

**A CASE STUDY OF
THE DESEGREGATION EXPERIENCE OF A
WHITE STATE HIGH SCHOOL IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze the ways in which educators, socialized within an entrenched racist system, integrate children from different racial groups in their school.

The study offers an in-depth look at a formerly white girls' high school in a low socio-economic area of Durban, South Africa. The research was undertaken in August, 1993, 18 months after the admission of pupils of all races and nine months prior to the national free elections.

To date there has been little systematic documentation of the desegregation of white state schools in South Africa. It is, therefore, the researcher's intention that it contribute to the accumulation of basic data from which to carry out further in-depth studies. It is a further objective that the results of this study might inform educators and policy-makers in their nascent attempts to effectively integrate South African schools.

While Canadian schools have been multiracial for many years, the analysis of a South African school just embarking on integration may provide valuable insights on new and old theories of multicultural practices.

A qualitative approach was chosen, using a case study based on the ethnographic tradition. This was deemed the most appropriate way of peeling back the multiple layers of socialization that govern black and white interactions in

South Africa. It was also considered to be the most effective way of capturing the full richness of the data from a situation that was new and turbulent. The primary tools for data collection were direct observations and interviews.

The nuances in the data reveal many paradoxes, contradictions and unpredictable outcomes.

The role of class as a mechanism of exclusion emerges as a predominant theme in the study. It highlights the way in which both race and class interact in South Africa in an intense struggle over power and privilege.

The study also offers insights into the reasons an oppressed group seeks access to a world language and First World lifestyle sometimes at the expense of their own culture and ethnicity.

Another theme that emerges is the necessity in South Africa of building a national identity while still recognizing diversity.

The research concludes with some suggestions for facilitating effective desegregation, bearing in mind that the complexities and uniqueness of the South African terrain necessitate a dynamic, flexible and holistic approach.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the historic free elections in April 1994 which ushered in a non-racial, democratic government, South Africa was a society strictly stratified along racial lines. With the election of the National Party to political power in 1948, this stratification became legislated and Apartheid as an ideology was born. The Group Areas Act (1950) determined where each racial group could live, rural Africans being confined to poverty-stricken 'homelands', urban blacks ghettoized in bleak townships, far enough away to avoid contaminating the white cities, close enough to contribute their indispensable labour. Influx Control laws ensured that only working blacks could stay in urban areas for longer than 72 hours. Keeping cities 'white' resulted in periodic forced relocations of entire non-white communities. The Population Registration Act (1967) classified every person according to four racial categories, African, Indian, Coloured and White. The Mixed Marriages Act made sexual relations across racial groups illegal. Consequently, until 1994, South Africa was an anomaly for

"While the concept of race had been thoroughly discredited by the rest of the world, as a meaningful biological classification system, (in South Africa) it acquired a pseudo-reality because of its socio-political consequences." (Burman, 1986:5)

Many researchers (Kallaway, 1991; Wolpe, 1991; Unterhalter, 1991; Adam and Moodley, 1993.) have pointed to the relationship between class and race in South Africa. Christie (1990) contends that South Africa may best be understood as a capitalist and class-based society, where racial practices were integral and institutionalized and where history has been shaped by intense political and ideological struggles over issues of both race and class.

Within this context of a society divided along racial and class lines, education has been used as a powerful instrument by which the regime has tried to reproduce the existing social order. (Unterhalter & Wolpe, 1991.)

"The success of apartheid depends in the first instance on education." (Report on Native Education, 1935, cited in Callinicos, 1990.)

With the Bantu Education Act (1953), the purpose of education in preparing students to fill their predestined role became more explicit. For whites this meant preparation for life in the dominant society; for blacks it meant inculcating acceptance of an inferior position.

(Maree, in Kallaway, 1991.)

"The African child should be schooled for servility since there is no place for him in the European community above certain forms of labour." (Prime Minister Verwoerd, 1953 cited in Callinicos, 1990.)

During this period, black education passed from the mission schools and was centralised under the Department of

Bantu Education. The intention was not to deny education to all blacks but to differentiate the black population with a small urban working class, with some access to education, and a large, minimally educated migrant labour force.

(Kallaway, 1984; Unterhalter, Wolpe et al 1991; Hartshorne, 1992.)

While little was done to promote education during the '50s, equally little was done to obstruct those with the means from progressing through the education system. This group of pupils provided the pool from which the very rapidly growing number of school and university students would be drawn in the next decade. (Unterhalter, 1991.)

The following decade from 1963-1973 was accompanied by significant expansion of black school enrolments and expenditure on black education, while still remaining vastly inferior to white education. The reasons for this were both political and economic.

Faced with massive popular uprisings, the regime reacted with more repression, banning organizations and people such as the ANC and Nelson Mandela, and creating Bantustans, 'independent homelands based on ethnicity' wherein blacks had limited political rights. The rationale was to deflect from demands in a unitary South Africa. Education expanded in order to meet the needs for a trained black civil service in the Bantustan administration.

Political unrest and repressive government retaliation resulted in the flight of much foreign capital, essential for economic growth. In addition, the development of mechanisation in mining, manufacture and agriculture necessitated a more educated and skilled workforce.

(Unterhalter, 1991).

However, the intentions of black education failed miserably.

" The system's attempt to depoliticize and disempower black students through an education geared towards a continuation of their inferiority and submission, instead resulted in children who completely disabled a system of mass state schooling, - a phenomenon unprecedented in history." Nasson, 1986:113.)

The 1976 Soweto riots ushered in an era of rebellion against the black education system which took the form of nation-wide school boycotts, stayaways, destruction of school facilities and attacks on school administration. Black students sometimes acted independently, sometimes in conjunction with teachers, parents and community organizations. (Nasson, 1986; Unterhalter, 1991; Hofmeyer and Buckland, 1992.)

The political instability, coupled with a declining economy, due to the flight of foreign capital, unemployment and falling wages, led to attempted reforms in black education in order to broaden the regime's support among the dominated classes. The De Lange Commission (1981) and the government's response in the White Paper (1983), recommended

expanding and reforming black education, the rationale being that a more educated workforce would not only provide higher levels of productivity and economic growth but would be politically submissive because workers would have a greater stake in the system. (Nasson, 1986; Unterhalter, 1991; Hofmeyer and Buckland, 1992.)

This failed in both respects. The following five years, from 1983-1989 were characterized by the paradox of both reform and repression. The government's attempt to entice middle-class blacks through material rewards led to a deeper sense of alienation as economic benefits were still not linked to political and social rights. (van Zyl Slabbert, 1989; Adam and Moodley, 1986.)

Country-wide uprisings continued in the form of school boycotts, strikes, mass meetings, demonstrations and armed attacks on specific targets associated with the regime. This period saw the growth of organizations among the dominated classes, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). The latter arose out of the black parents' and community concern with the increasing unaccountability of black student protest. It was an attempt to shift the concept encapsulated in the slogan 'no education until liberation' towards 'a people's education for people's power' which could lay the foundation of a non-racial, unitary and democratic education system. This

constituted a decisive strategy in that it linked the education struggle to the transformation of the whole political and social system. (Unterhalter,1991.)

The economy during this period continued to decline due to increased labour unrest and international sanctions.

The regime's response was to impose repressive State of Emergency legislation which enabled them to ban student organizations, detain leading activists in the NECC and other democratic groups and install the military in many black schools and townships.

At the same time, however, enrolments in black schools increased, per capita expenditure on black education by the state doubled and there was huge investment in black education, especially in vocational and technical schools, from corporate interests. (Unterhalter,Badat,et al 1991.) In 1986 free education for whites was withdrawn while compulsory primary education for blacks was legislated in 1992. (McGregor et al,1992)

In 1990, South Africa's State President F.W.de Klerk announced the birth of a "new" South Africa. In the following two years Nelson Mandela was released from detention, organizations such as the ANC, PAC, SACP, were unbanned and significant apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, and Population Registration Act were revoked, thus paving the way for the

desegregation of white schools. (Hofmeyer and Buckland,1992; Freer,1992; Christie,1990.)

Superficially, this represented a considerable change by the government since it had been only four years previously that de Klerk, as minister of National Education, had stated unequivocally that as long as the National Party was in power, they would be committed to separate education in state schools. (Penny,Appel,et al,1992.)

A 1989 survey showed 55% of white respondents favoured selective or complete integration of state schools although this was substantially lower amongst Afrikaans-speakers or those who supported the right-wing Conservative Party.(Bot,1992) In 1992 the government announced that all state schools would have to desegregate unless two-thirds of the parents voted otherwise. The implication of this ruling was that white parents, through the school's governing body, could manage and control many facets of the school, including the appointment of teachers at entry level and the determination of the school's admission policy. Consequently, white schools still retained the power to entrench or reverse the tradition of segregated schooling. (Freer,1992; Coutts,1992).

However, the crisis facing white education influenced the further desegregation of many white state schools. Falling birth rates and emigration led to a decline in the white population. In addition there was a growing decrease

in teacher morale, criticism of the eurocentric curriculum and closed cultural identity of the white education system. (Hofmeyer & Spence, 1989, cited in Hofmeyer & Buckland, 1992.)

In April 1994, free elections in South Africa brought to power Nelson Mandela and the ANC, thus ending centuries of oppression and racial discrimination and heralding the birth of a new, democratic nation.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to explore and analyze the ways in which teachers and administrators deal with the practicalities and implications of integrating children from different racial groups in their school. I would like to examine how the teachers and administrators, socialized within an entrenched racist system, validated by the State, Church and Court, face the challenging task of facilitating effective learning among children who have essentially lived in separate worlds, albeit within one nation.

Although apartheid was in the process of being dismantled at the time of the study, the legacy of such social engineering has far-reaching implications both in terms of deprivation in all aspects of life- home, school and work- suffered by the underprivileged groups, and the entrenched attitudes and behaviours of the people.

"Generations of children have now grown up within this system, with uniquely different experiences and attitudes

from and about each other, despite being members of one nation." (Burman,1986.)

This study offers an in-depth look at a formerly white girls' high school in a low socio-economic area of Durban, South Africa. The year is August, 1993. It has been 18 months since the school first opened its gates, in January 1991, to pupils of all races. It is nine months before the national free elections of April 1994.

The guiding foci of the study which indicate how things are working at the school are:

- What is the social context of the school?
- What is the philosophy of the Principal and how supportive of integration are the administrators, parents and community?
- What selection procedures are used for admitting black and white students?
- How does the school promote positive self-concept among all its pupils?
- How are status relations reproduced within the school and classroom?
- What racial attitudes exist between the staff and students and among the students themselves?
- What are the teachers' expectations of the children and how are these manifested in the classroom?
- What kind of pedagogy does the teacher use and how does this affect performance and attitudes in the classroom?

- Whose culture is reflected in the curriculum? Has the curriculum changed in order to accommodate the new student clientele?

In order to find answers to the above broad questions I will look at the following specific indicators:

- The physical description of the immediate community. Is it a solidly white residential area or racially mixed? What is its socio-economic status? What is the proximity of the school to pupils' homes.

- Is there a parent association? Is it multi-racial? What kinds of activities does it participate in?

- School's ethos. What are the school songs, logos, "houses", decorations, mascots and celebrations?

- Examine admission tests and interview Principal about criteria used for selection.

- Who are the school prefects, sports captains, house captains, class captains and club presidents?

- Which students get punished more often and for what infringements? What is the nature of the punishment? Does it affect all students equally?

- What is the nature of the contact amongst students? What are their perceptions of each other? What is the physical arrangement of the desks? What constitutes the club and team memberships, and the playground associations?

- What is the nature of the contact between teachers and students? What responsibilities do the teachers give the

black and white students? How much attention do they give to their answers, questions, problems?

- Who initiates classroom responses, discussions? Which students do the teachers call upon to respond to questions, model answers, give opinions?

- Is there a co-operative or competitive classroom environment? Is there ability streaming within the school and /or classroom? What kind of support is there for children with language or learning limitations? When is it given? How important are grades? Are they publicized? What are the academic results?

- To what extent does the history curriculum reflect the histories and contributions of all racial groups? To what extent does it deal with the history of apartheid, the black struggle for equality, black leaders and heroes?

- Is the art, music, drama and literature of non-Anglo cultures studied in these classes?

- What languages are taught in the school?

- An examination of school textbooks and classroom observations will provide answers to these curriculum concerns.

DEFINITIONS

Several key terms have been used throughout this study. The following definitions have been provided to indicate how these terms have been used in the context of this study:

Apartheid: The legislated policy of racial segregation instituted in South Africa by the Nationalist Party in 1948.

Black: Used to refer to people classified as African, Coloured (mixed race) and Indian. These terms, as well as the term, White, as used in this study, do not refer to a biological concept of race, but to the political system of racial classification under Apartheid laws.

'Open' schools: This term was used prior to the introduction of Apartheid into universities in 1959 to denote racially mixed universities. It has become the common term of preference to describe racially mixed schools.

Streaming: Grouping according to perceived academic ability, either in different classes within the school, or in different groups within classes. Each class is labelled A,B,C,D etc. according to achievement usually determined by examinations.

Integration: The inclusion of people of all groups, marking the end of racial segregation.

Assimilation: Absorption into the dominant culture, so as to become indistinguishable from the dominant group.

Houses: Each school is divided into three or four houses, or teams, usually named after a somewhat obscure British or White South African historical figure. Each student is assigned a 'house' at school entry.

Standard: Grade. Grade 3 = Std.1; Grade 12 = Std. 10.

Matriculation/Matric: Std. 10 school-leaving examination.

Prefects: Students in Std. 10 who are elected by students and staff to be leaders, enforce discipline and school rules and model correct behaviour.

RATIONALE

This study is important because to date there has been little systematic documentation on the desegregation of white government schools in South Africa, a hitherto unanticipated event in a uniquely aberrant social setting. (Penny, Appel, et al 1992). It is the researcher's intention that it contribute to the accumulation of basic data from which it would be possible to carry out further in-depth studies.

Moreover, it is at this early stage of school integration that critical choices need to be made. It is an objective of this study, that it add to the knowledge which might inform and guide educators and policy-makers in their early attempts to facilitate effective integration in South African schools.

Because of the ideology of apartheid, racial divisions have historically overshadowed class antagonisms within South African society. The removal of race as a criterion within the education system, may crystallize class divisions and provide a greater understanding of the way in which class and race articulate in the South African arena.

While Canadian schools have been multi-racial for many years, the analysis of a South African school just embarking on integration, could provide some valuable insights on new and old theories of multicultural educational practices. This research could offer fresh perspectives on the sometimes platitude-laden discourse surrounding multicultural education in Canada.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following research is located within the broad area of multicultural education. The desegregation literature in the United States, the race relations literature in the United Kingdom and multicultural-anti-racist education in Canada will serve as an orienting framework for this study. These theoretical perspectives will be applied to examine education within the rapidly desegregating context of South African schools.

Desegregation literature is fairly consistent in its description of crucial factors for effective school integration. In broad terms, these are the creation of an equal status learning environment in which all students have equal access to educational opportunities and equal power within the contact situation; co-operative rather than competitive pedagogy; and the support of relevant authorities. The latter necessitates positive support of integration by parents and the community and parental

involvement in school activities. It also depends on teachers being prepared personally and professionally, through in-service training, to cope with students from diverse backgrounds. (Verma&Bagley,1979; Schofield,1982; Hawley,Crain,1983; Slavin,1987; McGroarty,1992; Oakes,1992.)

Early integration attempts were characterized by assimilation, whereby black or minority students were expected to acquire the 'cultural capital' necessary to fit into white society. Attempts to redress this and create 'equal status' led Western theorists and educators from an assimilationist model of integration, to a multicultural standpoint. Multicultural education tried to validate black and minority students' culture and instill amongst all pupils a tolerance of other races, religions and ways of life. The objective was to promote harmonious group relations and increase black and minority academic achievement. The failure of multicultural education to meet all its objectives has led to an explicit anti-racist education policy wherein racism as a mechanism for perpetuating social inequality, is strongly contested in the school environment. (Ogbu,1978; Cummins,1987,1988; McCarthy,1990; Solomon,1994)

Research (Slavin,1978; Hawley, Crain et al,1983.) indicates the necessity for curricular and pedagogical changes for a learning environment conducive to successful integration. Curricular reform, which validates

the black students' culture and historical contributions, leads to improved self-esteem, better race-relations and improved academic performance by the low-status group. Similar results have been obtained utilizing co-operative rather than competitive learning strategies. (Schofield, 1982; Slavin, 1987; McGroarty, 1992.)

Scholars (Schofield, 1982; Hawley, Crain, 1983) indicate the importance of support by relevant authorities, including the community, parents, administrators and teachers, in successful school integration experiences. Their evidence shows that teachers are crucial by, among other things, modeling the desired behaviour and attitudes, which strongly influence students' behaviour and attitudes. Because teachers are ill-prepared to cope with racially diverse classes, these researchers recommend extensive training for both teachers and administrators.

I will approach my own research within this theoretical framework. However, in determining the applicability of this literature to the South African experience, it is essential to locate it within the unique sociopolitical context of South Africa.

Chapter II

AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF EDUCATION UNDER APARTHEID

BANTU EDUCATION

Decades of apartheid education have resulted in gross inequalities between blacks and whites that will have repercussions for years to come, despite the gradual integration of schools since 1991. (Hartshorne, in McGregor, 1992). This is exacerbated by the fact that South Africa contains elements of both the First and Third Worlds. The education profile of black South Africans is consistent with developing countries: Thirty percent has no education; 36% has primary education; 31% has secondary education; 3% has degrees or diplomas. While the white birth rate is falling, it is rising amongst the black population. Within five years there will be one million children reaching school age each year. (Hartshorne, Hofmeyer, Buckland, in McGregor, 1992.)

The following table shows the large discrepancies between black and white education with respect to teacher/pupil ratios, under-qualified teachers, per capita expenditure and school-leaving pass rates. Moreover, until 1986, education was free and compulsory until the age of 16 for whites only. (Kallaway, 1991; Nasson, 1986; Hofmeyer & Buckland, 1992; Adam & Moodley, 1993)

"African education is short of everything except pupils."

(Dhlomo, 1981, cited in Hofmeyer, in McGregor, 1992.)

TABLE I

Comparative education statistics 1989

	White education	Indian education	Coloured	African (DET)
pupil-teacher ratio	17:1	20:1	23:1	38:1
underqualified teachers (less than std. 10 plus a 3-year teacher's certificate)	0%	2%	45%	52%
per capita expenditure	R3 082.00	R2 227.01	R1 359.78	R764.73
std. 10 pass rate	96%	93,6%	72,7%	40,7%
(Sources: DET, 1989;	DuPlessis et al 1990	SAIRR, 1990		

The implication of this for future integrated schooling in South Africa is that in order for black children to proceed on an equal footing with whites, there has to be a way of undoing the past and compensating for the previous injustices. Otherwise it will still be black children who will fail even in a democratic South Africa. (Kallaway, 1984-1991; Christie & Collins, 1991; Adam & Moodley, 1993).

Not only was Bantu Education structurally inferior, its ideological intent, as reflected in the school curriculum and textbooks, was to school the students for servility. This process has been called a 'culture of silence', where

schooling attempts to silence, to negate the history of the indigene, to rationalize the irrational and gain acceptance for structures which are oppressive. (Kallaway, 1984-1991).

Adam and Moodley (1993) explain that until the '70s, there was little emphasis in either the white or black curriculum on pre-colonial Africa, black leaders, political organizations or the contributions of blacks in the development of the country. The underlying message was that whites settled the land, and the blacks on contact were unfriendly and treacherous.

"The implication is that black underdevelopment is their own fault and whites are responsible for bringing South Africa to its present First World status and therefore are justified in maintaining the status quo." (Adam & Moodley, 1993:235)

The denial that black South Africans have a history was a distortion of the truth both in black and white education and needs to be rectified in a new education system. However, the effect that this has had, and will continue to have, on blacks is far more insidious and pervasive as it has placed them in a 'cultural vacuum.'

"Not only is this bad history, it is disabling history. To deny people their history is to cripple them intellectually and maim them psychologically." (Bundy, 1989 in Polley, 1989)

BLACK SCHOOLING AND VIOLENCE

Schooling for black children in South Africa has been permeated by violence. In 1976 the Soweto riots broke out.

Using the schools as the point of political mobilization, students from eight to 18, protested not only the obvious inadequacies and inequalities of the system but against the order as a whole. They perceived that educational reform could not take place without a radical transformation of the entire social and political structure of society. (Nasson, 1986; Christie, 1991; Coutts, 1992; Adam & Moodley, 1993).

"The moment the education system itself becomes the major source of conformity and an obstacle to change, it becomes a collaborator in exploitation and repression." (van Zyl Slabbert, 1989.)

From 1976 until the announcement of the birth of a 'new' South Africa by President de Klerk in 1990, black schooling was virtually paralyzed by school boycotts, stayaways, the destruction of school facilities, attacks on school administration and the presence of the military. (Unterhalter et al, 1991.)

This has resulted in almost an entire generation of black children being deschooled or ineffectively schooled.

"Resistance to the government's Bantu Education was intended to promote education for liberation, but was subverted into liberation before education. Schools were proclaimed "sites of struggle." (Adam & Moodley, 1993:163)

Matriculation pass rates in 1991 were 39% for black students in contrast to 95% in other communities. The implications of this massive failure rate are that it will aggravate youthful rage, incite racial envy and worsen South Africa's desperate shortage of skills. (Adam & Moodley, 1993.)

