources to establish equity locally is also of utmost importance. 'The achievement of equity in spending between provinces and formerly white and black schools is anticipated in a plan prepared by the National Department of Education. This plan envisages a shift of spending from white to black children by about 15% by the end of 1996' (Chisholm, 1995: 3). Therefore, local intervention in education needs to be stressed.

The education budget is addressed. Equal state subsidies to all children in all schools are proposed. This implies immediately that the gap between the privileged and the not-so-privileged in gaining access to all schools will be narrowed. But, 'it leaves open the

possibility of privileged parents paying for schooling over and above the basic state subsidy, and the use of user fees as a mechanism for preserving white educational exclusivity and privilege' (Greenstein, et al, 1994: 84). The majority of African pupils who come from the lower social classes in society may not be able to afford quality education.

The question of language is still a contentious issue. The ANC Policy Framework proposes different options on the premise that no child is refused permission on the basis of language proficiency. It proposes the use of a wider language, like English or Zulu, whether it is the home language of the learners or not. Secondly, it proposes the use of the home language of the majority of learners at the school, without discriminating against those who speak a different language at home, and thirdly, the use of different languages for different subjects so that parallel classes could be run for different sets of learners.

The third option, however, has implications of teacher expertise and budgetary constraints apart from the physical practicalities involved in implementing this system. The second option opens itself to criticism as indigenous languages have not evolved or developed enough to accommodate the terminology of the sciences, which have developed in the English language. This implies that pupils will not be able to compete on an equal basis in the world of work, again perpetuating inequalities of ethnicity and race.

Nevertheless, the ANC Policy Framework for Education and Training shows evidence of a vision of education that is anti-racist and anti-sexist in its goals. This document has

formed the basis of the formulations in the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme for education.

2.4.4 The White Paper on Education and Training in a Democratic South Africa (1995)

The White Paper is an official statement issued by the Department of Education, as well as the most recent re-working of the ideas and policies developed by the democratic movement since the days of NEPI. The first draft of this document was released in September 1994 with the final version released in February 1995. Despite the document's claim to the rejection of all race laws and restrictions on the access of pupils at schools of their choice, there were many associated problems. The problem of space was encountered in many schools and pupils had to be accommodated where possible. The availability of adequate stationery was also a problem in many schools. The meaning of 'free and compulsory' education also raised much confusion amongst African parents whose children were refused access to public schools because fees could not be paid. The Minister of Parliament for the Democratic Party in the Western Cape said, 'no child should be put under pressure if the parent cannot pay the fees' (EPU Quarterly Review, 1995: 9). In the Gauteng province, Mary Metcalfe said that no child should be refused admission to state schools or victimised in any way for non-payment of a voluntary school-fee. (EPU Quarterly Review, 1995: 9). Fees at Model C schools was still a contentious issue.

The issue of curriculum change was certainly addressed more closely with attention paid to language, the coverage of subjects, criteria for promotion and relevance in the job market. It is required that pupils of all races study the same core syllabus. Afrikaans is no longer a compulsory language to be studied. Any of the eleven official languages of the country may be used as mediums of instructions. Standard two to four pupils will have to study at least two of the official languages.

The curriculum, with special reference to the subject matter, will cater for all cultural experiences that were previously neglected. Various subject committees have been formed to address the need for changing content and approaches in most other subjects to accommodate the majority of African pupils from DET schools who were only exposed to Euro-centric values inherent in the curriculum.

Promotion in secondary education will be based on continuous assessment of various aspects of the pupils' performance throughout the year rather than on examinations only. This then allows pupils, especially those who have had an inferior education, to be promoted rather than failed as was previously the practice. Vocational training will be an option from standard seven onwards. With changes in curriculum, related problems such as relevant textbooks, costs involved in the production of books in different languages and the redistribution of human resources to cater for changes made to cater for all language groups will have to be seriously considered.

New initiatives have been undertaken to cater for imbalances that have characterised the public education system in the past. Two initiatives of relevance are programmes aimed at the upgrading of the scientific and mathematical abilities of disadvantaged children, and the developing of a culture of teaching and learning in schools. Both these issues were ignored in previous education policies. These initiatives will help bridge the gap of racial inequalities in education that has existed. What remains is the effective implementation of policies outlined in this document. The absence of this implementation strategy was criticised by Essop, director of the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD). He viewed the White Paper as 'just another stage in the on-going contest over the transformation of the education system' (EPU Quarterly Review, 1995: 3). The success of the implementation of these proposals, together with the clarification of contentious issues, should have implications for improvement in educational performance of pupils who were previously disadvantaged. The White Paper on Education and Training in a Democratic SA proposed that a committee be set up to recommend a new pattern of school organisation, governance and funding to directly address the issue of equal access to education for all. This committee was under the chairmanship of Professor Peter Hunter and was commonly referred to as 'The Hunter Report'.

2.4.5 The Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools-Education White Paper 2 (1996)

When considering the structure for a new system, the Report acknowledged the differences in the current pattern of education. It lists such matters as 'racism, inequity,

administrative inefficiency, lack of democracy and weakness of governance structures' (Kies, 1996: 5). Two basic categories of schooling were proposed: Public schools and independent schools. This report on education, thus far, seems to be the most practical proposal for redressing inequalities in education.

Proposals are based on a close consideration of discrepancies in the funding of education in different racial groups over time. Increased power is accorded to the community, including parents, teachers and parents. Their interests in improving the schools for optimum gain will be their investment in the school. Funding will also be an important consideration in bringing about equality in access to education. The governing body in a school will determine matters such as the maintenance of buildings, the purchase of textbooks, materials and equipment, and water and electricity accounts. They will also make recommendations to the provincial education department on the appointment of teachers. Fund-raising will be the responsibility of the school and their respective committees. Governing bodies will also decide on matters including the school's mission, goals and objectives, school budget priorities, subject choices and the curricula. Since this body will consist of people from the community wanting to serve the best interests of the community, decisions about curricula, etc will be in the best interests of the pupils. Prejudice along racial and social class lines will be reduced greatly to the advantage of the pupils.

Allowance in funding is made for affirmative action and redressing inequalities in the funding of education to each child and each individual school. 'The equitable school-based approach starts from the premise that efficiency can best be achieved through purposeful and concerted efforts to raise the level of quality in the system overall, but particularly to the under-resourced schools' (Kies, 1996: 6). Provisions for well-resourced schools will be reduced. Further allocations will be made for reconstruction and development improvement in previously disadvantaged areas once these funds could be used to deliver additional funds from reconstruction and development programmes and international donors.

Staffing in respect of qualifications and expertise will also have to be considered when attempting to bring about equity in education for all races. Incentives will have to be provided to promote the redistribution of teachers to areas lacking qualified teachers. This means that many teachers from the education departments that were administered by the HOA, HOD and HOR will have to be deployed to areas of schooling controlled by the DET and the Kwa-Zulu Department of Education in Natal.

Additional taxes and contributions by parents will have to cover the operating costs of schools and close the gap between areas of differing needs. The amount of fees payable will be determined by the income of the parents. The remainder in need will be obtained by the state as a state subsidy. For example, if a poor school raises 5% of what is needed for operating costs of the school, the state will have to subsidise it by 95%. Likewise, if a

school raises 95%, the state will subsidise it with 5%. This approach will ensure that free and compulsory education is available to all by allowing access and equal opportunity to all children, irrespective of race or social class. Funding in this way should determine equity in the funding of education.

The principles of administrative justice and a culture of community responsibility are stressed in this report. With the recommendations in the Hunter Report in practice, there should be equal access to schools for all. Opportunities for equal educational outcomes should also be equitable so that, children from all races and all social class groups have an equal chance of success in the school system.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON RACE, CLASS AND EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

Many research studies have been conducted on factors explaining underachievement in education of oppressed race and ethnic-minority groups of pupils in desegregated schools in several countries. The United States of America (USA), Britain and, more recently, South Africa (SA), have been the focus of educational research on ethnic and racially-desegregated schooling. In the present study, African pupils were the most disadvantaged as compared to the other race groups in SA. Their disadvantaged position, arising from various factors, has had an influence on their performance in the schools in the present study, and similar such schools.

Race and social class, are important aspects to be reviewed in the present study. Different races are also distinguished by different cultural backgrounds such as the language spoken. This could have implications for African pupils attending schools previously allocated for Indian pupils only and presently staffed by Indian teachers. This is a result of the juxtaposition of different cultural backgrounds of the African pupils, and the Indian teachers and pupils, with both racial groups interacting in the same context. Studies, which will be discussed below, have also shown that the social class to which pupils belong also predisposes them to different educational outcomes. Therefore, the effect of race and social class on academic performance of pupils will be discussed in this chapter, with specific reference to the historical background of schooling of the different race groups, differences in cultural backgrounds and social class related differences. Relevant national and international studies will be reviewed. In the

past, research in South Africa was conducted on what was generally referred to as 'open', 'mixed' or 'multi-racial' schooling. This was confined primarily to private schools, which opened doors to all races in 1976. Such studies include those cited in Freer (1991). They are by Christie (1990), Gaganakis (1990), Freer and Christie (1990) and Lit (199), all cited in Freer (1991). It must be noted that the reference to 'open', 'mixed' or 'multi-racial' schooling is referred to as 'racially-desegregated' schooling in this study.

With the implementation of reforms to racially-desegregate public schooling in the 1990's, research included both structural and interpretive approaches to the study of open schools. Studies with a structural approach include those by Bot (1990), Metcalfe(1991), Morrell (1991), Carrim and Sayed (1991, 1992), Carrim and Mkwanaazi (1992), Chetty , Chisholm and Mkwanaazi (1993) and Greenstein and Tikly (1994). Few interpretive studies in the form of case studies were conducted on perceptions of performance. One such study was that by Bhana (1994). A study of close relevance to the present study is that by Penny, et al (1993). These studies focused on perceptions of pupils on issues pertaining to a racially-mixed schooling context. A study similar in nature to the present study is that of Frederikse (1994) who documented perceptions of pupils in racially-desegregated schools in Zimbabwe, a country with similar political and educational experiences as South Africa.

Racial segregation in schools also occurred in Britain and USA, although not as a result of legislation. The experiences of Black or ethnic minority pupils do not relate directly to the

educational experiences of African pupils in South Africa. A major difference lies in the composition of the Black-White population. In South Africa, the African population forms the majority of the population whereas in the USA and Britain, the Blacks form the minority population group. But they are also similar as desegregation in South African, state or public schools is occurring at a pace so that, in most schools, the number of African pupils are still in the minority in classrooms and in schools. Studies on racial desegregation in Britain and the USA are vast and numerous. Some well-known studies include broad government enquiries such as those by the Rampton Committee (1981), the Swann Committee in Britain (1985), Troyna and Williams (1986), Gillborn (1990) and Grant (1992). Many of these research studies are based on performances of Black and/or ethnic minority pupils. A review of relevant aspects of these studies will be undertaken in the course of this chapter.

3.2 Studies on racially-desegregated private schools

Studies by Christie (1990), Gaganakis (1990) and Lit (1991), all cited in Freer (1991), focus broadly on racial mixing as a function of integration of African pupils into racially mixed schools. Freer and Christie (1990), cited in Freer (1991) examined the means of upward mobility for African pupils in a racially desegregated school with a White majority population.

Christie's study (1990), examines the pupils' perceptions of race and social change as expressed by senior pupils. A questionnaire was administered to 2813 standard nine and

ten pupils in forty- two Catholic open schools. Of these, eighty-five standard nine pupils were interviewed. This study discusses pupils' views on racial interaction, the main focus of the study. The majority of pupils were opposed to segregation and supportive of mixing. Views were expressed, however, on the difficulty of races interacting outside the school context. This was a result of the different areas from which the pupils of different races came. Racism and prejudice also affected racial mixing outside school. 'Sometimes the constraints on friendships lay less in the structures of segregation than in the ideology of social acceptability' (Christie, 1990: 69). The proportion of the composition of Black to White pupils also influenced pupils' perceptions on racial mixing. Black enrolments of over 35% received less positive views amongst white pupils on racial mixing. Although overall racial mixing was favoured, the proportion of Black to White affected perceptions of racial mixing in schools. Racial mixing or socialisation is important as it could develop the pupils' confidence so that they perform well. This study is similar to the present study, as the African population is the minority population in the school.

Gaganakis (1990), cited in Freer (1991), used an ethnographic approach in her study of black minority pupils in the elite private schools in Johannesburg in 1987. Gaganakis used the concept 'black' to mean 'African'. She examined the concepts of 'exclusionary' and 'usurpationary'. A questionnaire was administered to 38 pupils in six schools. This represented 50% of the black pupil population in these schools at the time of the study. Thirty pupils were interviewed around issues of concern over the present political situation, pupils' feelings of isolation within the home community and at school. An

analysis of interviews and data from questionnaires categorised pupils into two categories- 'usurpatory' and 'exclusionary'.

'Usurpatory' in that as Blacks, they are part of an exclusionary and subordinate social category, and their attendance at private schools is usurpatory in that they try to aspire to the same kinds of benefits and resources as held by the dominant group' (Gaganakis, 1990: 79), cited in Freer (1991). Pupils in this group conform to White cultural values as a response to them being the disadvantaged minority in that school. Pupils expressed in the interviews, 'an abiding faith in the meritocracy: competitiveness, individual achievement and earned status through 'hard work' (Gaganakis, 1990: 79). They want empowerment for individual upward mobility, not to challenge the relations of power for the Black disadvantaged as a group. The majority of pupils in the present study also associate with Indian pupils in class and during breaks. Socialisation also enables them to obtain assistance with their academic work.

Being part of the exclusionary group means being in a world of constraints where one is excluded from gaining access to resources and political power as a result of being black. Pupils were categorised as belonging to this group as their responses indicated that the vast difference between Black and White lies in their different worlds of experience. This is obvious of pupils in the present study in the world of the township from which they come and the world of the school to which they go. This has implications for compromises and contradictions experienced by pupils in racially-mixed classrooms.

Pupils in the present study can also be considered the 'exclusionary group' as the majority of them live in townships far from most Indian pupils who live in close proximity to the schools in the study. There are no libraries in the townships and they are not easily accessible to libraries in other areas. Therefore they do not socialise with Indian pupils other than within the confines of the schools in the study. This leads to feelings of insecurity and possibly a feeling of being part of the 'exclusionary' group. This could lead to them to perform not in accordance with their abilities, as they are not confident enough to feel that they are part of the school.

It was found that pupils also have to experience a difficult transition from Bantu Education to a qualitatively different and privileged education in a private school. Gaganakis explains the different problems of language and racial acceptance of Black pupils. In schools, pupils feel free from the threat of exclusion, that is, Bantu Education and the poor home conditions. They feel free to mix with all races. The distances that pupils of different racial groups live from each other is a constraint to them mixing socially with one another. The researcher concludes on a pessimistic note saying that 'it does not seem that the school's output will represent a threat to the present system of inequalities. It merely allows a handful of Blacks to move upwards in the existing system' (Gaganakis, 1990: 91).

Freer and Christie (1990), cited in Freer (1991), explored the opinions of 521 standard ten pupils in eight private schools in the Transvaal region with a predominantly White

population. This study focuses indirectly on pupils' performance where African pupils strive to perform well by either conforming to White cultural values. Thus, racial mixing is found to be an important aspect of pupil performance. Pupils need to feel 'included' and 'integrated' in racially desegregated schools. The fact that they were an excluded group politically could make them more vulnerable to feelings of insecurity. This could have implications for performance.

Like the findings of Christie's study (1990), cited in Freer (1991), it was found that schools with a predominant White population were less in favour of change in the status quo of the school than schools with a predominantly Black population. Black pupils commented more favourably on cross-race friendships and on the development of interaction between racial groups. It was found that White pupils 'were not mixing at a social level with their black peers...black pupils have not been straightforwardly socialized into becoming 'token whites' and they displayed a rather more radical set of opinions than did white pupils, irrespective of the schools in which they were enrolled' (Christie, 1990: 121). Overall, the findings showed that White pupils were less positive on issues of racial mixing than were Black pupils. This study, as with the previous ones discussed, does not mention the effect of racial mixing on performance of African pupils. The present study also focuses on racial mixing and attitudes of pupils and teachers towards African pupils in racially desegregated schools, and its effect on performance. These factors of racial mixing and socialisation are indicators of the level of interaction that occurs on an academic level between pupils of different racial groups. If racial mixing is poor, then it is

unlikely that African pupils are receiving help with academic work and this has implications for their performance as a minority group.

Lit (1991), cited in Freer (1991) also conducted a study on social interaction in private non-racial schools making use of qualitative and quantitative data. Although Lit's study focuses on the primary school as opposed to the present study which focuses on secondary- school pupils' perceptions, it nevertheless provides valuable insight into racial mixing that gives rise to social patterns in a racially-mixed context. It was found that generally pupils chose companions in class of the same population group as themselves although there was racial mixing at times. This was the pattern during break times also. But pupils were less rigid here as they showed patterns of playing with whoever was available during this time even though they were not considered friends. There was even greater mixing on the sports-field. 'African pupils had a low work companion status and a higher sports team member status' (Lit, 1991: 129), cited in Freer (1991). It could thus be argued that because African pupils were not particularly successful in their schoolwork, they were not often chosen as work companions. The poor academic performance of African pupils could also be the cause of pupils of other race groups not interacting with them in the classroom. On the other hand, pupils of other race groups who perform well in sport feel solidarity with African pupils who play sport well. In this way, African pupils are not adequately assisted in the classroom for them to perform well or for their performance to improve.

Home companions, on the other hand, were mostly of the same racial group. This was largely due to the separate residential areas. This out of school social pattern is similar to the findings in the previous studies reviewed. What is clear from the studies reviewed is that integration of Black pupils in schools that were historically designed for the white elite was not without problems. This was the product of factors such as the previous education of the pupil, exclusionary factors as outlined by Gaganakis, the social image of mixing racially out of school, the separate residential areas from which pupils from different racial groups came and language proficiency of pupils of different race groups. This has implications for the self-esteem of African pupils and thus their performance against pupils of race groups historically characterised as being privileged. Recognition by peers, who come from the majority race group, as equals in the academic field is an important factor in motivating and encouraging African pupils to perform well. Interaction on the playground or the sports-field is also a means of acceptance of African pupils into the White or Indian-dominated ethos of the school. It promotes a feeling of solidarity and thus an increase in self-confidence through a sense of belonging to an institution that sees all as equal, thus promoting an equal chance for all to perform well.

3.3 Structural approaches to research studies on racial desegregation in state schools in South Africa

Structural approaches to research studies on racial desegregation focused on reforms to bring about 'equality for all in education' and its implications. Bot (1990) examined factors upon which the success of integration depends. She concluded that integration must occur

voluntarily, educational standards must be maintained and factors of socio-economic status, parental involvement, curriculum development and the role of interest groups must be considered.

Carrim and Mkwanaazi (1992) highlighted problems evident in open schools. They examine how 'modern racism' has manifested itself in open schools since 1990. They define 'modern racism' as 'when people use non race-related reasons to continue to deny blacks equal access to opportunity. Modern racism is not explicit, not obvious' (Carrim and Mkwanaazi, 1992: 174). In this study, modern racism is identified in the form of teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions or the lack of interactions across races on these levels. Racist perceptions of teachers towards black pupils only 'produce disillusionment and trauma among black students, resulting, at times, in failure or dropping out' (Carrim and Mkwanaazi, 1992: 184). This is seen as not promoting successful desegregation. 'This does not help to desegregate teaching and learning effectively' (Carrim and Mkwanaazi, 1992: 184). 'Modern racism' has surfaced in some schools where criteria such as language proficiency and poor results have prevented African pupils from gaining admission in schools similar to those in the present study. In the present study, racial attitudes of teachers and pupils were examined for their effect on performance.

Morrell (1991) also identifies racist practices in racially desegregated education which he says need to be addressed concretely. He points to the 'need for central government to initiate changes in curriculum development funding and the establishment of units and

governing structures to assist in the implementation of the programme' (Morrell, 1991: 66). Curriculum development is an important aspect to be considered so as to accommodate the different cultural groups in school. This has implications for their grasp of subject matter. The present study is also concerned with the pupils' grasp of subject-matter, its relevance to their lives, and their understanding of teacher - explanations. These factors are examined for their effect on performance.

Morrell calls for active participation of parents and teachers at the local level. He stressed that 'anti-racist teaching and a culture of tolerance will have to be developed' (Morrell, 1991: 67). This is to ensure that anti-racist schooling is promoted. This is important for the self-image of the African pupil so that his performance could be influenced positively. Much of Morrell's observations arise from his examination of the British experience of racial desegregation or what he refers to as 'deracialisation'.

Much research has been focused on the Clase Models of schooling in the role to desegregate schools successfully. It is clear that the models have many shortcomings as discussed in Chapter Two. Bot (1990), Metcalfe (1991), Carrim and Sayed (1991) and Carrim and Mkwana (1992), amongst others, levy criticisms against this system of schooling. Metcalfe (1991:XI) concluded that 'the Clase models do not constitute a significant move towards the removal of race as a criterion of access to education, neither can they in any way be interpreted as a significant response by the present government to the crisis of underprovision of education for black South Africans.' Carrim and Sayed

(1991) say that Model C schools are a mere shift from the emphasis on race to social class, still keeping 'white domination and privilege, in the main, separate from black education' (p 22). They also point to the financial constraints that limit the number of black children eligible to enter these schools. Carrim and Mkwana (1992) attribute 'modern racism' to the non- success of the reform of Models of schooling. It is a means of exclusion rather than the integration of pupils in a racially-mixed context. This determines the self-image of African pupils as they are 'excluded', even further from the racially mixed schooling context. Initial exclusion was initiated by the apartheid ideology of racially separate schools.

Chetty and Chisholm (1993) examined the similarities and differences between the ERS and NEPI documents and their individual contributions to the ideal of 'equality.' Greenstein and Tikly (1994) critically analysed proposals of the White Paper on Education and Training (1994). A critical analysis of these documents was presented in the previous chapter.

3.4 Interpretive approaches to research studies on racial-desegregation in state schools in South Africa

Few known interpretive studies were conducted on state schools in South Africa where pupils and / or teachers participated directly by responding to questionnaires, participating in interviews or being subjects in case studies.

Penny, et al (1993), examined racial integration in schools in the Pietermaritzburg area in Natal. Twenty five high school principals of former White, Coloured and Indian - administered schools were interviewed over a period of three weeks, on issues pertaining to the intake of African pupils into their schools.

Principals in the study welcomed racial integration and most expressed the 'ideology of racelessness' (Penny, et al, 1993: 417). They also acknowledged problems of poor results amongst African pupils entering these schools. Some problems were African pupils 'struggling with concepts in science and geography' (p. 417), and the 'standard of African pupils, especially in English, as low' (p. 424). The rigid curriculum also posed a problem. The central tension was between 'curriculum maintenance' and 'curriculum change'. Schools previously controlled by the HOD in the study required pupils to repeat the academic year if they performed poorly. Few principals acknowledged the difference between the new school environment and the township environment from which many African pupils came.

In a predominantly Indian school (Pinewood), examination results in March 1991 were disastrous. This was addressed by including an extra period in the timetable for tutorials in subjects that were generally problematic. This showed somewhat improved results in the following examination, but what was clear was a need for a new social order in schools.

Schools in the study concluded that change is necessary and inevitable. But change was

perceived differently by twenty- five different principals. They suggested bridging modules in English and improving the teaching styles and sensitivities of the staff. A few schools suggested that the curriculum of the schools be changed so that differences in culture, race and class could be accommodated. This means re-assessing the standard to be implemented. Some in the latter group even said that change could not be imposed. Instead, change will occur gradually over time.