A draft of the ANC's policy on education (1992:2) describes the present deep-rooted crisis in education resulting from apartheid policies.

"In the struggle against Bantu education, thousands of school children lost their lives, many more staying away from school for long periods, engaged in battles with the police and army. This has led to the gradual but definite erosion of the need to learn. Thus a whole generation of our youth has grown up believing that education and learning have no value."

The increasing concern over students' lack of accountability, deteriorating student-teacher relationships, and absence of a 'culture of education', resulted in the founding of the National Education Crisis Committee. One of the objectives of the NECC was to restore a desire for learning in the students in order to prepare them for participation in a democratic society. However the repression of the NECC after 1986 seriously diluted the clear articulation of a 'people's education for people's power.' (Unterhalter, Wolpe et al, 1991).

With the move towards a democracy in the '90s, the school conflict subsided throughout the country except in Natal where it emerged as a bitter confrontation between the UDF/COSATU forces and Zulu chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Party. Nzimande (1993) maintains that almost no black areas or communities in Natal were unaffected by the violence.

'Life for entire communities has been characterized by endless killings, burnings, kidnappings, disappearances, displacements, detentions and shootings." (Nzimande, 1993.)

Thus schooling for these children has taken place in an atmosphere of fear, hostility and suspicion. Teachers were in a precarious position as they were compelled to belong to NATU, affiliated to Inkatha and were expected to teach an Inkatha syllabus. This brought them on a collision course with many students who supported the mounting mass democratic movements of the time. (Gultig and Hart, 1991; Nzimande 1993.)

The effects of this lifestyle on children is likely to be felt for years to come and has serious implications for the development of an alternative pedagogy. It is also likely to cause divisions between those black students who remained in school during this period and those who were deschooled.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

The disarray in black education, together with desperate need for skilled labour and the general political instability throughout the country, led to attempted reforms in the 1980s. As a result of the De Lange Commission, 1981 and the government's response in its White Paper, 1983, the budget for black education rose 600%, while per capita expenditure rose from R42 to R192. (Nasson, 1986). Racially segregated education departments were amalgamated under a

single new ministry with a racially mixed advisory council. Teachers salaries were equalized. Curriculum changes included teaching an African language in white schools and allocating ethnic groups their 'own' history which idealized historical black heroic figures and emphasized their positive contribution to white South Africa. (Nasson, 1986; Hofmeyer & Buckland, 1991; Engelbrecht, in McGregor, 1991; Coutts, 1992)

Many critics (Nasson, 1986; Lemon, 1987; Unterhalter et al, 1991.) claimed that while these reforms served middle-class blacks, they did little to ameliorate the educational disadvantage of children from impoverished backgrounds.

"This gradual equalization of educational opportunity serves more to protect white hegemony and attempts to incorporate middle-class blacks into positions of privilege closer to that of whites." (Lemon, 1987.)

Discrepancies between white and black education still remained vast. Despite compulsory education, 27,000 black school-aged children had not been placed in schools, according to a 1991 NECC survey. Fifty per cent of black teachers were still inadequately qualified; there was a lack of remedial and ESL specialist teachers; 50% of black students and 80% of white students obtained school-leaving passes. (Driver & O'Riordan, 1992)

This period saw massive investment in technical and vocational schools by private enterprise in order to ease the critical manpower shortage. However, critics (Nasson,

1986; Swainson, in Unterhalter, 1991) saw it as differentiating children at the school site in preparation for their roles in the capitalist economy.

"In practise, while middle-class children will monopolize access to formal secondary schooling, it will be working class, overwhelmingly black children who find themselves being shunted into narrow, non-formal work training, heavily financed by private capital." (Nasson, 1986)

Critics (Nasson, 1986; Lemon, 1987; Unterhalter, Wolpe et al, 1991; Christie, 1992; Pampallis, 1993.) claim that the educational reforms of the '80s failed on two fronts. Unless the historic disadvantages of black children are addressed by massive redistribution of wealth and privilege, 'equal schooling for all' becomes simply rhetoric.

"The utmost emphasis is not simply on more 'equal' or 'better' schooling but in the qualitative construction of an education for a more democratic culture." (Nasson, 1986.)

The aim of co-opting a black middle-class which would have a greater stake in maintaining the status quo instead increased black awareness of injustice and inequality and led to further resistance and dissatisfaction accompanied by mounting violence and state repression until the end of the decade.

Nevertheless, when real reforms occurred in the '90s culminating in the free elections of 1994, it was these middle-class blacks who stood poised to first access the political power structure of the 'new' South Africa and to share in her economic resources.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'OPEN' SCHOOLS

While the reforms in the early '80s resulted in minor changes, they did not include the abandonment of racially differentiated schooling. Nevertheless, white church and other private schools decided to challenge educational segregation and admit students of all races to their schools in 1976. For the next decade the 'open school movement' was politically controversial.

On the one hand the government remained committed to segregated schooling throughout this period, open schools being the exception to state policy, rather than a changing trend within it. On the other hand, open schools were ambiguously regarded by the political left. While many political activists, including members of the education movement, sent their children to open schools, the schools were criticized for being economically and socially elitist, being irrelevant to the broader struggle for non-racial democratic education, and for isolating black students from their communities and the political struggle.

(Christie, 1992; Gaganakis, 1992 in Freer, 1992; Pampallis, 1992; Freer, 1992)

After ten years of ambiguous legal status and intense negotiation with the government, open schools finally won legal recognition and state subsidies in 1986. However, high fees and stringent admission requirements meant that

only black pupils who were 'socially and academically acceptable' were admitted.

Research (Christie, 1990; Coutts, 1992; Freer, 1992; Gaganakis, in Freer, 1992; Frederikse, 1992.) has shown that while racial mixing at these schools has been unproblematic, the acceptance of black students seems premised on the degree to which they approximate the white norm. Moreover, white students had no clear idea of the contradiction between their school experience and the inequities of the political system. They were unable to grasp that educational reform could only be meaningful in the context of major sociopolitical reforms, from the basic right of universal suffrage to a reallocation of resources and privileges.

While black students differed significantly from their white colleagues in their opposition to apartheid, they also differed considerably from their black township peers. These schoolchildren were often engaged in overt political action - school boycotts, protests, violent battles with the police and army - during this period. Researchers (Christie, Gaganakis in Freer, Pampallis, Frederikse et al, 1992) describe the alienation of middle-class black students from their lower-class brethren in the townships as one of the most negative consequences of private school desegregation.

They contend that there was an assumption in these open schools that white education was the norm which black children were expected to match. This was expressed in

staffing practices, sporting and other extra-curricular activities, as well as in the culturally and linguistically-biased admission tests. Few schools had made any curricular changes, the assumption being that black students would automatically be assimilated into existing school practises. In addition, the schools were often located in communities that were unsupportive of, or even hostile to, social change.

Black students had also absorbed the pervading credo of these schools which was an abiding faith in the meritocracy: education alone was capable of bringing about social change, the underlying assumption being that all children enter the competition for places on more or less equal terms. The poor must simply 'work harder' to improve their lot. (Gaganakis, in Freer, 1992:90)

While these students defined themselves as 'black' (and hence a part of the subordinate majority), and recognized the political and educational crisis in black schools, they did not generally mobilize for any political purpose. Rather they aspired to become part of the white elite, desiring the same kinds of civil and social privileges as those held by whites. (Christie, Frederikse, Pampallis, Gaganakis, in Freer, et al, 1992)

"They not only anticipate sharing an economic location with whites in the future, but also hope to be 'rich', 'successful', or 'to live in a white suburb'." (Gaganakis, in Freer, 1992:84)..

These findings support Adam & Moodley's (1993) contention that the struggle in South Africa is not so much over 'race' as access to 'power and privilege'.

Frederikse (1992) described the same trend in desegregated Zimbabwean schools during the first decade after independence. Many black middle-class students expressed a strong desire to anglicize, which they themselves interpreted as an awareness of class.

This would seem to be a contradiction of McCarthy (1990) and Cummins' (1987, 1988, 1992) analysis of the dynamics of racial interaction. In their view, the power relations of the larger society are reproduced in the school environment. Yet in post-independent Zimbabwe, blacks hold political power and white students have become the minority in most suburban state schools. Nzimande and Pampallis (in Frederikse, 1992) however, contend it is a thinly disguised form of racism, reproducing the cultural subjugation of black students during the colonial era.

As the black students move towards 'elite' status, they increasingly alienate themselves from their township peers. Researchers (Christie, Frederikse, Gaganakis, in Freer, et al, 1992) have revealed an alarming degree of prejudice against the lower-class black students by both their black and white colleagues. This was expressed through name-calling, derogatory stereotypes and social avoidance.

Language provided an effective means by which black students isolated themselves from their local communities.

"English is perceived as the language of education and of the upwardly mobile. The public use of fluent English ensures their immediate visibility as a high status group and to signal social distance between themselves and their peers in state schools." (Gaganakis, in Freer, 1992:87)

Gaganakis et al (1992), also report that white students perceive the middle-class black students as being 'white-black'.

"More than simply a racial slur, it implies access to credentials and power, particular access to the kind of empowering structures a private school education ensures, while the wider black majority remains disempowered in terms of educational opportunity and political access." (Gaganakis, in Freer, 1992:89)

However, in the eyes of their peers in the black state schools, they have lost their legitimacy; they are considered 'sellouts' or 'traitors', leading ostensibly normal school lives while the rest of black education remains in turmoil. Black private school pupils reported various forms of intimidation by their township peers, often being forced to absent themselves from school during boycotts, change out of school uniform before arriving home and avoiding speaking English in order to 'conceal affiliation.'

Christie (1990,) points out that, given the constraints of apartheid within which these schools operated at the time, one should not underestimate their role as pathbreakers, paving the way for the integration of white

state schools four years later. Nevertheless, most researchers (Christie, 1991; Gaganakis, 1992; Pampallis, 1992) concur that these schools were failing to alleviate the different power relations, both economic and political, which form part of the fabric of South African society. On the contrary, they probably served to entrench present social and political structures rather than provide the institutional basis for a democratic and non-racial educational system.

THE ANC'S POLICY ON EDUCATION

As far back as 1949, black intellectuals have articulated what Africans want from education:

" We want integration into the democratic structure and institutions of the country. The most effective way of achieving this is by education - an education essentially in no way different or inferior to that of other sections of the community." (D.G.S. Mtinkulu, 1949 in Kallaway, 1991)

The ANC policy on education (1992) indicates that their education system will be guided by

"the goals of democracy, equality, liberty and justice within a non-racial, non-sexist framework, providing equal opportunity and the redress of imbalances."

It proposes free and compulsory education for all for a minimum of 10 years. This will be based on equalizing the per capita expenditure between black and white students within a framework which ensures that resources are redistributed to the most disadvantaged sectors of society.

The ANC believes there should be a national core curriculum which allows for cultural and regional differences, and which provides a general education based on integrating academic and vocational skills. The latter is in response to the trend in South African schools which tracks students at a young age into different educational streams, leading to different educational paths. This ensures that access to higher-level occupations remain the domain of the wealthy and predominantly white sections of the population.

Commenting on the ANC's policy regarding education, McGurk (in Polley, 1989) states:

"A total transformation of the political and socio-economic infrastructure is necessary for the implementation of the educational policies. This would take the form of demographic development, adequate land allocation and services, compensatory and cultural enrichment programs in order to address disadvantage, deprivation and cultural dislocation."

Chapter III

LITERATURE REVIEW

AN OVERVIEW OF DESEGREGATION THEORY

It has been almost 40 years since Allport (1954: cited in Schofield, 1982) contended that contact between two previously hostile groups per se may do little or nothing to improve relations between them. Indeed, such contact may exacerbate pre-existing tensions and prejudice. Literature on desegregation since that time has consistently concurred.

Researchers (Pettigrew, 1969; Cook, 1975; Amir 1976; cited in Schofield, 1982), have argued that the specific nature of the contact situation is crucial in the determination of the effects of contact on intergroup relations. Hawley, et al (1983), conclude that interracial interactions are not an automatic outcome of school desegregation but must be promoted through specific programs and activities in the school.

Pettigrew (in Schofield, 1982) distinguishes between "mere mixing of students" which he calls "desegregation" and "integration" which he regards as mixing under circumstances that are conducive to positive outcomes. These conditions, delineated by Allport (in Schofield, 1982) are:

- equal status for both groups in the contact situation
- a co-operative rather than competitive atmosphere

- the support of the relevant authorities

This perspective remains the basic orienting framework used by most desegregation theorists today.

Equal status

Scholars disagree, however, over what constitutes 'equal status'. Allport (1954, cited in Schofield, 1982) contends that it means equal access to educational opportunities while Pettigrew (1969, cited in Schofield, 1982) states that it means equal status and power within the contact situation. Pettigrew maintains that desegregation typically involves sending black children to previously all-white schools. This immediately puts black children at a disadvantage because they are outsiders in the community and newcomers in an already established school system. Armor (1972) and St. John (1975) (cited in Hawley, 1983) believe that inequalities due to different socio-economic status and academic performance are likely to create serious problems.

Schofield (1982) points out that school songs, cheers, and mascots can be racially insulting. She also explains how schools, even with a proportionate racial mix, can become re-segregated through the sorting of students into specific classes or homogeneous ability groups within classrooms. For a variety of reasons, such as the cultural bias of placement tests, lack of a positive self-concept or socio-economic

background, or low teacher expectations, blacks are disproportionately represented in the less advanced classes and groupings. (Schofield, 1982; Troyna, 1991).

McCarthy (1990) explains how the need to counteract this imbalance and establish a situation of more equality within the schools, led to various compensatory and remedial programs, such as Operation Head Start in the 1960s. These measures were largely designed to make up for the socio-cultural deficits that were presumed to be causing black underachievement by "resocializing blacks to develop those skills essential for success in the public schools." He maintains that despite some gains from these programs, their inability to reverse black underachievement significantly, is predicated on mainstream educators unintentionally 'blaming the victim' for being 'culturally deprived'. Hence the necessity for programs that help minority students 'catch up' to the whites. He sees these programs as essentially assimilationist. They focus on enabling black students to access the 'hidden curriculum' thereby allowing them to acquire the 'cultural capital' necessary to integrate into white society.

While these programs brought success to some middle-class blacks, the vast mass of lower-class blacks were untouched by them. (Ogbu, 1978). A danger of compensatory programs was that placement decisions are made early, become entrenched and self-fulfilling prophecies.

McCarthy (1990) concludes that the reason these programs failed to improve the school performance of disadvantaged students was that they did nothing to overturn their unequal status. On the contrary, unequal status was solidified, with whites tending to dominate interracial interactions. (Schofield, 1982).

Attempts to remedy this imbalance in the hope that it would lead to better race relations and school performance, found expression in multicultural and anti-racist education theories.

Tomlinson (1989) observed that many immigrant parents had come to Britain with expectations that their children would acquire, through educational qualifications, social and occupational mobility. They did not wish to see their children as a part of a permanently disadvantaged minority.

This expectation could equally apply to immigrant parents in Canada and the United States. Moreover, there was a worldwide debate through the '70s about the merits of assimilation versus pluralistic co-existence in all societies that had absorbed immigrant minority groups. (Tomlinson, 1989). Within the education systems of these countries, there was a growing awareness that teaching in a multicultural society necessitated instilling tolerance of other races, religions and ways of life. (Tomlinson, 1989).

In most major western English-speaking nations, this philosophy evolved into multicultural education (MCE). The

essence of MCE is the validation of the black and other minority students' own culture, with the objective of promoting harmonious group relations and increasing achievement. (Verma&Bagley, 1982; Craft, 1984; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988; Cummins, 1988; Tomlinson, 1989; Esling, 1990)

Explicit reform strategies included changing the curriculum in order to emphasize diversity and ethnic studies. Increasing minority representation on the teaching and administrative staff and student committees, was also promoted as well as the need for pre-service and in-service teacher training for education in a multiracial society.

Hawley, Crain et al (1983), cite numerous studies (Slavin, 1979; Doherty, 1981; etc.) which stress the importance of the link between multi-ethnic curricula and positive race relations. They add that curricula changes should not be confined to textbooks but should be reflected in many aspects of the school- wall displays, library, use of minority community in the classroom, recognition of other cultures' significant dates and leaders. They suggest that such programs begin in kindergarten because attitudes to race may be significantly shaped by the age of 10.

In a research project on teachers' responses to multicultural and anti-racist education, Solomon (1994) cites the positive effect multicultural content can have on student performance.

"I have an East Indian boy in my class....After we celebrated Diwali, he just took off. Absolutely like night and day. He's now part of the school. He started to learn, he started to read, he started to be involved in math, participating." (Solomon,1994:23)

Another teacher's response reinforced this view:

"I have a Metis in my class....He's got so much prestige out of (talking about) all the things he does over the summer with his Dad who's a full-blood Algonquin. He's never been able to talk about it before...His mother's so happy to see his improvement at school." (Solomon,1994:29)

Jim Cummins (1987,1988,1992) and McCarthy (1990) stress the importance of the social context in understanding the dynamics of race relations. They argue that reforms that do take into account the political and economic structures of society are bound to be inadequate. This is because the school reflects the unequal power relations that exist between the dominant group and marginalized minorities in the society.

According to Cummins(1988), multicultural education has not, to date, given rise to dramatic changes in the classroom, where conformity to the anglo-hegemony is still the norm. This cannot be overcome until education, government and policy-makers acknowledge the existence of institutional racism within the school system and actively seek to redress this through explicit anti-racist education. This should empower disadvantaged students to challenge societal power structures and the priorities of the dominant group.

To achieve this, he advocates the incorporation of minority students' language and/or culture into the core

curriculum. The disadvantaged community should be encouraged to collaborate with the teachers in the classroom activities. Students should be given more control in setting their own goals and achieving them through meaningful interactions which promote critical thinking and independence.

McCarthy (1990) proposes the inversion of the dominant anglo-hegemony by, among other strategies, giving black and other disadvantaged students first access to resources and teacher time. He recommends mainstreaming the history of the oppressed in the 'core' curriculum, rather than relegating it to 'ethnic studies' courses. The history should then be linked to the struggles and experiences of the disadvantaged in society.

Similarly, Moodley (1983) argues that multicultural education as it was envisioned in the '70s has become ineffectual and meaningless in the '90s, masking the real inequality of power and anglo-franco-ethnocentrism still endemic in Canadian society. Echoing Troyna's criticism of the Three S's approach to multicultural education, "Saris, Samosas and Steel bands," (Troyna and Williams, 1986:24), Moodley states:

"As long as cultural persistence is confined to food, clothes, dance and music,...it proves no threat, but on the contrary trivializes, neutralizes and absorbs social and economic inequalities." (Moodley, 1983:326)

She advocates replacing the idea of a 'mainstream' culture with a common Canadian culture that has learned and internalized other ways of life. Acculturation would then imply socialization into a multicultural society, members of which would be capable of operating with global perspectives in a global economy.

The trend towards explicit anti-racist education (ARE) policies represented, according to Troyna & Williams (1986), a benign form of racialization in that the policies reflected a growing awareness of, and indignation at, racial injustice. Thomas (1984) and Brandt (1986) (cited in Solomon, 1994) outline four objectives of anti-racist education:

- to explore the underlying causes of racism and its ties to practices and history that support stereotypes and prejudices by critical examination of the accuracy and sources of misinformation about difference

- to offer an approach to culture that is dynamic not static

- to support the effective transmission of 'school knowledge' together with the lived experiences of children and their families

- to link the ongoing and daily struggles of people against racist activities on the local and global level.

Reactions to the implementation and effectiveness of anti-racist education have been mixed. Reasons for

resistance to these policies range from "too political, confrontational, accusatory and guilt-inducing" (Troyna, 1991); reverse racism (Thomas, 1986; Obiakor, 1992, cited in Solomon, 1994), to more practical concerns that the policies are too vague and imprecise, lack structure and uniformity (Singh, 1988; Foster, 1990; cited in Solomon, 1994.) Some educators interpret ARE as a tool for dealing with overt acts of racial conflict rather than a means of understanding social injustice. (Solomon, 1994)

In the U.K. and Canada, studies report that instructors have concerns about fulfilling their curricular obligations towards exam preparation. (Manchester LEA, 1989 cited in Solomon, 1994).

Solomon (1994) states that the most overt resistance to MCE/ARE is the belief that assimilation is the true purpose of schools and the appropriate destiny for school clientele.

"The denial and reluctance to name the problem of racism and thus the need for an anti-racist pedagogy remains a most tenacious obstacle."

Solomon (1994) argues that institutional forms of racism, ethnocentrism and monoculturalism are rarely perceived by teachers as domains to be challenged and transformed. For them, schools function as meritocratic institutions where individual success or failure is a result of potential and effort. This emphasizes the need, according to Solomon, for the implementation of ARE because it is only

through these policies that racism and power differentials will be contested.