Penny, et al, found the common ideology of 'racelessness' held by many principals as 'problematic'. African pupils enter these schools having their own view and purpose of schooling. They lack the linguistic skills and cultural capital needed for success. Subjecting all pupils to a common curriculum is 'a biased form of education...It is loaded in favour of the dominant social group whose culture is institutionalized by the school' (Penny, et al, 1993: 432). Very crudely, this will ensure that the African pupils continue to perform poorly and the dominant race group of that school to thrive; thus perpetuating the inequalities of educational outcome. It was also concluded that schools need to take account of the cultural capital that different groups bring to school.

Bhana (1994) analysed student and teacher responses related to racially- desegregated schools. Bhana (1994) engaged in case study research, exploring teacher perceptions of African pupils in a racially-desegregated school that was historically designed for Indians. She used the concepts of the 'other' and the 'same' to explain the extent of inclusion or exclusion of African pupils by Indian teachers. Ten teachers were the subjects in the case

study over a period of three school terms. She found that African pupils were increasingly - favoured or accepted by Indian teachers if they were similar to them in the use of language, accent , their mannerisms and western approaches of reasoning. 'Certain African pupils are seen to conform when they belong to the same religion, their accents are familiar, they come from Indian feeder schools and therefore have a better command of the English language than those African schools that were not exposed to English medium schools. Teachers are closer to African pupils who talk less in their mother-tongue, their tone and volume of speech are acceptable to the teachers and they use Western reasoning in explaining certain contexts' (Bhana, 1994: 21). It was concluded that 'teachers attempt to create sameness and they react positively when they see more of the same in the other' (Bhana, 1994: 7). Therefore, African pupils are required to conform to the cultural ethos of the school and the teacher. Failure to do so results in subtle practices of exclusion. This has implications for the pupil's eventual adjustment in the school and feelings of compatibility as a learner in that school, thus signalling the possibility of academic success or failure. In the present study, pupils were asked about teacher-attitudes towards them as an influence on their performance. A positive attitude means acceptance, approval and thus integration of pupils into the racially- desegregated context of schooling.

3.5 Research Studies in Britain and USA

The educational context in the USA and Britain are similar to the South African context in that the population comprises of different racial and/or ethnic groupings and have been characterised by a long history of inequalities. Another common factor, at this stage of

racial-desegregation in South Africa, is the racial composition of pupils in schools. In the present study, African pupils are the minority population group in schools historically designed for other racial groups. Experiences of African pupils in SA can then be compared, for purposes of this study, with the minority group schooling experiences in Britain and USA. Thus research findings on performances of black or ethnic minority pupils in USA and Britain can be used to compare performances of African pupils in the context of the present study. Whilst this may be possible, one must also be consciously aware of the differences that exist between the European and South African societies and educational experiences.

An important difference is that ethnic or black racial groups in Britain and the USA are the minority groups, whereas, in SA, the African racial group forms the majority of the country's population. One must also be mindful of the time over which the desegregation experiences spanned in the respective countries. Desegregated education, although unlegislated, began in the USA and Britain in the 1920's and 1940's respectively, although it featured in education policy much later. The long history of desegregated education overseas also accounts for the great deal of research covered on this issue as compared to research in South Africa. Despite this long history, problems of desegregation have not been solved although there is evidence of strategies used to minimise them. Researchers overseas are still examining ways in which the performance of children can be improved, despite racist practices in education.

'Racial segregation in education in the United States was ruled illegal nearly forty years ago. Yet Americans are still searching for ways to ensure that all children have equal educational opportunities' (Frederikse, 1994: 2). The promotion of multi-cultural education and effective ways to implement this is the focus in education overseas, that is, to integrate all racial groups into education so that they have equal opportunities for educational output.

Researchers in this field are then at an advantage in analysing the South African situation as findings on desegregation in the educational context overseas can provide a valuable background for analysis of desegregation experiences and its effects on performance here. Examples of ways this is possible will be discussed in detail. The irrefutable finding that African pupils are not performing on a par with pupils from other racial groups is similar to experiences in Britain and the USA where Black or ethnic minority pupils are not performing on par with their white indigenous counterparts. Most research conducted was based on an analysis of quantitative data with few interpretive studies involving pupils and teachers expressing views on performances of pupils. Nevertheless, more interpretive studies were done in overseas countries than in SA. The perceptions of Black and or ethnic minority pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performance are evident in findings of studies on performance. Research studies in Britain and USA are numerous and vast with comparatively recent studies focusing on multicultural education. Researchers like Verma (1989), Troyna and Williams (1986) and Gillborn (1990), amongst others, have produced valuable insight into performances of pupils. Findings will

be briefly mentioned and, where relevant, discussed in the forthcoming chapters. Very broadly, structural and cultural factors have been identified. These include factors of racism, cultural differences, schooling history and language differences.

3.5.1 Racism

The Swann Committee in Britain in 1985 attributed a great deal of underachievement to both 'structural' and 'institutional' racism. 'Structural racism' is racism induced both politically and economically. 'Institutional racism' is more specific to what happens in the immediate schooling context, that is, racism emanating from ideology and culture. The nature of racism, according to Troyna (1986) could be political and economical - through infrastructural features in society, ideological- through attitudes and stereotyped views instituted in the curriculum, cultural- through values and norms of ethnic groups that are defined illegitimate, and behavioural- through attitudes reflected in behaviour by right-wing groups or individual teachers and department employees.

Political and economic racism arises from the political history to which people have been subjected. 'Suspicion that may exist between indigenous groups and the mainstream society may very well be related to the coloniser / colonised relationship that surrounds their intertwined, painful history' (Ovando, 1990: 295). This is also possible of the feelings of the African population in the present study. How students see themselves fitting into society could have an effect on their academic aspirations. The history of the African population in the political context of apartheid has undoubtedly had an impact on their

roles in society. This was discussed in chapter two. According to Cohen (1975), cited in Rossell (1983), even when Blacks and Whites are accorded equal status and have similar background characteristics, race itself creates the expectations that Whites are more competent.

Ideological racism is manifested in teacher-attitudes and the form of curriculum that operates in schools. The Redbridge CRC Report (1978), in Britain, found that a major contributing cause of the underachievement of Black pupils was 'the existence of racist attitudes and low teacher expectations, manifested in negative stereotypes held by teachers' (cited in Kowalczewski, 1982: 154). This was supported by Klein who concluded that 'Teachers' attitudes and expectations have a powerful effect on pupils' feelings about themselves and their school and may directly determine pupils' educational progress' (Klein, 1993: 128). 'In the final analysis, teachers' perceptions and beliefs could be the contributing factor to either the empowerment or the disabling of minority students' (Nel, 1993: 125).

Cultural Differences perpetuated in the curriculum is another factor that influences performance. The curriculum revolves around issues such as subject matter, language, learning and teaching styles and forms of assessment. There is general agreement by researchers that 'culturally-biased' curricula need to be changed to eliminate prejudice amongst different groups in order to improve the academic achievements of disadvantaged groups. Grant (1992) stressed the importance of 'culturally-relevant'

teaching in affecting performance positively. African pupils in the present study are also prejudiced in the curriculum implemented in schools for other race groups. In schools in the present study and similar such schools, the subject- matter is largely irrelevant to the experiences and culture of the majority of African pupils in these schools. Syllabi are culturally- biased with an emphasis on Euro-centricism. Language is a problem for African pupils. As in the case of British schools admitting children from different ethnic-minority and thus language groups, schools for race groups other than for Africans in SA also experience African pupils having language problems, thus affecting their performance. The majority of African pupils in the present study speak Zulu most often at home. The medium of instruction in these schools is English. The Swann Report (1985) on the education of children from ethnic-minority groups in Britain maintained that, 'the key to equality of opportunity, to academic success and, more broadly, to participation on equal terms as a free member of society, is good command of English and the emphasis must therefore, we feel, be on the learning of English' (cited in Verma, 1989: 37). Even teaching and learning styles are culturally specific and thus affect performance.

Very little systematic research has been done on teaching styles and the extent to which they influence performance. However, it is clear that 'style is cultural or learned and meaningful in teaching and learning' (Grant, 1992).

Piestrup's study, cited in Mehan (1992), in Britain in 1973 showed that 'the style of the teacher in imparting knowledge to the pupils encompasses the grammar, accent, tone and

delivery of the teacher. Attempts at matching the cognitive and learning styles of ethnic groups in countries in Britain and America show that learning styles differ amongst groups and produces poor performance amongst some. When teachers employed a style that reflected the easy-going, taken-for-granted speech patterns of the Black community, instruction was the most effective' (cited in Mehan, 1992: 6). 'Taken-for-granted' speech patterns refer to the rhythmic language, rapid intonation, repetition, alliteration, call and response, variation in pace and creative language play that is characteristic of language used in homes of groups characterised disadvantaged. 'Authoritarian teaching styles heighten inequality between the teacher (who knows) and the pupil (who doesn't know)' (Klein, 1993: 190). The problem of language in the present study compounds the problem of teaching styles. Foster found that 'classroom discussion increased in degree and intensity when teacher-student interaction was more symmetrical' (Mehan, 1992: 6).

Socialisation is important in determining learning styles so that performance is improved. Mehan (1992) found that poor performance was due to competitive and individual forms of participation rather than co-operation and sociality which is much a part of Western culture and thought. Grant (1992), on the other hand, feels that there is little evidence to show that learning styles significantly affect academic performance.

The nature, form and structure of assessments and testing is found to disadvantage pupils having cognitive skills that are not in keeping with assessments conducted. 'Formal testing will necessarily rely on a restricted sample of language being produced for a specific

purpose. It cannot sample the rich variety of language that is used to express often complex ideas and issues. Pupils who are struggling to express their understanding are rarely given the opportunity to do so in an appropriate language' (Klein, 1993: 128). Thus the language used in assessments affects the performance of pupils lacking the necessary cultural capital needed to succeed. The familiarity of language as the medium of instruction is also a crucial factor that will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. As mentioned earlier, language is a problem affecting the performance of African pupils in the present study.

3.5.2 Culture and home background

Some educationists propose a 'pathological' interpretation of low achievement of certain groups. 'They prefer to see the causes of Black underachievement residing in the cultural and home backgrounds of Black pupils' (Troyna, 1987: 157). Troyna refers to the Blacks in the British schooling context. St. Johns accords social class a defining role in explaining underachievement. 'Black and white children may be unequally prepared to be successful students or may be accorded unequal status in the peer group because of differential family background' (St.Johns, 1975: 98), cited in Rossell (1983).

Ovando (1990) attributes a lack of achievement, amongst other factors, to poverty itself. Nxumalo (1993), in a survey on Kwa Mashu schools, explains various reasons for the 'erosion' of learning culture in these schools. He identified material deprivation to be largely responsible, such as 'the lack or shortage of resources such as textbooks, desks,

windows, electricity, laboratory equipment, libraries, sport facilities...'(Nxumalo, 1993: 55).

It was found by Smith and Tomlinson (1989), cited in Gillborn (1990), that there is a strong association, between social class and examination achievement so that, 'on average, children from professional and managerial families obtained nearly eight times many higher grade passes as those from families belonging to the underclass group' (cited in Gillborn, 1990: 133). Differences in correlations between higher middle-class and lower middle-class and achievement were noted.

Cultural theorists like Bourdieu and Bernstein see differences in achievement as arising from differences in cultural acquisition of social classes in society which make them either compatible or incompatible with the dominant culture which prevails in schools. This predisposes children from working class and middle class backgrounds to fail and succeed respectively. Bourdieu says that children belonging to the middle class have the necessary required insight, judgement, information and language proficiency to adapt more freely and successfully in the schooling context. The education system thus favours children from middle class backgrounds and excludes working class children who do not possess the required 'cultural capital'. This explains the poor performance of working class children. 'Bourdieu asserts that the value of cultural capital is a function of the distance between the linguistic and cultural norm imposed by the school and the degree of competence derived from pupils' social class backgrounds' (Kennett 1973: 239).

However, differences in performance were also noted within working class and middle class categories. Craft and Craft (1983) (cited in Gillborn, 1990) found differences in performance in different ethnic groups even when data was controlled for social class. Two distinct social class categories were used: middle class and working class. Gillborn found that the use of just two categories of social class was too simplistic a criterion in determining the effect on performance. In the present study also, only two categories of middle and working class were used in determining its effect on performance. Ovando (1990) found that even ethnic-minority pupils who had well-developed cognitive bases in their ancestral language and culture will tend to make the cognitive transfer more easily than those who do not. Many other factors such as language proficiency, cultural bias in the curriculum, schooling history and parental involvement could have an effect on performance.

The attitudes and aspirations of pupils and parents and the involvement of parents in their children's education can affect their children's performance. Kowalczewski noticed ethnic-minority children in British schools 'suffering from a negative self-concept, a low esteem resulting in defective perceptual, cognitive and linguistic skills often exacerbated by negative non-supportive values of their social and family backgrounds' (Kowalczewski, 1982: 148). Laren (1987) cited in Mehan (1992), compared parent-school relations with social classes in society and found that the levels and quality of parental involvement were linked to the social and cultural resources that were available to the parents in different social class positions. For example, working class parents had limited time and 'disposable'

income to be involved in their children's schoolwork, including attending school functions or consulting teachers on their children's schooling. They lacked confidence to assist children with schoolwork and thus accepted the teacher as gospel. Middle-class parents had the knowledge and skills relevant to their children's schooling. Parental involvement in taking their children to places of interest and encouraging reading are important factors in integrating their children well into schooling. This enables them to link their knowledge and experiences to the subject-matter taught in schools. It can also stimulate critical thinking, thus having a positive influence on performance. Newson and Newson (1977), cited in Rossell (1983) also emphasise the positive influence such as visits to the cinema and the exposure to books and newspapers.

3.5.3 Schooling History : stage and duration of desegregation

Factors of the stage (standard or grade) in which the pupil entered a desegregated school, and duration of desegregation that the pupil is exposed to in that school are important in explaining performance. Mahard and Crain say that measuring pupils' achievements in a desegregated school for a short period of time reflects the true performance of the pupil (Hawley, 1983), cited in Rossell (1983). In other words, the duration of desegregation makes no difference to results over time. There is little or no room for improvement in performance over time. Taylor (1981) cited in Kowalczewski (1982) also finds no evidence to show that the performance of ethnic-minority children increases with length of stay of schooling in Britain.

Hawley (1983), cited in Rossell (1983) also noted that beneficial effects of desegregation occur during the earliest primary school years and pupils desegregated later show no beneficial effects of desegregation. That is, the lower the stage of first desegregation, the higher the achievement effect. There were gains only for those desegregated in elementary schools. It was also concluded that the gap in the performance of Black and White pupils narrows with increasing desegregation. In the present study, many pupils experience desegregated education for the first time upon entering secondary school. These studies imply that the results of pupils at the time of gaining access to these schools will not improve over time.

3.6 Research study on the Zimbabwean experience

A study of close relevance to the present study was conducted by Frederikse (1994) in the Zimbabwean schooling context. She conducted a series of interviews with parents, teachers and pupils on open schools in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has many valuable lessons to offer South Africa as it has many similarities to the demographic characteristics and racial experiences. It has also been through a similar process of racial desegregation in education. Now, in Zimbabwe, Black children have equal access to all schools. Racial discrimination in schooling has been officially removed. Both countries have a Black majority population and were historically colonised by the British. Education in Zimbabwe was also characterised by vast differences in the under-funded and neglected. Language differences also existed with the majority of Zimbabwean blacks speaking Shona or Ndebele.

On examination of interviews, Frederikse discusses patterns of racism, social class, language difficulties and socialisation patterns. The effect these factors had on the academic achievement of pupils also emerged in interviews. Reasons for low achievement among Black students were identified.

It was evident that class -consciousness was replaced by race consciousness. For example, both Blacks and Whites in low-density areas socialise effectively. Both groups in these areas who belonged to middle class families interacted often outside school. Race was not a criterion determining racial mixing. Township pupils, in high-density areas, were still discriminated against. They belonged to the working class and this had implications for social mixing. A pupil said, 'The children from the low- density suburbs play separately from those from the high-density suburbs. It's rare to mix. If you come from a high-density school, the way they treat you is embarrassing...I think there is discrimination between the rich and poor' (Frederikse, 1994: 33). The distance between their places of residence also prevents children from high and low- density areas from mixing socially. However, there was evidence of assistance rendered to Black pupils by White pupils.

The bias in the curricula perpetuated through the curriculum still appeared to be a problem affecting performance. 'African customs, culture and language appear to have been neglected in the curricular programmes of the suburban schools...this situation cannot but reproduce the cultural subjugation of Black students characteristic of

colonialism' (Frederikse, 1994: 121, 122). The self-concept or image of the pupil as a result of colonialism seems to be still evident. 'There seems to be amongst Blacks a mystique about White schools-evidence of the persistence of an inferiority complex born of Colonialism' (Frederikse, 1994: 122).

The differences in educational history as evident in the present study were evident in the educational experiences in Zimbabwe. Pupils who came from township schools were disadvantaged in respects similar to township schools in the study. They had to adjust; some did not.

Thus, what is obvious in all previous research is the acknowledgement of different opportunities that have been afforded to Black and/or ethnic minority- pupils as compared to white pupils. Thus the experiential and cultural differences, amongst other factors, have implications for performance and pupils' perceptions of their performance.

CHAPTER 4: DESIGN OF THE STUDY

4.1 Choice and description of the study area:

Phoenix, the largest residential township, historically designed for occupation of the Indian population, in Natal, was chosen as the geographical area of study. (Map 1 shows the location of Phoenix in Durban). It borders on many African townships such as KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Emawothi and Inanda. With the educational reform in 1990 to racially-desegregate schools, there had been an influx of pupils from the African townships, gaining admission into schools in Phoenix.

Schools in Phoenix were originally designated for pupils belonging to the Indian population, and were administered by The House of Delegates (HOD). From 1990 to 1992, there had been only a few hundred African pupils admitted to schools in Phoenix. In 1993, numbers increased considerably with 1197 African pupils having gained admission. Data on school population according to race were not calculated by the HOD department of education from 1994 to date as it was felt that this could be construed as a racist practice, perpetuating discrimination along racial lines. It is, nevertheless, evident that the numbers of African pupils into secondary schools in the Phoenix region had increased considerably although the majority of pupils are Indians.

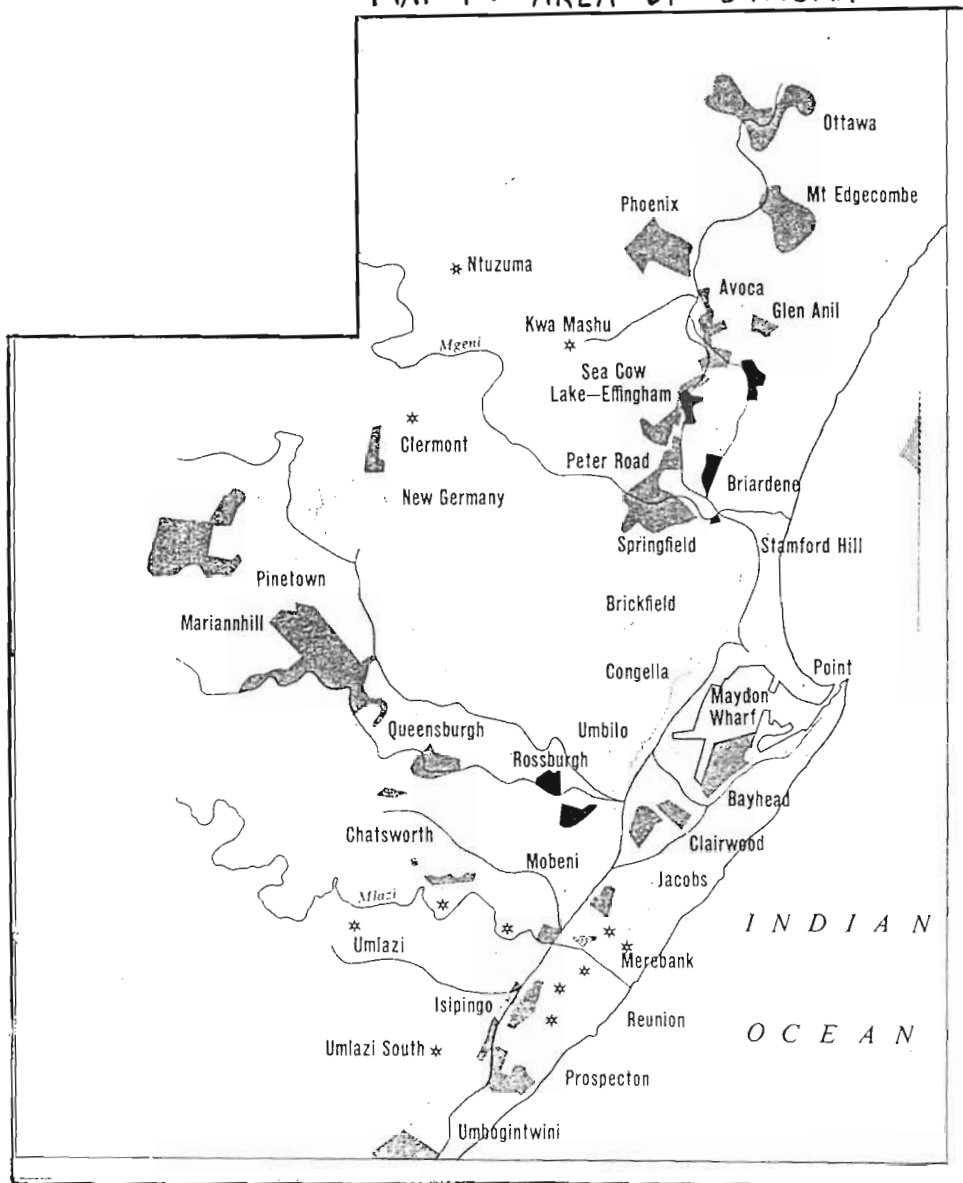
The Eastern section of Phoenix was chosen as the specific area of study. This area is the most developed and residentially settled in Phoenix, with other areas still developing in respect of housing and infrastructure. Therefore, the older and more settled schools can be found in this section of Phoenix. The major taxi routes from townships also by-pass the

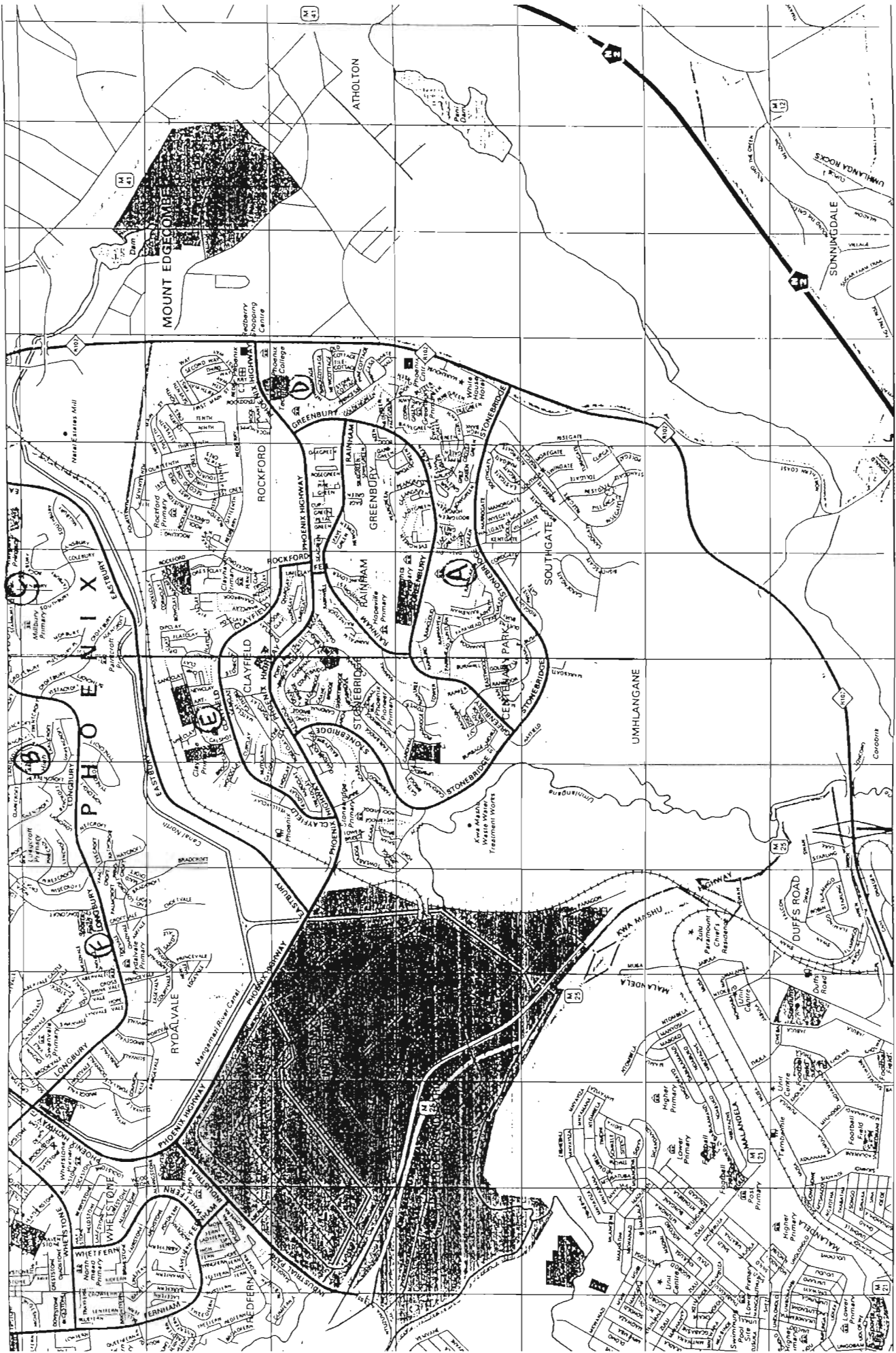
schools in the Eastern section in Phoenix, thus contributing to an increasing representation of African pupils in these schools. In 1993, the Eastern region in Phoenix had an intake of 653 African pupils, the Southern region, 231 pupils, the Western region, 299 pupils and the Northern region, 14 pupils. African pupils in the Eastern region increased to 952 in 1994. Thus schools in the eastern region in Phoenix can be considered to be fairly good examples of racially- desegregated schools. Map 2 shows schools in the Eastern- section of Phoenix and the African townships in which most pupils in the present study live. The schools in the present study will be indicated using symbols (A, B, C, D, E, F) for the sake of anonymity.