The resistance to MCE/ARE by teachers does not indicate that these policies are inappropriate but rather that educators need to transform their practice. (Solomon, 1994) Therefore, faculties of education need to develop in teachers a 'critical literacy' (Wood, 1985 cited in Solomon, 1994) in order for them to recognize and criticize political and economic structures that oppress marginalized groups. (Solomon, 1994) Only then will they in turn be able to teach students so they can debate and learn the skills necessary to live in a "critical democracy". (Giroux, 1988:201 cited in Solomon) Anti-racist education implies fundamental social change, and can only be enacted if participants have an adequate understanding of how society works. (Solomon, 1994)

Cooperation versus Competition

Research indicates that different pedagogical strategies will result in different degrees of interracial communication. (Schofield, 1982; Hawley et al, 1983; Slavin, 1987) According to Schofield, competition reinforces tensions and produces dislike and negative reactions to one's competitors. Cooperative classroom activities, on the other hand, result in greater trust and increased communication and greater feelings of similarity. Research on cooperative

learning by Slavin (1987) indicates that cooperative learning not only improves race relations, but leads to improvement of performance by slower students, without impeding that of the advanced learners.

He found that teachers who taught in a more traditional way, in a teacher-fronted, lecture, question format, or those who organized groups homogeneously, according to ability, tended to have a poor interracial atmosphere in the class. Their classes had well-defined segregated groups, with little motivation for slow learners. This situation highlighted academic differences, created unequal status, and confirmed racial stereotypes. Heterogeneous groupings, on the other hand, with the teacher acting as a resource, facilitator or guide, promoted relaxed, friendly and relatively equal status interactions. This also facilitated learning and decreased boredom and frustration. These findings have been corroborated by other theorists. (Schofield, 1982; Hawley, Crain et al, 1983; McGroarty, 1992).

Hawley, Crain, Schofield et al suggest other strategies to promote friendly, equal-status contact among students, more conducive to a better learning environment for disadvantaged groups. They recommend smaller schools, or dividing larger schools into units, houses or clusters, to facilitate interactions in situations where students know

each other. They maintain it also makes minority parents more comfortable. In addition, it helps maintain order and discipline, the biggest problem in desegregated schools, their studies have found, according to parents. Similarly, classes should be smaller, enabling teachers to attend to individual needs more easily and decreasing the necessity for homogeneous ability groupings.

Support by Relevant Authorities

Parental and Community Involvement

Evidence shows (Slavin, 1979; Crain, 1981; Schofield, 1982) that the effectiveness of school desegregation depends, to a large extent, on the preparation and involvement of the community before implementation. Hawley (1983) states that many parents fear the perceived loss of control over their children's lives that they think desegregation brings. Citizen participation in the planning process helps allay these fears and ultimately results in a greater commitment to social change.

These researchers also assert that parental participation in classrooms and schools, also facilitates desegregation. Minority parents, in particular, should be encouraged to assist in school activities and functions, attend school sporting or cultural events and become resource persons and role models. According to the researchers, the benefits are manifold - more interracial contact, improved self-esteem for black students,

compensation for staff shortages and an enriched multi-ethnic curriculum.

Teachers and Teacher-Training

Evidence shows that teachers are crucial in successful integration conditions, by, among other things, modelling the desired behavior and attitudes, which strongly influence the students' behavior and attitudes. Rist, (1979) (cited in Schofield, 1982) describes the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' phenomenon. Teachers' expectations are powerful determinants of children's performance. They can set off a chain of events which starts with their negative view of some black children. This in turn leads them to teach in an unstimulating fashion, which results in the student falling behind, causing the student to react negatively to his/her failure. Consequently, the teacher reacts negatively to the student's behavior.

Hawley, Crain, et al, (1983) argue that teachers are not prepared personally or professionally for teaching students from diverse backgrounds. They recommend that all teachers are given professional training for this role. Schofield (1982) is critical of the 'color-blind' perspective that many teachers and administrators adhere to. Many teachers consider it inappropriate and irrelevant to raise the issue of race in a desegregated setting. Schofield argues that this is inherently assimilationist in nature because it is based on the belief that integration is achieved when groups

can no longer be differentiated in terms of behavior, socio-economic status or education. She maintains the acknowledgement of differences and the careful analysis of the underlying racial tensions can better meet the needs of all the students. She recommends administrators motivate staff to adopt new practices, and provide them with the training and resources necessary to effectively implement desired changes.

Hawley (1983) found that addressing racial issues was more effective if it was not identified as distinct but was well-integrated as a normal part of the curriculum, and instructional practices. Slavin (1987) advocated the involvement of students themselves in the choice of racially significant issues.

Hawley, Crain, et al, (1983) provide explicit suggestions for in-service teacher-training to enable them to cope with a culturally and racially diverse class. The goals of such training should be to promote student achievement, improve classroom management and discipline, encourage positive race relations and teach relevant curricula. Training should be on a continuous basis, practical, participatory and for immediate application. In-class evaluations should be done periodically to determine whether the instructor has successfully applied the new knowledge. The authors warn against overtly attempting to change teachers' attitudes. They believe this should be a

more gradual, long-term goal, arising out of success with new strategies and subsequent changed behavior within the classrooms.

The researchers describe five areas of focus to help teachers create a more effective multicultural class:

Training should provide practical options to outmoded instructional techniques. This would include the use of alternative assessment procedures to reduce reliance on culturally-biased standardized intelligence tests. Students with limited English proficiency should be tested in their mother-tongue. It would also include training teachers in effective use of co-operative learning strategies.

Teachers should also be trained in teaching a new, more relevant curriculum from a multicultural perspective, and examining the ethnocentrism in their own attitudes and within textbooks. Rist (1979 cited in Schofield, 1982) points out that children are taught racism through the biased teaching of traditional history which is presented as 'objective' history.

Because research (Schofield, cited in Hawley, 1983) has shown the importance of collaboration with parents, teachers need to be trained in how to relate to culturally different parents. Teachers need to understand differences in behavior and values, and be sensitive towards power and status differentials. Teachers also need to be given specific

advice on how best to utilize parents in the classrooms and schools.

Different expectations and standards of behaviour have sometimes resulted in confusion and hostility in desegregated schools. This has led to an overrepresentation of black students with behavioral problems. (Schofield, 1982; Hawley, 1983) explain that this could be due to the greater number of black students moving to white schools. Consequently, the onus is on them to make the appropriate cultural and behavioral adjustments. Hawley believes teachers need to be given alternatives to the traditional punitive methods which have often led to further segregation and reinforcement of negative stereotypes.

Hawley cites evidence (King, 1980; Carney & Hyman, 1979) that the use of new instructional methods, a more relevant curriculum, as well as a more positive teacher attitude and behavior, creates a more positive classroom environment. This in turn reduces hostility, improves students' self-confidence and consequently lowers the incidence of disruptive behavior.

The researchers advise similar training for administrators. The emphasis should be on engendering a commitment to educational change and supporting teachers who must deal with the inevitable stress of a dynamically new classroom environment.

Holistic Approach

Banks (1986) condemns single-factor attempts to solve complex problems. He contends that the experience of major western nations since the late '60s has shown that the academic achievement problems of ethnic minority students are too complex to be solved by single strategies. He believes that programs which address cultural deprivation, ethnic additives to curricula, bilingualism or anti-racist education, are inadequate when applied in isolation. However, he does acknowledge their role in sensitizing educators to the needs of deprived students and creating awareness of some limitations of formal schooling.

He favours a holistic approach. He contends that the total school environment must be reformed, with recognition of both the dominant culture and subcultures. He believes a process of acculturation is desirable, during which subcultures become modified, while accommodation to the separate identities are maintained.

"Ethnic minority students can assimilate essential aspects of the mainstream culture without surrendering the most important aspects of their first culture or becoming alienated from it. The school should help students to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to function effectively in their community culture, in the mainstream national culture, and within and between other ethnic cultures and subsocieties." (Banks, 1986:24)

SOUTH AFRICAN DESEGREGATION THEORISTS

The work of South African theorists (Coutts, 1989; Christie, 1990; Freer, 1992; Gaganakis, 1992 cited in

regarding desegregation and the management of multicultural schools, has been largely confined to private or alternative schools. These theorists concur that while these schools provided an alternative to the largely ethnocentric state educational structures, because of their financial and social inaccessibility, they are unlikely to become models per se for the desegregation of all schools in South Africa. Nevertheless, there are lessons to be learnt from their experiences.

The differences between the South African experience and that of other major western countries mitigate against the wholesale application of desegregation theories to the South African context.

" A careful selection of appropriate strategies for implementing non-racial, multicultural education should be made, so the apparent problems encountered in the U.S. are not repeated." (Coutts,1989)

One of the main differences between South Africa and other western countries dealing with multicultural education, is the presence of both the First and Third World within South Africa. (Coutts,1989; Hofmeyer and Buckland, cited in McGregor,1992)

"South Africa is a complex society comprised of two closely interdependent yet distinguishable worlds - a modernising, urban, First World melting pot, comprised of members of all races, with increasing access to technology and a Third World comprising a rising tide of humanity living in deteriorating rural and urban environments. Demographic trends dictate that most will be black." (Coutts,1989:411)

The predominantly wealthy, white minority, numbering five million, controls most of the country's economic resources. The remainder of the population, numbering 31 million, are predominantly black, poor and illiterate, (SAIRR, 1989:149 cited in Hofmeyer, 1992) making South Africa one of the most unequal countries in the world. (Wilson, 1990:234 cited in Hofmeyer, 1992) According to Hofmeyer, attempts to equalize education at the level of the white norm are unattainable, even in ten years, because of competing demands on the budget. (Hofmeyer, 1992:35)

South African theorists (Coutts, 1989, 1992; Christie, 1990; Frederikse, 1992; Pampallis, 1992) have pointed to the role class plays in South Africa, interacting with race as a mechanism of exclusion. Not only are there class differentials between whites and blacks, but research (Coutts, 1989, 1992; Christie, 1990 et al) is consistent in indicating the class differentials within the black community. Many middle-class blacks align with white society and alienate themselves from, or are alienated by, the majority of blacks, who are working class. Frederikse's (1992) research in Zimbabwean state schools has shown a disturbing trend, namely the 'flight' not only of whites, but also middle-class blacks and better-trained teachers. This has led to the deterioration of state schools, including the former white, suburban schools. (Bot, 1992;

Frederikse,1992; Pampallis, 1992) This has implications for South African private and state schools, where the maintenance of 'standards', both academic and behaviour, are major concerns.

Nevertheless, race still plays an important role as the white working class and black working class tend to be 'encamped at opposing poles of the political spectrum' as they compete for limited resources and jobs.(Coutts, 1989). This is likely to have important implications on school policies, especially for the lower socio-economic schools bordering areas of large black populations.(Coutts,1989)

"Considerable disparities in wealth between sectors of the population of South Africa could render any attempt to bring together pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds very problematic. In a multicultural system, such disparities could create a significant compounding of the potentially divisive elements already present."
(Coutts,1989:141)

As the discussion in the previous chapter indicated, the legacy of apartheid also has far-reaching implications for the application of traditional desegregation theories.

The result of years of a poor education system is likely to severely disadvantage the majority of black students.(Kallaway,1991; Coutts,1989,1992 et al)

Part of the mandate of apartheid was to separate people along racial and ethnic lines, emphasizing and exaggerating the differences and ethnicity. This was partly to 'divide

and rule', partly to exclude blacks from participation in a modern, First World 'culture'. (Coutts, 1989)

Apartheid attempted to socialize all segments of the society into internalizing a hierarchical structure of ability, with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom. Racism, when it occurs in a desegregated school in South Africa, is thus more likely to be polarized, volatile and accusatory. (Coutts, 1989, 1992)

Due to the unique and complex nature of South Africa, as outlined above, South African theorists, (Coutts, 1989, 1992; Christie, 1990, 1992; Bot, 1992) recommend a more holistic approach, which eschews tokenism and populism, but promotes a total reformation of the school environment, and provides a variety of different approaches to accommodate South Africa's diverse schooling population.

"Such multi-factor paradigms (as suggested by Banks, (1986)) appear to be essential to the effective implementation of (integrated) education in the complex milieu of South Africa." (Coutts, 1989)

A fundamental challenge for schools will be balancing the needs of the First World with the needs of the Third World, creating a single national identity without denying the legitimate rights of individuals or self-defined groups.

"For any future system of multicultural education to confine itself to the needs of the First World alone, is to condemn its participants to the perpetual fury of those who have been denied access. It will also deny the excluded sector of the population the opportunity of modernization." (Coutts, 1989)

To accommodate socio-economic class differences in

schools, Coutts(1989), Christie(1990), and Bot(1992) recommend the implementation of specific policies to deal with the following issues:

- modifications to the entrance criteria which favour First World students
- financial support via bursaries
- affirmative action programs which establish racial quotas
- long-term academic support and bridging programs to address previous deprivation

Coutts et al (1989 - 1992) also emphasize that staff development should be an integral part of all desegregated schools. This should include regular in-service workshops, seminars and lectures which will assist teachers in adapting their pedagogy to a multicultural class, and encourage competence in handling racial incidents.

They also recommend a further Africanisation of the curriculum while recognizing that this is a 'hotly contested terrain'. (Coutts, 1989) It is likely to be resisted by both whites and middle-class blacks who seek access to a First World culture. It also resounds with the ethnicity that was promoted during the apartheid era.

"In South Africa, curricula are extremely vulnerable to manipulation for purposes other than education."
(Coutts, 1989:110)

Thus Coutts (1989) suggests the need for more detailed research that would take into account the wide range of needs and perspectives in a country that is struggling to

build a common, First World identity while still embracing diversity.

Christie (1988-1992) advocates the conscious consideration of race as a factor and recommends the implementation of structural strategies for dealing with race. Coutts(1992) contends that addressing 'race' directly through explicit ARE would be too explosive given the historic polarization of races in South Africa. Instead he favours a MCE approach which would create a tolerance and respect for other racial groups and an awareness amongst students of the political and social structures that promote racism.

One of the objectives of MCE and ARE is the promotion of minority students' self-esteem through the validation and acknowledgement of their culture and contribution and through an understanding of how racist practices have disadvantaged them. Higher self-esteem, among other factors, is expected to lead to greater academic achievement. In South Africa, however, despite the fact that the culture of the black majority tends to be denigrated by adherents of the more powerful western norm (Coutts,1989), Coutts did not find a similar lack of academic success among black students in integrated schools.

"Results in public examinations over a period of two to three years suggest achievers representative of all races."
(Coutts,1989:383)

Coutts (1989,1992) advocates a wide range of schooling

options in order to accommodate the complex political ideologies that exist in South Africa. This would include mono-cultural schools that insist on educating children together with others of the same culture; to assimilatory models, such as private schools, whereby entrance criteria has enabled selection that has preserved the ethos; to multicultural schools wherein disadvantaged students are given an equal start through affirmative action.

Some theorists (Coutts, 1989 -1992; Bot, cited in McGregor, 1992) also acknowledge that entry tests that act as 'sifting mechanisms' while discriminatory, could be justified initially in schools that are unwilling or unable to offer support to disadvantaged students.

"The rapid entry of radically disadvantaged pupils could lead to poor academic results, loss of confidence, with resulting disruptive behaviour and little benefit to anyone." (Coutts, 1992:45)

Moreover, many researchers (Coutts, 1992; Bot, 1992; Adam and Moodley, 1993) point to the fear of whites losing their cultural identity in a country where they constitute five of the 36 million inhabitants (SAIRR, 1989).

"The securing of minority rights in the face of an overwhelmingly numerical superiority of blacks, cannot be summarily disregarded. It is a pervasive fear fed by perceptions of a deteriorating social and economic situation in Africa as a whole." (Coutts, 1992:416)

This is more likely to happen in schools in white working class areas because they usually border black townships and so are more accessible. This situation could be exacerbated in these schools because of the hostility

between the black and white working classes as they compete for scarce resources. Thus, while integration has been relatively unproblematic in private schools, this may not be the case in state schools, especially those in low socio-economic areas. Any desegregation policy needs to take this into account. (Coutts, 1992)

CONCLUSION

Western desegregation literature is fairly consistent in its description of crucial factors for effective school integration. In broad terms these are the creation of an equal status learning environment, cooperative rather than competitive pedagogy and the support of relevant authorities. While this research will serve as an orienting framework for my own study, it is crucial to locate it within the particular context of South African society.

Schooling for black children in South Africa has been characterized by immense violence, especially in Natal where the present research takes place. This represents a crucial factor distinguishing it from white education which has been elitist, privileged and sheltered from the massive upheavals in the social and political arenas.

Most of the black children now enrolled in previously white government high schools will have spent the majority of their school life, at least seven years, under the Bantu

Education system. In addition, while there is some evidence of residential desegregation, for the most part, this is beyond the financial ability of most black families, who must therefore continue to reside in black townships, often, particularly in Natal, devastated by violence and political dissension.

It is crucial to take cognizance of the contradictions that must exist for the black child, newly integrated in a previously white school, between her present and former schools, and between her community and home life, and that of her insulated white schoolmates.

Attempts to create an equal status learning environment in which all students have equal access to educational opportunities and equal power within the contact situation have led western desegregation theorists and educators away from an assimilationist model of integration wherein the black or disadvantaged minorities were expected to acquire the culture of the dominant group. This has led to multicultural education which has attempted to validate the culture of disadvantaged students and instill amongst all pupils a tolerance of other racial groups, religions and ways of life. The objective of multicultural education has been to promote inter-group relations and increase black and minority academic achievement. Its lack of success in fully meeting these objectives has in turn led to anti-racist

education which directly contests racism and racist practices.

From the research available on South African school desegregation, it would appear that educators are caught in the assimilationist phase, with what Schofield (1982) describes as 'the colour-blind' perspective predominant. Although this is unlikely to impede the academic performance and future prospects of middle-class blacks, it has serious implications for lower-class blacks who are unable to access the better established schools due to the biased admission tests.

Class appears as a more significant factor in South Africa than in North America and interacts with race in complex combinations. South African researchers have found that middle-class blacks tend to align with the dominant white western culture and distance themselves from the working class 'masses'. On the other hand, however, there are deep antagonisms between the white and black working class as they compete for scarce resources. Thus while integration has been relatively unproblematic in private schools, this is unlikely to be the case in working class areas.

North American literature provides ample examples of the curricular and pedagogical changes necessary for a cooperative learning environment conducive to successful integration. South African research indicates that little

effort has been made by educators to adjust to their new student clientele. However, this is due, in part, not only to resistance by white students and parents but also by the middle-class blacks who seek access to white culture, its power and its privileges.

Scholars indicate the importance of community involvement in planning for desegregated schools. Parental participation in the classroom as well as extensive training for teachers and administrators are also cited as crucial factors for effective desegregation. South African researchers indicate that communities are often hostile to social change and school staff and administration have received little or no instruction on how to facilitate racial integration. Frederikse (1990) indicates that in desegregated Zimbabwean schools there is little involvement by black lower-class parents. They usually have to work longer hours, are unfamiliar with the white school system and are constrained by language and status differentials.

South African theorists warn against the wholesale application of traditional desegregation theories to the South African situation. In South Africa, the needs of a small, predominantly white, though increasingly black, First World, have to be balanced with the needs of a severely deprived, predominantly black, Third World. In addition, the goal of creating a common, national identity has to be

balanced with a respect for, and tolerance of, diversity.

Because of the uniqueness and complexities of the South African context, South African theorists contend that considerable adaptations in every facet of school practice will be essential.

This literature will furnish me with a framework within which to approach my own research; it will provide indicators of what is significant in my data gathering and guide and inform my analysis.

Chapter IV

METHODOLOGY

This study offers an in-depth look at a formerly whites only state-controlled, girls' high school in a low socio-economic area of Durban, South Africa. The investigation took place during July and August, 1993. This was 18 months after the apartheid government had legislated the opening of white state schools to pupils of all races and nine months prior to the free elections of April 1994.

The purpose of the study is to understand how these teachers and administrators, themselves socialised within a hierarchical racist system, are dealing with the rapidly desegregating context of their school. With this purpose in mind, a qualitative approach was chosen, using a case study design and borrowing from the ethnographic tradition.

While Wolcott (1990) maintains that qualitative research no longer needs to be exhaustively defended as it has become widely known and accepted over the last two decades, the following quote from Schumacher and McMillan (1993) succinctly captures the benefits of qualitative research.

"The impact of qualitative research on educational inquiry is a dynamic one, because the design allows researchers to discover what are the important questions to ask of a topic and what are the important topics in education to pursue empirically. Without the continual stimulation of new ideas, educational research could become stagnant and filled with rhetorical abstractions."
(Schumacher and McMillan, 1993:375)

Modern ethnography originated with Malinowski who attempted to "grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his version of his world." (1922 cited in Schumacher and McMillan, 1993:373) Since then ethnography has moved into the educational arena in order to gain an understanding of education-related phenomena from the perspectives of the participants, namely the students and the teachers. (Schumacher and McMillan, 1993)

Case study design involves the in-depth investigation of a single phenomenon, such as a particular school, as a means of gaining insights and building theory. Schumacher and McMillan (1993) argue that "case study design, because of its flexibility and adaptability to a range of contexts, processes, people and foci, provides some of the most useful methods available in educational research."

Mirriam (1988) spells out these methods in more detail:

"Armed with an interest in a particular phenomenon and perhaps some notions about what one might find, case study investigators immerse themselves in the totality of the case. As the setting becomes more familiar, and as the data are being collected, the researcher looks for underlying patterns. The insights that form the basis of new theory can come from one's imagination, personal experience, the experience of others, and existing theory. The process is one of flexible interaction between phenomena and theory."

Wolcott (1985) makes the distinction between 'pure' ethnography and borrowing ethnographic techniques. The former he describes as an essentially academic pursuit with the aim of understanding the school culture as an end-product in itself. The latter, however, links descriptive

research efforts to change and improvement within the educational realm.