4.2 The schools in the survey:

Six secondary schools in the Eastern- region in Phoenix, were chosen to be studied. There is a distance of about 1,20 to 1,80 kilometres between one school and the next. Since these schools do not have a stringent admission policy for admission of African pupils, there is an equal chance of pupils being admitted to any of the six schools. Some, of course, use subtle admission criteria. For example, pupils who have not studied certain subjects in their previous schools may find it difficult to gain admission. Some pupils who had obtained poor results in the previous year or are not fluent in English, the medium of instruction, also find it difficult to gain admission. There are, however, no official criteria laid down by The House of Delegates determining the intake of African pupils. Therefore, pupils gain admission to schools, which are not necessarily closest to their place of residence but rather which are accessible to them.

MAP 1: AREA OF DURBAN





MAP 2: RESEARCH SCHOOLS IN PHOENIX

4.3 The research population

The African pupil population in 1994 comprised of 979 pupils from standards 6 to 9 in six schools in the Eastern- region of Phoenix. Pupils in the matriculation year of study were not included in the study as they were involved in the preparation for an external examination. Both males and females belonging to the working and middle classes were included in the study. The pupil population came from many townships bordering the township of Phoenix. Some also live in areas in Phoenix which are in close proximity to the schools in the present study. Pupils also come from different ethnic backgrounds, for example, Zulus and Xhosas. Although the cultural backgrounds from which they come are similar, there are also language differences. These pupils had also encountered different educational experiences and schooling history in the education departments under which they have previously studied. Pupils had come from schools previously administered by the Department of Education and Training (DET), KwaZulu Natal Education Department and education departments in other self-governing states. The number of pupils per standard per school is shown in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 : Population of African pupils per standard in the research schools.

Schools	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Total
A	65	62	59	29	215
B	62	51	23	8	144
C	51	72	47	24	194
D	41	14	17	5	77
E	71	66	46	28	211
F	39	44	33	22	138
T	329	309	225	116	979

Initial visits were made to the respective schools to obtain the population numbers of the pupils. Names of all pupils in the various standards were noted, to identify specific pupils to be chosen in the sample. A composite file of the subject teachers in the different standards was also compiled. The names of all teachers teaching pupils in the sample were also noted, as was the case with the pupil population. Two hundred and twenty six teachers formed the teacher population in the schools in the study. Teachers' names had to be noted in order to identify those in the sample that would be required to fill in a questionnaire. The teacher- population in the schools in the study is listed below.

Table 4.2 Teacher population in the research schools:

School	Teacher Population
A	28
B	43
C	39
D	30
E	51
F	35
Total	226

4.4 Selection of the teachers and pupils in the sample:

In choosing samples of teachers and pupils in the study, data collection techniques had to be considered. It was intended to administer questionnaires and conduct interviews with both sample groups. In-depth interviews had to be conducted. Therefore a smaller sample number was calculated for conducting interviews. The sample number had to be manageable so that collecting data would be done timeously and efficiently.

4.4.1 The pupil sample:

A sample of 15 percent of the population of 979 pupils was used. This was done by

selecting pupils from each of the standards in schools in the survey, thus ensuring a proportional distribution of pupils. Thus a stratified random sampling technique was used with reference to a table of random numbers. The sample thus comprised 147 pupils. A reserve sample of two pupils per standard per school was also selected in the event of some pupils in the main sample not being available to participate at the time of the administration of the questionnaire. For purposes of statistical convenience, 150 pupils was considered to be a suitable pupil-sample. This was done by including three more pupils from the reserve sample who were not required in the study.

Table 4.3 Numbers of pupils per standard per school in the sample:

Schools	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Total
A	10	9	9	4	32
B	9	8	4	1	22
C	8	11	7	4	30
D	7	2	3	1	13
E	11	10	7	4	32
F	6	7	5	3	21
TOTAL	51	47	35	17	150

Ten pupils from the pupil sample of 150 were chosen to be interviewed. The small

number was chosen in order to facilitate an in-depth study of pupils' perceptions. The phenomenological theoretical perspective was used . 'The phenomenologist is committed to understanding social phenomena from the actor's own perspective. He or she examines how the world is experienced' (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984: 1). The sample number of pupils to be interviewed was as follows:

TABLE 4.4 Number of pupils per school in the interview sample:

Schools	Interview-sample
A	3
B	1
C	2
D	2
E	1
F	1
TOTAL	10

Pupils' perceptions expressed during interviews will be quoted in the course of this chapter. The key that follows explains the codes used to identify these pupils by the social classes and phases of schooling and the schools to which they belong. Letters of the

alphabet refer to the research schools reflected in the table above. These codes will be used later in this chapter to identify pupils quoted.

Key:

Code	Meaning
A1	junior secondary/working class
A2	junior secondary/middle class
A3	senior secondary/working class
B1	senior secondary/working class
C1	senior secondary/working class
C2	junior secondary/middle class
D1	junior secondary/middle class
D2	senior secondary/working class
E1	senior secondary/working class
F1	senior secondary/middle class

4.4.2 The teacher-sample:

Thirty percent of the 226 teachers teaching pupils in the sample formed the teacher- sample. This sample was chosen by using the systematic random sampling method. Teachers were listed per

school in the order in which they appeared in the document on 'teacher returns' from which their names were made available to the researcher. A reserve sample was also chosen in the event of problems such as teachers not wishing to participate, or teachers being absent for a long period of time during which the questionnaire was to have been administered. Two teachers per school were included in the reserve sample. There were 68 teachers in the sample.

Table 4.5 Numbers of teachers per school in the sample:

Schools	Teacher-sample
A	8
B	13
C	12
D	9
E	15
F	11
TOTAL	68

Nine teachers were chosen from the teacher sample to be interviewed. They were chosen using criteria of teacher-availability and accessibility of the researcher to teachers.

Table 4.6: Number of teachers per school in the interview sample:

Schools	Teacher-interview sample
A	3
B	2
C	1
D	1
E	1
F	1
TOTAL	9

4.5 Classification of the research sample:

The research sample was divided into social classes (middle and working classes) and school phases (junior and senior secondary) to determine the influence of each of these factors on performance. Burgess (1986), in his studies, also examined social divisions based on race and social class, in influencing educational achievement.

4.5.1 Social class

The concept 'social class' can be defined in various ways. Social Class refers to 'groups of people with certain socio-economic characteristics which they share and in terms of which

they are distinguished from other groups' (Williamson, 1981: 18). Halsey stressed the influence of components of social class in understanding educational attainment, noting that 'The major determinants of educational attainment were not schoolmasters but social situations, not curriculum but motivation, not formal access to the school but support in the family and community' (Halsey, 1980: 81). It is therefore clear that the social class to which one belongs has a direct bearing on the material, social, economic and cultural conditions with which one identifies. Social Class also predisposes one to specific values and attitudes that influence life-chances. Parkin (1977) claims that the backbone of the class structure, and indeed the entire reward system of modern Western society, is the occupational structure. Thus the rewards derived from occupation form the basis of inequality in society. Categorisation into social classes is important in the study of educational attainment or achievement as it has implications for educational access and opportunity.

In the present study, the criterion used to determine social class is the father's occupation. In the case of the father not being a part of that family, that is, not living with or contributing to the income of that household or in the case of the father being deceased, the mother's occupation was considered. In the event of the mother not contributing to an income, the occupation of the person with the main source of income in that household is considered. In cases where the father was unemployed, the mother's occupation was used as an indicator of social class. Where both parents were unemployed, the last job of the father was considered.

4.5.2 Instruments used to measure social class

The coding of occupations into social classes, formulated in 1979 by the Centre for Social and Development Studies (CSDS) at the University of Natal, was used in this study. This was based on the commonly applied Hall Jones Scale that was formulated in England in 1950, and on studies by Smidt(1973) and Castle(1978), cited in CSDS(1979). The specific rank order used in this study was that of the scale of Occupational Prestige Groups Applicable to Africans in Urban Areas.

Table 4.7 Occupations in descending order of prestige

<u>Codes</u>	<u>Occupations in descending order of prestige</u>
1	- Independent, highly professional
2	- Salaried Professional, High Managerial/Executive
3	- Semi-Professional and lower Executive and Administrative
4	- Senior Clerical Positions
5	- White Collar/ Inspectional
6	- Skilled Manual/ Semi-skilled Supervisory
7	- Semi-skilled Manual and Unskilled supervisory
8	- Routine non-manual
9	- Unskilled Manual, excluding group 10
10	- Menial labourers

According to the Hall Jones Scale of Occupational Classification, Codes 1-3 correspond to groups classified upper middle class; 4-5, lower middle class; 6, skilled upper working

class; 7-10, semi-skilled, unskilled or lower working class. Thus, 1-5 would be classified middle-class and 6-10, working class in this study.

The following occupations were classified middle-class and working class in the present study.

Middle-class:

teacher/ principal, nurse/ matron, financial advisor, businessman (owner of buses and taxis), transport inspector, secretary in law firm, foreman, merchandising specialist, receptionist, teller in bank, clerk in school, laboratory assistant, sales representative for national company.

Working class:

chef, cook, salesman, singer, taxi-driver, hair-dresser, panel-beater, long-distance driver, bricklayer, truck-driver, carpenter, builder, welder, dressmaker at home, tyre repairs, house-keeper/ domestic worker, baker, sawing, tinting windows, boiler-maker, florist-assistant, shop- assistant, tuck-shop owner, machinest in factory, security guard, packer, seaman/ fisherman, general labourer/ worker, gardener, handyman, cleaner in school.

The majority of parents classified middle-class were either teachers or nurses. They are classified salaried professional (code 2). Occupations classified working- class varied. About a third of parents classified working- class were unemployed at the time of the study. The last job held was considered in these cases. Most were routine, non-manual,

unskilled manual and menial occupations. On the whole, working class parents fitted into codes 7 - 10.

Table 4.8 Pupil-sample per middle-and working-class in the schools in the study:

School	Middle-class	Working-class	Total
A	11	21	32
B	7	15	22
C	15	15	30
D	7	6	13
E	13	19	32
F	13	8	21
TOTAL	66(44%)	84(56%)	150(100%)

4.5.3 Phase classification

Fifteen percent of the population was calculated in each of the junior and senior secondary phases. This was done to ensure equal representation of pupils in each schooling phase of the sample.

Table 4.9 Distribution of sample according to phase:

Schools	Junior Phase	Senior Phase	Total
A	19	13	32
B	17	5	22
C	19	11	30
D	8	5	13
E	21	11	32
F	13	8	21
TOTAL	97(65%)	53(35%)	150(100%)

4.6 The pilot study:

A pilot study was undertaken by visiting schools in the study and interviewing at random both African pupils and their teachers (including members of the management staff, where possible) on the performance of African pupils. This was done both in a structured formal manner, especially in cases where members of management were involved, and in a structured but informal manner where level one educators were involved. This was a result of the time-constraint experienced by level one educators. The researcher had to use the available time of the teachers in the schools visited. Teachers known to the researcher were contacted telephonically to discuss their perceptions of the performances of African

pupils whom they teach. African pupils, at this stage, were chosen randomly from senior and junior secondary classes by either the guidance counsellor of the school or a member of management, usually assigned by the principal of the school to assist the researcher. Issues revolving around pupils' perceptions of their performance were discussed and views were noted either in their presence or soon after the interview. Responses from both pupils and teachers were consolidated to produce many possible factors influencing pupil performance.

4.7 Design and administration of the questionnaire:

4.7.1 The pupil questionnaire:

4.7.1.1 Design of the questionnaire:

The pupil questionnaire (Appendix A) was then designed with a close consideration of these factors. The broad categories in the pupil questionnaire included pupils' general particulars, their home background, their previous schooling experiences and their present experiences in their new schooling context, teacher-pupil interaction and peer-group interaction, both intra-and inter-racially (amongst the African pupils and between the Indian and African pupils respectively). These factors, when analysed, should provide insight into the cultural, social, racial and economic factors, amongst others, that influence performance in school.

The questionnaire contains both open-ended and closed questions. Closed- type questions yielding nominal data requires factual or objective responses. The section on general particulars included specific details relating to the individual pupil, such as name, standard,

school, age, and language spoken most often at home are examples of nominal data. These are numbers one to five in the questionnaire. Questions on the home background include information on the socio-economic conditions of the family (occupation of parents), the material conditions of the home (type of dwelling, number of rooms in the house, the family size), facilities available (such as water, electricity, television), where pupils study or do their homework, and the travel arrangements of the pupils to and from school. These are closed-type questions of nominal data that merely require factual information on the pupil (Numbers 6-18 in the questionnaire).

Questions 23 to 30 are examples of fixed alternative questions yielding interval-scale data (for example, 'very easy to understand', 'easy to understand', 'neither easy nor difficult', 'difficult', 'very difficult'.) These are followed immediately by open-ended questions such as, 'Why do you think this is so?' This requires the pupil to qualify his responses in the fixed-alternative questions. Questions 19-22 are also open-ended questions. This allows for elaboration of the pupils' perceptions and thus valuable information to be used in explaining performance. Pupils' participation was dealt with in number 30 in the questionnaire. This was used to gauge the extent to which they interact with other pupils on a functional level in school, and thus adjusted to the demands of the school in sport. Questions on peer-group interaction (numbers 31-33) were largely fixed-alternative type questions. The intention in asking these questions was to determine the extent of inter-racial interaction, and the effect it has on pupil confidence and thus the performance of pupils in the sample. Questions 34-36 enable pupils to discuss their experiences in the schools in the study. This amounts to a summary of their perceptions of their performance

in the new context of racially desegregated schools.

4.7.1.2 Administration of the questionnaire:

A list of the pupil sample per school, accompanied by a letter outlining the research to be conducted, was presented to the principal (Refer to Appendix B). A set date and time had to be negotiated for the administration of the questionnaire. It was agreed in all schools between the principal and the researcher that the administration of the questionnaire will have to take place during the lunch-break so as to avoid disruption of lessons. The entire process in all schools was spread over a period of two and a half weeks, including return-trips made to schools to correct or fill in unclear or missing information in the questionnaires.

In schools B, C and F, the Guidance Counsellors were assigned to assist with the arrangements of informing pupils of the date, time and venue for the administration of the questionnaire. In the remaining three schools, A, D and E, the school secretary and the Deputy-Principals in the last two schools assisted the researcher. A maximum of fifty minutes was sufficient for the administration of the questionnaire per school. In school D, all pupils in the sample were present. In school A, nineteen of the forty pupils in the sample responded, including eight reserves, that is, two per standard. According to the Deputy-Principal, the twenty- one pupils were either absent on that day, absent over a long period of time or they were excluded from the school register. A later attempt to gather these pupils proved futile. An extended sample using the table of random numbers, to fulfil the requirements of the sample size, had to be obtained. Upon submitting these

names to make arrangements to administer these questionnaires, it was found that many of these pupils were not in school. The researcher was told that this is the typical pattern of absenteeism amongst the African pupils in this school. It was then suggested by the member of management assisting with the research that the required number of pupils per standard be chosen on the basis of pupils present in school on that day. This arrangement was agreed upon for reasons of feasibility and also to avoid continued inconvenience or the educator liaising with the researcher. The member of management assisted the researcher in choosing these pupils. Twenty- one pupils thus met on an arranged day, during the lunch-break and the questionnaire was administered.

In school B, pupils were called in a few minutes before the lunch-break to allow time for the administration of the questionnaire, during the lunch-break and the registration period after the break. This totalled about fifty minutes. The counsellor was available if assistance was needed. From the sample, two pupils had not responded. These two pupils were seen a week later during the lunch-break. A similar procedure was used in schools C, E and F. As this procedure was conducted during the extended lunch-break on a Friday, adequate time of fifty minutes was utilised. Two pupils were not present and had to be seen at a later date. Again in schools E and F, two pupils were not present. They were also met at a later date. Teachers were available in these schools to render assistance where necessary. In four of the six schools in the study, teachers advised the researcher to select a pupil who displays proficiency in speaking both English and Zulu, the dominant ethnic language spoken by most African pupils in Natal-Kwazulu. The researcher was not able to translate questions to Zulu; therefore pupils were chosen to facilitate the process of translation.

Thus intervention was necessary to facilitate the correct interpretation of questions to ensure efficiency in the way pupils responded to questions. This was necessary as it was evident that pupils experienced problems with interpreting the questions in the questionnaire. This problem arose from the difficulties pupils had with English.

4.7.2 The teacher questionnaire:

4.7.2.1 The design of the questionnaire:

The teacher questionnaire appears in Appendix C. It contained, like the pupil-questionnaire, both open-ended and closed type questions. It comprises six categories: general particulars of teachers, teachers' broad perceptions of pupils' performances, teachers' perceptions on specific aspects of pupils' performance and teachers' perceptions of the influence parents and the home background have on pupils' performance. Teachers also explained their contribution in conducting extra lessons and the effect it has on performance. Teachers discussed the level of skill in jobs their pupils may engage in after matriculation. Finally, they expressed their views on the criteria that should be used in selecting pupils for admission into schools in the present study or similar such schools.

The first category required the general particulars of teachers such as the teacher's name, the name of the school in which he/she teaches, subjects taught and the names of pupils from the sample that these teachers teach. A list of the pupil sample was attached to the questionnaire. In Category B, teachers compared the performance of African pupils they teach with that of Indian pupils in the schools in the study in which they teach. Questions that immediately established the teachers' overall perception of the performance of African

pupils were numbers 5.1 and 5.2 in the questionnaire.

Teachers then rated the performance of the pupils they teach by choosing from fixed-alternative type questions like, 'excellent', 'very good', 'good', 'satisfactory', and 'poor'. Senior teachers then provided possible reasons why the majority of African pupils they teach study the subjects they teach on the standard or higher grade, depending on the teachers' perceptions of the grades most frequently studied on. The higher grade involves the study of a subject on a more intense level. Teachers ranked the activities African pupils generally perform well in: academic, sport, co-curricular (speech contests, debates) and concerts (musicals). The intention in asking this question was to establish the possibility of prejudices and bias, felt by teachers. It was also to establish the pupil's stronger fields of contribution to the school. Teachers then expressed their perceptions of attendance of African pupils and reasons if attendance was 'poor' or 'very poor'.

Category C was concerned with teachers' perceptions of pupils' grasp of subject-matter, the link between subject-matter and their background and experiences, pupils' understanding of English, the medium of instruction, their response during lessons and their performance in the first and subsequent years in the schools in the study. These consisted of closed questions that yielded interval-scale data such as 'excellent', 'good', 'good', 'satisfactory', 'poor' and 'very poor'. Some responses needed to be explained and teachers were thus required to express their responses to open-ended questions such as, 'Could you advance possible reasons for this?'

Category D consisted of closed-type fixed alternative questions. Teachers expressed their perceptions on the consistency and frequency of homework done and evidence of assistance by parents with their children's homework. The parents' role in motivating their children to perform well was questioned, that is how often they consult teachers on the children's performance and evidence that they take their children to places of general and educational interest. Teachers also explained the role extra lessons had on pupil performance. Then, after consideration of their pupils' performance over time, teachers identified the types of jobs their pupils would occupy, for example, professional, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

Finally, teachers ranked in order of significance, selection procedures that should be used in allowing pupils admission to the schools in the study. They had to rank factors of ability to speak English fluently, their previous academic ability, performance in selection tests and space-availability in schools. Other criteria that teachers felt should be used were explained in detail.

4.7.2.2 Administration of the questionnaire:

A list comprising the teacher-sample was presented to the person liaising with the researcher in each school. It was agreed upon by the researcher and the liaison person that a teacher could opt for non-participation in this study as he was not bound by any professional or other constraints to fill in the questionnaire. It was also agreed that the questionnaires be handed to teachers, together with a letter outlining the purpose of the research, by the liaison person and collected a week later. The letter appears in Appendix

D. The time afforded to teachers in filling in the questionnaire would allow them to fill in details accurately. This was accepted by five of the six liaison people concerned. One principal felt that this would be too time-consuming, and hence he refused permission to have the liaison person in that school, assist the researcher. However, the researcher knew a staff-member, who agreed to hand out and collect the questionnaires in time that was convenient for her.

One school handed in teacher questionnaires timeously with only one being returned incomplete. In the other five schools, an extension of time was requested. In these schools, telephonic contact had to be made to arrange for the collection of questionnaires. The majority of teachers responded positively to completing the questionnaires. In one school, a teacher refused to fill in the questionnaire since she felt that it was 'inconvenient and time-consuming.' In another school, three teachers expressed unease about filling in a questionnaire of this nature, that is, on 'racism and black pupils in a volatile political climate'. A further extended sample of three teachers, using the table of random numbers was obtained to replace these teachers. Teacher-questionnaires were collected over a period ranging from two and a half to four weeks in some schools.

4.8 Interviews

An indepth, unstructured approach was used. The unstructured approach used in interviewing was considered suitable when the language problem experienced by disadvantaged pupils was considered. The interviewer was sensitive to what is construed by the pupil as relevant and meaningful to his or her own related experiences. Tape-

recording and taking notes were limited. Verbatim notes taken were only those that reflected the essence of the pupil's meaning. This was to avoid intimidation and thus a bias in the data gathered from the interview. 'More usually, taking notes simultaneous with events would be highly disruptive even when the researcher is openly acknowledged' (Hammarley, 1979: 140). A detailed written recording of the interview was made immediately after each interview was conducted. But eventually, the pupils interviewed depended on the researcher's accessibility to these pupils. Interviews had to be conducted during the lunch-breaks if pupils were not engaged in any activity during this time. Arrangements to interview pupils were made telephonically or by visiting the school prior to the intended time for the interview. Questions were often open-ended so as to generate as much response as possible that could contribute to an elaboration on the responses in the questionnaire. Interviews were conducted over a period of about two to three weeks with the researcher visiting schools at times deemed convenient for each school. Examples of questions from which discussions followed were:

Why did you come to this school?

How do you perform in this school as compared to the school from which you came? Explain why.

What can you say about teachers in this school?

Who are your friends? How do they help you?

Teacher-interviews were conducted similarly. Questions raised required elaboration of perceptions expressed in the questionnaire.

4.9 Examination results:

The half-yearly (June) and final (November) examination results of pupils in the sample were obtained from the mark-sheets. This document was obtained from the principals of each school and recorded by the researcher in table-form on separate mark-sheets. The promotion requirements, that is criteria to pass, for this examination are as follows:

Std 6 and 7: All subjects, except Afrikaans : 40% and above

Afrikaans (second language) : 33.3 % and above

Aggregate: 33.3 % and above

Std 8,9 and 10: Higher Grade - All subjects, except Afrikaans: 40% and above

- Afrikaans (second language): 33 1/3 and above

Standard Grade - All subjects: 33 1/3% and above

Both Grades: Aggregate : 40% and above

These criteria for success or failure were laid down by the Department of Education. Marks obtained by pupils in the schools researched were comparable as they are standardised marks.

4.10 Statistical procedures used:

The Chi-square test of significance was used. Analysis was done using the Statpak Computer Programme. This programme analyses data using various statistical procedures. Included in the programme was the facility for analysis using the Chi-square test of significance. The Chi-Square Test is used as a significance test to determine whether an association or difference exists between two nominal variables in a population.

'The Chi-squared test is used with discrete data in the form of frequencies. It is a test of independence and is used to estimate the likelihood that some factor other than chance accounts for the observed relationship' (Koul, 1988: 322). Chi-square compares the actual frequencies or what is referred to as the observed frequencies (f_o) to the frequencies that would have occurred had there been no association at all between the variables, that is, the expected frequencies (f_e). If $f_o > f_e$ at the calculated df, then there is a significant relationship between the variables. If $f_o < f_e$ at the calculated degrees of freedom (df), then the relationship could have occurred by chance as there is no significant relationship between the variables. The degrees of freedom are calculated by multiplying the number of rows minus one by the number of columns minus one (number of rows - 1) (number of columns - 1). The results were taken to be significant at the 0,05 level.

Relationships between pupil-performance in the middle- and working-classes were examined. Pupils' performance in the junior and secondary schooling phases were also compared. Many specific aspects of performance such as pupils' responses to subject-matter, teacher-instruction, teaching methods and parental involvement in the different social classes and schooling phases were compared. Findings and analyses will be presented and discussed in the forthcoming chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY -PUPILS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PERFORMANCE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings on background variables of the sample that were considered important in the analysis of pupil performance. These included the language spoken most often at home, areas of residence and means and duration of travel to and from school. This chapter is also concerned with the schooling background or schooling history of the pupils and this will be compared, in some ways, with present educational experiences. Pupils' perceptions of their responses to subject matter, teachers' explanations and teaching methods in the schools in the study were analysed. In analysing pupils' perceptions, a close consideration was taken of their past educational experiences. Finally, pupils' perceptions of peer-group interaction were analysed for the influence it has on performance. Pupils in the middle and working classes and in the junior and secondary phases of schooling were compared for their performance in response to the above factors, where appropriate. 'p' as reflected in the last column of all tables refer to the significance level.

5.2 Background variables of the sample:

5.2.1 Language spoken most often at home:

Pupils were asked to indicate the language they speak most often at home. The intention in asking this question was to gain insight into the compatibility of the language spoken at home and that of English, the medium of instruction in the schools in the present study. A calculation of the test of significance of language spoken most often at home in the middle

and the working class groups intended to indicate whether pupils belonging to one social class group had an advantage over the other in respect of the compatibility of the language spoken at home and English. This has implications for performance. A chi-square test of significance of language spoken most often at home as per social class was done.

Table 5.1 Home language according to social class:

SC	E	%	A	%	Z	%	X	%	O	%	T	chi-sq	p
MC	3	4.6	0	0	61	92.4	2	3	0	0	66	3.9	>0.05
WC	2	2.4	0	0	81	96.4	0	0	1	1.2	84	df=4	
T	5	3.3	0	0	142	94.7	2	1.3	1	0.7	150		

Key:

Symbol	Word
SC	Social Class
MC	Middle Class
WC	Working Class
E	English
A	Afrikaans
Z	Zulu
X	Xhosa
O	Other
T	Total

There is no significant difference in the language spoken most often at home between the social classes ($p > 0.05$). This is in keeping with the 1991 Census by the Central Statistical Service (CSS) on languages spoken most often at home. According to the Census, 38,5% of the African population in SA speak Zulu, and 75,9% of the African population speak more than fourteen other languages. There are 6481 917 Africans (81%) of a total of approximately eight million people in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Of the 81% Africans, 79.3% speak Zulu as their home language. In the present study, 94.7% of pupils speak Zulu as their home language. In the schools in the present study, Zulu is

neither the medium of instruction nor is it offered as an examination subject as a first, second or third language. Only 3.3% of the pupils in the present study speak English most often at home. Thus, the majority of African pupils who are studying through the medium of English have Zulu as their first language. This is a constraint that these pupils face in English-medium schools. This can compound the problem of understanding lessons and can thus affect pupils' performance adversely.

5.2.2 Areas of Residence

Pupils were asked to name the residential area from which they come. A comparison of the areas in which pupils reside and the respective schools they attend were also listed. This provides insight into the residential zoning criteria used in the admission of pupils to the schools in the present study. An analysis of residential areas was done to estimate the distances travelled by pupils to and from school, the time spent travelling and the costs incurred travelling. These factors have implications for pupil performance and will be discussed in detail under the respective sub-headings. The residential areas from which pupils came were examined.

Table 5.2: Distribution of Pupils according to Residential Areas:

S	K	N	I/O	S	Mt	Mp Ha	B/ DC	A	M	Ot	P	N	C	T
A	3	3	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
B	15	3	3	5	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	32
C	23	3	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	32
D	12	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	21
E	21	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	30
F	9	5	6	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	22
T	83	23	17	6	7	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	3	150
%	55.3	15. 3	11. 3	4	4.6	0.7	1.3	2	0.7	1.3	0.7	0.7	2	100

KEY

S	Schools
K	Kwa Mashu
N	Ntuzuma
I/O	Inanda/Ohlanga
S	Southgate
Mt	Mount Edgecombe
Mp/Ha	Mpumalanga/Hammarsdale
B/DC	Berea/Durban Central
A	Avoca Hills
M	Mayville
Ot	Ottawa
P	Pinetown
N	Ndwedwe
C	Chesterville
T	Total

Seventy point six percent of pupils live in the townships of Kwa Mashu and

Ntuzuma. Only 19,9% of pupils reside in areas in the vicinity of the schools under study. These are Inanda, Ohlanga, Southgate and Mount Edgecombe. The remaining 80.1% of pupils reside in areas of considerable distance to the schools they attend. Some areas from which pupils come, for example, Hammarsdale, Berea and Central Durban, Mayville and Pinetown have schools that are physically more accessible to these pupils. There are several reasons why these pupils do not attend schools in these areas. Some of these include the high cost of attending schools in these areas which are of the Model-C type, and refusal of admission for reasons of insufficient space, problems of subject selections, that is, certain subjects that the pupil had already chosen to study through to matriculation not offered for study at those schools. Pupils had the following to say in explaining the schools they attend.

Pupil C1: 'I come from Pinetown because the schools there have no place.

They are full. My father know Somebody in Phoenix and tell me to come to this school because it's very good.'

Pupil F1: 'I come to this school from Berea because of the subjects I'm studying. The other schools in town did not have the subjects I'm studying and I cannot change the subjects - otherwise I must drop a standard. This school, I heard, offered my course. So, I came here.'

Pupil A1: 'I choose to come to this school because there are many children from the same township coming here and there is transport for all the children. It is easy. That's why I come here.'

Pupil D1: 'I go to two other schools. They see my report and say, 'No place.

Go to another school'.

Another constraint is the fact that pupils have to travel long distances to school, thus using different modes of transport to get there.

5.2.3 Modes and duration of travel:

These two factors are closely linked and will be discussed in conjunction with each other.

The means of travel, pupils use to school is a fair indication of the distances they have to travel. Much time is spent travelling, thus affecting the time needed to do one's homework or to study. The cost incurred is also a factor that affects performance indirectly. Many pupils do not come to school regularly so as to save costs incurred by daily transport to and from school.

Table 5.3: Pupils' Modes of Transport:

SC	Car	%	Bus	%	Train	%	Walk	%	chi-sq	p
MC	3	4.6	49	74.2	8	12.1	6	9.1	2.677	>0.05
WC	2	2.4	56	66.7	18	21.4	8	9.5	df=3	
T	5	3.3	105	70	26	17.3	14	9.3		

Table 5.4: Time taken to travel between home and school

Duration in hours	Number of pupils	Percentage
less than 1/2	55	36.6
1/2 - 1	62	41.3
1 - 1 1/2	24	16
more than 1 1/2	9	6
TOTAL	150	100

It is evident that the majority of pupils travel long distances to school as 87,3% travel by train or bus. It is clear that a small percentage who reside in close proximity to schools they attend, walk to school. There is no significant difference between the means of transport used by the two social classes ($p > 0.05$). This means that most pupils travel long distances to school, thus often spending long periods of time travelling to and from school. This proves costly for pupils. Sixty- three and a third percent (63.3%) of pupils spend between half to more than one and a half- hours on each trip between school and home. This implies that insufficient time is spent on studying or homework. Pupils' perceptions on the effect of this on their performance are outlined below.

Pupil B1: 'I come from Ntuzuma township to school. I take four buses to and from school every day: Ntuzuma to Avoca to Phoenix. It cost me about twenty- two rands a week. I reach home at four o' clock in the afternoon and I leave home at half past five in the

morning. I start my homework at half past seven in the night.'

Pupil D1: 'I have to walk far to school from Cornubia because there is no direct bus. It's very long and I get very tired.'

Pupil A2: 'I live in Inanda and take two buses to school. I pay R16.50 for one week if I take the African bus and R5.00 per week for the Indian bus to school. My aunty pays the fares. I reach home in the afternoon at four o' clock and leave at half past six in the morning. I do the housework and then I do my homework at eight o' clock in the night.'

5.3 Material and study conditions of the home:

Some educationists propose a 'pathological' interpretation of low achievement of certain groups where causes of underachievement are found in the cultural and home conditions of pupils. The number of rooms per dwelling in conjunction with a consideration of the number of occupants per dwelling will indicate the level of comfort in the home. This will also indicate where pupils do their homework and how conducive conditions are for homework and studying.

5.3.1 Rooms and facilities available in dwelling:

Middle-class families usually have a higher level of material comfort than working class families. In the present study, a comparison between the number of rooms per dwelling per social class was done.

Table 5.5: Number of rooms in homes of pupils in both social class groups

SC	1-2	%	3-4	%	5-6	%	6+	%	chi-sq	p
MC	0	0	29	43.9	30	45.5	7	10.6	17.67	<0.05
WC	8	9.5	51	60.7	15	17.9	10	11.9	df=3	
T	8	5.3	80	53.3	45	30	17	11.3		

There is a significant difference between the number of rooms per dwelling in each social class grouping ($p < 0.05$). Sixty- point seven (60.7%) of pupils belonging to the working class, live in dwellings with between three and four rooms. Eighty nine point four percent (89.4%) of middle class pupils live in dwellings with between three and six rooms with 45.5% in homes with five to six rooms. Approximately 9% of pupils in the sample (about fourteen pupils) have no piped water and electricity. These pupils live in informal settlements.

5.3.2 Occupants per dwelling:

It would be expected that there would be a smaller number of people in a middle-class household than a working-class household. According to the 1991 Census by the CSS, there is an average of 6.2 occupants per household. The number of occupants per dwelling per social class group was compared.

Table 5.6: Social class and the number of occupants per dwelling

SC	1-3	%	4-6	%	7-10	%	10+	%	chi-sq	p
MC	6	9.1	47	71.2	11	16.7	2	3	2.458	>.05
WC	8	9.5	51	60.7	19	22.6	6	7.2	df=3	
T	14	9.3	98	65.3	30	20	8	5.3		

The findings of the study are in keeping with the statistics by the CSS that 65.3% of pupils come from homes in which four to six people dwell. There is no significant difference between the number of occupants per social class household ($p>0.05$). It is still common for many African families to live in extended families, even if they belong to the middle-class grouping. At least three African families living in close proximity to the schools under study also accommodate younger members of their families from the townships, to enable them to attend schools in these areas. A pupil from a middle-class background confirmed this arrangement.

Pupil D1: 'There are eleven people in my house with six rooms - the kitchen, lounge, diningroom and three bedrooms. These people are my father, mother, aunty, granny, six brothers, sisters, cousins and I.'

A pupil belonging to the working class had the following to say.

Pupil C1: 'There are ten people living in my house. We have three bedrooms but the kitchen and the lounge are used for sleeping. There are my two uncles, one aunty, my



mother's sister's two children, my two brothers, grandmother, grandfather and me. I got no mother and my father doesn't live with us.'

The number of rooms per dwelling and the number of occupants per dwelling is important in determining how conducive conditions are for study at home and thus the pupils' performance in school.

5.3.3 Conditions for study and homework in the different social classes:

An analysis was done on conditions for study and homework in the two social class groups. An ideal place for pupils to study or do their homework would be the study or a bedroom occupied by the pupil only. But it was found that it is not always possible as there are often too many occupants per dwelling for study conditions to be quiet and private so as to influence performance positively.

Table 5.7 : Study conditions in the different social classes:

SC	Kit	%	lg	%	dr	%	br	%	st	%	chi-sq	p
MC	10	15.2	3	4.5	18	27.3	33	50	2	3	3.42	>0.05
WC	17	20.3	6	7.1	29	34.5	30	35.7	2	2.4	df=4	
T	27	18	9	6	47	31.3	63	42	4	2.6		

KEY:

kit	kitchen
Lg	lounge
Dr	diningroom
Br	bedroom
St	study

There is no significant difference ($p>0.05$) between the study conditions of middle and working class pupils. Forty two percent (42%) of pupils do their homework and study in the bedroom and 31.3% in the diningroom. Both these rooms are not optimally conducive to studying as these rooms are often used for multi- purposes. A pupil had the following to say about her study conditions.

Pupil E1: 'There are four people in my house with three rooms (one bedroom, one lounge and one kitchen). It is a problem studying at home because the television and radio are loud in the lounge. My sisters sleep in the lounge and I do my homework on the table in the kitchen.'

5.4 Brief history of previous schooling:

In the present educational context, it is important to consider the history of schooling to which pupils were subjected. The history of racially-segregated schooling, discussed in

Chapter Two, provides insight into differences that existed between the various ethnic educational departments, thus explaining differences in the quality of education of pupils classified into different racial groups. The majority of African pupils in the study reside in Kwa Mashu and Ntuzuma. They had presumably previously attended schools in those townships that were administered by the DET or KZN Department of Education. Education, in these schools, was inferior in many ways. Pupils who attended these schools are disadvantaged socio-economically before they enter school. The schooling conditions and the ideology of Bantu education prevalent in these schools form a deep contrast to the schools in the present study. Therefore, the departments of education through which pupils previously studied will influence their perceptions of experiences in the schools they are presently in.

5.4.1 Previous education departments attended:

Pupils were asked which schools they had come from prior to gaining admission to the schools in the present study. The schools were then categorised under the different ethnic departments of education. The education department under which pupils had been schooled will provide valuable insight into the quality of education they had been exposed to.

Table 5.8: Previous education departments from which pupils in the sample came:

School	DET/ KZN	%	HOD	%	HOA	%	Other State	%	TOT
A	11	84.6	2	15.4	2	6.2	0	0	13
B	30	93.8	0	0	2	6.2	0	0	32
C	22	68.7	10	31.3	0	0	0	0	32
D	14	66.6	7	33.3	0	0	0	0	21
E	25	83.3	4	13.3	0	0	1	3.3	30
F	15	68.2	7	31.8	0	0	0	0	22
TOT	117	78	30	20	2	1.3	1	0.6	150

KEY:

DET	Department of Education and Training
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Department of Education
HOD	House of Delegates
HOA	House of Assembly

It was found that the majority of pupils attending the schools in the study (78%) had their previous schooling in education departments administered by the DET or by the KZN. Twenty percent (20%) of pupils came from schools administered by the former HOD, either from the feeder primary schools in the area or from former HOD schools in other areas.

5.4.2 Pupil failure

5.4.2.1 Pupil failure in the different standards:

Table 5.9: Pupil failure as per standard:

Standard	Number failed	Percent failed
6	23	30.3
7	16	21.1
8	13	17.1
9	4	5.3
10	20	26.3
T	76	100

Fifty one percent (51%) of pupils failed at least once in their schooling history, either in primary or secondary school. Forty nine percent (49%) of pupils indicated that they did not fail in any class. Fifty- three pupils in the sample failed at least one year in secondary

school. Failure is common in schools in township areas. 'There is a sense of fatalism, hopelessness and even bitterness. The students seem to lack inspiration; they have no sense of direction and they do not take their learning seriously' (Nxumalo, 1993: 55). It was also found from questionnaires and interviews that there was repeated failure of pupils, that is pupils repeating a standard more than once. Thirteen of the twenty- three pupils presently in standard six failed standard six twice. Nine of the sixteen pupils in standard seven had failed standard six. Twelve of the sixteen pupils had failed standard seven the previous year. Ten of the thirteen pupils in standard eight had failed standard eight the previous year. Of the four standard nine pupils who had failed sometimes in their schooling career, three failed standard nine the previous year. It is clear that the failure rate is high, especially upon entry into the schools in the present study from DET and KZN controlled education departments. Of the twenty pupils presently in matric, at least eleven failed standard nine the previous year.

5.4.2.2 Pupil failure in the different phases of schooling:

Table 5.10: Failure of pupils in the junior and senior phases:

Phase	Yes	%	No	%	chi-square	p
Jun Sec	44	45.4	53	54.6	0.045	p>0.05
Sen Sec	25	47.2	28	52.8	df: 1	
T	69	46	81	54		

Findings also reveal that there is no significant difference in failure in the junior and senior

category phases ($p > 0.05$).

5.4.2.3 Failure of pupils in the middle and working classes:

Cultural theorists, as was discussed in Chapter Three, see differences in achievement as arising from differences in cultural acquisition of social classes in society which make them either compatible or incompatible with the dominant culture which prevails in schools. The intention in asking pupils about their failures in their schooling history was to test if there was a significant difference in failure in the middle and working class groups respectively.

Table 5.11 Failure per social class

SC	Yes	%	No	%	chi-square	p
MC	26	39.4	40	60.6	2.071	$p > 0.05$
WC	43	51.2	41	48.8	df=1	
T	69	46	81	54		

It was found that there is no significant difference in failure in the different social class groups ($p > 0.05$). There is a distribution of failures in both middle-and working-class groups. A pupil belonging to the middle-class failed standard seven and attempted an explanation for her failure.

Pupil F1: Mathematics, Afrikaans, accounting and Typing are difficult for me. I manage to

pass English. I did not do Accounting and Typing in DET schools. I study Agriculture in DET schools and Zulu. We only started to learn Afrikaans in standard three so I don't understand much Afrikaans. Even understanding English was easy for me because the teacher he used to explain in Zulu. Here I find it difficult to understand.'

A working-class pupil who also failed standard seven said:

Pupil A2: 'Subjects are chosen in standard six in DET schools, not in standard eight as in HOD schools... I studied under the Zulu government, English, Afrikaans, Business Economics, Agriculture, Zulu and General Science in standard six. In HOD schools, I had to study subjects like Computer Literacy, Typing, History, Geography and Home Economics which I did not do before. In the other school, we talk mostly Zulu. The teacher teaches Afrikaans and explains in Zulu and English.'

5.5 Pupils' perceptions of present schooling:

An interplay of many variables influence performance. Pupils' perceptions of aspects of the curriculum such as the subject matter taught, teachers' explanations and teaching methods were analysed for their influence on performance. These factors are important for understanding the roles of culture, the economy, knowledge and power in schools. Pupils' perceptions of the subject matter taught, teachers' explanations and teaching methods used were analysed according to social class and phases of schooling. In analysing the present schooling experiences of pupils, a close consideration of their previous schooling experiences is imperative.

5.5.1 Pupils' perceptions of the subject-matter taught

Knowledge in schools is based on the knowledge of the dominant social class group in society, usually the middle-class. This implies the middle-class children will succeed as schools merely build on the skills and knowledge internalised in the early years of their lives. Pupils in the sample were asked how they perceived their grasp of the subject-matter taught. Analysis of their perceptions in the different social class group and phases of schooling will be discussed in conjunction with each other.

Table 5.12: Pupils' grasp of subject-matter according to phase

Phase	VE	%	E	%	N	%	D	%	V D	%	Chi- sq	p
JS	17	17.5	24	24.7	30	30.9	25	25.8	1	1.03	2.77	>.05
SS	7	13	13	24.5	23	43.4	10	18.9	1	1.89	df=4	
T	24	16	37	24.6	53	35.3	35	23.3	2	1.3		

The key below explains the abbreviations used in the tables on pupils' perceptions of their responses to various aspects of the curriculum.

Key:

VE	Very Easy
E	Easy
N	Neither Easy nor Difficult
D	Difficult
VD	Very Difficult

A rating of 'neither easy nor difficult' was included as a choice in the ratings. The researcher felt that the response of 'neither easy nor difficult' indicates that the pupil is of average ability and thus finds some difficulty in coping with some aspects of work. It could also mean that the pupil has some difficulty with some subjects, thus not being able to generalise. The response could also be interpreted as the pupil being undecided about the way he perceives his response to various aspects of the curriculum.

Table 5.13: Pupils' grasp of subject matter according to social class

SC	VE	%	E	%	N	%	D	%	V D	%	chi-sq	p
MC	15	22.7	11	16.6	21	31.8	18	27.3	1	1.5	8.077	>.05
WC	20	23.8	16	19	22	26.2	24	28.6	2	2.4	df=4	
T	35	23.3	27	18	43	28.6	42	28	3	2		

There is no significant difference between the pupils' perceptions of the subject matter taught, in the different phases and the different social classes ($p > 0.05$). Approximately 40% of pupils in both phases and belonging to both social class groups perceive the subject-matter to be 'very easy' and 'easy'. Twenty five to thirty percent (25 - 30%) feel that the subject-matter is 'difficult' and 'very difficult'. Approximately 30% feel that the subject-matter is 'neither easy nor difficult'. Thus, it can be concluded that approximately 60% of pupils perceive their grasp of subject-matter ranging from 'average' to 'very difficult'. This was attributed to various factors. A main reason would be the level of exposure to a subject. For example, many pupils did not study subjects like Accounting and Home Economics in DET and KZN administered schools and they were expected to in the schools in the present study. Typing skills are taught on a lower level as a result of a lack of or poor quality of equipment in DET and KZN schools. They lack a conceptual foundation and thus experience difficulty expanding their knowledge.