Thus a qualitative approach, using a case study design and ethnographic techniques, seemed the most appropriate way of cutting through the multitude layers of socialisation that govern black and white interactions in South Africa, and 'getting at' what was really happening in the classrooms and on the playing fields. However, it was the researcher's intention that the study be more than a descriptive account; a further objective was that it inform and guide educators and policy-makers in their nascent attempts to effectively integrate South African schools.

Central to the ethnographic case study is the belief that the researcher not predetermine responses by a strict adherence to a clearly-defined research problem and accompanying questions. Instead, scholars, (Burgess, 1984; Erikson, 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) suggest that a great deal of flexibility in the way the original problem was conceptualised, is permitted so as "to give space for the unfolding of knowledge and information in its most natural form." (Spindler, 1987)

The period during which the investigation took place was a time of enormous social, political and economic upheaval in South Africa, balanced as it was between the announcement by President de Klerk of the birth of a 'new' era and the possibility of future black, majority rule. I

believed that while foreshadowed problems could be tested in the field, the very newness and turbulence of the situation would likely yield paradoxes, contradictions and unpredictable outcomes. I concluded that a qualitative case study, using ethnographic tools, would be the most effective method of capturing the full richness and nuances of the data in this situation.

"Because people construct meaning in intricate and knotty ways, understanding meaning requires engagement with complexity." (Ayars, 1989:16)

BIAS AND SUBJECTIVITY

Agar (1980, cited in Ayars, 1989:13) discusses the problem of bias, another concern with the ethnographic tradition. He contends that the problem lies not so much in the researcher being biased, but rather in what kind of bias and how it can be documented. By bringing it to consciousness, the ethnographer can deal with it as part of methodology and can acknowledge it when drawing conclusions during analysis. Delamont (1992) concurs, stating that preconceptions and prejudices are only dangerous and could influence the validity of the study if left implicit, unacknowledged and unexamined.

Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot (1983, cited in Ayars, 1989:13) goes further by saying that the very success of such research depends on the researcher being subjective and human for only then can conclusions be derived from the

meaning between the lines, the nuances and inflections of the experience.

"It is not that qualitative research uses the person as a research tool, and one must always guard against distortions of bias and prejudice; it is also that one's personal style, temperament and modes of interaction are central ingredients of successful work. Phenomenologists often refer to the "inter-subjectivity" required in qualitative inquiry - the need to experience and reflect upon one's own feelings in order to successfully identify with another's perspective. Empathetic regard, therefore, is key to good data collection." (Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot, 1983:370, cited in Ayars, 1989:13)

With this in mind, I believe it is pertinent for me to unpack my own background, biases and beliefs.

I was born and raised in South Africa, educated at a white girls' state school not unlike the one in the study. From adulthood, I became an active supporter of the anti-apartheid movements of the time and critical of institutions, such as the authoritarian white state schools, that reinforced the status quo. Since then one of my core beliefs and life's work, has been as advocate of social justice both within my homeland, South Africa and my adopted country, Canada.

In South Africa I lived and taught at a private boarding school for African girls. This was a unique experience at the time for I was one of only four white staff members and could engage in relationships with my black colleagues, superiors and students free of the usual constrictions and impositions of apartheid. From this experience I developed deep and lasting friendships with my

black colleagues and students and gained valuable insights into African culture. As a white South African, I also earned a certain amount of credibility amongst black and white anti-apartheid activists.

Since emigrating to Canada, I have been involved in multicultural education. I have also worked as a research assistant in a national project to determine teachers' response to multicultural and anti-racist education in Canadian schools. In addition to broadening my knowledge in this area, and giving me experience in conducting interviews, it provided me with helpful perspectives on 'teacher culture'. The choice of research topic was a logical extension of my interests and beliefs.

While my experiences have given me an intimate knowledge of the field, the subjectivity in my personal background needs to be carefully examined. Contrary to the stereotype of a white South African, I am aware that my bias was more likely to be overly-critical of the white school system and perhaps overly-sympathetic towards the black students. To ensure fairness and accuracy both in data collection and analysis, I had to constantly reflect on my biases as I scrutinized the findings.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) point out the importance of being a supportive colleague rather than a critical professional while Burgess (1984) maintains that rapport and

trust with one's subjects are considered critical to successful field research.

I was conscious of the ways in which I could be perceived by the white teachers - they might see me as an 'insider' who understood the complexities of South Africa or as an emigrant and therefore a 'sellout', part of what they derogatorily referred to as the 'chicken run'. Or, in the light of world condemnation of apartheid during this time, they could be very defensive and resentful of a 'foreign expert' coming to tell them what to do. I was conscious of having to tread a fine balance as I negotiated my way amongst these possible preconceptions.

As a critical part of this study has to do with how black students perceive their experience in a formerly whites only school, a word has to be said about the validity of attempting to understand the life experiences of the dominated from the standpoint of the dominant class. bell hooks (1988) and others contend that this is 'cultural appropriation' and hence unethical.

"A dimension of the oppressor/oppressed relationship is that those who dominate are seen as subjects and those dominated as objects. As objects, one's reality is defined by others, one's identity created by others, one's history defined by those who are subjects." (bell hooks, 1988:42)

She contends that members of the dominant group tend to be taken more seriously, become 'the authorities', thus reinforcing and protecting domination.

While this point is a valid one, the weakness in the argument lies in the overgeneralisation and homogenisation of the 'oppressors.' I maintain that disadvantage can be experienced by different people on different levels. For example, as a white South African I unconsciously or consciously imbibed the 'privilege' of this position. However, as a white liberal who rejected apartheid, I was in turn alienated from my family, my culture and finally my country. At the same time, white liberals were never wholly embraced by the black cause. Moreover, I have been treated with suspicion and hostility by some Canadians, particularly in the field in which I work, because of their prejudice towards white South Africans. Thus, while I was 'privileged' in some respects, not having a clearly defined group identity is a very isolating and alienating position. Conversely, while the deprivation experienced by black South Africans should in no way be minimized, the solidarity of the oppressed can be an empowering position. Consequently, I believe I have the necessary knowledge, understanding and empathy to interact with informants for the purpose of this study.

DESIGN

In keeping with the ethnographic tradition, the primary tools for data collection used in this study were direct observation and interviews. The observations and interviews revolved around foreshadowed problems. However, they were

open-ended to ensure the flexibility necessary to give preference to the 'voice' and actions of the participants themselves. This is consistent with the opinion of scholars (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Burgess, 1984) who recommend that while a list of issues to be covered should be drawn up, researchers should not have questions with answers in mind. This apparent informality in fact needs to be carefully structured, deliberate and purposeful in order to prompt open-ended responses.

DATA COLLECTION: SELECTION

The following table illustrates the racial mix of five previously white girls' high schools in Durban:

TABLE 2

RACIAL MIX OF 5 STATE HIGH SCHOOLS

Schools:	1	2	3	4	5
Racial Group:					
African:	28	62	28	47	86
Indian:	0	10	59	0	0
Coloured:		6	24	0	0
White:	365	379	458	866	unav.
% Black:	5.6	17	19.5	5	unav.

A fax was sent to the Principal of each of the above schools, outlining the study and requesting permission to

rather than broad, investigation, one school, school #2, was selected on the following criteria;

- the willingness of the school to participate
- the size of the Black student population, the expectation being that the larger the number of Black pupils, the richer the data is likely to be.
- the school was located in a white working-class area, close to the black townships. This would enable me to observe how race and class articulated in an educational setting.

In order to ensure confidentiality, pseudonyms have been used for the school, and all the informants in this study. Prior to entering the field, I met with the Vice Principal of School #2, Valour High, to introduce myself, establish rapport and review my data collection procedures with her. Miss Cane indicated that the school had accepted my research request because the teachers were "fumbling in the dark" over the integration issue and she hoped I might be able to provide some insights and recommendations.

During this first week in Durban, I also piloted the interview questions (Appendix A) and observation markers (Appendix B) with a Principal and teacher of two other integrated schools, requesting comment on the following:

- Could they be offensive to teachers or principal?
- Do they show a lack of understanding of the South African context?

- Have I overlooked anything?

Mrs Thorton acknowledged feeling defensive about question # 1, regarding the Admissions policy as it was so arbitrary. Because no official criteria had been laid out, schools at that time made the decision. This was a potentially sensitive issue because, if a black student was turned down, it could be construed as racist, even if there were other legitimate reasons.

Ms Evans made the observation that in her experience, white teachers had trouble dealing with educated black parents. She remarked that they were more comfortable if the parents were subservient and agreed with everything the teachers said. However, they reacted negatively if the black parents confronted them as equals, offering suggestions or asking specific, informed questions.

Both teachers, however, felt the interview questions and observation guidelines should remain unchanged, their comments serving rather to sensitise me to these issues.

On my first day in the field, I met informally with the Principal of Valour High, Mrs Todd, and with her assistance, I identified classes for observations and teachers for interviews. Standard 7 C and Standard 9 B were targetted as the classes to observe as they were the two most multi-racial classes in the school, each comprising 30% Black students. Mrs Todd provided me with a timetable and class list for both these classes, as well as the names of all

their teachers and the subjects taught. The teachers had been briefed about my research and my presence in the school over the next four weeks.

This is consistent with Burgess (1984) contention that while requiring extensive observation and recording, some criteria of selection to narrow the focus of their work is needed in field research.

As the research progressed, informants linked me up with others, a procedure referred to as 'snowball' sampling.

DATA COLLECTION: PROCEDURES:

Observations:

During the first two weeks I accompanied Std. 7 C to most of their classes. I observed them for a total of 23 hours in the following subjects:

- English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Math, General Science, Physical Education, Speech and Drama, Religious Education and Vocational Guidance.

During the third and fourth weeks, I accompanied Std. 9 B to many of their classes. I observed them for a total of 12 hours in the following subjects:

- English, Afrikaans, Speech and Drama, Biology, Geography, Math, Vocational Guidance.

The teachers did not require me to give them advance warning but openly and warmly allowed me to come and go freely in their classrooms. They went out of their way to

make available anything further I wished to see or know about their class. They also encouraged me to talk to the black and white students. This contradicted my expectations of teachers' attitudes towards researchers which, based on my limited experience in Canada, is typically one of skepticism and defensiveness. It also contradicted my concerns about how I would be perceived.

I took notes and made written comments during this time, guided by, but not tied to, the OBSERVATION GUIDELINES (Appendix A) . I also varied my type of observation, sometimes sitting unobtrusively in the back of the classroom, other times in the front , and occasionally being drawn into the class as a participant observer.

In order to build rapport with students and teachers, observe casual interactions of students and teachers, and develop a sense of the school ethos, I attended morning assemblies, accompanied pupils to the playground during recess and lunch break, and teachers to the staff room. I also attended three club meetings and one staff meeting. No notes were taken during this time, although I attempted to write them up as soon after as possible.

Interviews

Interviews took place during the second and third weeks, during recess or teachers' free periods. Informants were asked if the information could be taped in order to analyse the data more closely. Confidentiality was assured

and consent forms signed. The Principal, Vice Principal and seven teachers were interviewed. They were the teachers of the Std. 7 C and 9 B classes, and included two English teachers, Afrikaans, Zulu, Drama and Math, Geography, Physical Education and Biology teachers. Two teachers were specifically interviewed because I had observed, and had suggested to me by other teachers, that they might be more resistant to integration.

Interviews took between 45 - 60 minutes and were all taped and later transcribed by the researcher. The interviews roughly followed the INTERVIEW GUIDELINES, (Appendix B).

In addition to formally interviewing the teachers, I spent many hours in informal conversation with these and other staff members, on the way to and from school, during recess and lunch break.

I also informally conversed, separately, with groups of black and white students from Std. 7C and Std. 9B. I arranged a meeting place during lunch break and said I would wait for them there if anyone was interested in talking to me. I purposely made the arrangement as loose and voluntary as possible so they would not feel pressured to talk to me. I also made the decision to talk to them in a group as I believed they would feel less intimidated and identifiable.

Each time an interview ended I informed them that I would be at the same place, at the same time, the following

day, if anyone still wanted to talk to me. The number of student informants changed, ranging from three to 12 during an interview. I spent a total of 12 hours on student interviews, plus further conversation in the hallways while walking to classes.

Sometimes I took notes during interviews; at other times I just listened and wrote down the conversation immediately after, and at yet other times I placed a recorder in the middle of the group and taped the discussions.

I had entered the field not intending to interview students because I was concentrating on teachers' responses, but it became increasingly obvious that the data would be incomplete without the students' stories. It would, moreover, be a way of corroborating or contradicting the teachers' opinions and testing the black and white students' views against each other.

Consequently, I did not have an interview guideline as I did for the teachers but rather a broad framework of issues that I wanted to cover. With the black students these were:

- Family background; where did they live, how did they get to school, township life, parents' jobs, their job aspirations.
- School life; how did they feel about being in a predominantly white school, what did they like/dislike about

it, why did they choose to come to a white school, attitudes of other students/ teachers towards them.

- The future; what changes would they like to see, how did they feel about the intake of more black students the following year?

Because of the radically different worlds in which the black and white students lived, it was necessary to address different issues with each group.

The broad questions for the white students were:

- How did they feel about having black students in the school?
- Had the school changed because of the new students, if so, in what ways?
- Did they socialise in/ outside school?
- Did they know anything about their lives/backgrounds?

During the third and fourth weeks of observations, I attempted to test teachers' perceptions of their situation against observed behaviours. I also tried to follow-up and verify propositions, theories and assumptions that I had tentatively built up during the preceding three weeks by asking teachers and students for further commentaries, opinions or clarifications.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

In general, I have incorporated the following measures into the study to increase validity:

- Evidence was obtained from classroom and casual observations, as well as interviews with the Principal and five teachers.
- Interviews were taped and transcribed by the researcher herself.
- A chain of evidence was established, arising out of , and referring back to, the original focus questions.
- A draft of the case study was discussed with two local experts.
- The Interview Guidelines was be piloted with a local Principal and teacher from other schools.
- The informants had flexibility in shaping and determining the topics of the discussion.
- They also had input into the verification and clarification of the information and assumptions.

Scholars (Marshall & Rossman,1989, Lather,1991, Schumacher and McMillan,1993) agree that triangulation, is essential in establishing the trustworthiness of data in qualitative research. This involves the use of data from different sources in order to 'corroborate, elaborate and illuminate the research in question'(Marshall & Rossman,1989). Lather (1991) stresses that the researcher must consciously utilize designs which seek counter patterns as well as convergence if data is to be credible. In my research triangulation was achieved by using observations, formal interviews with teachers, informal conversations in

the staff room, attendance at staff and club meetings as well as informal discussions with both black and white students.

Schumacher and McMillan (1993) state that in most qualitative case studies, the researcher does not aim at the generalization of results but "in the extension of the understandings, detailed descriptions that enable others to understand similar situations and extend these understandings in subsequent research." Reliability, on the other hand, is achieved through replication. In this study, replication is facilitated by the documentation and description of procedures, step by step. Because the researcher ultimately has the responsibility of interpreting the results and presenting her perceptions of the phenomenon, extensive quotations, from taped interviews have been included in the final report, as a way of empowering informants to 'speak in their own voices'.

ANALYSIS

In order for the ethnographic case study to be more than simply a collection of descriptive and anecdotal material, the researcher has "to bring data under control, to create a framework through which information can be understood." (Ayars, 1989). The analysis in this study is a spiral process and has been incorporated throughout the study. For example, the information and interpretations,

derived from Week 1 observations, provided the impetus for what to focus on in Week 2, and so on. The analysis took place within the broad, loose framework of the original questions, and constantly refers back to them. During this process, the data was examined to determine emergent patterns, consistencies and contradictions.

While familiarity with the literature and personal grounding provided me with an orienting framework, since my return from the field I have been able to test evidence and emerging themes by referring to current literature .

As this is an exploratory case study, the data was analyzed not only to test established desegregation hypotheses, but also to generate hypotheses and develop concepts for further study, in an area that is new, and to date, underresearched and documented.

Chapter VFINDINGS

An analysis of the transcripts and field notes revealed six broad themes: the CONTEXT in which the study took place; the SCHOOL itself; the PARTICIPANTS at the school; RACISM; PEDAGOGICAL ISSUES and FUTURE CONCERNS.

Within each major category, several minor themes emerged. The CONTEXT describes the political and socio-economic milieu of the school. The SCHOOL section explains the admission policy and ethos. The PARTICIPANTS section describes the perceptions of the teachers and students towards each other and their newly-integrated school. It also briefly touches on the emerging generation gap between the white students and their parents. The section on RACISM is divided into three sub-sections which deal with segregation within the school, racist incidents and student perceptions of the Other. The section on PEDAGOGICAL ISSUES describes the teaching methods at the school, participation in school life, student behaviour, academic standards, ability groupings and curriculum changes. The final section deals with teachers' and students' concerns for the FUTURE.

Although these themes are divided into different sections for the sake of clarity and to enhance the detail, many of them overlap and interweave with one another. The

ways in which they are connected and the implications of this will be discussed in Chapter VI.

These findings are presented in the form of a descriptive narrative and include many direct quotes by the informants themselves, so that "the reader can see through my eyes, what I have seen." (Wolcott, 1990)

CONTEXT

Social Context

Valour Girls' High is located in the white working-class neighbourhood of Woodsville. Its small, box-like houses are within sight of a highly industrialised zone. Densely populated black townships sprawl nearby. This setting indicates how rigidly class, as well as racially, divided South African society is.

However, because white education has historically been heavily subsidised by government, the school itself was very similar to schools in more affluent areas. The three-storey brick building was in excellent condition and the classrooms were well-equipped with typewriters, computers, science and biology laboratories.

Although the abolition of the Group Areas Act in 1992 had legalised residential integration, economic deprivation prohibited much movement of blacks into white areas. However, because of its location near to the black townships and the lower cost of housing, Woodsville was attracting

some upwardly mobile middle-class black families. The Principal, Mrs Todd, said about 10% of the black students lived in the vicinity, while the majority commuted by bus from the outlying black townships. Two black families had chosen to move into more prestigious white areas because Woodsville "wasn't good enough".

Mrs Todd said the white parents were in blue-collar jobs or low-management positions, with "not one professional amongst them." The white students indicated that their parents were "railway workers, clerks, salesladies and typists." Many of the black parents, however, were upwardly mobile, lower middle-class; businessmen, realtors, health inspectors, and professionals such as nurses, teachers, and school Principals.

Class affiliations were also reflected in the students' aspirations and the teachers' expectations. Most of the teachers, from the professional, middle-class, frequently and openly expressed disdain for the lower class.

"The white parents, you know, they go to work, they come home, they sit down and drink their beer and they watch their 'soapies' (soap operas). There's no culture. So you can't expect much from the kids." (white teacher)

The black girls said they wanted to be lawyers, doctors, teachers, a history professor, and a journalist while the white girls aspired to being secretaries, sales clerks and hairdressers.

Although many teachers expressed admiration for the higher expectations of the black students and disdain for the lack of ambition of the whites, there was a sense that the black aspirations were sometimes unrealistic.

"The black children have enormous expectations which the white children don't have. The white children would happily be hairdressers and listen to pop music all day and cut hairstyles. But the black children want to be doctors and lawyers. Sometimes you've got to take them and prick the bubble, this unnatural, present desire to do law, whether they have the wherewithall academically or not."
(teacher)

Not only is there an emerging division between the upwardly mobile black middle-class, and the entrenched lower class whites, there is a growing alienation between the black students attending 'white' schools, and those who remain at black schools in the townships. According to Mrs Todd, the black students going back home to the townships are sometimes threatened or attacked, their uniforms cut up because the township residents resent their attendance at a white school. A black student described their treatment:

"When there's strikes or stayaways we try to come to school but the township people hit us and ask us why we don't go to a black school. Some of the kids would like to come to a white school but their parents don't want them to or they can't afford it. Even the maids in this school hate us because we go to a white school. I think they're jealous of us."

The socio-economic status of some of the black and white students at Valour High was a striking contradiction of the stereotype in apartheid South Africa where whites

were always assumed to be more affluent than blacks. This did not go unnoticed among the black students.

"The white kids think we are so poor, we're from the townships and live in the slums. One day I was talking about this show on T.V. and this white girl says, 'Oh, you've got a T.V.!' She couldn't believe it! But some black kids are far richer than white kids especially in this area, the white kids are so poor." (black student)

Political Context

This research was undertaken as the country stood poised for its first free elections which would likely usher in revolutionary change. Consequently, it was in a state of tremendous upheaval, with crime escalating, violence and political clashes common events. Fear and uncertainty permeated everyday life. One teacher voiced the opinions of many:

"The whole country is in a state of nervousness. It's the uncertainty that's hard to take. This waiting, waiting, waiting for what's going to happen is taking up a lot of energy, is really making people tense."

So effectively had apartheid created separate worlds in which blacks and whites lived, that each group experienced the political climate of the time completely differently. While the white students' lives were disrupted by the high crime rate, the media exposure of the violence and the general anxiety, it was the black students who experienced the upheaval directly. All the black students interviewed had lost relatives in the violence, killed by the police, army or in ANC/Inkatha clashes.

"There are certain areas in the township for the ANC and others for Inkatha and if you are seen where you are not supposed to be, you just get killed." (black student)

Mrs Todd related a black parent's reaction to the news that her daughter was involved in the Peace Movement, a national, multicultural organization aimed at ending the current violence.