The language of instruction, English, also poses a problem of understanding. Although the medium of instruction in DET schools and KZN schools is English at the secondary school level, many African teachers are not proficient in the language and thus teach through the medium of Zulu. Pupils' perceptions as expressed in interviews are outlined below.

Pupil C1: 'There is no understanding. Everything is in English. The teachers can't explain in Zulu.'

Pupil F1: 'English is too advanced in this school; the teacher is too fast. We don't understand the big words the teachers speak.'

Pupil B1: 'In Black schools, the teacher teaches Afrikaans and then explains in Zulu. In this school, the teacher doesn't explain the Afrikaans in English for us to understand.'

There is also a vast difference in the standard or level of some subjects taught in DET and KZN administered schools as compared to the schools in the present study. For example, Afrikaans is introduced in standard three in DET schools and standard one in HOD schools. Subjects like General science and Physical science are studied with little or no practical work done as a result of a lack of facilities. Many teachers are also not adequately qualified to teach at the required standard. For example, Mathematics skills are built upon and not merely acquired as a pupil progresses from one standard to the next. Many pupils lack the conceptual framework on which more advanced knowledge is built. Even though the subject-matter may be difficult to grasp, the manner in which teachers explain the subject-matter may influence performance.

5.5.2 Pupils' perceptions of teachers' explanations:

The researcher intended to, in this question, convey the 'style' of the teacher in imparting knowledge to the pupils. This encompasses the grammar, accent, tone and delivery of the teacher. Pupils' perceptions of their responses to teachers' explanations were analysed in the different social classes and phases of schooling.

Table 5.14: Middle and working class pupils' responses to teachers' explanations

SC	VE	%	E	%	N	%	D	%	VD	%	chi-sq	p
MC	15	22.7	11	16.6	21	31.8	18	27.3	1	1.5	1.98	>0.05
WC	20	23.8	16	19	22	26.2	24	28.6	2	2.4	df=4	
T	35	23.3	27	18	43	28.6	42	28	3	2		

Table 5.15 Junior and senior pupils' responses to teachers' explanations :

Phase	VE	%	E	%	N	%	D	%	VD	%	chi-sq	p
JS	26	26.8	18	18.6	20	20.6	31	31.9	2	2.1	9.21	>.05
SS	9	16.9	9	16.9	23	43.4	11	20.8	1	1.9	df=4	
T	35	23.3	27	18	43	28.6	42	28	3	2		

There was no significant difference in pupils' perceptions of their responses to teachers' explanations in the different social classes and phases of schooling ($p > 0.05$). It was found that even when teachers used easy-going and simple language, some pupils still experienced problems grasping taken-for-granted, simple concepts. Fifty eight point six percent (58.6%) of pupils in both social class groups and phases of schooling perceived teachers' explanations to range from 'neither easy nor difficult' to 'very difficult'. Forty one point three (41.3%) of pupils perceived explanations to be 'very easy' and 'easy'.

Pupil D1 who perceived teachers' explanations to be easy to understand said:

'Teachers are very understanding and they try to help us. They teach well and try to help us by using easy words and teaching slowly.'

Some pupils felt otherwise.

Pupil C1: 'One teacher only looks at the Indian children and don't bother if we don't know the work. He teaches fast and uses high words.'

Pupil A2: 'Teaching is too fast. I'm scared to ask questions because the children laugh if I don't understand simple things. They say I'm stupid.'

Teaching methods were thought to influence performance. Perceptions of pupils' responses to methods of teaching were also analysed in the different social classes and phases of schooling.

5.5.3. Pupils' Perceptions of Teaching Methods:

This refers to the manner in which knowledge is imparted to the pupils in the actual lesson, for example, inquiry based critical thinking or an authoritarian - teacher-dominated lesson. Pupils who previously studied under the KwaZulu and DET Departments were accustomed to Bantu education where the traditional rote learning was used at the expense of developing critical thinking. This could pose a problem for pupils who are now be exposed to methods that demand critical thinking. A comparison of pupils in the different social classes and phases was done of their perceptions of teaching methods

employed.

Table 5.16 : Middle and working class pupils' perceptions of teaching methods:

SC	VE	%	E	%	N	%	D	%	V D	%	chi-sq	P
MC	13	19.7	29	43.9	13	19.7	11	16.6	0	0	3.387	>.0.05
WC	22	26.2	28	33.3	18	21.4	14	16.6	2	2.2	df=4	
T	35	23.3	57	38	31	20.6	25	16.6	2	1.3		

There is no significant difference ($p > 0.05$) in the perceptions of the teaching methods used between pupils in the middle and working classes. Sixty- one and a third percent (61.3%) of pupils in both social classes said that the teaching methods employed by teachers made lessons 'very easy' and 'easy' to understand. Of the 17.9% pupils who perceived lessons to be 'difficult' and 'very difficult', many attributed this to the problem of language.

Table 5.17: Junior and senior pupils' perceptions of teaching methods:

Phase	VE	%	E	%	N	%	D	%	VD	%	Chi-sq	p
JS	21	21.6	40	41.2	16	16.5	20	20.6	0	0	9.635	<0.05
SS	14	26.4	17	32.1	15	28.3	5	9.4	2	3.8	df=4	
T	35	23.3	57	38	31	20.6	25	16.6	2	1.3		

There is a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between the pupils' perceptions of the teaching methods employed in both the junior and senior phases. It is possible that the duration of time spent in the schools in the present study and similar such schools have a positive effect on pupil performance. The pupil becomes familiar with the modus operandi of the school and adjusts to what is required of him. Familiarisation with the language of instruction, amongst other factors, also influences performance. Pupils who have come from HOD administered primary schools seem to have no serious problems with performance. A senior pupil expressed her view on the influence of duration of stay in a school in this study.

Pupil E2: 'When I first came to this school, I did not understand anything because I did not know English. I failed the first year because I had language problems and understanding the teachers. Now, I am getting used to it and I think I am scoring better marks.'

5.5.4 Pupils' perceptions of teacher-attitudes:

Pupils in the present study were asked how caring, helpful and friendly teachers were. The intention in asking this question was to determine whether teachers displayed prejudice. Prejudiced attitudes could influence pupil performance. For example, negative stereotypes may have a negative effect on the pupils' feelings about him-self and this could affect performance negatively. A caring and helpful attitude of the teacher may assist in contributing to the pupils' confidence and self-esteem, thus enabling him to perform well. It is also assumed that values of pupils belonging to the middle-class would be synonymous with that of teachers who display middle-class values, thus predisposing children from the middle-class to receive positive reinforcement from teachers. These pupils would reciprocate by perceiving teachers to be kind and caring. A comparison was done of pupils in middle-class groups of their perceptions of teacher-attitudes towards them.

Table 5.18: Middle and working class pupils' perceptions of teacher-attitudes:

SC	A	%	O	%	S	%	VS	%	N	%	chi-sq	p
MC	29	43.9	23	34.8	10	15.1	2	3	2	3	8.86	>.05
WC	45	53.6	20	23.8	6	7.1	2	2.4	11	13.1	df=4	
T	74	49.3	43	28.6	16	10.6	4	2.6	13	8.6		

KEY:

Abbreviation	Meaning
A	Always
O	Often
S	Seldom
VS	Very Seldom
N	Not at all

It was found that there was no significant difference ($p > 0.05$) in teacher attitudes between pupils in the middle- and working-classes. Seventy- seven point nine percent (77.9%) of pupils in both social class groups perceived teachers to be very caring, helpful

and friendly 'often' to 'always'. Of the 22.1% of pupils who feel otherwise, some feel that teachers are racist and aggressive. They show little or no consideration for the African pupils who don't understand. A pupil who felt this way had the following to say:

Pupil F1: 'Some teachers are not patient and understanding. They expect too much.

They hate us because we are Black and we come from the township. If there is a small argument they will tell you that we come from the township schools to bring violence in this school. We come to other race schools to find a better education, not to bring violence.'

Pupil E1 who felt that teachers were helpful said:

'Teachers are very kind and helpful. They explain what I don't understand. One teacher, the Afrikaans teacher gives me and other pupils extra lessons when we ask, even after school. They teach well.'

Pupils in this study could have also misinterpreted teachers' attitudes. For example, if a pupil does not understand the lesson, he will perceive the teacher negatively as he feels that the teacher is not influencing his performance positively. He associates poor performance in that subject with the teacher who teaches him that subject. Therefore, a pupil's performance in school could influence his overall impression of school.

5.5.5 Pupils' overall perceptions of school in the different social classes and phases:

Again, as for pupils' perception of attitudes of their teachers, it was assumed that the pupils' overall impression of schooling would differ in the different social classes. Middle-class children would come into schools with characteristics of the dominant culture to which teachers belong. In this way, middle-class pupils' values and ideas would be synonymous with those of teachers. Therefore, middle-class children would perform well as compared to working class children, thus having a positive impression of the school. Working class children, on the other hand, will perform poorly and thus have a negative impression of the school.

It was also assumed that pupils in the senior and junior phases of schooling would have differing impressions of schooling, that is, pupils in the senior secondary phase would react positively to schooling as they had been in the school for a longer period of time and would have thus adjusted well as compared to pupils who have just entered these schools. Comparisons were done of pupils' overall impression of school, in the different social classes and phases of schooling.

Table 5.19 Middle and working class pupils' responses to school:

SC	Vm	%	M	%	Nv m	%	Nm	%	Na	%	chi sq	p
MC	41	62.1	11	16.6	7	10.6	6	9.1	1	1.5	4.697	>0.05
WC	60	71.4	15	17.9	3	3.6	6	7.1	0	0	df=4	
T	101	67.3	26	17.3	10	6.6	12	8	1	0.6		

Table 5.20: Junior and senior pupils' responses to school:

Phases	Vm	%	M	%	Nv m	%	Nm	%	Na	%	chi-sq	p
JS	66	68	17	17.5	5	5.2	9	9.3	0	0	3.35	>0.05
SS	35	66	9	17	5	9.4	3	5.7	1	1.9	df=4	
T	101	67.3	26	17.3	10	6.6	12	8	1	0.6		

There is no significant difference ($p > 0.05$) in perception of pupils belonging to both the middle and working class groups. There is also no significant difference ($p > 0.05$) in perception of pupils belonging to both the junior and senior secondary phases. The majority of pupils (84.6%) said that they liked school 'much' or 'very much'. This could be attributed to the qualitative difference in education in the schools in the present study as compared to the schools from which they had come. Pupils may have liked being

schooled in these schools, but they may have not benefited by attending these schools. Pupils were then asked if they thought that they had benefited by attending the schools in the present study.

5.5.6 Pupils perceptions of their benefit from schools:

As in 'pupils' responses to school' in 5.6.4 above, it was assumed that middle-class pupils and pupils in the senior secondary phases of schooling would be predisposed to success as compared to working-class pupils and pupils in the junior phases of schooling. A comparison was done of benefit derived from schooling in both social classes and phases of schooling.

Table 5.21 Middle and working class pupils' benefit from school: Classes:

SC	Yes	%	No	%	chi-sq	p
MC	66	100	0	0	5.770	>0.05
WC	77	91.6	7	8.3	df=1	
T	143	95.3	7	4.6		

Table 5.22 Junior and senior pupils' benefit from school:

Phases	Yes	%	No	%	chi-sq	p
JS	92	94.8	5	5.2	0.147	>0.05
SS	51	96.2	2	3.8	df=1	
T	143	95.3	7	4.6		

There is no significant difference ($p > 0.05$) in the benefit derived from school in both social class groups and in the different phases. Pupils from both social class groups and both phases of schooling benefited from schools in the present study. Ninety five point three percent (95.3%) of pupils in both social classes and phases perceived the school as beneficial to them. Responses in pupil-interviews comprised constant comparisons between the township schools from which the majority of pupils came and the schools in the present study. Responses showed the qualitative differences in schooling and the benefits derived in attending the schools in the present study as compared to the schools from which they came. Pupils who were interviewed expressed their views on the benefits they derived from the schools in the present study.

Pupil B1: 'HOD schools provide free books and the uniforms are cheaper than DET uniforms. The teachers are also better in HOD schools because they have good qualifications.'

Another pupil highlighted the problems of teachers in DET schools.

Pupil A1: 'Teachers in DET schools don't explain well. They don't come to school regularly and they take too many breaks during the lesson. Sometimes they fright for the pupils if they say they want to have a break in this period. The teachers listen to the pupils and the pupils who want to learn suffer.'

Pupil F1: 'The classrooms are better. There are few disruptions like boycotts and violence because the gangs who rule the schools in the townships are far from us now. In the township schools, there are no windows because people steal it at night to build their own houses.'

Pupil A3: 'There are more subjects that we can do in standard seven in this school, not like DET schools. There, we have to choose six subjects in standard six. Our school fees are also cheaper. In my last school, we pay R45 for the year. In this school, we paid R10. It is very cheap.'

Pupil C1: 'There is no electricity in the school I came from. There is no computers or electric typewriters or stoves for baking. On cold days, it is dark inside and it is hard to see what work we are learning.'

Pupil A2: 'The best thing for me about this school is the better sporting opportunity, like soccer. I got my second Natal cap in cross-country in this school. I can also practise for

long after school because the school is near my house.'

Pupils were asked that if they felt that they benefited from these schools, why were many African pupils not performing well. Six pupils in the interview sample said that they did not know why. Others felt that adjustment in schools that are newly racially desegregated takes a long time, as it is a new experience for them. Yet, others felt that the main problem was the language spoken. They were optimistic, nevertheless, of their performance in the schools in the present study, over time. The extent to which African pupils have socialised can also be seen in the socialisation patterns that they have formed with African pupils and with Indian pupils in these schools.

5.6 Peer-group interaction

Inter-group relationships are important as an indicator of how well pupils have adjusted to the schools in the present study. Socialising with both African and Indian pupils will contribute to the pupil's self-esteem. It will enhance one's sense of belonging in such schools as those in the study and this will contribute positively to performance.

5.6.1 Inter-racial mixing of pupils in class:

Pupils were asked which racial group of pupils they join most often in class. It was evident from discussions earlier in this chapter that African pupils are experiencing problems with adjustment. Inter-racial mixing of African and Indian pupils should benefit pupils by improving their performance as there would be peer-assistance. Mixing with both Indian and African fellow pupils can be optimally beneficial to the African pupil. This is necessary

as African pupils need to have the subject-matter taught to them translated into Zulu which is the first language of the majority of the pupils in the study. Here, fellow African pupils play a very important role. The Indian pupil, on the other hand, helps to explain in simple English the subject-matter taught in English. The table below indicates racial group mixing of African pupils in the sample.

Table 5.23: Inter-racial mixing in class:

Racial group	Number of Pupils	Percent
Indian	5	3.3
African	47	31.3
Both	98	65.3
Total	150	100

Sixty five point three percent (65.3%) of pupils said that their friends in class belong to both Indian and African racial groups. Approximately one third have friends who are African only. The language barrier seems to prevent socialisation of pupils inter-racially. Pupils in interviews spoke about racial mixing in the classroom.

Pupil F1: 'My Indian friends explain what I don't understand. They even tell me what to do when I am absent. But my African friends explain in Zulu when I still don't understand my Indian friends.'

Pupil B1: 'Indian friends make fun of us because we don't talk English well.

They laugh if we give a wrong answer or if we don't understand well. I have African friends only.'

There, however, seems to be a slightly different pattern of racial mixing occurring outside the classroom, during breaks.

5.6.2 Inter-racial mixing of pupils during breaks:

Inter-racial mixing of pupils during breaks should be an extension of interaction in the classroom. It is important to establish a feeling of solidarity amongst racial groups so that prejudice and racial tension, that may exist and affect performance, is reduced to a minimum. This can instil a feeling of confidence in the African pupil so that he is able to adjust in the new context of schooling that he has entered. This can also help focus on performance in the absence of other problems that may exist. In this way, performance of African pupils may be improved. Pupils in the study were asked how frequent their interaction is with Indian pupils during breaks and outside the classroom.

Table 5.24: Inter-racial mixing of pupils during breaks:

Frequency	Pupil number	Percentage
Always	35	23.3
Often	52	34.6
Seldom	26	17.3
Very Seldom	10	6.6
Not at all	27	18
Total	150	100

Fifty seven point nine percent (57.9%) of African pupils join Indian pupils during the lunch-breaks ‘often’ to ‘always’. This indicates that there is no serious problem with communication and inter-racial mixing is easily facilitated. Forty- one point nine percent (41.9%) of African pupils join Indian pupils seldom, ‘very seldom’ or ‘not at all’. Here, we see a pattern of social preferences emerging with 41.9% of African pupils joining African pupils most of the time. This pattern emerged as a result of a problem with the language of communication, cultural preferences that pupils have, feeling at ease with pupils of the same race group or merely an expression of preference. Nevertheless, inter-racial mixing is an indication of pupils' adjustment to the schools in the present study. The extent of co-operation and assistance rendered by Indian pupils reinforces the finding that inter-racial mixing is effective and thus to the benefit of pupils in the study.

5.6.3 Inter-racial assistance with academic work :

Pupils were asked about assistance given to them by the different racial groups. This question was to further establish the depth and extent of inter-racial mixing.

Table 5.25: Inter-racial assistance:

Racial group	Number of pupils	Percentage
African Peers	26	17.3
Indian Peers	27	18
Both Groups	97	64.6
Total	150	100

Findings of inter-racial assistance in class, are in keeping with findings of inter-racial mixing during breaks. Sixty five point three percent (65.3%) of African pupils say that their friends in class are both African and Indian. Sixty four point six percent (64.6%) of pupils say that assistance in class is given by both Indian and African pupils. Here we see an emerging pattern where help is sought from and given to African pupils by both race groups to the benefit of the African pupil.

5.6.4 Response to help requested:

This question aimed to establish whether assistance rendered by pupils was sincere or merely an act of tokenism.

Table 5.26 Response to assistance needed by African pupils:

Frequency	Number of Pupils	Percentage
Always	68	45.3
Often	42	28
Seldom	28	18.6
Very Seldom	6	4
Not at all	6	4
Total	150	100

Seventy three point three percent (73.3%) of African pupils say that assistance is offered by their fellow-pupils often to always. It thus seems that inter-racial mixing seems to be fairly effective. African pupils thus have fellow-pupils at their disposable who could assist them in improving their performance. The extent of inter-racial mixing is also evident in participation on sport.

5.6.5. Pupil-participation in sport:

Pupil-participation in sport could help to enhance their confidence through recognition of them being representatives of the school. Pupils were asked if they play sport.

Table 5.27: Pupil-participation in extra-curricular activities:

Responses	Number of pupils	Percentage
Yes	104	69.3
No	46	30.6
Total	150	100

African pupils have integrated themselves well into the extra-curricular activities of the schools in the present study. Sixty nine point three percent (69.3%) of pupils actively engage in sport. They have contributed positively to exercising their sporting skills, thus enhancing their confidence as pupils of the school. The extent of their participation is evident in the highest levels of participation in sport played.

5.6.6 Highest level of participation in sport:

Pupils were asked to indicate the highest level of representation in the sport they played.

Table 5.28: Pupils' level of participation in sporting activities:

Level of Participation	Number of pupils	Percentage
Provincial	5	3.3
Zone	13	5.6
School	34	22.7
House	16	10.6
Class	37	24.6
None	45	30

Thirty percent of the pupils in the sample do not participate in sport. Forty point five percent (40.5%) of pupils brought honour to the schools by representing the province, zone and school. Although performance in the classroom is lacking, pupils in the present study have contributed positively to competitive sport played in schools.

5.7 Summary of the findings:

5.7.1 Background variables of the sample:

The majority of pupils in the study speak Zulu as the first language. It is spoken most often at home and, whenever and wherever possible, in school. Zulu is spoken widely by

pupils belonging to both middle and working class social groups. Both groups are thus at a disadvantage in schools where the medium of instruction is English. This affects their understanding of subject-matter taught, the quality of their written work and communication with teachers and pupils on the same level. Language is perceived by pupils to be a major obstacle to good performance.

The majority of pupils belonging to both social class groups live a considerable distance from schools in the study. They travel long distances by bus and spend substantial amounts in travelling costs. Travelling is time-consuming to the detriment of pupils doing their homework and the quality of homework done. Pupils' irregular and sporadic absence from school is explained by the need to save costs, where possible. This also affects pupils' performance.

5.7.2 Study and material conditions of the home:

Both middle and working class pupils are subjected to similar material and study conditions at home. Although it was found that there were more rooms in middle-class homes than in working class homes, when one considers the variables like the number of occupants per dwelling and study facilities available to the pupil, it can be concluded that differences in both social class groups are negligible.

Most pupils live in homes that accommodate the extended family. Even pupils belonging to the middle-class in close proximity to schools in the study, accommodate relatives, especially younger pupils from the township who attend schools in the area. There is often

overcrowding. This allows pupils little privacy to do their homework or study effectively.

Homework and studying are done most often in rooms that can be considered 'communal', such as the kitchen, lounge or bedroom. Noise and overcrowding affect studying and thus performance. Therefore, the poor material and study conditions affect pupils' performance negatively.

5.7.3 Pupils' perceptions of previous schooling:

Most pupils in the study come from schools previously administered by the DET with the dominant ideology being Bantu education. This has had an impact on their performance in their present schooling. At least half the pupils in the sample failed at least one year in some part of their schooling careers, either in DET or HOD administered schools. Failure is common in township schools as a result of an absence of a culture of teaching and learning. Pupils in both the junior and senior secondary phases of schooling and in both social class groups had failed at some stage in their schooling. The adjustment to the different curriculum and quality of education makes them susceptible to failure in HOD schools.

5.7.4 Pupils' perceptions of present schooling:

Pupils from both social class groups found difficulty grasping the subject-matter taught, understanding teaching methods used and interpreting teachers' explanations. There was a difference in pupils' perceptions of their response to teaching methods used. This could be attributed to pupils becoming accustomed to the manner in which knowledge is imparted

to them. The greater exposure to English and greater confidence they acquire also influences their adjustment to the schools in the study. Pupils also become familiar with teachers and subsequently develop confidence to perform well. The duration of schooling may thus be important for the improvement of performance.

Pupils from both social class groups find teachers to be kind, helpful and caring and they perceive this as having an influence on their performance. Teachers assist pupils with work not understood or even extra lessons to re-teach concepts pupils have not been exposed to. Despite difficulties with schooling evident in pupils' performance, the majority of pupils found the present schooling beneficial to them. Their perceptions of present schooling is strongly influenced by their past educational experiences and the inferior education to which they were exposed.

5.7.5 Peer-group interaction:

Inter-racial mixing of pupils is an indication that pupils are adjusting to racially desegregated schooling. Indian pupils assist African pupils with explaining subject-matter taught and teachers' instructions in simple English and African pupils, who are able to speak and understand English, assist others with translation of work not understood. A reciprocal relationship between Indian and African pupils is initiated on the sports-field as Indian pupils identify with African pupils who are actively involved in sport. They identify with each other, thus supporting each other, where possible, on the sports-field and in the classroom.

CHAPTER SIX: THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY - TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PUPILS' PERFORMANCE

6.1 Introduction

Most teachers in the present study felt that the majority of African pupils perform well below the average. This was confirmed by results in both the Half-yearly and Final examinations of pupils in the sample. The tables below show the performance of pupils in the schools in the present study over a year.