"If my child went to the Peace Conference, the next thing is my house is going to be bombed." (black parent)

The black and white students were locked into their own worlds with little attempt made to understand the life of the other. The black students said they were too embarrassed to tell their white colleagues how scared they sometimes felt in the townships. They also said they didn't want to discuss it because it would make the white girls afraid or angry.

"The white girls never went into a location (township) in their whole life. They don't understand what kind of place we're brought up in. There's so much noise, noise is something we're used to. It's so cramped, there's lots of people living on top of each other. They think we just kill each other for nothing. But there's something pushing us to do this thing." (black student)

"You can't rely on the policemen in the townships but in the white areas, I heard, the policemen walk around, drive around, just to make sure everything is fine." (black student)

Because the white working class has the most to lose from rising black aspirations and the removal of laws that had previously privileged them, they tend to be amongst the most conservative and racist whites. This seemed to be the

situation in Woodsville, according to the teachers and administrators.

"This is a very conservative area, almost C.P. (a right-wing white Party.) The girls' parents are much more conservative than they are. They are from backgrounds where you don't speak to a black person or help a black person." (white teacher)

The political nature of the area, in addition to socio-economic status differentials, could account for the increasing alienation between blacks attending township schools and those at white schools.

"The people in the township hate us. They're always saying we're traitors. They say now we are Conservative and we've been influenced by the Afrikaner. They say the Afrikaner took our land and now we're going to their school."

The reasons the black students gave for coming to Woodsville were the poor conditions of the black schools, the poor quality of teaching and the political instability in the black schools which were often a site of mobilization against the apartheid regime.

A white student described the conditions in black schools:

"Forty in a class, 100 pupils in a classroom. They would all be squashed, uncomfortable, three to a desk."

The black students explained that the school was always disrupted by strikes, riots or protests.

"There's a lot of fighting and if they don't like the teachers, they just kick them out." (black student)

THE SCHOOLAdmission Policy

Valour High had first accepted students from other racial groups, in January 1992, 18 months prior to the present research. This had required a vote by parents and staff. Because of the conservative nature of the community and in order to ensure a 'yes' vote, there was a 10% ceiling on black enrolments. When parents, according to one teacher, "saw no disastrous thing happening", the Board of Governors raised the quota to 20%.

At the time of the research it had become imperative to increase the student base as the white population in the area was static and the school, equipped for 1,000 students, only had 450. At a staff meeting it was unanimously decided to request the removal of the 20% while still being aware that 30% was generally accepted as the 'critical mass' after which the school ethos changed. However, Miss Peters was skeptical of this actually reflecting a change in teachers' attitudes:

" There were some teachers who didn't want to take in more black students but now their jobs are threatened, they're prepared to take black, white, yellow, striped rather than have no job. But it's not going to change their attitude. They're staying for the wrong reasons. I don't know how this is going to work."

While accepting the inevitability of an integrated school, teachers and parents appeared determined to cling to a white ethos for as long as possible while they still had a

choice over admissions. Mrs Todd explained that they wanted to attract the "best possible black students".

"Until we have to, we don't want to flood the school. We want this to remain a Christian school. We still want to have people coming in who are of the quality who will benefit from the school, whose English is good enough. But I'm also looking for potential in the child, not necessarily perfect English but a spark that I think could be developed." (Mrs Todd)

Prospective students were required to sit a standardized test, developed by the teachers which Mrs Todd admitted was outdated and ethnocentric. It often used language that tested their linguistic not conceptual ability.

Mrs Todd said she wanted to change the Admissions test, to put more emphasis on creative writing so they could write about their own families, their own backgrounds, "where they're at in their own lives." Despite this intention, however, the admission criteria seemed based primarily on selecting those black students who most closely approximated the white western Christian norm.

School Ethos

The school ethos seemed little changed by the presence of the 90 Black students. The South African flag, the subject of a lot of controversy at that time because of its symbolic representation of apartheid, hung in the entrance hall.

All the teaching and administrative staff were white females, all the janitorial staff black, and there was a

male Indian clerical assistant. The school body was divided into "Houses" to which each student was assigned and regular inter-House sporting events were held. They were named after famous western scientists, namely Curie, Newton, Dalton and Mendel.

Morning assemblies were formal, Christian-based, with hymns, prayers and Bible readings. Eight white prefects stood along the wall, monitoring the behaviour of the students. During my four weeks of observation, seven girls were punished for talking and made to stand until the Principal's entrance. All were white.

Each week a different class took a turn to lead the assembly, dramatising a theme. I observed a presentation by the Std. 7B class on 'bearing grudges'. The older black students in Std. 9B complained:

"Did you see how they dominate us? They have all the main parts and the black girls are just in the chorus."

However, they added that when their class had led the assembly, because they were a strong and cohesive group, their ideas had been accepted.

In common with all state schools in South Africa at the time, the Christian ethic was pervasive. During lunch break a week was devoted to presentations by the Student Christian Association which was well-attended by the students. Teachers and administrators were insistent on keeping the school Christian. The Principal was emphatic:

"This has always been a school with a Christian ethic. I feel very strongly about this. Although we have Moslems, Hindus and Jewish students, most of the black girls are Christian. They were told they were coming to a school with a Christian ethic before they were admitted."

There was some evidence that the ethos was changing. At the predominantly white inter-school Athletics Day, Nonku, a very bright, outgoing Std. 9 black girl had led the cheerleading squad, two-thirds of whom were black, in an exuberant rendition of "Shosholozo", a traditional Zulu chant.

Mrs Todd voiced the response of many of the teachers and pupils to the performance:

"There was a spirit that pervaded at that time that you will never ever recapture. I've had phone calls from grandparents saying this was the best thing they'd ever seen."

Nevertheless, there were a few disgruntled remarks from some of the white cheerleaders:

"The black girls don't want to do what we want to do. They want to take over and do their own thing."

Celebrations and heroes still remained grounded in British and white South African heritage. The exclusion of Zulu songs, cultural and political heroes and special days from the school ritual and the ignorance of the white students pertaining to these, were felt by the black students:

"When we stayed away on June 16 (anniversary of the Soweto Riots, 1976), one of the white girls asked us why we had stayed away. I could not believe she didn't know about this day and what it means to us black people."

Most teachers were enthusiastic about integrating some non-political aspects of Zulu culture into the school and the principal admitted that she had erred in not including Zulu hymns in the songbook she had just revised.

THE PARTICIPANTS

Teachers' Perceptions

Some teachers believed the school had an obligation to change in order to accommodate the new black students, while others firmly believed the black students should be assimilated. Mrs Jory summed up these views:

"Some teachers here feel we should be more flexible now that we are multiracial but I think the Black students have come into our school so they must fit in."

The 'assimilationists' main concern was with 'maintaining standards'. These teachers considered it their mandate to not only teach their subject, but give the students the cultural capital to succeed in the outside world. Mrs Jory continued:

"They (black students) need to be told how to behave appropriately, to keep their voices down and not shout, to look people in the eye when they're talking to them. Otherwise how will they get on in the outside world? How will they be able to get jobs?"

These teachers were very proud of their 'colour blind' perspective, of treating everyone equally.

" We try to maintain what we had before, the same structure of behaviour , the way the students conduct themselves. I do try to make them fit the mold. I don't treat them any differently. If they came here they understood what was ahead of them and they must reach a level in their general behaviour that is acceptable to us.

I'm not interested what colour you are, as long as you behave in a certain way because to be successful you need those things."

Miss Kelly reinforced this position:

"At the moment they have to fit in because they're a distinct minority so its been easy to have them adjust to our way. I tend to treat them all like a class and I haven't thought of their differences, they're just all my pupils. But I suppose in that way you expect the black pupils to adapt to the white way of doing things."

However, despite the frankness of their comments, these teachers also expressed uncertainty about the way they were coping with a multiracial classroom and many asked me for advice or suggestions. They also recognised the inevitability of a change in ethos as the number of black students increased.

"I think it's inevitable and it's going to be necessary to accommodate and we are going to have to make an effort to change , otherwise there will be a problem." (white teacher)

Miss Young, whom I had targeted as one of the most outspoken in the 'assimilationist camp' explained:

"I thought just to be a good teacher I must go on browbeating these people into line. That's why I tried my hardest to make them fit in because I thought that's what we were supposed to do."

She had been to a multicultural seminar the day before our interview and appeared to have undergone a complete attitude change which she admitted with candour and self-reflection.

"In the multicultural seminar yesterday I heard people saying assimilation was white education with black children

whom you had allowed to enter your school because they appeared white to you. Suddenly my whole focus changed. I now see that we had got it all wrong. Who are we to think we are so superior and what we are offering is so correct. We have been imposing white standards on new pupils because we thought we were superior. Because of the lack of staff development, lack of preparation, we were going the 'white' route. So after all my good intentions, the intentions were good, in fact I was doing them harm."

She blamed the Education Department for avoiding giving directives, knowing teachers would continue with what was familiar to them.

"I'm sure it was their (Education Department) intention not to properly inform us because they know we teachers have been taught to be obedient throughout our whole schooling. And now I'm feeling guilty because they succeeded in their intention."

On the other hand, however, while some teachers expressed the need to accommodate the new black students, they did very little in terms of classroom praxis or curriculum modification. Accommodation was more an attitude some teachers held and was evidenced most by their affirmative action in favour of black students whom they perceived as being disadvantaged because of background, transportation problems, and political unrest. Miss Peters expressed these views:

"If a white child makes an excuse for not doing her homework, I probably wouldn't accept it but if a black student said she was unable to do her homework because their had been trouble in the township the night before, I would take it seriously."

The Principal had also actively intervened and bent the rules in order to accommodate a black student who wanted to

return to school after a pregnancy. This contravened school policy.

"She is a very intelligent student and a good role model for the other students so I really went out to bat for her. I had a humdinger of a staff meeting but I finally succeeded in getting her back into the school."

On the other hand, some teachers realised there was a fine line between compensating because of real disadvantage and compensating out of guilt.

"We also need to know when guilt is interfering with our decision and when it should not interfere. Sometimes the girls stand at the bottom of the hill talking to their boyfriends and then come in late and expect to use 'transportation problems' as their excuse."

Students' Perceptions

Paradoxically it was the black students themselves who resisted being treated differently. It seemed that they themselves wanted to approximate the white western norm and distance themselves from the black mass.

"The teachers must make the black students realise that the more difficult it is, the more effort we must put into it. We came to the white school because we like to be in this white school so we must obey the rules." (black student)

Some black students seemed to interpret the teachers' efforts on their behalf as patronising.

"They always feel pity for us. They say, "Oh, poor, poor black people. If a black girl doesn't do her homework, they won't do anything but if a white girl doesn't do it, she's in detention. They must treat us like all other people in the school. We want to show them that we are also human beings. We don't need their pity." (black student)

Nevertheless, they did also believe they warranted some special consideration because of their lifestyle.

"Because most of us live in the townships, we only get home at 4.30 or 5.30 p.m. and we still have to do housework and then homework. Sometimes we're so tired we just fall asleep on our books." (black student)

While many of the white students displayed a genuine desire to embrace the black students, they were resentful of the 'special treatment.'

"They can get away with things that we can't. If they don't do their homework, it doesn't matter but if we don't, we're jumped on. The teachers are scared of them. Except Mrs. Guthrie told them not to expect privileges because they're black. I think all the teachers should take a stand and put them in their place instead of treating them totally different." (white student)

"One thing that really hits me that I'll never forget. A white student was pregnant and so she was kicked out of the school. But they allowed a black student to come back after she had a baby. She could carry on with her studies at home, they even sent her books. They do get extra privileges. It's not fair, there's favouritism." (white student)

The language policy caused the most debate. While all the teachers acknowledged that teaching students whose mother tongue was not English, was the most problematic part of an integrated school, there was a great deal of confusion over whether English only should be enforced. The Principal felt this would not only be impossible but unfair on the new students.

"I don't see that I can actually force children to speak a language that isn't their home language. I certainly wouldn't force them to speak English to each other

all the time. I also objected when some staff wanted me to enforce English only in the classroom. I think it's ridiculous when they could be helping each other understand the subject." (Mrs. Todd)

Ironically, these views clashed with many black parents' and black students' views.

"Mrs. Todd allows us to speak Zulu because she says we are expressing ourselves. She's wrong. She should forbid it. This is an English school so we must talk English." (black student)

The black students did not form a homogeneous group, with one view on issues; a division was emerging between those who had been accepted the previous year and the new intake that year. Miss Campbell explained the growing division amongst the black students over the language issue.

"Last year they all wanted to speak English and wouldn't speak Zulu but this year there's been almost a militant movement - we will speak Zulu, we are Zulu and you can't tell us to speak English. Some of them are even starting to bully the other black kids when they hear them speaking English, telling them they must speak Zulu. The black girls in Std 9B disapprove of this and are very critical of the younger, new black girls. They're almost ashamed of them, they want them to live up to their standards."

Their alignment with the white culture seemed to arise out of a thorough internalization of the hegemony of the dominant group.

"I always wanted to come to a white school since I knew that people do go to white schools. I was scared of white people before, not that they terrified me but I looked up to them and treated them like gods." (black student)

The approximation to the white standards was occurring with a simultaneous distancing from the black mass as can be

seen in the comments of these black students when asked how they would feel about having more black students in the school the following year.

"It will be bad. It will be terrible."

"There'll be chaos. Black students are rude and noisy. They don't know how to behave."

Part of their ambivalence towards their own culture was that it was in a state of extreme flux, hovering somewhere between rural and urban, African and Western, traditional and post-modern, industrial. Mrs. Guthrie, the Zulu teacher perceived it thus:

"The Zulu students come from a changing society. They don't have a culture of their own at the moment because they're very westernized. They live in townships, they don't have their own culture, it's more a township culture than a Zulu culture. I don't think they actually know what their culture is at the moment. Some of them have never come across traditional rites."

Emerging Generation Gap

A potential issue was the widening gulf between the more progressive white students and their conservative parents. The contrast is illustrated by the following two quotes:

"I didn't want blacks in the school at first but I think now they should have equal rights, it's the only way things are going to get better. Our generation's seen what they are really like. Our parents don't really understand black people the way we understand them."

"When I try to tell my family about my black classmates or what we've done in class, my relatives say, Oh, you're friends with Blacks. How disgusting!"

Miss Peters validated this:

"It's tough on the white girls. They just run straight into a brick wall when they get home. They don't tell their parents they have black friends because they know they'd get into trouble."

RACISM

Segregation

There was very little evidence of physical integration in the school. In Assembly, in the playgrounds and in the classrooms, the black girls sat together. For example, in the Afrikaans class, the desks were arranged side by side in four long rows. The black students sat next to each other, two in the front, the other seven in the middle of the classroom, side by side. This seating pattern was the norm in all the classes I observed. It was reinforced by the teaching methods which were generally teacher-fronted, lecture format.

In classes where group work was done, there was some evidence of integrated groups. In the Zulu class the teacher said she forced them to mix during oral work so the black students could help the white students with the language. In contrast to the other classes where very little interaction occurred between the races, there was a lot of easy-going rapport and involvement with the task.

None of the teachers or administrators saw segregation as a problem. Instead they saw it as 'natural' and

something that would evolve over time as they got to know each other better or entered high school from integrated primary schools. There was a distinct aversion to intervening in any way in order to facilitate integration.

The Principal explained:

"If you force it, it's going to be seen as something imposed like apartheid was imposed - now we're imposing integration."

Many teachers felt there were advantages as the black students could help one another, especially if it was a language problem as they were reluctant to seek help from the white students. One teacher said:

"When the black girls sit together they help each other but if they are apart they would rather shout to their friend across the room than ask a white student sitting nearby."

Some teachers also believed the black students produced better work in their own groups because they were not overshadowed by the whites. This seemed particularly the case in subjects where they could draw on their own cultural backgrounds and experiences, such as creative writing or Drama.

"They're on their own wavelength, not shy or inhibited by the whites." (Teacher)

This opinion was reinforced by the black students who said they would not have been able to choose the play "Bula", written by a Sotho, dealing with the political crisis facing blacks, had they been working with a white group.

Another teacher disagreed, however.

"When they're mixed they tend to follow the white students but when they're together they don't always produce anything because they don't always know what they're doing. They're very hesitant."

All the teachers agreed that when they did mix, there was no animosity.

"They don't seem to mind being in mixed groups, there's no resistance."

While the white students said they didn't want to be forced to mix, nor did they voluntarily integrate, they admitted to a deeper understanding of the black students when they were in integrated groups.

"When we have them in our groups in class, we get to know them better and we learn how to work with them and get along with them." (white student)

"Once I had to do a project on a township and I had to speak to a bunch of the black students. I noticed that when I showed interest in them, all of a sudden they were all friends. They opened up to me, I couldn't believe the change. The atmosphere was so much better, not nearly so tense, like our white group and their black group." (white student)

While racism is usually manifest as exclusion by the dominant group, at Valour High it seemed that it was often the politically subordinate group who initiated the separation.

"It's not that the white kids don't want to sit with us, it is we who don't want to sit with them." (black student)

There were numerous reasons for this. Firstly they felt dominated in a white group.

"You know how we black people are when we mix with other races. We always feel inferior so we stick together. we were born with that thing(inferiority complex)." (black student)

Sometimes they were hurt by a racist remark.

"I used to sit with this white group but one day this girl said something about 'kaffirs'. I just kept quiet and after a while they asked me what was wrong but I just kept quiet. After she realized she had said something wrong she gave me a chocolate." (black student)

However, the most common complaint was that their backgrounds, world views and experiences were so remote from one another that there was no possibility for dialogue. The white students seemed totally ignorant of how politics determined every aspect of black lives.

"We never sit together during breaks or classes because we have different backgrounds and that cannot be changed in a year or two. We like discussing politics but the white girls know nothing about this. They get angry with us because they think we're blaming them." (black student)

This was validated by the white students.

"I'm too scared to talk about their lives. I don't know if they want to talk about it. Once I asked Thembi about the stayaways and she said she didn't want to talk about it because we'd get mad." (white student)

"The whole thing of mixing the races is to try and get rid of this political thing and do away with apartheid. But everytime we have a free topic the black girls will bring rioting or some political topic. The black students are trying to make us feel guilty by talking politics all the time." (white student)

The following quote by a black student, expresses the vast difference in perception of each others' lives, and dramatically contradicts the stereotype.

" The white kids lives are so barren. We talk about politics, and things that happen in the location (township). They talk about boys and then they fight. We can't relate to them." (black student)

Although they believed the goal of the school was to integrate them, like the white students, they did not want it forced on them.

"We're supposed to be a multi-racial school but we're not. I think it's the goal of the school to integrate us but you can't force us to mix." (black student)

Miss Campbell saw resegregation as a necessary phase before true integration on an equal footing could take place.

"I think the black students are doing their bit to create isolation. Maybe they need to get their identity first and then say, Here we are, now we're ready to mix with you on our terms because initially they were mixing on the whites' terms. Now they're creating their own turf."

There was even less mixing after school. A few of the black students had visited the white girls' homes but because of the violence in the townships, this had not been reciprocated. Not only was this due to the fact that most of the black pupils had to leave directly after school to catch buses to the townships, but a lot of socialising occurred during the bus trip which solidified their friendships. The Principal said there were some friendships among the five black students who lived in the Woodsville area.

"They have integrated more than the black pupils who come in a body on the bus from the outlying townships."

Racist Incidents

Racist incidents, when they occurred, were crude and blatant, perpetrated generally by other students, and consisting of insults and demeaning behaviour. Miss Peters explained:

"Racism manifests itself with derogatory generalizations because we're all brought up with this kind of attitude."

One of the most volatile incidents occurred during a debate in Std 9B between the very outspoken and intelligent Nonku and a white student, Karen whom teachers described as a 'rabid racist'. Karen had asked why the townships were so filthy. The white students told her not to say such 'stupid things' while the black students swarmed around Nonku in support of her.

Miss Campbell, who was teaching them, said the class had been polarized ever since, with a palpable undercurrent of tension. As a result she had to tread very carefully and not talk politics as it was too inflammatory. She said she would have liked to have aired the problem but the white girls had begged her not to bring it up while the black girls had just 'simmered'. Consequently it had never been mentioned again although many teachers, and both the black and white students, had talked about it to me - it had obviously left deep scars. Nonku described it thus:

"I think Karen hates us; she can't even pretend to like us. When she asked us why it was always dirty in the

locations, we couldn't answer her because we were so angry, some of us were even crying. We would have told her that garbage is picked up from the white areas and dumped in the locations (townships)".

Karen expressed her position in the following way:

"I'm kind of like the odd one out in the class. I've been brought up in a racist background. I'd rather just not associate with blacks. I've been spoken to by the Principal and the teachers so now I just keep it to myself if they're getting on my nerves. The other white girls don't necessarily disagree with me - they mainly keep out of it."

Another racist incident revolved around a number of thefts which were blamed on a black student even though the teachers told me thieving had occurred before the school 'opened'. Even the black janitorial staff accused the black students.

"When we had only white kids in the school there were no problems but now we have these little blacks and we have problems." (black janitorial staff)

This comment probably reinforces the black students prior opinion that the janitorial staff were 'jealous of them' and also serves to highlight the extent to which black people were socialized into believing their own inferiority.

Lacking any cross-cultural understanding and training or knowledge of anti-racist education, teachers were ill-equipped to deal with these incidents and responded to them on a simplistic ad hoc basis.