Table 6.1 Examination results of pupils in the junior secondary phase of schooling:

School	Failed: Half- Yearly	%	Passed: Half- Yearly	%	Failed:F inal	%	Passed :Final	%	T
A	14	74	5	26	9	47	10	53	19
B	10	59	7	41	6	35	11	65	17
C	12	63	7	37	9	47	10	53	19
D	7	78	2	22	4	44	5	56	9
E	12	57	9	43	13	62	8	38	21
F	8	62	5	38	4	31	9	69	13
Total	63	64	35	36	45	46	53	54	98

Table 6.2 Examination results of pupils in the senior secondary phase of schooling:

School	Failed: Half- Yearly	%	Passed: Half- Yearly	%	Failed: Final	%	Passed: Final	%	TOT
A	9	69	4	31	6	46	7	54	13
B	4	80	1	20	2	40	3	60	5
C	6	55	5	45	4	36	7	64	11
D	4	100	0	0	1	25	3	75	4
E	8	73	3	27	7	64	4	36	11
F	5	63	3	37	3	38	5	6	8
Tot	36	69	16	31	23	44	29	56	52

There was a higher failure rate in the half-yearly examination than in the final examination. This is a result of the pass requirement in the all subjects being 40% as compared to the the final examination which is 33.3%. Some pupils who fail the final examination are also condoned to a pass so that they are promoted to the next year of study. Criteria for condonation of passes are stipulated by the Department of Education.

Teachers in the sample also expressed broader perceptions on pupil performance. Perceptions included that of pupils' attendance, pupils' responses to subject-matter and

teachers' instructions, peer-group interaction and parental involvement.

6.2 Teachers' perceptions of pupil attendance:

6.2.1 Perceptions of pupil attendance

Table 6.3 : Teachers' ratings of pupil attendance:

Teachers' ratings	Number of teachers (frequency)	Percentage (%)
Excellent	3	4.4
Very good	5	7.35
Good	36	52,9
Poor	23	33,8
Very Poor	1	1.47
Total	68	100

Although the majority of teachers (64.7%) consider the attendance of African pupils to range from good to excellent, more than a third (35.3%) perceive the attendance to be poor to very poor. Many reasons could be forwarded for this: transport-related problems, domestic and political violence, lack of interest due to the inability to cope, lack of parental involvement and the deficiency of a culture of learning at home. Teachers in the individual schools in the study were also asked how they rated pupil attendance of African

pupils in the schools in which they teach. The intention in asking this question was to establish if individual schools in the study had an influence on pupil attendance.

Table 6.4: Teachers' ratings of pupil attendance in the schools in the study:

Ratings	E	%	VG	%	G	%	P	%	VP	%	Tot
A	0	0	0	0	2	18	9	82	0	0	11
B	0	0	0	10	4	40	6	60	0	0	10
C	1	7	1	7	8	57	4	29	0	0	14
D	2	18	2	18	5	46	2	18	0	0	11
E	0	0	1	7	11	79	1	7	1	7	14
F	0	0	1	13	6	74	1	13	0	0	8

KEY:

Abbreviation	Meaning
E	Excellent
VG	Very Good
G	Good
P	Poor
VP	Very Poor

The majority of teachers in schools E and F found the attendance to be good. In schools A and B, however, the majority of teachers found the attendance of pupils to be poor. The schools are situated along the bus routes from the townships. Thus access to schools from the townships poses no constraint on the pupils in any given school in the present study. Teachers, however, forwarded many possible reasons for poor attendance. Here are some examples of teachers' comments on poor attendance. The symbol in brackets indicates the school in the sample.

Junior Afrikaans teacher(A) : 'Most African pupils travel in groups in specially-arranged buses from the township. If they miss the bus, they have no direct transport to the school. Coming to school via town would mean missing half the day and spending more on transport than they normally do. They'd rather stay at home.'

Junior Science and History teacher (A): 'Most African pupils, live a considerable distance away from schools. Transport costs are high and absenteeism is a means of defraying costs incurred by travelling. Pupils take their days off from school at random, thus resulting in irregular and poor attendance.'

Senior Home Economics teacher (E): 'Whenever there are political marches or strikes involving people in the townships, pupils are prevented from leaving the township. They do not attend school for reasons of their safety. Closely related to this is the culture of learning that was disrupted in the post 1976 period when the call for 'liberation before education' was sounded. Education was seen as important but liberation was of

paramount importance. The culture of schooling that was disrupted then still seems to pervade the fabric of schooling and education in township schools even today.'

Senior English teacher (A): 'African pupils are experiencing problems coping with the academic work at school, for various reasons. The medium of instruction is a problem for them. The transition from DET schools to the present schools requires major adjustment. As a result of the vast differences in the quality of education received in schools under each department, African pupils develop a poor image of themselves. They believe that they are lazy or stupid. This is a de-motivating factor that develops in them a resistance to the culture of regular attendance.'

Junior Mathematics teacher (C): 'The environment of the township is pathetic. Many of them live in squalor and poverty. Education for them is not as important as earning a living. Gang-culture also has a bad influence on them.'

Senior Accounting teacher (D): 'Parents work long hours and are unable to help their children with their schoolwork. They also have no idea if their children are attending school. Children do as they please as a result of a lack of guidance.'

6.3 Teachers' perceptions of subject-matter and instruction:

6.3.1 Teachers' perceptions of pupils' grasp of subject matter:

Teachers were asked firstly, how they perceive pupils' grasp of subject-matter and secondly, their perceptions of the link between subject-matter taught to African pupils and

its relevance to their background and experiences. These aspects will be analysed together as they are closely linked. Answers to these questions could ascertain the ease of transition for pupils from the previous schools from which they came to the present schools in terms of their grasp of subject-matter. That is, how similar is the subject-matter taught in schools they have come from to the schools in the present study. The link between subject-matter taught and its relevance to their background and experiences is indicative of the pupils' level of exposure to various stimuli that contribute to a better understanding of the subject-matter taught. Stimuli, in this context, refers to the exposure to the subject-matter taught in previous schools. It also refers to the level of motivation that parents have instilled in their children. Teachers' ratings of pupils' grasp of subject-matter is shown in the table below.

Table 6.5: Teachers' perceptions of pupils' grasp of subject-matter:

Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage(%)
Excellent	0	0
Good	9	13.2
Satisfactory	32	47.1
Poor	23	33.8
Very Poor	4	5.9
Total	68	100

Eighty six point eight percent (86.8%) of teachers say that, pupils' grasp of subject- matter ranged from very poor to satisfactory. Teachers also expressed their views on the links between the subject-matter taught and the experiences of pupils. The grasp of subject-matter will be made more difficult by a poor conceptual background. This is a result of a poor grounding in early schooling. It could also be a result of poor exposure to the media and a lack of intellectual motivation. Problems areas identified were mainly attributed to the differences in the previous education which pupils were subjected to in the township schools and the present schools under study.

6.3.2 Teachers' perceptions of the link between subject-matter and experiences:

Table 6.6: Teachers' perceptions of the pupils' link between subject matter and their experiences

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage(%)
Excellent	0	0
Good	9	13.2
Satisfactory	32	47.1
Poor	23	33.8
Very Poor	4	5.9
Total	68	100

Eighty six point eight percent (86.8%) of teachers say that the link between subject matter and pupils' experiences were poor to very poor. Only 13.2% said that the link was

good. Teachers attribute this to the lack of general knowledge and the difficulty pupils experience in identifying with the subject matter. The following comments were made by teachers, on their perceptions of pupils' grasp of subject-matter and the link with their background and experiences.

Junior Afrikaans teacher (A): ' Pupils have a negative attitude to Afrikaans, which they feel is the language of the oppressor. They have also had poor exposure to the subject in township schools.'

Junior General Science/History teacher (A): 'Even at this stage, their learning is very concrete. Abstract ideas and concepts cannot be easily grasped. They have been subjected to an inferior Bantu education.'

Senior Home Economics teacher (E): ' They are disadvantaged as they do not have the facilities. They have missed out on important practical work. Now there are too many abstract 'facts' for them to grasp easily.'

Junior Mathematics teacher (C): 'The number of pupils in township schools are large and insufficient attention was paid to pupils. The basic concepts were not mastered. Now, it's like teaching them from scratch and there's no time. Even their syllabus seems to be different from the one we follow.'

Senior English teacher (A): 'African pupils have a very poor command of the language

both in comprehension and expression of thoughts and ideas. Simple literal facts cannot be grasped easily by them. Also their vocabulary is limited and simple rules of grammar are not applied in written expressions. For example, terms such as 'was died' or ' for to go to shop' are common errors. Pronouns such as 'he' and 'she' and 'him' and 'her' are also used interchangeably.' The language of instruction seems to compound the problem of grasping subject-matter easily.

6.3.3 Teachers' perceptions of pupils' response to English:

Teachers were asked how they perceive pupils' understanding of English, the medium of instruction. This could indicate how receptive pupils are to English, the medium of instruction. Pupils' understanding of English will be influenced by their previous exposure to the language at home and in their previous schools. Pupils' level of understanding of English will also explain how well pupils grasp the subject-matter taught to them in all subjects taught through the medium of English.

Table 6.7: Teachers' perceptions of pupils' response to English, the medium of instruction:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Excellent	0	0
Very Good	0	0
Good	2	2.94
Satisfactory	20	29.4
Poor	34	50
Very Poor	12	17.6
Total	68	100

As outlined in the previous chapter, 94.7% of pupils in the sample speak Zulu as their first language. Sixty seven point six percent (67.6%) of teachers perceive African pupils as having a 'poor' to 'very poor' command of English, the medium of instruction. Only 2.94% perceive pupils to have a 'good' command of the language. This can be attributed to the low level of exposure to English. This difficulty with language is reinforced by pupils speaking Zulu even in the school context. Township schools also concentrate on Zulu even though the medium of instruction is English in many of these schools. Teachers' perceptions are illustrated below.

Senior English teacher (A): 'English is their second language. Their home language (Zulu)

impinges on their second language affecting fluency/proficiency. Despite this, African pupils are treated as English first language candidates. It is a foreign language to them in many ways. The whole Eurocentric culture associated with the language is foreign to them.'

Junior Biology teacher (E): Pupils have problems expressing themselves in English. They have problems with terminology in Biology stemming from the English language and even more problems with terminology stemming from Latin or Greek, on which many biological terms are based. Township schools concentrate on Zulu, even during English medium lessons. That is why many pupils perform badly, not just in English but in many subjects.'

Teachers were asked if pupils' understanding of English improved with the duration of stay in the schools in the present study.

6.3.4 Teachers' perceptions of pupils' performance in first and subsequent years:

Teachers were asked if they perceived a difference in pupils' performance subsequent to the first year that they spent in the schools in the present study. The first year refers to the standard the pupil was in upon gaining admission to the schools in the present study. For example, a pupil may have gained admission in standard eight or nine. Subsequent years are the years the pupils spent at that school thereafter. This question intended to investigate whether the pupils' length of stay in school showed a change in performance. That is, was there an improvement in the performance of the pupil in years subsequent to

the year in which he gained admission to the school.

Table 6.8: Teachers' perceptions of pupils' performance in the first and subsequent years:

Teachers' Ratings	<u>FIRST</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SUBSEQUENT</u>	<u>YEARS</u>
	No. of teachers	Percentage (%)	No. of teachers	Percentage (%)
Excellent	0	0	0	0
Good	1	1.5	11	16.2
Satisfactory	12	17.6	44	64.7
Poor	39	57.4	13	19.1
Very Poor	16	23.5	0	0
Total	68	100	68	100

Eighty point nine percent (80.9%) of teachers say that African pupils performed poorly to very poorly in their first year of gaining admission to the schools in the study. Reasons for poor and very poor performance were mainly due to the language barrier, adaptability to the schools to which they have come and poor socialisation with Indian pupils upon entering schools.

The language barrier was discussed in detail under the sub-heading, 'Teachers' perceptions of pupils' response to English, the medium of instruction' (6.3.3). The problem of

communication is compounded by the fact that teachers are not able to speak Zulu as they have had no formal exposure to the language. Despite this, performance in subsequent years was said to be slightly improved. This was a result of pupils having a better grasp of the English language over time as they communicate in English and get used to requirements pertaining to the medium of instruction in school. The increased exposure to English as a medium of instruction also facilitates a better understanding and response to lessons taught.

Senior English teacher (D): 'The pupil is now in an environment where he hears, speaks and writes English on a daily basis, which contributes to an improved understanding of English.'

Junior Afrikaans teacher (A): 'African pupils have been exposed to Afrikaans for the first time in standard three in DET schools. In Indian schools, pupils have been exposed to it for the first time in standard one. In DET schools, even the level at which pupils study this subject is different. Afrikaans is taught through the medium of Zulu. Teachers explain what is taught in Afrikaans in Zulu. Also, teachers don't have the necessary qualifications in Afrikaans to teach the subject at the appropriate level or standard. So when pupils come to Indian schools, they find it difficult adapting to the standard here. It takes them time and many experience failure in the process.'

There is also a problem of adjustment and adaptation to the syllabi with special reference to subjects that have not been studied previously. Pupils, upon entering these schools, are

expected to cope with standards of work much higher than they have been exposed to. Pupils are also not accustomed to pre-planning and studying systematically. Opinions from teacher-interviews presented below are illustrations of the arguments which we previously outlined.

Junior Mathematics teacher (C): 'The education received in their former years has stifled them. They are thrown into the 'deep end' and cannot adapt and cope. Standards expected are high.'

Junior Biology teacher (E): 'Since these pupils lack the pre-knowledge needed, most of their time is spent trying to understand basic concepts whereas they should be developing these concepts. They are far removed from practical done here.'

Senior English teacher (D): 'Pupils also feel strange being in a new situation of non-racialism, that is, Indian and African pupils together. They have to learn and understand a 'new culture', including being taught by Indian teachers. They have to get accustomed to differences in culture such as mannerisms, beliefs and accents.'

Despite the problems experienced by African pupils in their first year, it was found that there was an improvement in subsequent years. Sixty four point seven percent (64.7%) of teachers say that performance in subsequent years is satisfactory. Sixteen point two percent (16.2%) say that performance in subsequent years was good. Various reasons were forwarded for this.

Junior Mathematics teacher (C): 'Familiarisation with the Indian culture also helps them socialise easily. There is now a sense of belonging to an educational institution and not an Indian school.'

Senior English teacher (A): 'The pupil is now in an environment where he hears, speaks and writes English on a daily basis. This contributes to an improved understanding of English.'

Junior Biology teacher (E): 'Over time, pupils adapt to the requirements at school. Their self-esteem improves and they tend to perform well. They are able to communicate with Indian pupils more freely. They are no longer afraid.'

6.3.5 Teachers' perceptions of pupils' response in lessons:

Pupils' response to subject-matter taught and their ability to challenge subject-matter was focused on. Teachers were asked if pupils respond positively during lessons and how often they challenge subject-matter found in their textbooks and that expressed by their teachers. The questions aimed to ascertain whether pupils understand lessons by verbalising responses.

Table 6.9 Teachers' perceptions of pupils responding during lessons:

Teachers' Responses	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Yes	27	39.7
No	41	60.3

Table 6.10 Teachers' perceptions of pupils challenging subject-matter:

Frequency	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Always	0	0
Often	1	1.5
Seldom	13	19.1
Very seldom	23	33.8
Not at all	31	45.6
Total	68	100

Sixty point three percent (60.3%) of teachers feel that pupils do not respond at all. Forty five point six percent (45.6%) say that pupils do not challenge subject-matter taught. Teachers attribute this to fear as a result of a lack of confidence. Reasons of adaptability were discussed in detail in this chapter. Statements below reinforce perceptions already expressed.

Senior Accounting teacher (D): 'They could be afraid of giving the wrong answers as they do not understand what is being taught. This is especially so in the early years - when they just enter school.'

Senior English teacher (C): 'They lack the vocabulary to communicate, especially when they are new.'

6.3.6 Teachers' perceptions of peer-group interactions of African pupils:

Teachers were asked about their perceptions of inter-racial mixing. They were asked which racial group they think African pupils interact with most of the time and what they think their level of discussion with their peers is. Inter-racial mixing, as discussed in Chapter Five, has an influence on the performance of African pupils. Interaction aids in the learning process. The level of discussion of Indian and African pupils is also an indication of the academic potential of the pupil.

Table 6.11 Teachers' perceptions of inter-racial mixing of pupils:

Race	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
African	58	85.3
Indian	0	0
Both Indian and African	10	14.7
Total	68	100

Table 6.12 Teachers' perceptions of pupils' level of discussion with peers:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Excellent	1	1.5
Good	4	5.9
Satisfactory	34	50
Poor	23	33.8
Very Poor	6	8.8
Total	68	100

Eighty five point three percent (85.3%) of teachers say that most African pupils interact with African pupils only. This can be attributed to the language barrier and other cultural differences that pupils feel. Ninety two point six percent (92.6%) of teachers say that African pupils' level of discussion with their peers is 'satisfactory' to 'very poor'. Indian and African pupils in the same standard in the schools in the present study show vastly different levels of performance, also, as a result of different schooling histories that they were exposed to. Teachers perceived 'no' or 'poor' responses and a poor level of discussion with their peers a result of many factors. These responses from teachers focused on some important reasons.

Junior Afrikaans teacher (A): 'During breaks, African pupils speak Zulu only. This restricts their interaction with Indian pupils. If they interact, their level of discussion is poor because they are on different wavelengths in terms of understanding.'

Senior English teacher (C): 'They cannot communicate on the same level. When Indian children talk about space and computers and cash cards, they are talking a different language to many African pupils. Obviously, some understand as they come from enlightened homes but not the majority. It just goes to show how disadvantaged most of them are. It's not their doing, but they are products of the system and they are required to pull their strength.'

Senior Accounting teacher (D): 'These pupils have a poor grounding in Accounting. When they come in for the first time in standard eight, for example, they do not possess

the basic knowledge. Therefore there's nothing of substance that they can discuss with their fellow-Indian peers. This gives them little chance to perform well. Some have potential and can compensate quickly the deficiencies they have by communicating with others and 'demanding' assistance. But most perform very poorly for a long time and then show signs of improvement.'

Parents can also play a very important role in assisting their children improve their performance in school. Parental involvement in various aspects of their children's schooling was analysed.

6.4 Teachers' perceptions of parental involvement:

The attitudes and aspirations of parents and their involvement in their child's education may encourage or discourage their performance at school. Parental involvement, in the form of their involvement in their children's homework, taking their children to places of general and educational interest and consulting teachers on the performance of their children, were analysed. Parents can, in many ways and in varied forms, motivate their children to perform well. Motivation received can enhance a child's self-image and confidence, thus influencing his performance positively. It can also create a greater awareness of the importance of the nature of knowledge, thus creating in the child intrinsic motivation.

6.4.1 Teachers' perceptions of homework:

Teachers were asked about the frequency and quality of homework done by pupils in the present

study. They were also asked how much evidence there was to show that African parents assist their children with their homework. The frequency and quality of homework done is also an indication of parental assistance with homework.

6.4.1.1 Teachers' perceptions of the frequency and quality of homework done:

Teachers were asked how frequently pupils responded to homework assigned to them and the quality of homework that they produced. Teachers' responses to both these questions will be discussed with special reference to teachers' perceptions of evidence of parents assisting their children with their homework.

Table 6.13 Teachers' perceptions of frequency of homework done:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Regularly	0	0
Most of the time	22	32.4
Seldom	23	33.8
Very seldom	21	30.9
Not at all	2	2.9
Total	68	100

Table 6.14 Teachers' perceptions of quality of homework done:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Excellent	0	0
Good	1	1.5
Satisfactory	24	35.3
Poor	36	52.9
Very poor	7	10.3
Total	68	100

Sixty seven point six percent (67.6%) of teachers say that homework is done seldom, very seldom or not at all. Pupils do not do their homework assigned to them regularly. Only 32.4% of teachers say that it is done most of the time. Sixty three point two percent (63.2%) of teachers say that the quality of homework done by African pupils is 'poor' to 'very poor'. Only 35.3% of teachers say that the quality of homework is 'satisfactory'. Teachers forwarded reasons such as the pace of teaching is too fast and the standard of work is high and pupils have problems understanding English, especially pupils who have just entered school. These perceptions have been discussed widely in the present chapter with constant reference to the effect of these factors on performance. A negative attitude to homework, arising from a poor culture of learning was also seen as a cause for concern. Teachers discussed their perceptions on the issue of homework.

Junior Mathematics teacher (C): 'Attitude to homework is very poor. They seem to not care. Especially in my subject, concepts are understood by doing examples. This is not done and therefore not understood. They are not ready for the next lesson and the problem continues.'

Poor conditions at home was also expressed as a legitimate reason for homework not being done regularly, and, if done, the poor quality that results. Homes are overcrowded and noisy. Poor conditions at home, also, do not prove conducive to studying or doing one's homework. The lack of parental assistance with homework also gave rise to homework not being done regularly or done poorly. A teacher summarised the problem aptly.

Senior Accounting teacher (D): 'There's definitely a lack of parental involvement. Often, parents cannot be blamed as they are illiterate. To make matters worse, they work long hours. Pupils have no support at home if they need assistance. But parents can assist by making time to enquire about their children's schoolwork even if they can't help them with their work. This will develop in their children an awareness of the importance of education.'

Senior History teacher (B): 'Often pupils do homework because they have to do it. They copy it from other pupils during their breaks or free periods without understanding the processes involved. If undiscovered, they go on doing this. If they attempt it on their own, most of them fail.'

A difference in the quality of homework is evident where parents assist their children.

6.4.1.2 Teachers' perceptions of parents assisting their children with homework:

Teachers were asked how often they thought parents assisted their children with their homework. The intention in asking this question was to investigate the levels of parental involvement in their children's education and how it could affect the quality of homework and performance of pupils.

Table 6.15 Teachers' perceptions of parental assistance with homework:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Regularly	0	0
Most of the time	0	0
Seldom	16	23.5
Very seldom	28	41.2
Not at all	24	35.3
Total	68	100

Teachers felt that there is no evidence of parents assisting their children with homework 'regularly'. Sixty four point seven percent (64.7%) of teachers said that parental involvement in assisting with homework was done 'seldom' or 'very seldom'. Thirty five

point three percent (35.3%) said that there was evidence of no assistance with homework. These perceptions of little parental assistance arose from evidence of homework not being done regularly and, if done, of a poor quality. This is confirmed in 6.4.1.1 above by teachers' perceptions of frequency and quality of homework done. Teachers felt that many parents were not equipped to assist their children with homework, as they are illiterate or have not received any secondary education. Many parents do not even speak English. In the light of parents not being able to assist in the actual processes involved in homework, it would be expected that they consult teachers on their pupils' performance. The interest they take in their children's education is one factor that could motivate them to strive to perform well.

6.4.1.3 Teachers' perceptions of parents consulting them on their pupils' performance:

Teachers were asked how often parents consult them on their children's performance. This will indicate the interest they have in their children's education. It's also an indication of how frequently parents motivate their children so that pupil performance is positively motivated.

Table 6.16 Frequency of African parents consulting with teachers:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Regularly	0	0
Most of the time	1	1.5
Seldom	13	19.1
Very seldom	30	44.1
Not at all	24	35.3
Total	68	100

It is evident that parental involvement is poor. Sixty three point two percent (63.2%) of teachers in the sample say that parents consult teachers on their children's performance 'seldom' or 'very seldom'. Thirty five point three percent (35.3%) say that there is no consultation at all. Only one point five percent (1.5%) of teachers say that there is parental consultation most of the time, when needed. When asked about parents who consult on their pupils' performance, teachers felt that most of these parents lived close to the school and were more educated. Teachers in the interview felt that the frequency of consultation was linked to the socio-economic and cultural resources that were available to the parents. Teachers expressed the following views.

Junior Secondary Science/History teacher (A): ' We must also look at this from the economic point of view. Most pupils live a considerable distance away from school. They

have a problem with fares and stay away sometimes to save that money. Parents making a trip to school from outlying areas will mean, to them, an unnecessary, added expense.'