Miss Peters, one of the most liberal and well-respected teachers, described how she had handled a situation when a white child had accused blacks of being dirty and untidy.

"I told her to open her desk and there was a mess because she's a proper little pig. Then I asked one of the black girls to open her desk and it was beautiful, neat as a pin. So I said to the white child, How can you say that? She was very embarrassed."

All the black students praised their teachers for their efforts to be tolerant and non-racist. However, an Indian student complained about a teacher's intolerance towards her Hindu religion and culture.

"My teacher makes me feel bad about my culture. She told me to take off the string around my wrist which Hindus wear for protection. My mother had to speak to the Principal who gave me permission to wear it."

Some teachers failed to identify their actions as racist, saying, "How can I be racist when I teach black children." Nevertheless, this same teacher had told her class she personally thought miscegenation was unnatural and quoted the Bible to support her viewpoint.

Student Perceptions of the Other

A constant theme amongst the white students was a rejection of any attempt to talk politics or take responsibility for apartheid.

"Some of the girls really have an attitude, like we owe them something. I think it was the generation before us that imposed apartheid. I don't think we should bear the consequences of what people did in the past." (white student)

On the other hand, given the relatively short time the school had been 'open' and the thoroughness of their racist upbringing, many of the white students expressed surprisingly sensitive and progressive views.

"If a small group of white children were going to a black school, we'd also stick together and stick up for our rights because it's very different for them to go into a school for the first time and be accepted. I put myself in their shoes all the time." (white student)

"They've had a hard life, like the way they've been treated by us. It's hard for them to come to a school like this and they don't know how they're going to be treated by us." (white student)

They also praised the way the black students interacted with each other in contrast to their own behaviour.

"They always have a game to play, they're never bored. And if they lose, they just laugh it off. Not like us, when we play games we always fight." (white student)

"They spend time with their families and respect them more, not like us." (white student)

"They never scandal about anyone like we do. There was this black girl that they all hated but they didn't leave her out, they would always include her. If we don't like someone, that's it, they can go and do what they want." (white student)

The white students distinguished between their black schoolmates and the black population in general. Consequently, when they made derogatory remarks, they were surprised when the black students took offence.

"These girls are not your average black on the street. Some girls insult them but not intentionally. You would be talking and say something about black people and they'll be behind you and take it the wrong way." (white student)

The black students also had entrenched racial stereotypes of the white students.

"They (the whites) can't even pick up a piece of paper. We are different. We're taught to be clean. When I touch a white person, they say, "Oh, don't touch me," but I think the black maid just washed their clothes and cooked for them." (black student)

While the black students in 9B, who had been in the school for 18 months, had formed a self-confident and cohesive group, they recalled their feelings of inferiority when they first arrived. They also criticized the new black students for their obsequiousness and for allowing themselves to be debased by some of the white students.

"Remember they used to make us sing. Come and sing for us. They were making us stupid and we'd come and sing and they'd laugh and laugh. And they'd always grin at us. I just hated that." (black student)

"I hate the way the young black girls run after the white girls to try to be friends. They say they'll buy them chocolates and sew their dresses."

Miss Campbell acknowledged that some of the new, young black students had internalized the traditional stereotype.

"In my Std. 6 class, they were doing a play that called for a servant. There's only one black girl in the group so guess who had to be the servant! They were angels and carol singers and she was the servant. And she was quite happy just as long as she had a part in the play."

The reactions of the black students to this kind of treatment varied. Some were extraordinarily patient and understanding, such as Conise, who said she didn't feel angry when her white neighbours put up a concrete fence around their property. She said she understood it wasn't easy for some people to accept blacks.

"It'll take time. I'm sure after 10 years they'll speak to us."

The most common reaction of the black students to racism was passive acquiescence.

"We don't say anything, we just ignore it." (black student)

Some of the more confident students were reacting more boldly and refusing to allow the white students to push them around.

"So we told them when they ordered us to return the tennis balls, "If it's going to take us two minutes to do, then it must take you two minutes!" and we just left. They called after us, "You lazy bums!" (black student)

One forthright and volatile black student had her own unique way of handling the situation:

"The whites believe we blacks are aggressive because they see most of the violence and killings done by blacks and so they are afraid of us. I myself am very aggressive towards them, so I say, "I'll kill you," just to make them afraid. They think I'm racist but the way they treat us makes us aggressive towards them."

Conise summed up the attitudes of the white students towards them:

"You get three different groups - those who pretend they like you, those who hate you and those who are very sincere in loving you. Those ones don't mind you coming to their house or their mom sharing her car, or even having parties together."

PEDAGOGICAL ISSUES

According to desegregation theorists, pedagogical issues are connected to effective race relations and academic performance . In this section I will examine what the teachers at Valour Girls' High are doing in their classrooms in order to determine if this assumption is valid in the South African context.

Teaching Methods

Most of the classes were grounded in traditional pedagogy: they were teacher-centred, with the teacher standing at the front of the class, imparting knowledge in lecture-format. Desks were arranged in pairs, in long rows, facing the teacher. Black students sat together either in a solid block or in clumps of twos and fours amongst the white students. This was the pattern in all the classes I observed unless they were specifically assigned to mixed groups as was the case in Zulu during oral work when a native-speaker was paired with a non-native speaker.

The students for the most part sat passively and listened with no talking tolerated. Miss Young:

"You may not talk. This is a waste of human time. It indicates to me that you know the work and I know that isn't the case."

Information was mainly learned by rote through repetition, drilling and modelling correct answers. Comprehension was checked through question/answer format or open-ended questions, such as Miss Pienaar asked.

"I ask if there was anyone who didn't understand. No one puts up their hands but I can see (by) them frowning that they didn't understand."

The students' reluctance to verbalize is evident from the following quotes from the black students:

"If you think everyone knows the answer except you, you become afraid. That's why when the teacher asks if we understand we all say 'yes'."

"You can't ask anything when you don't know what anything means."

The whole system was exam driven, with the school-leaving matriculation exam determining pedagogy.

"There's no time to teach, no time to prepare creative lessons. The matric exam is what rules us all. You hear teachers saying, "I got 5As" as if they'd written the exam themselves. Inspectors scold you if the marks are low. I know our teaching methods are inadequate but everyone will tell you it's the only way to get through the syllabus."
(teacher)

Formal exams were held in the second and fourth terms, with regular testing in the first and third terms. Entire 40 minute lessons were spent reviewing tests ; students were scolded for poor marks and told to study harder. Sometimes the students had to repeat the same test two or three times until they attained 100%.

None of the teachers had changed their teaching methods, except to go more slowly, which involved using simpler vocabulary or explaining the vocabulary. They saw language proficiency as the single factor impeding black students' progress. Miss Young:

"I've always thought I was a good teacher but I can't necessarily say the same with black children.. A lot is because of the language difficulty. I don't know how to teach language because I'm unable to teach geographic vocabulary in a way they would understand."

This was also evident in classes such as Biology, where the vocabulary was very specific. Students were penalized for spelling mistakes , such as lit for litmus, even though

the teacher acknowledged the student had understood conceptually.

A lot of the responsibility for language development fell on the English teachers, with other subject teachers not recognizing it as part of their new teaching mandate.

Miss Kelly:

"In class you've got to work to get through and you've only got a fraction of time to spend on pupils who are battling so you can't spend too many lessons on remedial work where the other people are roaring ahead and you've got to give them that opportunity."

The onus was also on the black students to 'catch up' rather than on the teachers trying to facilitate their learning. Mrs. Gory:

"I might ask them if they understand or give them extra attention because you can see they're not coping but pretty soon they must catch up and see what's expected of them."

Some effort had been made to give extra help but it had not been very successful.

"They tried giving us extra lessons but it didn't help. The more the teacher explains the more it gets complicated. We need something practical; do this, do that." (black student)

A few teachers were beginning to realise that their new student clientele would necessitate a radical revision of pedagogy. Mrs. Henry:

"The biology syllabus is completely out of touch with the needs of the black children. Why should they have to know 30 new terms every time we teach an animal or plant? We should just teach principals and forget all these labels."

Some teachers used a more student-centred approach. For example Miss Wood's Vocational Guidance class, was generally used to discuss and guide students in their choice of subjects, careers and tertiary education. It could also be used as a forum for discussing social behaviour, ranging from manners and etiquette to interpersonal interactions. As such this subject had the potential to encourage cross-cultural awareness and understanding or be a means to socialize black students into 'appropriate' behaviour.

Miss Wood was one of the few teachers doing any kind of professional development; she was taking a course on multiculturalism at the Teachers' Training College in order to upgrade her teaching diploma.

The class I observed was discussing 'relationships'. Miss Wood brainstormed the meaning of the word. There was a lot of response from the whole class. Four black students and two whites were asked to share their views. She then asked them to write down any incidents when they didn't get on with family members, friends, peers, teachers and boyfriends and then to express what they would have like to happen. She gave them about 10 minutes and then asked who wanted to share their stories. Again there was an enthusiastic response from the whole class. She chose two white students and two black to share their stories.

The whole class was very attentive and interested during the telling of these experiences; they smiled a lot,

laughed, nodded, and lent over to comment to their neighbour. This seemed to suggest to me that not only were the stories entertaining but they could also identify with them. They seemed to have a common thread - they all had chosen family relationships and three of the four stories dealt with perceived unfairness of their parents, who had focussed on a negative aspect of their behaviour, overlooking their positive actions.

I had been warned that this class was very polarized and volatile yet this activity seemed to find common ground amongst them all. It highlighted the similarities between the races, especially among teenagers, faced with common parental problems. They really seemed to listen to each other's stories with understanding and good-natured sympathy.

Participation in School Life

Classroom participation generally took the form of students raising their hands in response to a teacher's question. There was no distinguishable difference in the response from black and white students. However teachers tended to ask disproportionately more black than white students.

An example was in the General Science class, where blacks made up only 30% of the class, yet the teacher asked six black students and four white students. Similarly in the 9B English class, while many hands were raised to give

examples of idiomatic expressions, the teacher called upon three black and two white pupils.

One reason, according to teachers, was to encourage more black participation as teachers found the black students in the lower grades shy and reticent in class. Another reason could have been my presence which influenced teachers to behave in a way they thought I wanted to see. A third reason could have been an unconscious attempt to compensate for previous neglect.

Neither black nor white students initiated many questions, but when they did, there was little racial difference. When there was a difference it was usually because of black rather than white initiative.

For example at a talk on Aids during recess, where there were 80 students, only three of whom were black, the only person who initiated a question was a black student.

While transport mitigated against much participation in afternoon extra-curricular events, black students participated actively in activities scheduled at recess, especially those that involved politics or community projects.

Miss Peters said the black parents were far more supportive of extra-curricular activities than the white parents. She explained how the black mothers had car-pooled to bring their daughters to rehearsals every night

for a Talent Night, had remained to watch and encourage them and taken them back home to the townships afterwards.

"It was a tremendous contribution. The white parents (who lived nearby) would never have dreamed of doing that."

The Physical Education teacher, Miss Williams, said the black students were keen on participating in sport when they could and were very supportive of team competitions.

"If a house captain tells them to support a match, the black girls will, whereas the whites will say 'What for?' and leave."

Netball (basketball) was the most popular sport with one black student on the A team and 3 on the B team. The only reason there weren't more on the A team was because they had to catch buses home and because of their involvement in political groups, such as the Durban Youth Interaction Committee (DYIC), according to Miss Williams.

She felt that being on mixed teams helped them to interact more naturally. On the other hand, one of the black students said it also brought them into contact with the conservative white parents who transported the teams to different events. These parents sometimes used insensitive and derogatory language which was very hurtful to the black students.

Behaviour

Behavioural problems amongst black students have often been cited in desegregation literature due mainly to the greater number of blacks moving into white schools than

vice-versa; hence the onus is always on them to make the appropriate adjustment to different sets of rules, cultural and behavioural expectations.

One of the greatest fears of parents and teachers when Valour High admitted black students was an anticipated drop in standards of behaviour. However all the teachers agreed that these fears had not materialized. Mrs. Guthrie:

"We expected major behavioural problems. But they've (black students) had to come into the situation, handle the boundaries, learn what they can and can't do whereas our girls (whites) are expected to know what they do or don't do."

On the contrary, their chief complaint was that the black students were often shy, lacked self-confidence, were not used to speaking up in class or asking questions. Some misunderstandings did occur such as in a testing situation where black students were unfamiliar with the 'rule of silent, independent work' according to Mrs Guthrie.

One of the problems was that the teachers knew only the Christian National Education system and were ignorant of the kind of schooling the black students had been through. Consequently, they were at a loss as to how to modify their teaching or expectations. Mrs Guthrie:

"We are used to getting pupils who came through a school system we are familiar with. Now we are getting pupils and we don't know what schooling they've had. We can't expect them to behave in ways that we are used to because we don't know what standards were set in their schools."

The South African school system promotes discipline and encourages passive, obedient and attentive

students. Mrs Jory:

"It's critical that I have a peaceful and relaxed environment, that while I'm talking the pupils will be absolutely still, they won't even fiddle or touch a book; they'll just sit and listen."

Teachers, like students, were expected to obey unquestioningly and accept their place in the educational hierarchy. Miss Young:

"Teachers have typically gone along with the system and been little puppets. We've grown up through a very strict Christian National Education and even as teachers, we've been taught to be good and obedient."

Consequently, in the current situation of educational up-heaval, very few of them took the initiative in introducing change in their classrooms. However, they were eager to learn and many asked me for advice and suggestions to help them teach in a multiracial class. Miss Cane:

"The teachers really don't know how to cope with black ESL students in their class; they're just fumbling in the dark. I hope you can give us some advice and suggestions."

Despite the emphasis on discipline, and quiet, attentive students, most of the teachers were quite lenient, usually setting students work and letting them get on with it, only intervening if the noise level got too high. A laissez faire attitude predominated within a framework of general acquiescence, and moderate, passive behaviour. It seemed as if the students knew the limits and had internalized the rules.

This attitude promoted a superficial atmosphere of harmony although Miss Campbell felt that it masked underlying racial tensions.

"It keeps some control but maybe in the long run it'll take longer for us to overcome obstacles because we're not dealing with them. People look at my class (9 B) and think they're marvellous because they're doing well academically and they're such fun but I can feel the tension in the class every day."

Punishment, mostly in the form of scolding, when it did occur, tended to be direct and harsh but was meted out to black and white students alike. For example, the Afrikaans teacher threatened "to break a black child's fingers" if she scribbled in her text book again. She also yelled at seven black students who came into class late. The fact that she did not modify this behaviour in front of me indicated to me that she probably would have reacted in the same way to white students.

Another teacher publicly criticized one of the white students, causing the student to burst into tears and flee the room.

Teachers were fairly sensitive to the fact that some punishment would have a harsher effect on the black girls, especially detention because of their transportation problems. This was interpreted as favouritism by the white students. Mrs. Guthrie:

"I sometimes give detentions but if they say they can't stay because they have buses to catch, I let them come at lunch break. But I don't really believe in punishment at this point in time. You're going to be punishing them daily

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for things they're not used to or just totally bewildered by."

White students:

"The black students get away with murder. If we do anything wrong, we're jumped on, but they never get detentions."

Most teachers felt that there was little impact on behaviour because the black students were still a small minority and felt insecure about their status so adapted to the white model and school rules. However, some teachers were concerned that this would not be possible with an influx of black students. Mrs. Jory:

"If we had a whole class of black children, how would I survive? I say fit the mould otherwise I can't cope."

Ironically, the black students themselves felt the same way and were unanimously adamant that more black students would have a negative effect on behaviour.

"There would be chaos if more blacks came into the school. The black students are rude; they don't know how to behave."

Academic Standards

Another fear of integration at Valour High was a drop in academic standards. However, based on conversations with the teachers and students about student performance, observing the ability groupings both between classes and within classes and looking at some test scores, it appeared that this fear had not materialised. Teachers indicated that the black students' limited language proficiency was

likely to be the biggest impediment to black students' progress. Mrs Jory:

"I don't want there to be a drop in academic standards, that's why I'm keen to take only the kids that speak good English. As long as you can understand English, there's no difference between black and white students."

While the black students did poorly in Afrikaans which was their third language and excelled in Zulu, their first language, most teachers felt in the other subjects, they 'slotted in', some at the top, some at the bottom and the rest interspersed amongst the white students.

They were at a disadvantage in scientific subjects because of the specialised vocabulary for which they were penalised. Miss Kelly:

"I sometimes, very rarely, give them a mark if I can see what they're talking about but I cannot normally because they will have to write matric. exam and they'll be penalized for spelling errors."

'Status insecurity' could account for the academic success of the black students and conversely the lack of ambition of the white students.

"I wanted to show the white people that we could also do it. All of us in this class (9B) are in the top ten positions. And Sikose here, she's number one or number two in the class." (black student)

The white students had initially reacted with shock and anger at the academic success of the black students as they struggled to reconcile this image with the negative stereotype of black inferiority with which they had been raised. Miss Campbell:

"Miss Peters used to call out the test marks of the top five students in English and three out of the five would be black. The white girls were stunned."

This attitude did not go unnoticed by the black students.

"At first, last year, they (white students) were so angry with us but now they're used to us, they recognize us and we are proud of ourselves."

Sikose perceived that the white students' original friendliness arose out of complacency, 'status security' which gave way to anger once their status was threatened.

"I think it was good for the whites when we came here because they learnt to accept that blacks have the ability to do anything. When we came here they thought we'd be below them and they'd be on top. That's why they didn't worry. They were very friendly but as the days went on they started not being friendly."

This attitude was verified by the white students who said:

"If a black student does better, the other kids get mad. My mom also gets mad. She says if blacks can do it why can't you."

However, some white students seemed to be coming to terms with the concept of black achievement.

"I expected them to be a bit cleverer than the whites. We've basically got everything and they didn't have much, so when they get the advantage of a school like this, I don't think they'd miss the opportunity." (white student)

Ability Groupings

Ability groupings are endemic to the South African education system. Each standard is divided into A,B,C,D class based on academic ability determined by examination results. There is a further differentiation between higher

grade and standard grade with teachers teaching a modified syllabus with simplified questions in the standard grade.

The question is whether this model can be maintained in a multicultural class and what are the implications of ability groupings in trying to provide all the students with effective education.

In four of the classes I observed, students had to call out their marks which were recorded by the teacher. In the Math class they were grouped according to their test results, with the weakest in the front row, so the teacher could 'keep an eye on them'. The non-white students were evenly represented in both the 'weak' and 'strong' rows. In the two classes I observed, five whites, three black students and one Indian, sat in the front row, nine whites and four black students sat in the back row (the highest achievers). The teacher commented that the students worked hard to move back and the students who improved were praised. The students, black and white, seemed completely comfortable and unembarrassed by this routine.

There was a higher percentage of black students in the C and D classes, mainly due to limited language proficiency. At the time of the study little or no language support was available and most teachers saw it as an 'English Department problem'. The Principal pointed out that once the language improved the black students made rapid progress and were often promoted into higher ability classes.

However, the black students were not consistently in the academically lower classes. For example Std. 9B, the second highest grouping, had one of the largest numbers of black students.

Ability groupings did, however, jeopardize black students when they were put in an A class. Because there were few black students in the A classes, the ones who did 'make it', often felt uncomfortable and asked to be demoted.

"I am the only black in the A class. I don't feel comfortable. When the class divides into groups, they ignore me and I have to go and ask if I can be in their group." (black student)

Teachers at Valour High had an extremely low, disrespectful attitude towards students, white and black, in the lower ability classes. Derogatory remarks were frequently made directly to me or openly amongst the teachers themselves.

"You can't do much with these dummies."

"You can't do much with this class- there's nothing there. They're hopeless. They don't have the background."

Connected to ability groups was the power structure as most of the leadership roles went to students in the A class. This impacted negatively on the black students as they were underrepresented in the A class. While the Principal felt this did unfairly exclude blacks from certain leadership roles, she felt the exclusion of whites in lower ability classes from leadership roles was justified.

"This question of the As doing everything, I think it's the nature of the beast. Those are the children who are into everything and want to do things. The others come from families where you only sit with your beer and watch TV. Some of the families have no background, no culture, nothing and so the children come through wondering why they should bother to try." (Mrs. Todd)

Within each class, however, the black students were in leadership roles such as class captains, and were sent on leadership courses. They were also given equal responsibilities by the teachers, such as running errands or delivering messages. Mrs. Jory:

"The black students take the responsibility more seriously. They make sure they have the correct instructions before carrying out my request."

Curriculum Changes

There had been little curriculum change since the admission of black students. The main reason, according to teachers, was because the matriculation exam determined what should be taught and this had to be changed first. Teachers said they had been given no directives from the Education Department, so assumed they were expected to continue as usual. Moreover, the Vice-Principal pointed out that the teachers had taught the same curriculum for years so were very familiar and comfortable with it and reluctant to throw it all out.

"It's quite a conflict for those teachers who have this body of knowledge which they've enjoyed teaching and then to leave it. But I think the whole process, as painful and difficult, involving change and more work, will be revitalizing for everybody. We have to try to help teachers change their anglocentric perspective." (Miss Cane)

Some of the classes had very little relevance to the education of black and white students for a new, democratic multicultural South Africa. Religious Education seemed the most redundant. While most of the African students were Christian, the Christian ethic that permeated the school alienated the handful of Indian students. Steeped in a homogeneous Christian outlook, teachers were unaware of its effect on students of other religions, such as the Hindu students.