Senior History teacher (B): ' Working parents have limited time to be involved in their children's schooling. They work longer than the duration of the school day and thus have no time to come to school.'

Teachers also feel that parents lacked an understanding of the importance of education as they were disadvantaged by apartheid in which they developed. They lacked opportunities to educate themselves and if they were schooled, it was to prepare for menial tasks and not to be critical, abstract thinkers. These are some views expressed by teachers.

Senior English teacher (C): ' There is a lack of understanding of the importance of schooling and education. Many parents lack any knowledge of the expected roles of parents. They think that it is left entirely to the teacher to educate and pass the child. They do not have the necessary consciousness to help their children along.'

Senior English teacher (D): ' Many parents are very simple in speech, manner and thought. They do not even think about consulting on their children's education - It's a non-issue.'

A teacher who felt that parents consult regularly said the following.

Junior Mathematics teacher (C): 'The few who consult teachers often do so because they are enlightened. What makes it easier for them is the access they have. These parents have

their own cars and can afford to make the time needed.'

The roles parents play is also evident in the frequency of visits to places of educational and general interest. Teachers were asked how often, they thought, parents had taken their children to places of interest. Evidence could be found in aspects of work assigned to pupils that could reveal their level of exposure to the media and exposure to places visited. It shows the indirect contribution made by parents to their children's education.

Table 6.17 Teachers' perceptions of the frequency of pupils' visits to places of interest:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Regularly	1	1.5
Most of the time	1	1.5
Seldom	20	29.4
Very seldom	24	35.3
Not at all	22	32.4
Total	68	100

The majority of teachers (64.7%) of teachers feel that African parents take their children to places of educational interest 'seldom' or 'very seldom'. Thirty two point four percent (32.4%) of teachers say that there is no evidence to show that parents take their children out to places of interest. Reasons provided were similar to those forwarded by teachers on

why they think teachers do not consult teachers often on their performance. Teachers feel that this does not help to improve the child's outlook and thus performance. Instead, the child's knowledge is limited by a lack of exposure to important aspects related to education. This has an effect on the pupil's performance.

6.5 Teachers' perceptions of extra-lessons conducted:

Despite the vast combination of factors that influence performance, many teachers attempted conducting extra-lessons for pupils. The purpose of teachers conducting lessons on an ad hoc basis is to assist pupils with the understanding of English, the medium of instruction; to teach or re-teach basic concepts not understood or even to re-teach the last lesson done so that pupils are ready for the next one. Lessons are also to reinforce ideas and work already done to consolidate work already done or to update and complete work not done by the pupil. Lessons are also held after a poor performance in a test to ensure that pupils pass the remedial test to follow. Subjects like Mathematics and Science are approached using simplified graphics or even stories that relate directly to the lives and experiences of the pupils. Teachers experienced varying degrees of success arising from extra lessons conducted.

Table 6.18 : Frequency of extra-lessons conducted:

Teachers' Ratings	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
Regularly	5	7.4
Most of the time	7	10.3
Seldom	22	32.4
Very seldom	13	19
Not at all	21	30.9
Total	68	

Sixty one point seven percent (61.7%) of teachers conduct lessons on an ad hoc basis. Fifty point six percent (50.6%) of pupils in the sample do not have extra lessons with 30,9% of teachers conducting no extra lessons at all. Some teachers found extra lessons to show very little improvement in performance. Many, on the other hand, found some improvement evident in tests or examination results. Pupils seem to understand sections taught better and they thus become increasingly confident in class. There is an attitude change so that they show a greater interest in their academic work. Although there is an improvement, it is slight and as long as extra lessons are conducted. There is also not a marked difference in the understanding of concepts. In the light of teachers' perceptions of pupil performance over time in the schools in the present study, they were asked about selection procedures that should be used in admitting African children to such schools as those in the present study.

6.6 Teachers' perceptions of selection procedures in admitting pupils:

Teachers expressed their views on selection procedures that should be used in admitting African children to schools in the present study or similar such schools.

Table 6.19: Teachers' perceptions of selection procedures.

Criteria for selection	Number of teachers	Percentage (%)
English fluency	36	52.9
Previous academic ability	8	11.8
Selection tests	16	23.5
Space Availability	8	11.8
Total	68	100

Considering the performance of the majority of African pupils in the schools in the study, 52.9% of teachers feel that, in the future, pupils should be selected using the criteria of fluency in English, the medium of instruction. Twenty three point five percent (23.5%) of teachers felt that African pupils' performance in selection tests should determine their acceptance into the schools in the present study and similar such schools. Of the remaining 23.6% of teachers, 11.8% said that previous academic ability should decide this and the remaining 11.8% felt that space availability should be the deciding criterion allowing them access to these schools.

6.7 Summary of findings:

The majority of teachers agreed that generally African pupils are performing below that of average pupils. They perceived various reasons for this.

6.7.1 Teachers' perceptions of pupil-attendance:

Although attendance was generally considered to be 'good', poor attendance could be attributed to the cost of travelling, political disruptions in the township areas from which most pupils come, an absence of a culture of learning and lack of parental guidance. Poor attendance had a negative influence on performance.

6.7.2 Teachers' perceptions of pupils' grasp of subject matter and response to instruction:

Teachers perceived pupils' grasp of subject-matter and the link between subject- and pupils' experiences to range from 'poor' to 'satisfactory'. It was found that this improves in subsequent years spent in these schools. Language seemed to be a major problem affecting pupils' understanding. However, teachers felt that there is slight improvement in performance from the first year upon entry into schools to subsequent years. Therefore, adjustment to schools over time, have an influence on performance.

6.7.3 Teachers' perceptions of inter-racial mixing:

Teachers perceive inter-racial mixing to be at a minimum and attribute this to the language barrier. Even the level at which Indian and African pupils interact is considered to be satisfactory or poor. Pupils, although in the same standard, do not communicate on the same level. This shows widely differing levels of pupils' abilities. African pupils have been

greatly disadvantaged by their past educational experiences.

6.7.4 Teachers' perceptions of parental involvement:

Teachers perceive parental guidance in the form of supervision of their children's homework and even taking them to places of interest. The majority of African parents consult teachers on their children's performance 'very seldom' or 'not at all'. Motivation is clearly lacking in children and this affects their ability to perform well.

6.7.5 Teachers' perceptions of extra-lessons conducted:

The majority of teachers conducting extra-lessons perceive little or no difference in performance of pupils. Lessons are conducted on an ad hoc basis and a culture of consistency to bridge the gap in deficiencies is absent.

6.7.6 Teachers' perceptions of selection procedures :

Finally, teachers' perceptions of selection procedures they would recommend to be implemented in the schools in the present study, were expressed. More than 50% of teachers felt that African pupils should be admitted solely on their ability to speak English, the medium of instruction. Thereafter, other factors that should be considered are academic performance as reflected in the pupils' latest academic report, results in selection tests that should be administered to pupils and space-availability in schools.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Findings of the present study are based on perceptions of performance and not performance, per se, or the actual conditions in the schools. Empirical work in the study, based on perceptions, did not establish causal relationships. Therefore, the data in itself, simply does not demonstrate that proposals will lead to improvement. Nevertheless, perceptions of performance have implications for change. Reasonable inferences can be drawn on the basis of the data on perceptions. Recommendations are thus based on perceptions and the implications for change.

The present study examined pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performance with a consideration of factors of pupils' material background, their schooling history, their present schooling, peer -group interaction and parental involvement. African pupils in both social class groups (middle and working classes) and both the schooling phases (junior and secondary phases) were compared for the influence of the above factors on their performance. Pupils and teachers also expressed their views on the effect of extra-lessons conducted. Arising from these issues, teachers opted for certain selection procedures that should be used in admitting African pupils to such schools as in the present study.

Findings of pupils' and their teachers' perceptions were presented separately in chapters five and six. The present chapter will present the conclusions drawn from the findings of the present study. This will be compared with other studies on racial desegregation in schools. Recommendations, arising from the findings of the study will be attempted.

Finally, future-areas of research emanating from the findings of the present study is suggested.

7.2 Conclusions from findings:

It was found that there was no significant difference in perceptions of performance between groups of pupils belonging to the middle and working class groups. There was also no significant difference in perceptions of performance between groups of pupils in the junior and senior secondary schooling phases. Instead, perceptions of pupils in both social class groups and phases showed patterns of similarities.

The extent of the similarities between pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performance will be given. The pages in the study, on which these findings appear, is indicated in brackets in each summary of the findings. Conclusions will then be drawn from the findings. Conclusions from the findings of the study are based on the background variables of African pupils (material conditions, attendance, language), their schooling history (subject-matter taught, instruction and forms of assessment), peer-group interaction, parental involvement and extra-lessons conducted.

7.2.1 Background Variables

7.2.1.1 Material and study conditions of the home:

Pupils occupy homes housing more occupants than they can comfortably occupy, usually an extended family (p.94 – 97). Communal rooms such as the lounge and dining-room are used as make shift bedrooms. Pupils often do their homework and study in these

communal rooms (p. 97-98). They also use the bedroom, which is often occupied by other people, thus curbing their privacy to study effectively. Pupils living in area demarcations 'L' and 'M' sections in Kwa Mashu, are exposed to a culture of crime and violence. These pupils are often subjected to harassment and violence and are also influenced to participate in crime.

African pupils are subjected to poor living conditions, which contribute to poor performance. Conditions at home are not conducive to studying effectively. This explains, in part, the poor quality of homework produced and poor results in assessments. Poor socio-economic conditions also subjects them to crime and violence where they live. These conditions do not assist in promoting a culture of learning. However, there is no empirical evidence to show that, pupils' attitudes arising from the environment in which they live, contribute to poor performance.

7.2.1.2 Attendance:

Approximately two-thirds of the population was classified working class and one third, middle class (p.68-72). Amongst pupils belonging to the middle-class, many still live in the townships of Kwa Mashu or Ntuzuma. Although many people from the townships had relocated as a response to the new constitution by the ANC government, most attending schools in the present study still reside in the townships, or in areas of considerable distance away from the schools (p.88-94).

The majority of pupils thus spend substantial amounts in travelling costs. They spend as

long as one and a half hours travelling, per journey. This is the reason for pupils being absent from schools on days they deem not necessary to be present and on days when they have no money to get to and from school. Pupils living in close proximity to the schools they attend show regular attendance. More than a third of teachers perceive pupil attendance to be an issue of grave concern (p.133-136). Pupils are also prevented from leaving the township on days when there are political disruptions such as strikes, involving people living in the townships. Pupils also absent themselves on days when tests are scheduled in subjects they find difficult. Poor attendance is also perpetuated as a result of a lack of parental guidance.

It can be concluded that poor attendance is related to problems of distance-travelling, that is, the high costs involved in travelling long distances to school and the politically-initiated disruptions in townships that make accessibility to schools, out of township areas, a problem. Poor attendance does not contribute to a culture of learning and thus affects performance.

7.2.1.3 Language:

The majority of pupils speak Zulu most often at home and at school (p.85-88). Spoken English is limited and attempted when they are required to respond to lessons or for purposes of communication with the Indian pupils. On the whole, pupils speak Zulu to each other even within the school boundary.

It follows that a deficiency in understanding subject-matter taught and following teachers'

instructions is evident in problems experienced with language. Pupils do not respond positively to lessons taught and they do not question or challenge subject-matter taught or that in textbooks (p.145– 47). Education in the African ethnic departments introduced English to African pupils at the Standard three level. Despite this, English was not successfully promoted in this context, as African teachers themselves were not proficient in speaking and understanding English. This perpetuated the problem of English-language proficiency.

Proficiency in speaking English also hinders their social relations with Indian pupils, although there is limited interaction. There is, however, inter-racial communication for the purpose of gaining assistance with academic work in the classroom. There is also free, inter-racial participation of pupils in sport, despite the language barrier.

7.2.2 Schooling history:

Most pupils in the present study had their origins of schooling in schools administered by DET or KZN. Even pupils who came from HOD primary schools, spent some part of their early schooling in DET-administered schools (p.98-101). More than half the pupils in the sample failed at least one year in their schooling history. Some failed more than once (p.101-104). This is a result of the poor quality of education that pupils were exposed to in schools from which they came.

This means that African pupils were subjected to Bantu Education, which was an inferior form of education as compared to education received in HOD schools. This placed them at a disadvantage when they gained access to schools administered by other education departments. Pupils who

have had some schooling in HOD schools show greater competence in English than pupils who have come directly from township schools.

7.2.2.1 Subject-matter and instruction:

Pupils found difficulty in grasping the subject-matter taught and responding and understanding teachers' instructions and methods of teaching employed (p.104-112). Teachers found pupils' grasp of subject-matter ranging from 'poor' to 'satisfactory' (p.136-138).

Teachers attributed poor performance to a poor link between subject-matter taught and its relevance to the background and experiences of pupils (p.138-139). Proficiency in English is the major problem affecting understanding of subject-matter and teachers' instructions (p.140-141). This also affects pupils' responses during lessons, as stated under the sub-heading, 'Language', in 7.2.1.3 above. The majority of pupils do not respond positively to lessons and they do not question or challenge subject-matter in textbooks or that which is taught (p.145-147).

Subject-matter taught under Bantu education was not relevant to the experiences of African pupils. It was factual and demanded rote-learning, rather than constructive criticism or critical analysis. It was not meant to be challenged. This was a form of indoctrination and control as was discussed in detail in Chapter Two under the sub-heading, 'Segregated education in SA from 1910 –1990'. This posed a problem for African pupils in HOD-administered schools. Subject-matter in HOD schools was not

related to the experiences of African pupils. It was Euro-centric and void of any African cultural influence. This included culturally specific language and terms. This is compounded by the fact that pupils come to Indian schools with a poor conceptual foundation in all the subjects. A problem in understanding subject-matter and instruction is also linked to English, the language of instruction.

7.2.2.2 Methods of teaching or forms of instruction:

There was a significant difference, though, in pupils in the different phases of schooling, in their responses to teaching methods used (p.112). This could be a result of pupils adjusting over time to the teaching methods used in transmitting subject-matter.

The form of instruction or teaching methods used under Bantu education was the authoritative lecture method of telling. Methods of teaching did not promote critical thinking. It was merely imparting facts to pupils who had to learn them using the rote-learning method of studying. This, again, is in-keeping with the ideology of Bantu education. Instruction used in Indian schools required some form of critical thinking. This requirement was far-removed from the experiences of the African pupils from the township schools. Compounded, once again, by the problem of understanding English, they were not able to understand what was required of them and this contributed to poor performance.

7.2.2.3 Forms of assessment:

Assessments in Indian schools required responses to different questioning types and levels. This was not compliant with the stages of pupils' understanding. African pupils were merely required to re-produce what they were taught in township schools. Low-level questioning concepts were commonly used. African pupils experienced difficulty showing critical thinking or even writing short-note or essay-type answers. Again, this was made more difficult by the problems experienced with understanding English. African pupils had also not developed strong conceptual foundations under Bantu education. This led to poor performances in assessments.

7.2.3 Peer-group interaction:

Inter-racial mixing is effective both in the classroom and outside the classroom, within the physical boundary of the school. A pivotal role is played by both Indian and African pupils in assisting African pupils with their performance (p.121-127). Indian pupils explain, in simple English, the subject-matter and instructions taught and African pupils, proficient in both languages, translate into Zulu, to other African pupils, what is still not understood by them. Interaction in the classroom is thus evident in the assistance given by Indian pupils. Inter-racial mixing on the sports-field is effective. Teachers feel that inter-racial mixing is still in its primacy as the language barrier prevents socialising on a large-scale (p.147-149).

African and Indian pupils together participate in sport. The association on the sports-field creates and develops inter-racial rapport. The positive image of African pupils on the sports-field brings about a reciprocatory reaction when Indian pupils attempt to assist

them in the classroom. The image that the African pupil perceives of himself can boost his confidence, having a positive influence on his performance. The mutual relationship that develops inter-racially, between pupils is important in dispelling any evidence of prejudice that may be felt. Although there is inter-racial mixing in school, it is confined to within the boundaries of the school. The distances between places of residence and schools attended by African pupils, and the language barrier prevents socialisation or social interaction on a larger scale.

7.2.4 Parental involvement

Teachers perceived parental involvement in education to be at a minimum. There is evidence that parents do not supervise and assist their children with their homework. This results in homework not done or homework of a poor quality. The majority of teachers feel that parents do not consult teachers on their children's performance (p.149-158).

It was clearly evident that parents play no or a small role in their children's education. Many parents, living in townships, are illiterate and perform unskilled jobs for a living. Issues concerning them were confined more to the basic needs of their families. Education was an issue far-removed from a concern for survival. This non-participation is a result of the time and resources parents have at their disposal. They have not, in their life-experiences, had the opportunity to develop in their children, a culture of learning that is necessary for good performance.

7.2.5 Extra-lessons conducted:

Lessons were conducted irregularly, if there was an urgency to re-teach or clarify an aspect of work or if pupils requested assistance with aspects of work. There was no continuity, in extra lessons, in the building on concepts or knowledge, or establishing strong conceptual foundations in extra-lessons (p.158-160). There was no significant improvement in performance as a result of extra-lessons conducted on an ad hoc basis. The vast disparities that existed between education in the township schools and that in HOD-controlled schools require greater changes to be made within the schools to improve the performance of African pupils than extra-lessons, per se.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the manner in which extra-lessons are conducted does not warrant a pronounced improvement in performance over time. Extra-lessons conducted focused on areas of difficulty pupils were experiencing in a section of work done in class. It did not focus, primarily, on building a strong conceptual framework, in subject-matter that African pupils experienced difficulty with. Primarily, African pupils still lacked the language skills needed to understand English, the medium of instruction.

7.2.6 Selection procedures:

As a result of English being unfamiliar to pupils, it was felt that, in the future, African pupils should be admitted to racially desegregated schools on the basis of their ability to speak English. Most pupils speak little or no English and functional communication becomes problematic, especially so in the first years in these schools. Some pupils fail continually and eventually drop out of school. However, teachers failed to outline the

level of language that should be considered an acceptable norm for admission of pupils. Many teachers felt that merely communicating with pupils upon them requesting admission is a reliable enough test of their ability to speak English. This, however, is too subjective and simplistic a way of allowing pupils admission as it does not, in itself, guarantee good performance.

It was suggested that selection tests be used in deciding upon admission of pupils as they could be important indicators of pupils' abilities. However, the nature and structure of selection tests were not discussed. Pupils' academic reports were also considered to be an indication of the pupil's ability. A pupil's report showing poor results means that he should not be admitted on the basis that he would not be able to cope with the standards of work demanded of him.

Finally, teachers felt that space availability should be considered. This criterion for admission should be used for all pupils requesting admission, except those who reside in the immediate vicinity of the school (p.160-161).

It can be concluded that selection procedures were used so as not to allow many African pupils admission into HOD schools for fear of lowering standards. Factors of English-proficiency, entrance or selection tests and past academic reports placed African pupils at a disadvantage in gaining access to schools in the study. This is evident in the disparities in education in the different education departments. Space availability in allowing pupils admission was perceived as the least important criterion, that is, they felt that pupils

should not be allowed admission even if there was space in schools, based on other factors. The other factors of language proficiency, academic reports and entrance tests were considered more important to lessen the problem of lowering standards. It was an attempt to ensure that African pupils seeking admission did not gain easy access to these schools. It is clear that disparities between the education departments placed African pupils at a disadvantage. Once again, Bantu education perpetuated unequal outcomes for African pupils in Indian schools.

7.3 Comparison with other studies on racial desegregation

Similar to the findings of Freer and Christie's study (1990), cited in Freer (1991), African pupils are suffering the effects of 'deprivation' as a result of the political history of apartheid to which they were the most exposed. Their disadvantaged position is evident in their performance. Unlike the above-mentioned study, there is no indication in the present study that pupils strive to perform well by conforming to the values of the dominant group, that is, Indian values. Also, unlike Gaganaki's findings where African pupils aspire to benefits and resources held by the dominant group, pupils in the present study perceive their positions as a means of completing their matriculation examinations and completing their formal schooling.

In Bhana's study (1994), Indian teachers favour African pupils who display aspects of the Indian culture, such as their accent and their physical features. They are seen as favourable and this contributes to their self-image and thus opportunities for good performance. In the present study, however, teachers were perceived by pupils as being helpful, kind and

caring. They did not show prejudice or racism.

In Christie's study (1990), overall mixing was favoured. Pupils in the present study also showed evidence of meaningful and purposeful interaction to the benefit of the African pupils. There was no evidence of groups formed out of friendship, but mixing focused on assistance with work. Racial mixing outside the physical bounds of the school was beyond the scope of this study, but it can be concluded that because the majority of pupils live in separate areas, racial mixing is at a minimum.

Frederikse (1994) highlighted the role of colonialism in creating an inferior attitude in Black pupils in Zimbabwe, thus influencing their performance. In the present study, African pupils have been exposed to negative forms of colonialism, in the form of racism, which have disadvantaged them. One of the repercussions of this was placing them unequally in schools to compete on an equal level with pupils of other races. The present study examined African pupils as a product of 'apartheid schooling'. African pupils were subjected to Bantu education and they are now placed at a disadvantage as they are required to compete on an equal level in racially desegregated schools.

Lit (1991) concluded that there was greater interaction of White-African pupils outside the class as African pupils generally performed better in sport than in academic work. In the present study, a sense of solidarity is experienced by pupils in the sports-field and a sense of rapport between African and Indian pupils is carried to the classroom where Indian pupils continue interaction in the form of assisting African pupils with academic

work.

Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992) found 'modern racism' as not promoting teaching and learning effectively, thus not promoting successful desegregation. Contrary to these findings, the present study found that prejudice of teachers and pupils were at a minimum. Teachers, instead, were caring and helpful. This was a means of helping to improve their performance. There was also no indication, as in Bhana's study (1994) of teachers accepting pupils if they conformed to characteristics in themselves, such as belonging to the same religion, having the same accents and using Western reasoning. However, some indication of prejudice in teachers is evident in suggestions made about selection procedures to be adopted in allowing pupils admission to racially-desegregated schools. But, there is no evidence of overt racism in the classroom.

Aspects of the curriculum such as the subject-matter, approaches to teaching and the language used, were identified as problem areas affecting performance. Morrell (1991) also identifies racist practices inherent in the curriculum. He also recognises the level of participation of parents and advocates the active participation of teachers and parents at the level of the school and the community. This is to create an atmosphere of anti-racism through a culture of tolerance. The present study concludes that parents play a minimal role in education. Many overseas studies also stress the irrelevancy of the curriculum to 'disadvantaged' groups. This is evident in the syllabi and teaching styles employed. Forms of assessment also do not take the language proficiency of the child into account.

Overseas studies place emphasis on the effect of social class on performance. In the present study, despite the divisions of working and middle classes, little difference was found in the characteristics distinguishing one group from the other. The African population in both social class groups, were subjected to similar experiences during the period of apartheid. The findings of the present study showed no significant difference in perceptions of performance between the social classes.

Penny, et al, (1993) dismissed the common ideology of 'racelessness' held by principals as a means of, unintentionally, perpetuating inequalities in the educational context. Most principals did not see a link with pupil performance and the cultural capital, which they bring with them upon entering schools. Some, however, suggested that the aims of the school be reviewed to consider the different cultures, races and social classes from which these pupils come. On the whole, teachers in the present study acknowledged differences arising from pupils' background, experiences and culture. Despite conducting extra-lessons on an ad hoc basis, teachers had suggested selection procedures that should be used to overcome the problem of African pupils performing poorly in the schools in the study. They had not volunteered suggestions on structured and organised lessons that could be conducted, as some principals in the study by Penny, et al, had suggested and even implemented at their schools.

7.4 Recommendations:

Recommendations arising from the findings and conclusions in the present study will be attempted. Recommendation related to background variables (material conditions,

attendance and language), schooling history (subject-matter, instruction or teaching methods and forms of assessment), peer-group interaction, parental involvement, extra-lessons, selection procedures and teacher-programmes on multi-cultural education will be discussed

7.4.1 Background Variables:

7.4.1.1 Material Conditions:

The Hunter Report (1996) outlines the latest proposals on the governance and funding of education. It proposes material and financial changes in education for equal opportunities for educational outcomes. This is an important factor in the improvement of the overall educational chances of African pupils. Township schools will have to be upgraded with human and material resources to enable African pupils living in townships to attend schools close to their places of residence. This would assist in lessening the problem of travelling long distances and thus poor attendance.

The upgrading of townships and better conditions within the homes itself, so that home conditions are conducive for studying is important. This would require various changes to be made over a long period of time so that the socio-economic conditions would be improved to facilitate better material conditions for living.

7.4.1.2 Bridging programmes in English, the language of instruction:

Effective communication, using the appropriate level of English, the medium of instruction, should be used. Zulu is the first language spoken most frequently at home by

the majority of African pupils in the present study. To introduce new concepts through the use of English as a first language will produce poor outcomes. Therefore, English, as a medium of instruction, needs to be used at a level so as to bridge the gap in understanding. In addition, it has to be used in conjunction with Zulu. Programmes to bridge the gap in English is necessary. This is not teaching English, the subject, as a first language initially, but rather developing a form of communication and understanding in the language.

On-going programmes should be conducted for these pupils. It should initially take the form of teaching English using the communicative approach, that is, approaching the teaching of English as a foreign language. This should benefit pupils who speak English sparsely, to a large extent. The approach should then progress to teaching English as a second language to teaching English as a first language. If pupils, during the programme, are deemed proficient enough to leave the programme, they may do so. Again, such programmes have to be designed by specialists in the field of languages. In this way, new concepts are introduced simplistically and concretely, linking English to Zulu, the language they are proficient in. For this to be effective, there needs to be in-service programmes for teachers to be exposed to communicative Zulu. This would ensure that African pupils are gradually initiated into English-medium schools, as those in the present study.

7.4.2 Schooling History

7.4.2.1 Link between subject-matter and its relevance to background and experiences to pupils:

Subject-matter taught has to be made more relevant to the background and experiences of pupils. Teachers need to thus, familiarise themselves with pupils' background and experiences so as to make subject-matter taught relevant to the culture of African pupils. In this way, firm conceptual foundations could be formed. This should enhance pupils' understanding of subject-matter taught. This means that the subject-matter which was largely Euro-centric in approach must now include ethno-African culture. This would include different images of character as determined by culture, culturally-specific language and terms and illustrations reflecting culture to include that which African pupils can relate to. Special care needs to be taken of cultural bias within the classroom with specific reference to subject-matter.

7.4.2.2 Changes to teaching methods or instruction:

No one method or style of teaching will be compatible with all pupils. For example, most African pupils in the present study, have been exposed to Bantu education. They are accustomed to rote-learning or the lecture form of teaching and may not be comfortable with group-discussions or self-discovery techniques of learning. Whatever teaching method or style of teaching is used, the focus should be on preparing critical-thinking individuals. Pupils must be made to perceive reason and be critical through their own experiences and thought. In this way, active pupil participation is encouraged and discerning adults would be forthcoming.

7.4.2.3 Forms of assessment:

Subject-matter and the forms in which it is assessed or examined are culturally-biased in favour of the dominant group in a school. In the present study, forms of assessment favoured the dominant Indian population in the schools in the study. Forms of assessment must thus be compliant with the stages of pupils' understanding and proficiency in English, the medium of instruction. A structured examination, per se, as a means of determining success or failure will disadvantage African pupils in situations similar to that in the present study. Forms of assessment should take into account written and oral assessments, together with an assessment of workbooks and evaluation by observation, on a continuous basis.

Types of questions should vary. They should include multiple-choice type questions, matching, choosing, short notes and essay-type questions. The cultural capital that the African pupils possess must be considered in the level of phrases and sentences used in assessments. Concepts and grammar must be simplified to facilitate an understanding.

7.4.3 Extra-lessons conducted

Extra lessons, on its own, cannot improve the performance of pupils. It has to be done in conjunction with a whole new approach to the teaching of pupils in a racially desegregated context. Extra lessons need to be conducted on a structured basis in conjunction with changes made to the curriculum. Changes made to the curriculum, were discussed under recommendations in 7.4.2.1 and 7.4.2.2 above. Lessons need to also

address the individual needs of pupils in a structured programme, so that there is improvement in an understanding of concepts taught. Lessons have to be conducted regularly to establish continuity and, thus, the appropriate attitudes of learning.

7.4.4 Parental involvement:

Presently, parents have an important role to play in decision-making, involving education in their communities. This has taken the form of governing bodies. Parents need to play an important role in curriculum decisions. But parental involvement cannot be improved under the conditions in the present study. Factors of illiteracy, physical distance between the home and school, and constraining factors of time and cost will perpetuate the problem of a low level of parental involvement in their children's education. Material conditions as discussed under 7.4.1.1 will have to be addressed first. Upon fulfilment of these conditions, is there a chance for parents to instil a culture of education in their children.

Teachers need to draw up a programme for parents to place their roles in the context of their children's education. A follow-up must be done to assess parental involvement, and its impact on their children's education. This also develops a good rapport between teachers and parents, assisting parents in having a good knowledge of their child's performance. This, in turn, instils a consciousness in the parent and child, of the importance of education and thus the confidence to strive and achieve. A parent- teacher-pupil partnership can assist in improving performance of pupils. This will have an effect on parents' involvement in their children's education so that they encourage and motivate

their children in various ways. This should contribute to a positive effect on pupils, who, in turn, can strive towards re-establishing a culture of learning.

7.4.5 Teacher-programmes on multi-culturalism:

Teachers in the new context of racially-desegregated schooling have not been officially or formally introduced to the concept of 'multi-cultural education'. There has been, to date, no known structured programme so that teachers are made aware of the differences in background, experiences and culture of African pupils. Therefore, a programme outlining the meaning of 'multi-cultural' education needs to be in place, to assist teachers in developing a better understanding of this new context of schooling. People need to be trained as facilitators to conduct workshops and seminars for teachers.

7.5 Future Research:

Research has been done on racially desegregated public and private schools in South Africa. However, future research arising from the present study is suggested. It is important, in the knowledge of problems with performance of African pupils, that curriculum changes be implemented within the schools in the present study. Research needs to be conducted into three important aspects of the curriculum that have shown to have a profound influence on performance. These aspects are the subject-matter, methods and styles of teaching and forms of assessment. Research also needs to be conducted into English-bridging programmes for African pupils and teacher-programmes on multi-cultural education.

7.5.1 The curriculum:

Research, into aspects of the curriculum, needs to be closely examined by professionals in the field of curriculum development. Specifically, the subject-matter needs to incorporate the ethno-African culture and shift the present cultural emphasis so that the African pupils, a majority group in the country, are given an equal chance of success with specific reference to the subject-matter taught. Research must be conducted in all subjects or areas of study in schools.

The schooling culture that has been instilled in African pupils prior to racially desegregated schooling and its specific links to methods and styles of teaching, and forms of assessment need to be examined in intensity. This will aid in proposing suitable and fair methods and styles of teaching and forms of assessment in the context of racially desegregated schooling for African pupils in this new context.

7.5.2 English-bridging programmes:

Research into bridging-programmes in English need to be examined, that is, ways of ensuring that, African pupils are meeting the required standards of communicating in English, as the medium of instruction. Programmes need to be designed to gradually introduce pupils to English over time. This was elaborated on in 7.4.1.2 under recommendations, above.

7.5.3 Teacher-programmes on multi-cultural education:

Programmes on multi-cultural education, for teachers, need to be designed so that, teachers are made aware of cultural differences that exist amongst the different cultural

groups in the classroom. This is important for understanding different behaviour and educational outcomes of pupils in the different cultural groups. In this way, teachers can adapt and modify their approaches, when necessary, in an informed manner. This should also convey, to teachers, a better understanding of behaviour and mannerisms arising from culture.

7.6 Conclusion

The transition for African pupils from an inferior Bantu education and a culturally- biased education to a system that is qualitatively different, will be one of many trials and tribulations. It must be understood that there is no simple cause-effect formula for the qualitative improvement in the performance of African pupils. It can only result from the interplay of a multiplicity of factors that need to evolve.

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APPENDIX A

PUPIL QUESTIONNAIRE

FILL IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY WRITING OUT RESPONSES WHERE NECESSARY AND TICKING THE APPROPRIATE BLOCKS

A] GENERAL PARTICULARS

1. NAME OF YOUR SCHOOL:

2. YOUR NAME IN FULL:

3. YOUR PRESENT
STD/DIVISION

4. AGE: 11-12yrs ☐ 13-14yrs ☐ 15-16yrs ☐ 17-18yrs ☐ 19+yrs ☐

5. LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME:

English	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaans	<input type="checkbox"/>
Zulu	<input type="checkbox"/>
Xhosa	<input type="checkbox"/>

If other, state _____

B] HOME BACKGROUND

6. FATHER'S OCCUPATION : _____

7. MOTHER'S OCCUPATION : _____

8. AREA IN WHICH YOU LIVE: _____

9. TYPE OF HOME:

Brick single cottage	<input type="checkbox"/>
brick semi-detached cottage	<input type="checkbox"/>
wood-and-iron cottage	<input type="checkbox"/>
flat	<input type="checkbox"/>
informal dwelling	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. NUMBER OF ROOMS IN HOME:

1 - 2	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 - 4	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 - 6	<input type="checkbox"/>
6+	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING IN HOME:

1 - 3
4 - 6
7 - 10
10+

12. TICK THE FOLLOWING THAT ARE AVAILABLE IN YOUR HOME: electricity

 piped-water
 hot-water
 radio
 television
 telephone

13. WHERE DO YOU DO YOUR HOMEWORK MOST OF THE TIME: kitchen

 lounge
 diningroom
 bedroom
 study

If other, state _____

14. HOW DO YOU TRAVEL TO AND FROM SCHOOL?

 car
 bus/taxi
 train
 walking
 hitch-hiking

15. HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE TO TRAVEL TO
 SCHOOL DAILY?

 less than $\frac{1}{2}$ hour
 $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1 hour
 1 - $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour
 more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour

B] SCHOOL BACKGROUND

16. 16.1 PREVIOUS SCHOOL ATTENDED: _____

16.2 IN WHICH AREA IS THIS SCHOOL SITUATED? _____

17. 17.1 DID YOU FAIL THE FINAL EXAMINATION IN ANY STANDARD?

YES

NO

17.2 IF YES, STATE WHICH STANDARD OR STANDARDS YOU FAILED. _____

18. WHICH OF THE EXAMINATION SUBJECTS LISTED ALONGSIDE ARE YOU

STUDYING THIS YEAR?

Maths

Geography

History

Science(Gen)

Phys. Science

Biology

Accounting

Bus. Economics

Economics

Art

Typing

Home Economics

Industrial Arts

If others, state _____

19. WHICH SUBJECT(S) IN THE LIST HAVE YOU NOT STUDIED PREVIOUSLY? _____

20. STATE BRIEFLY WHY YOU DID NOT STUDY THIS/THESE SUBJECT(S) _____

21. 21.1 LIST SUBJECTS THAT YOU PERFORM WELL IN AT PRESENT. _____

21.2 WHAT SYMBOL OR MARK DID YOU OBTAIN IN SUBJECT(S) INDICATED IN 21.1
ABOVE IN THE LAST EXAMINATION WRITTEN? _____

21.3 WHY DO YOU THINK YOU PERFORM WELL IN THIS/THESE SUBJECT(S)?

22. 22.1 LIST SUBJECTS YOU FIND DIFFICULT AND IN WHICH YOUR PERFORMANCE IS
NOT GOOD. _____

22.2 WHAT SYMBOL OR MARK DID YOU OBTAIN IN SUBJECTS INDICATED IN 22.1
ABOVE IN THE LAST EXAMINATION WRITTEN? _____

22.3 WHY DO YOU THINK YOU FIND THESE SUBJECTS DIFFICULT AND WHY ARE YOU NOT PERFORMING WELL? _____

23. 23.1 TEACHERS' EXPLANATIONS IN LESSONS ARE:

Very easy to understand
Easy
Neither easy nor difficult
Difficult
Very difficult

23.2 WHY DO YOU THINK THIS IS SO? _____

24. 24.1 TOPICS DISCUSSED IN CLASS ARE:

Very easy to understand
Easy
Neither easy nor difficult
Difficult
Very difficult

24.2 WHY DO YOU THINK THIS IS SO? _____

25. TEXTBOOKS AND TEACHING-AIDS USED (eg. charts, worksheets, transparencies) MAKE LESSONS:

Very easy to understand
Easy
Neither easy nor difficult
Difficult
Very difficult

26. THE METHODS OF TEACHING IN THIS SCHOOL COMPARED TO MY
PREVIOUS SCHOOL MAKE LESSONS:

Very easy to understand
Easy
Neither easy nor difficult
Difficult
Very difficult

27. 27.1 IN WHAT SUBJECT(S) DO YOU HAVE EXTRA LESSONS? _____

27.2 WHAT KIND OF HELP IS GIVEN IN THIS SUBJECT(S)? _____

27.3 THE BENEFIT DERIVED FROM THIS HELP IS:

none at all
little
satisfactory
much
very much

28. MOST TEACHERS ARE KIND, CARING AND HELPFUL:

always
often
seldom
very seldom
not at all

29. 29.1 I UNDERSTAND MOST LESSONS TAUGHT:

always
often
seldom
very seldom
not at all

29.1 EXPLAIN WHY THIS IS SO? _____

30. 30.1 DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES? YES ☐
NO ☐

30.2 IF YOU HAVE PARTICIPATED IN SPORT, STATE THE LEVEL AT WHICH YOU REPRESENTED YOUR SCHOOL OR CLASS:

provincial ☐
zone ☐
school team ☐
house ☐
class team ☐

C] PEER GROUP

31. MY FRIENDS IN SCHOOL ARE MAINLY: African ☐
Indian ☐
Both ☐

32. I JOIN MY INDIAN FRIENDS DURING SCHOOL-BREAKS: always ☐
often ☐
seldom ☐
very seldom ☐
not at all ☐

33. 33.1 WHEN I REQUIRE HELP WITH MY SCHOOL-WORK, I GET THIS MOSTLY FROM MY: African peers ☐
Indian peers ☐
Both groups ☐

33.2 THESE FRIENDS HELP ME: always ☐
often ☐
seldom ☐
very seldom ☐
not at all ☐

33.3 DO YOU FIND HELP

Useful

Useless

33.4 EXPLAIN WHY THIS IS SO? _____

34. I LIKE THIS SCHOOL:

very much

much

not very much

not much

not at all

35. 35.1 STATE WHETHER YOU HAVE BENEFITTED OR NOT BY ATTENDING
THIS SCHOOL.

YES

NO

35.2 WHY DO YOU SAY SO? EXPLAIN. _____

36. WHICH ASPECTS OF SCHOOL ACTIVITIES DO YOU PERFORM BETTER IN?

Academic

Sport

APPENDIX B

Dear

The following African pupils have been statistically selected to be participants in a study on 'African pupils' perceptions of their performances ' in the present educational climate in S.A.

A questionnaire will be administered to them on , during the lunch-break [12 h 35 - 13 h 05]. It will be appreciated if they could be informed and a venue be arranged for the above purposes. Their punctuality must be stressed as there will be 40 minutes only in which to conduct this procedure.

Your assistance in this research will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

P.Naidu[ms]

Dear

The following African pupils have been statistically selected to be participants in a study on 'African pupils' perceptions of their performances ' in the present educational climate in S.A.

A questionnaire will be administered to them on , during the lunch-break [12 h 35 - 13 h 05]. It will be appreciated if they could be informed and a venue be arranged for the above purposes. Their punctuality must be stressed as there will be 40 minutes only in which to conduct this procedure.

Your assistance in this research will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

P.Naidu[ms]

APPENDIX C

Dear

You have been statistically selected to be a participant in a study on 'African pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performance' in selected schools administered by The House of Delegates [now Gen.Affairs- ex HOD].

It is anticipated that findings of the study would provide valuable insight into the performance of African pupils in the present educational climate in South Africa, thus initiating the provision of a forum for the formulation of recommendations on the issue.

It would be greatly appreciated if you could complete the attached questionnaire as objectively as possible. All information forwarded by you will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only. Your assistance in this research would be greatly appreciated. Completed questionnaires would be collected on

Yours Faithfully
P.Naidu [ms]

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You have been statistically selected to be a participant in a study on 'African pupils' and their teachers' perceptions of their performance' in selected schools administered by The House of Delegates [now Gen.Affairs- ex HOD].

It is anticipated that findings of the study would provide valuable insight into the performance of African pupils in the present educational climate in South Africa, thus initiating the provision of a forum for the formulation of recommendations on the issue.

It would be greatly appreciated if you could complete the attached questionnaire as objectively as possible. All information forwarded by you will be treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only. Your assistance in this research would be greatly appreciated. Completed questionnaires would be collected on

Yours Faithfully
Naidu [ms]

TEACHER - QUESTIONNAIRE

FILL IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY WRITING OUT RESPONSES WHERE NECESSARY AND TICKING THE APPROPRIATE BLOCKS

A] GENERAL PARTICULARS

1. NAME OF YOUR SCHOOL:

2. NAME OF TEACHER:

3. SUBJECT(S) TAUGHT:

4. PUPILS TAUGHT (from attached sheet):

B] PUPILS' PERFORMANCES:

5. 5.1 WHAT DIFFERENCES HAVE YOU NOTICED BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN AND AFRICAN PUPILS IN THE SUBJECT(S) YOU TEACH?

5.2 WHY DO YOU THINK THESE DIFFERENCES EXIST?

6. FROM THE LIST PROVIDED, RATE THE PERFORMANCE OF PUPILS (whom you teach) IN YOUR SUBJECT(S), UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADINGS:

NAME OF PUPIL	SUBJECT	R A T I N G				
6.1		EXCELLENT <input type="checkbox"/>	V. GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	SATISFACTORY <input type="checkbox"/>	POOR <input type="checkbox"/>
6.2		EXCELLENT <input type="checkbox"/>	V. GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	SATISFACTORY <input type="checkbox"/>	POOR <input type="checkbox"/>
6.3		EXCELLENT <input type="checkbox"/>	V. GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	SATISFACTORY <input type="checkbox"/>	POOR <input type="checkbox"/>
6.4		EXCELLENT <input type="checkbox"/>	V. GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	SATISFACTORY <input type="checkbox"/>	POOR <input type="checkbox"/>
6.5		EXCELLENT <input type="checkbox"/>	V. GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	GOOD <input type="checkbox"/>	SATISFACTORY <input type="checkbox"/>	POOR <input type="checkbox"/>

7. 7.1 MOST OF YOUR SENIOR SECONDARY AFRICAN PUPILS STUDY YOUR
SUBJECT ON THE:

H.G.

S.G.

L.G.

- 7.2 COULD YOU PROVIDE POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THIS: _____

8. IN WHICH ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOL DO AFRICAN PUPILS GENERALLY PERFORM WELL? RANK IN ORDER OF SIGNIFICANCE.

Academic
Sport (Extra-curricular)
Co-curricular (Speech contests, debates etc.)
Concerts (Musicals)

9. 9.1 THE ATTENDANCE OF AFRICAN PUPILS IS GENERALLY: Excellent
Very Good
Good
Poor
Very poor

- 9.2 IF POOR OR VERY POOR, COULD YOU SUGGEST SOME REASONS FOR THIS:

C] SUBJECT-MATTER AND INSTRUCTION

10. PUPILS' GRASP OF THE SUBJECT(S) WHICH I TEACH IS: Excellent
Good
Satisfactory
Poor
Very poor

11. THE LINK BETWEEN SUBJECT-MATTER TAUGHT TO AFRICAN PUPILS AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THEIR BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCES IS: Excellent
Good
Satisfactory
Poor
Very poor

12. GENERALLY, AFRICAN PUPILS' UNDERSTANDING OF ENGLISH, THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IS:

Excellent
Good
Satisfactory
Poor
Very poor

13. 13.1 HOW DO AFRICAN PUPILS GENERALLY PERFORM IN YOUR SUBJECT(S) IN THE FIRST YEAR IN THIS SCHOOL?

Excellent
Good
Satisfactory
Poor
Very poor

13.2 COULD YOU ADVANCE POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THIS?

13.3 HOW DO THEY PERFORM THEREAFTER (IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS)?

Excellent
Good
Satisfactory
Poor
Very poor

13.4 COULD YOU ADVANCE POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THIS?

14. 14.1 DO AFRICAN PUPILS GENERALLY RESPOND POSITIVELY
DURING LESSONS?

YES

NO

14.2 IF NO, PROVIDE POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THIS. _____

15. AFRICAN PUPILS CHALLENGE SUBJECT-MATTER FOUND IN THEIR TEXTBOOKS
AND THAT EXPRESSED BY TEACHERS:

Always

Often

Seldom

Very Seldom

Not at all

16. 16.1 DURING LESSON-ACTIVITIES, AFRICAN PUPILS INTERACT MOSTLY
WITH:

African Peers

Indian Peers

Both groups equally

16.2 AFRICAN PUPILS' DISCUSSIONS WITH PEERS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS
OF WORK CAN GENERALLY BE CONSIDERED TO BE:

Excellent

Good

Satisfactory

Poor

Very poor

D] PARENTS AND HOME-BACKGROUND

17. 17.1 AFRICAN PUPILS DO THEIR HOMEWORK:

regularly

most of the time

seldom

very seldom

not at all

17.2 THE QUALITY OF HOMEWORK IS GENERALLY:

Excellent
Good
Satisfactory
Poor
Very poor

17.3 IF POOR OR VERY POOR, COULD YOU SUGGEST SOME REASONS FOR THIS:

18. THERE IS EVIDENCE OF AFRICAN PARENTS ASSISTING THEIR CHILDREN WITH HOMEWORK:

regularly
most of the time
seldom
very seldom
not at all

19. PARENTS OF AFRICAN CHILDREN CONSULT TEACHERS ON THEIR CHILDREN'S PERFORMANCE:

regularly
most of the time
seldom
very seldom
not at all

20. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT AFRICAN PARENTS TAKE THEIR CHILDREN TO PLACES OF GENERAL AND EDUCATIONAL INTEREST:

regularly
most of the time
seldom
very seldom
not at all

E]

21. HOW OFTEN DO YOU CONDUCT EXTRA LESSONS FOR AFRICAN PUPILS?

regularly
most of the time
seldom
very seldom
not at all

21.2 WHY DO YOU CONDUCT THESE LESSONS (IF YOU DO)? _____

21.3 WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES EXTRA-TUITION MAKE TO THE PUPILS' PERFORMANCE? EXPLAIN BRIEFLY.

F]

22. WHAT TYPE OF JOBS, DO YOU THINK, PUPILS YOU HAVE LISTED IN QUESTION 6 WOULD OCCUPY UPON LEAVING SCHOOL AFTER MATRICULATION OR EARLIER.
(List the pupils and tick in the appropriate blocks).

NAME OF PUPIL	PROFESSIONAL	SKILLED	SEMI-SKILLED	UNSKILLED
22.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. 23.1 SELECTION OF AFRICAN PUPILS IN SCHOOLS SHOULD BE BASED ON PUPILS: (RANK IN ORDER OF SIGNIFICANCE)

ability to speak English fluently
previous academic ability
performance in selection tests
space-availability in schools

- 23.2 IF OTHER FACTORS, STATE.