"They were talking about some story from the Bible we didn't know about, some whale story, so we thought, what's this now?" (Indian students)

Afrikaans was another subject that appeared to be irrelevant to the black students although there was a suggestion that they would have the option in the future of taking it as a third rather than second language.

Mrs. Young, the Geography teacher, admitted that it was only after she had attended a multicultural workshop that she realized how the present curriculum perpetuated the racist stereotype.

"When you talk about black rural subsistence farmers who can't produce a surplus, you don't add the word 'backward' but that's what you mean. And when you talk about the commercial farmers, they're always white and successful. So in just one section on economic geography you've emphasized the inferiority of the blacks and the superiority of the whites." (Mrs. Young)

While exams were always used as an excuse for not changing, Mrs Young pointed out that in the junior program, the focus was not on matric subjects.

"We stand in the classroom and teach how rivers erode. It's completely irrelevant. We should be discussing issues such as the upgrading of the squatter settlements."

The English and Drama Departments were trying to use more black and white South African writers and themes but were hampered by lack of funds for new textbooks. Consequently, they were stuck with the British classics but were gradually phasing them out.

Miss Peters said that she encouraged the students in her 7C class to relate the issues in their setbooks to their own lives and said the whole class benefitted from this .

"It's time to speak about these things (apartheid) instead of tiptoeing around and pretending. When we discussed violence in the townships, the white students were wide-eyed; they had no idea of the horrendous home circumstances of their classmates. It did them good to hear the stories and made them more sympathetic and respectful of the black students who had endured so much and could rise above it."

On the other hand, Miss Campbell said that although she wanted to discuss relevant issues in her 9B class, they were too polarized and volatile.

"Ironically, I used to talk more openly about apartheid before the black students came to the school. But now I can't because I get this hostile reaction or they'd be tearing each other apart or there'd be this quiet silence. We did Othello which would be perfect for relating it to their own experiences but as soon as they feel it coming close to home and you're going to talk about things that directly affect them, they won't say a word. It's like a secret agreement - let's not say anything that's going to infuriate anybody else because otherwise it's going to blow up. It's very threatening."

Sometimes the black students themselves resisted material that referred to their culture or to politics.

Miss Campbell:

"We were studying 'Things Fall Apart' by Chinua Achebe which dealt with tribal life in Nigeria. The black girls were quite reluctant to discuss their wonderful myths and legends. I think they felt quite foolish. They want to get away from their roots, pretend they come from the same sort of homes as the white students."

Miss Wood, the Drama teacher explained how she had tried to encourage the black students to use black writers and pertinent themes in their Drama program but had met with resistance because she felt the black girls didn't want to look conspicuous. One black student chose the theme of "Unnatural Death", using poems and prose that dealt with World War II, which seemed to Miss Wood strangely inappropriate and outside the student's experiences.

Miss Wood attributed this rejection of their culture to the fact that there were only a few black students in this class and believed a larger group would have more confidence to express their cultural identity and personal experiences.

The black students in 9B felt it was important to discuss modern problems because the whites didn't understand why there were always strikes, boycotts and violence in the townships.

"The white girls know nothing about these things. They think we just don't want to go to school or that we just kill each other. If we try to explain they get angry with us. They think we are blaming them." (black students)

While the white students wanted to learn about the black students' personal lives, they insisted that it be non-controversial.

"I like to hear about the real life, the family traditions, right down to the core of their lives. But they (black students) bring politics into everything. As children we hear so much about politics that I don't even want to watch the news anymore." (white student)

The librarian said that relevant texts were slowly being introduced into the library. A number of books written by black writers about black characters and situations, such as the Junior African Writers Series, were on display and she was trying to encourage the students to read them.

There was also a selection of ESL books which included African themes and pictures depicting both modern and traditional Africans, black professionals, such as businessmen, as well as labourers, such as maids.

Some significant changes were taking place in the History curriculum. The History teacher, Miss Moran explained it thus:

"There's a misconception that black people weren't here when the Europeans arrived so I always start with South African History. When we talk about diamonds, I tell them about migratory labour, black workers, compounds, blacks who fought and died in the Wars."

She said she also tried to relate other themes to the South African context. For example, the Nuremberg Laws prohibited marriage between Jews and Germans - many of the white girls had no idea mixed marriages were prohibited in South Africa until recently. "They need to know these things."

In the class I observed, she drew a Human Rights Tree on the board and asked them what rights they felt they should have.

"The girls often don't make the connection between history and their contemporary lives. I avoid dealing with it directly because I don't want them to get overburdened with guilt."

Even though the Physical Education teacher said she had not changed her curriculum much, there was some evidence of accommodation. For example, in one class the students had to make up their own games and teach the class. The black students played a game using tin cans and tennis balls. At first the white pupils were unreceptive. Miss Williams:

"I had to give them a speech about it being a new culture for the black students who had to adapt to the white culture and the white girls should try to do the same for them."

Miss Williams said it proved to be a big success. The white girls also commented on it:

"It was such fun. The black girls can make up games out of nothing. They're never bored. They're much more creative in that way than we are."

Miss Cane, the Vice-Principal, said that one of the main problems in curriculum reform was that everyone had been left to do their own thing.

"There's no direction, so nobody really knows what to do."

The Principal identified another position.

"I really don't think it's a case of Euro- versus Afrocentric. We have a middle-class black intake where the parents just want the best for their children. They want their children to do better than them. If they're nurses,

they want their children to be doctors. They weren't being given what they wanted in the black schools and they see themselves acquiring that through our education, a western education through the medium of English."

FUTURE CONCERNS

The predominant feeling was one of uncertainty and lack of direction.

"If we knew the direction we were going in, we could begin preparing for it." (Miss Cane)

Nevertheless, given the turbulence of the times, there was also an extraordinary amount of initiative and optimism.

"I can't imagine how the changes will be reflected in the future. I suppose things will arise and we'll deal with them and that's what we've done so far. We haven't been taught what to do. We've just pitched in and looked at the kids and said "Let's go!" (Miss Campbell)

"I can't wait (for the elections)! I can't wait! They (black students) must just come now!" (Miss Young)

At a time of massive educational changes, there was little preparation for professional development or in-service teacher training. Teachers were floundering without it. Miss Young after participating in a multicultural workshop:

"Until the workshop, I did not know we could do anything differently in the syllabus so we just carried on in the same way. But in the workshop, they suggested lots of ways that we could change the curriculum to make it less ethnocentric and paternalistic."

Similarly there was very little support for ESL students, although a 'bridging' class was talked about wherein students would 'catch up' to students in regular classes.

The fear of a loss of white culture was a common theme among teachers, black and white parents and black students. With the school operating well under capacity, an influx of more black students was a reality.

"Because we have space, the parents realize we could have a complete tidal wave (of black students). They would like it to happen more gradually so that people could get used to it. There's a fear among people because they've seen other people's children go through a white ethos and they want that for their children. They know they're not going to get it and there's feeling of fear and frustration."
(Mrs. Todd)

Miss Williams expressed the doubts of many other teachers:

"My biggest fear is that what was predominantly white will probably become predominantly black so we'll lose our traditions and culture and actually have to change. We know the ethos is going to have to change but we wouldn't like to see it change totally."

Paradoxically, it was the black students and their parents who most resisted the admission of more black students into the school.

"You must realize they are elitist and it's a case of 'I'm aboard Jack so pull up the ladder.'" (Mrs. Todd)

There was a general outcry amongst the black students over eliminating the 20% ceiling:

"They cause trouble. I know myself. I know them. We'll be speaking Zulu and the teacher will say something and they will answer back in Zulu and laugh and joke and the teacher won't know what's happening." (black students)

A black student explained:

"One of the dangers of having more blacks in the school is that you might lose some of the whites. Then we'll have more blacks than whites and then we'll have to find another school. I started in a coloured school and it became black so I left and came here."

The black students believed racism would be exacerbated. The whites would not be able to ignore them; they would be forced to acknowledge their presence, have them in their groups and this would provoke more tension.

As senior students the following year, the black girls in 9B said they intended to be much stricter with the young black girls.

"These black kids are bad; they're rude. We must control them. There must be a rule about only English, no Zulu. It's easier to socialize and we'll be more accepted if we speak English better." (black students)

The teachers also feared some structural changes in the future; staff could be retrenched, older teachers forced into early retirement, some subjects such as Religious Education and Afrikaans might be eliminated, class sizes would increase. There was also the ever-present concern with maintaining the standard of behaviour and academics.

The teachers also interpreted the current unrest in black education as a lack of the work ethic rather than having its roots in the historical oppression of the apartheid society.

"I wouldn't like to see what happens in black schools where teachers can strike all the time, ever happen in our

school. I think pupils will still respect that we are here to teach them." (Miss Williams)

This opinion was reinforced by the black students themselves:

"Another thing that you might find if we get more black students in the school is that they will be more politically-oriented and they'll tell us we have to strike. If we don't strike they'll do something to us when we take the bus home so we might be forced to do things that we might not agree with."

A black student recommended that in the future there should be some black teachers, especially for Zulu.

The black students also recommended introducing some of their own activities, such as drum majorettes and inviting the township schools to play sport so that "the white kids could see how much talent black kids had."

Most of the teachers and administrators were determined to have black students as prefects the following year but the black students themselves didn't feel so optimistic.

"I don't think there'll be any black girls as prefects next year because the white girls don't really know them and it's by vote. Even though we'll be in matric, they won't really respect us. When we tell them to do something, they'll just look at us." (black student)

There were mixed feelings regarding the imminent elections and future of the country. Some of the students were very pessimistic.

"South Africa doesn't have a future. The only time there isn't a killing is on Peace Day. My parents want to emigrate because there's too much violence here." (Indian student)

"As far as I'm concerned there's no hope. I think the problem has grown from so far back that it will be impossible to solve all of a sudden." (white student)

The teachers were more cautiously optimistic once the present transition period was over.

"We all hope we get through this difficult stage where the school becomes more mixed, where the ratios change, as quickly as possible so we can get back to a normal level where you know what standards to expect." (teacher)

"As we get more black students, it's just going to become a normal school where there's not going to be 'you're this colour and I'm that colour.' It'll all just disappear and (they'll) just become pupils, part of the school." (Mrs. Guthrie)

Some of the most positive comments came from the white students:

"In this country everything's changing. I think the way blacks are acting is because we've always suppressed them. They've never had a chance to see how the world could be for them if they tried it by themselves because we always shouted them down or beat them or treated them badly. Now they're getting the chance to come out of their shell."

"If we can't get on now, we won't be able to get on in the workplace. So it's better if we get along with them now. We have the opportunity to see what black people are really like, not from T.V. or what we've heard."

Miss Campbell said that the present black 9B class was an exceptional group, not representative of the average black or white student. The future intake of black students would be more representative.

"The 9B Black girls are quite exceptional, they're not your average kid of any description. The new kids coming in are a more realistic portrayal because some are lazy, some take everything for granted, others work hard, just as in the white group. To expect them all to work hard and be high achievers and highly motivated like the 9Bs is racist

in itself. There was a huge motivation to prove themselves because they were the first but the ones coming in now don't need to do so. Their attitude is more 'just accept us for what we are' - the 9 Bs have already broken the ground for them. But they have also set very high standards. They want to be proud of the blacks as a group, they want everyone to be like them. They don't want what they consider the 'riff-raff' drifting about embarrassing them." (Miss Campbell)

She went on to explain that the first intake were also given every opportunity by the teachers because it was a new experience for everybody but this would not be necessary or possible in the future.

"Every door was opened for them in a way that wasn't offered to whites. The teachers treated them as a special group; they were quite fortunate as they were given a lot of chances. With more blacks coming in, it won't be possible nor desirable to isolate a particular group and say they're special. But that'll be more realistic anyway." (Miss Campbell)

Chapter VIDISCUSSIONINTEGRATION

While the literature is replete with the ways in which racial practices were integral and institutionalized in South Africa, shaping every interaction between races (Burman, 1986; Kallaway, 1991; Christie, 1990), the integration of Valour High School occurred relatively smoothly. Teachers, and white students, themselves socialized within a hierarchical racist system, displayed, for the most part, surprisingly tolerant and inclusive behaviour.

"I put myself in their (black students') shoes all the time." (white student)

However, it is impossible at this stage to determine the extent to which this reflected a genuine attitudinal change in the teachers, or was, as one teacher suggested, because of job insecurity.

All the black students I spoke to praised their teachers for being 'fair' and 'helpful'. Many of the comments made by the some of the white students indicated that they had at least some understanding of the injustice under which the blacks had been forced to live. They also seemed to grasp that 'getting along' was imperative for the future and this predicated on understanding each other through personal, daily contact.

"We have the opportunity to see what they're really like, not from TV or what we've heard." (white student)

Not only did these views contradict how they'd been socialized, but it brought them into conflict with their right-wing parents.

"Our parents don't want us to mix with blacks. They don't think like us. Our parents are too scared to change their old ways." (white student)

In fact, even the parents had changed somewhat 'when they saw no disastrous thing happening'; in 18 months the 10% ceiling on black enrollment had risen to 20%, with a proposal afoot to remove it completely.

While mixed groups in the classrooms and during recess were very limited, when they did occur, there was no animosity.

"They don't seem to mind being in mixed groups, there's no animosity." (teachers)

These findings concur with research (Christie,1990; Coutts,1992; Freer,1992; Gaganakis,1992; Frederikse,1992) in private or alternative schools in South Africa which showed that racial mixing had been unproblematic.

However, desegregation theorists (Allport,1954 in Schofield,1982;Pettigrew,1969 in Schofield,1982; Hawley,1983 et al) agree that mere mixing does not necessarily imply improved race relations. For this to occur there needs to be equal access to educational opportunities and equal power within the contact situation.

ADMISSION POLICY

Valour High had a stringent admissions policy which the administrators were determined to invoke until they were forced 'to take in anybody,' an outcome they believed to be inevitable in the future. The Principal admitted that the admissions test was anglocentric and biased in favour of pupils who spoke good English. They wanted to attract the 'best possible black students', namely those middle-class blacks who most closely approximated the white western Christian norm. Because of the declining white population in the area, all the white students were automatically accommodated in their area school. Competition for the remaining places was not, therefore, between white and black students, but between the middle-class and working class blacks.

In most foreign countries, integration involves ethnic or foreign minorities but in South Africa the reverse is true. Hence the fear of being 'swamped' by a 'tidal wave' of black students was a very real and legitimate concern of teachers. Coutts(1992) and Adam & Moodley (1993) also acknowledge this concern.

"The securing of minority rights in the face of an overwhelmingly numerical superiority of blacks, cannot be summarily disregarded. It is a pervasive fear fed by perceptions of a deteriorating social and economic situation in Africa as a whole." (Coutts,1992:416)

Two of the reasons for the smooth integration of black students was that the anticipated drop in academic and behavioral standards had not materialized. However, these

were unlikely to be maintained with an open admission policy because many of the excluded students would be those who had been deschooled during the political crisis; they lacked a 'culture of education' and had lost respect for teachers and discipline. (Unterhalter, Wolpe, Gultig, Hart, 1991).

At first glance it seems paradoxical that it was the black students and their parents who were most resistant to changing the admission policy, denouncing their township peers for being 'rude', and 'causing chaos'. But this supports the findings in private schools where Christie, Frederikse, Gaganakis et al (1991) revealed an alarming degree of prejudice against lower-class black students. In fact these researchers contend that "the alienation of the black middle-class from their brethren in the townships was one of the most negative consequences of private school desegregation."

It would appear that this phenomenon is being continued in integrated state schools as well.

Far from being paradoxical, however, this phenomenon is a logical consequence of apartheid and emphasizes the contention of Adam and Moodley, Christie, Pampallis, Nasson et al that in South Africa race and class articulate in an intense political and ideological struggle over power and privilege.

In a twist on the 'white flight' phenomenon that occurred during the early stages of desegregation in the

United States, a black student at Valour High commented:

"One of the dangers of having more blacks in the school is that you might lose some of the whites. Then we'll have more blacks than whites and we'll have to find another school. I started in a coloured school and it became black so I left and came here." (black student)

The literature (Kallaway, Unterhalter, Wolpe, Nasson et al) has made it abundantly clear that apartheid never excluded all blacks from accessing the economic resources. Rather, race was used as a mechanism to control who could enter and who was excluded. During periods of intense political upheaval and economic instability, it was a deliberate policy to co-opt a black middle-class by extending educational privileges. Reform, however, was often accompanied by repression, with student and trade union activists amongst the first to be detained.

The student rebellions from 1976 were a significant factor in the expansion of black education (De Lange Commission, 1981 and the White Paper, 1983 recommendations) as well as the gradual desegregation of private and later state schools. While this benefitted many middle-class blacks, it also created a whole generation of students who lost the opportunity to be educated. (Unterhalter, Wolpe, 1992)

Ironically, when real reforms occurred in the '90s the very actions which had propelled some blacks to the front of the line and enabled them to access 'good' schools because they were the 'black cream', jeopardized the chances of the

others who had sacrificed education for political mobilization.

``These schoolchildren were often engaged in overt political action - school boycotts, protests, violent battles with the police and army - during this period.'' (Draft Educational Policy of the ANC, 1992)

This could account for the resentment and jealousy of students, manifested in threats and attacks on those who attended 'white' schools, while they continued to languish in still inferior and troubled township schools.

``The township people hit us and ask us why we don't go to a black school. I think they're jealous of us.'' (black student)

``The people in the township hate us.'' (black students)

Inherent in the attitude of both black students and educators at Valour High, is what Gaganakis (1992) refers to as ``an abiding faith in the meritocracy," the underlying assumption being that all children enter the competition for places on more or less equal terms. The poor must simply 'work harder.'

This echoes Solomon's (1994) contention that Canadian teachers' reluctance to teach anti-racist education arises from their belief that ``schools function as meritocratic institutions where individual success or failure is a result of potential and effort.'' As we have seen, this just isn't so.

This presents a real dilemma for both educators and policy-makers who wish to teach for a democratic and non-

racial educational system. While Coutts (1992) recommends that admission policies should not use culturally biased placement tests in open state schools, he simultaneously suggests that some form of admission policy may be desirable in the early phases of desegregation because state schools do not have the financial resources to provide assistance to large numbers of disadvantaged students.

EQUAL STATUS

Researchers (Pettigrew 1969 cited in Schofield; Schofield, 1982; McCarthy, 1990; Cummins, 1988) maintain that for effective integration to occur there should be equal status and power within the contact situation. In the desegregation experiences in other countries, resegregation often occurred within the contact situation, with disadvantaged students disproportionately represented in the lower classes and groupings. They did not participate as much as white students, were often excluded from the school power structure and overrepresented amongst those with behavioural problems. This was considered by researchers to be due to, among other things, a low self-concept and low teacher expectations, premised on the 'self-fulfilling prophecy'.

This did not seem to be the case at Valour High. There was no distinguishable difference in classroom participation and the expected behavioural problems had not materialized.

"We expected major behavioural problems. But they've had to come into the situation, handle the boundaries, learn what they can and can't do". (Teacher)

However, some teachers and most black students were concerned that an influx of black township students would impact negatively on behaviour.

"If we had a whole class of black children, how would I survive? I say fit the mould otherwise I can't cope." (Mrs Jory)

"There would be chaos if more black students came into the school. The black students are rude; they don't know how to behave." (black students)

Academically black students 'slotted in', a few at the top, some at the bottom and the rest interspersed amongst the white students. In terms of the school power structure, black students were underrepresented in school leadership roles since those went to students in the A class. While this jeopardized the chances of the black students who were underrepresented in this class, it also penalized white students in the lower ability groupings.

Within each class, however, black students were in leadership roles and were given equal responsibilities by the teachers who felt they 'took their responsibilities more seriously than the white students.'

Teachers attributed the lack of problems in these areas to the fact that they were still a minority and felt insecure about their status so adapted to the white model and school rules.

ASSIMILATION versus ACCOMMODATION

While teachers identified themselves as those who believed the black students must 'fit in' and those who felt the school had an obligation to change to meet the needs of its new clientele, in terms of school ethos, classroom praxis and curriculum modification, assimilation was the only possible outcome. The norm was an anglo-Christian middle-class model to which all students should aspire.

"They (black students) were told they were coming to a school with a Christian ethic before they were admitted."
(Principal)

Rather than a deliberate policy of assimilation, it appeared that these teachers were trying to maintain the status quo for as long as possible in the face of tremendous upheaval, making the strange familiar and controllable. In the absence of any directive from the Education Department, they acted out of ignorance of any alternative; they carried on as usual. It was only after one teacher had been to a multicultural seminar that she realised that her efforts to assimilate her black students were a form of racism in that she was

"trying to impose white standards on black students because we thought (our ways) were superior." (Miss Young)

Again, it was the black students themselves who seemed to want to approximate the white western norm and distance themselves from the black mass. They were adamant that the English only policy be strictly enforced; teachers reported that black students were sometimes reluctant to discuss

their cultural backgrounds or life experiences.

``They want to get away from their roots, pretend they come from the same sort of homes as the white students.''

This supports researchers (Christie,1990; Pampallis, 1991; Frederikse,1992; Gaganakis,1992) findings in private schools:

``They (the black students) aspired to become part of the white elite, desiring the same kinds of civil and social privileges as those held by whites.''

Adam and Moodley's (1993) explain this in terms of the struggle in South Africa being not so much over 'race' as access to 'power and privilege'. Nzimande and Pampallis (in Frederikse,1992), however, argue that this same phenomenon in Zimbabwe

`` is a thinly disguised form of racism, reproducing the cultural subjugation of black students during the colonial era.''

I maintain it is a combination of both. The literature (Kallaway,1991; Burman, 1986 et al)has many examples of how Bantu education schooled the Africa for inferiority. Adam & Moodley, (1986,1993) and Bundy, (in Polley,1989) describe its disabling effects on black people.

``To deny people their history is to cripple them intellectually and maim them psychologically.''' (Bundy, 1989 in Polley,1989)

Coutts (1989) explains how a particular world view becomes disseminated and part of the cultural content of the minds of the people. He does this in terms of the Gramscian theory of hegemony.

``The purpose of the ruling groups in popularising their philosophy and culture is to perpetuate their power, wealth and status. Hence schools present the philosophy of the dominant groups as the 'official' view of the world,

while at the same time giving the appearance of representing the interests of society as a whole. (Coutts, 1989:93,94)

It is not surprising, therefore, that black students continue to thoroughly internalize the anglo-hegemony.

"I always wanted to come to a white school. I was scared of white people before, not that they terrified me but I looked up to them and treated them like gods." (black student)

On the other hand, however, ethnicity and cultural differentiation were tools of apartheid for keeping blacks underdeveloped. There is a genuine desire to develop an international culture, using an international language so Africans can participate fully in the 'global village'. English and the anglo culture are seen as quickest and easiest means of doing so.

"All (black) parents want the empowerment of their children to compete equally with others in the job market." (Coutts, 1992:44)

This standpoint is echoed by some of the teachers at Valour High who considered it their mandate to give students the cultural capital to succeed in the outside world.

"They (black students) need to be told how to behave appropriately.....Otherwise how will they get on in the outside world? How will they be able to get jobs?" (Mrs Jory)

This contradicts most western multicultural theorists who seek to promote and celebrate ethnicity as a means of empowering disadvantaged minority students. Banks, (1986) however, would seem to, at least partially, support Mrs. Jory's standpoint.

"Minority students can assimilate essential aspects of the mainstream culture without surrendering the most important aspects of their first culture or becoming alienated from it. The school should help students to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to (do this)." (Banks,1986:24)

Nor did the black students at Valour High necessarily want a pure anglo culture. All of them said they would like to Africanise the school somewhat by singing Zulu hymns, celebrating African historical and political heroes etc.

This perspective emphasizes Bot(1992) and Coutts' (1992) point that the complexity of South Africa's social environment necessitates balancing two seemingly contradictory goals, namely building a common identity while still recognizing diversity.

This would account for the black students resistance to 'special treatment' by some teachers who tried to make up for perceived disadvantage. They seemed to interpret the teachers efforts on their behalf as patronising. Having always been treated differently, what they seemed to want most was the opportunity to be treated the same.

"They must treat us all the same. We don't need their pity."

"The teachers must make the black students realise, the more difficult it is, the more effort we must put into it." (black students)

This contradicts Cummins (1987,1988) and McCarthy's (1990) theories of prioritizing the needs of the disadvantaged but rather than completely negating their theory it indicates rather that these students lack the

understanding of how the legacy of apartheid can perpetuate disadvantage. Moreover, as one of the teachers explained, the students, from Std. 9B, who expressed these views, were 'an exceptional lot, not your average kid of any description.' Because they were the first intake, there was 'a huge motivation to prove themselves.'

But an educational system has to be fair for all students, most of whom are not exceptional.

Indeed, despite protesting against the 'special treatment', they nevertheless, recognised that they warranted some special consideration because of their lifestyle.

'Because most of us live in the townships, we only get home at 4.30 p.m. or 5.30 p.m. and we still have to do housework and homework. Sometimes we're so tired we fall asleep on our books.'" (black student)

TEACHERS' EXPECTATIONS

Evidence (Schofield, 1982; Hawley et al 1983) has shown that teachers are crucial in successful integration by modeling the desired behaviours and attitudes. Rist (1979, cited in Schofield, 1982) describes the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' whereby the teachers' low expectations of students, usually black or minority, causes students to react negatively in return, thus confirming the original low opinion.

At Valour High, the reverse was occurring. The middle-class white teachers held very positive attitudes towards

the black middle-class students but had very low expectations of the lower-class white students.

``The black children have enormous expectations which the white children don't have. The white children would happily be hairdressers and listen to pop music all day. But the black children want to be doctors and lawyers.'' (teacher)

``There's no culture (amongst the white parents). So you can't expect much from the kids.'' (teacher)

Teachers often made derogatory remarks directly to me or to each other about students in the lower ability groups.

``You can't do much with these dummies.''

``You can't do much with this class - there's nothing there. They're hopeless. They don't have the background.'' (teachers)

Teachers praised the black parents for their involvement in extra-curricular activities, such as a Talent Night, despite the long way they had to travel.

``The white parents would never dream of doing that.'' (teacher)

While teachers may have been cautious about their attitudes towards black students because of my presence, they were less likely to be on their guard regarding attitudes to white students. Moreover, while racism has been elevated to monstrous proportions on the South African scene, class attitudes have been absorbed unreflectively into people's everyday life and interaction. Racism has always been known to be abnormal; elitism, on the other hand, is accepted practice.

Hence the comments made by these teachers provide an

honest and intriguing insight into how race and class interact in South Africa and play themselves out within the educational system. While there has been some documentation of integration of middle-class blacks into elitist private or alternate schools in South Africa, to my knowledge there has been no study on the integration of middle-class black students in lower-class white schools.

Coutts(1992) makes the point that while the mixing of races in private or middle-class schools, has been generally unproblematic, it is more likely to be volatile in working class areas as communities compete for scarce resources. While this has not been the case yet at Valour High, probably due to the small percentage of black students, mostly from the professional class, with the increase in numbers, this could well be the case.

White students bitterly resented teachers attempts to compensate for perceived disadvantage.

"If a white child makes an excuse for not doing her homework, I probably wouldn't accept it. But if a black students said she was unable to do her homework because their had been trouble in the township the night before, I would take it seriously." (white teacher)

"They can get away with things that we can't. If they don't do their homework, it doesn't matter but if we don't we're jumped on." (white student)

"They do get extra privileges. It's not fair, there's favouritism." (white student)

While teachers are often justified in compensating for black students disadvantage, the reasons need to be made explicit. In the above situation the teacher could perhaps

have encouraged the student to explain the Inkatha/ANC violence that was rocking the townships prior to the elections. However, this is a delicate situation because white students have stated they don't want to talk politics.

"The black students are trying to make us feel guilty by talking politics all the time." (white student)

Black students, on the other hand, often feel embarrassed, knowing the white students really don't understand their lives.

"The white girls have never been into a location (township) in their lives. They think we are just killing each other all the time." (black student)

But by not saying anything, it is easy to see how the teachers' well-meaning 'affirmative action' is interpreted as 'favouritism.' This attitude, together with the low teacher expectation of working-class whites and low ability students, and exacerbated by their declining numbers, could well lead the white students at Valour High to feel alienated and disempowered; there is a possibility that they could well become the disadvantaged minority of the future.

PEDAGOGICAL CHANGES

Research (Schofield, 1983; Hawley et al, 1983; Slavin, 1987; McGroarty 1992) indicates that different pedagogical strategies will facilitate effective learning and race relations.

"Interracial interactions are not an automatic outcome of school desegregation but must be promoted through specific programs and activities in the school." (Hawley et al 1983)

Findings have revealed that traditional, teacher-fronted classrooms, where learning occurs through the transmission of knowledge in lecture, question/answer format, tended to have poor intergroup relations, with little motivation for slow learners. On the other hand, heterogeneous groupings, co-operative learning tasks, with the teacher acting as facilitator or guide, promoted equal status interactions and facilitated learning. (Schofield, 1983; Hawley et al, 1983; Slavin, 1987; McGroarty, 1992)

Coutts (1992) and Bot (1992) recommend incorporating the latter strategies in South African multicultural schools, where the traditional teaching style, driven by a preoccupation with testing and examinations, prevails.

This was certainly the case at Valour High, where teaching was grounded in traditional pedagogy and the whole system was exam-driven.

"There's no time to teach, no time to prepare creative lessons. The matric exam is what rules us all. I know our teaching methods are inadequate but everyone will tell you it's the only way to get through the syllabus." (teacher)

While these methods did not generally, at this point in the desegregation of Valour High, seem to affect the academic performance of black students, who 'slotted in' with the white students and were not overly represented in

the lower ability groups, it did impact negatively on inter-group relations.

There was little evidence of physical integration in the school. While most teachers and students believed the goal of the school should be to integrate students, nobody saw the desegregation within the school as a problem. Rather there was a distinct aversion by students and educators to 'forced integration.'

"If you force it, it's going to be seen as something imposed like apartheid was imposed - now we're imposing integration." (Principal)

Miss Campbell saw resegregation as a necessary phase before true integration on an equal footing could take place.

"Maybe they need to get their identity first and then say, 'Here we are, now we're ready to mix with you on our terms because initially they were mixing on the whites terms.'"

This view was supported by some other teachers who felt homogeneous groups often benefitted black students. They could help each other with language difficulties, they were not dominated by the whites and they could draw on their own backgrounds and experiences.

Using heterogeneous groupings, and co-operative learning strategies, however, would be a way of integrating 'naturally', as a part of classroom procedure. The benefits in terms of a deeper understanding of the other's culture are evident from the following comment by a white student:

"When we have them in our groups in class, we get to know them better and we learn how to work with them and get along with them."

Developing a deeper appreciation and awareness of each other's lives, would also help overcome one of their main reasons for not integrating, namely the lack of any common ground, world views or experiences.

"The white girls lives are so barren. We talk about politics and the things that happen in the location (township). they talk about boys and then they fight. We can't relate to them" (black students)

This comment also indicates that contrary to the common notion that racism manifests itself as exclusion by the dominant group, at Valour High it appeared to often be the subordinate group that initiated the separation.

"It's not that the white kids don't want to sit with us, it is we who don't want to sit with them." (black student)

There is a tendency in situations of change to overgeneralise new approaches and strategies rather than applying a variety of solutions to a complex problem.

Consequently, at Valour High, it would probably be more effective to sometimes use heterogeneous groupings and co-operative learning strategies, and at other times homogeneous groups and competitive practices. Similarly, until the whole examination system is overhauled, traditional teaching styles could be interspersed with a more student-centred approach.

This is consistent with the approach of Banks (1986) who favours a more holistic approach in solving the problems of minority students. It also supports Coutts' (1989,1992) contention that a wide range of options are necessary to accommodate the complexities of the South African context.

Language was identified by the teachers as the most problematic area in teaching in integrated classes. While the current admission policy managed to sift out those black students with poor English ability, this would become more difficult because of the increasing number of available spaces for black students, and a growing awareness that the practice itself was discriminatory.

Teachers saw language proficiency as the single factor impeding black students' progress. Nevertheless, none had changed their teaching methods to accommodate this, 'except to go more slowly', which involved using simpler words or explaining the vocabulary.

Some teachers admitted penalising the students for spelling mistakes even though the student had understood cognitively because they did not want to jeopardise their chances in the examinations.

"I don't know if I should be taking marks off in such cases but I need a directive from the education department otherwise what happen when these girls write their matric exam?" (teacher)

There were no support programs for second-language learners either within the regular class nor in special

classes. Nor were teachers, who had spent their entire careers teaching in homogeneous, uni-lingual classes, given any training to cope with their new situation. Moreover, the responsibility for language development fell on English teachers, with other subject teachers not recognizing it as part of their new teaching mandate.

Research on second-language acquisition (Brown, 1984; Mohan, 1986; Nunan, 1988;) shows the crucial need for all teachers to develop methods for teaching ESL students. Cummins (1988) distinguishes between basic interpersonal communication (BICS), which takes two years to acquire, and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) which takes 5-7 years to acquire. Rather than have ESL students stagnate for years in 'special' classes until their CALP level has caught up to native speakers, the trend in North America, Britain and Australia has been to mainstream them in regular classes. This avoids marginalizing them and denying them the opportunity of learning at a conceptually higher level.

However, to implement this requires financial support and training for all teachers. They need to learn how to revise curricula, retaining the concepts but simplifying the language; they need to learn how to help ESL students access the content despite their lack of linguistic proficiency.

A few teachers at Valour High were beginning to realize the need for a radical revision of pedagogy:

"The biology syllabus is completely out of touch with the needs of black children. Why should they have to learn 30 new terms every time we teach an animal or plant? We should just teach principles and forget all these labels."
(teacher)

However, at the time of the study, there was very little in the way of in-service teacher training. Desegregation in state schools had occurred relatively quickly. Teachers were 'fumbling in the dark', eager to tap my expertise, anxious for directives from the education department. When some teachers did go to workshops, the result was instant and overwhelming. As one teacher expressed it:

"Suddenly my whole focus changed in one day."

Under the circumstances, the teachers were coping remarkably well in what must have been an extremely challenging and stressful situation. Learning was occurring and race relations were relatively unproblematic. As one teacher put it:

"Things arise and we deal with them and that's what we've done so far. We haven't been taught what to do. We've just pitched in and looked at the kids and said 'Let's go!'"

MULTICULTURAL /ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

The literature (Tomlinson, 1989; Moodley, 1983; Cummins, 1988; McCarthy, 1990) shows that in other countries attempts to reverse assimilation and address the issue of unequal status within schools found expression in multicultural and

anti-racist education.

Multicultural education has enjoyed some success in preparing people for life in a pluralistic society; for instilling tolerance of races, religions and other ways of life (Tomlinson, 1989); of validating black and minority students' culture, in order to improve race relations and improve the academic achievement of disadvantaged students. (Verma & Bagley, 1982; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988 et al)

Hawley , Crain et al (1983), Solomon (1994) cite numerous examples of the link between multi-cultural education and positive race relations and improved performance. Coutts (1992) sees multicultural education as meeting the objectives of a new, democratic South African society. This would include affirmative action and bridging programs to reverse disadvantage. He also believes that MCE, by transmitting knowledge, attitudes and understandings about racial issues, would create a critical awareness in students of the political and social structures that promote racism.

He warns, however, that many black parents would reject the focus on unique aspects of their own culture as they seek access to the dominant first world economy, society and lifestyle. This is understandable as the promotion of ethnicity, differentiation and tribalism was part of apartheid's 'divide and rule' policy.

This was evident at Valour High according to the

English teacher Miss Campbell:

"We were studying Chinua Achebe's 'Things Fall Apart' which dealt with tribal life in Nigeria. The black girls were quite reluctant to discuss their wonderful myths and legends."

However, the positive influence of MCE at Valour High was evident after a teacher, Miss Young, had been to a multicultural workshop. As she describes it, it made her aware that the "'assimilationist' approach was but another form of racism."

She was also able to connect what she had learnt to changes she could make in the curriculum.

"Most of what we teach is irrelevant. (Instead of) teaching how rivers erode, we should be discussing issues such as the upgrading of the squatter settlements."

Getting black students to talk about their life experiences also seemed to improve race relations.

"Once I had to do a project on a township and I had to talk to a bunch of black students. I noticed that when I showed interest in them, all of a sudden they were all friends. They opened up to me, I couldn't believe the change. The atmosphere was so much better, not nearly so tense, like our white group and their black group." (white student)

Teaching from an MCE perspective would lead to a greater understanding and respect for other religions amongst staff as well as students.

"The teachers don't respect my culture. One teacher asked me to take off the string around my wrist. But in Hindu religion its a protection for us." (Indian student)

The main reason given by black and white students for segregated groups was that their backgrounds, world views and experiences were so remote from one another that there

was no possibility for dialogue.

"We never sit together during breaks or classes because we have different backgrounds and that cannot be changed in a year or two." (black student)

MCE would help overcome this especially if it were, as Hawley, Crain et al (1983) recommend, not only reflected in curricula changes but in many aspects of the school, such as wall displays, library books, recognition of other cultures' significant dates and leaders.

There was some evidence of this happening at Valour High. Some teachers tried to encourage students to use black writers and pertinent themes in the Drama program, other teachers tried to relate issues in English setbooks to their own lives with positive results.

"When we discussed violence in the townships, the white students were wide-eyed; they had no idea of the horrendous home circumstances of their classmates. It did them good to hear the stories and made them more sympathetic and respectful of the black students who had endured so much and could rise above it." (Miss Peters)

The librarian had introduced a number of black writers into the library, while significant changes were taking place in the history curriculum. The Physical Education teacher had instructed students during one class to make up their own games. Although the white students had resisted at first and she had had to lecture them on trying to adapt to the black culture for a change, the project had been very successful.

"It was such fun. The black girls can make up games out of nothing." (white student)

In order to counteract the resistance of some blacks to focussing on diversity and cultural differences, the similarities amongst different cultures needs to constantly be stressed. This also teaches towards what Coutts (1992) refers to as the seemingly contradictory goals in South Africa, of building a common identity while still respecting diversity.

The success which Miss Wood had in the most volatile and polarized class when they discussed parental problems, an issue both black and white students could identify with, supports this point.

Researchers (Cummins, 1988; McCarthy, 1990; Moodley, 1983 et al) argue that the failure to directly address the dynamics of race relations has resulted in MCE being ineffective in challenging the anglo-hegemony and the power structure that exists between the dominant and marginalised groups in the society. This has led to anti-racist education practices.

Coutts (1992) contends that this would be too inflammatory in the South African context so would ultimately be more damaging than effective.

Miss Campbell supports this contention:

"I can't talk openly about apartheid because I get this hostile reaction or they'd be tearing each other apart or there'd be this quiet silence. It's like a secret agreement - let's not say anything that's going to infuriate anybody else because otherwise it's going to blow up. It's very threatening."

While white students wanted to learn about the personal lives of black students, they insisted that it be non-controversial; 'talking politics' implied 'blame', 'making them feel guilty.'

'I like to hear about their real life....But they (black students) bring politics into everything.' (white student)

Anti-racist education has met with similar resistance from teachers and administrators in North America and Britain. (Solomon, 1994). The reasons given have been 'too inflammatory, too political, too confrontational, too guilt-inducing.' Solomon contends that rather than indicate the inappropriateness of these policies, educators need to transform their practice. In order to achieve this faculties of education need to develop in teachers a 'critical literacy' in order for them 'to recognize and criticize political and economic structures that oppress marginalised groups.' (Solomon, 1994)

I contend that that teaching of anti-racist education is crucial in the South African context. Although apartheid has now been dismantled, its legacy in terms of deprivation in all aspects of life - home, school and work-will be felt for decades to come.

'It will necessitate affirmative action programs, demographic development, adequate land allocation and services, compensatory and cultural enrichment programs in order to address disadvantage, deprivation and cultural dislocation.' (McGurk, cited in Polley, 1989).

In the educational arena, the aftermath of

apartheid has impacted on many school outcomes. Students and teachers need to understand the root causes that have resulted in certain practices.

- Black and white students need to understand the reasons for the so-called 'special treatment' of certain groups. Teachers need to be able to differentiate between real disadvantage and projected guilt.
- Black middle-class students need to understand the reasons why black working class children are 'resentful' and 'jealous'; why and how they are excluded from admission to 'white' schools.
- Students need to understand how race and class interact as a means of exclusion in the South African arena.
- Educators, policymakers and students need to understand why many blacks want to embrace the 'white' culture; they need to understand the cultural erosion apartheid wrought and the ways in which the dominant group has projected its world view.

Not to explore the underlying cause of racism and how it has been used as a mechanism of control through the ideology of apartheid, would be both dishonest and a distortion of history.

However, it is important to take into account the resistance to ARE by teachers and students both in South Africa and other countries. Solomon (1994) favours

'browbeating' teachers during their pre-service training into developing a 'critical literacy' in order for them to recognize and criticize political structures that oppress marginalized groups. Hawley, Crain et al (1983) however, warn against overly attempting to change teachers' attitudes. They believe this should be a more gradual, long-term goal, arising out of new strategies and subsequent changed behaviours in the classroom.

I would recommend rather, modifying the way ARE is taught, and changing the name to something less uni-dimensional and accusatory. It should be more inclusive and examine the multiple ways in which social justice is subverted. A more holistic approach is needed to wrestle with a complex and dynamic problem in a complex and dynamic world.

Social injustice, unfortunately a world-wide phenomenon, is the result of some people manipulating access to power and privilege to the benefit of themselves and the exclusion of others. Racism, sexism and elitism have been the historic mechanisms of achieving this, resulting in the oppression / disadvantage of certain races, women and the working class.

The personal experience of racism should be linked to the personal experiences of sexism and elitism, these in turn being linked to injustice on a global level. Nor are these categories static-as we move into a highly complex

world, they may articulate with each other and form different combinations, or there may be new ways of manipulating the system.

By globalizing the issue of racism, linking it to other forms of oppression and embedding it in the 'core' curriculum, say a History or Social studies course, some of the inflammatory, accusatory and guilt-inducing elements will be removed while the problem, social injustice, will still be bared and examined.

At Valour High all students may experience disadvantage in different ways and to different degrees. Thus they can share their personal experiences, and relate them to issues on a global level, such as the Holocaust, Women's Emancipation movement, workers' revolutions etc. This then provides a basis whereby they can unite and evaluate strategies for overcoming social injustice.

Valour High provided a glimpse of both the potential for violent confrontation, in the 'filthy township' debate as well as the potential for friendly reconciliation, as in the discussion over parental problems. It also revealed a surprising desire on the part of the white students to make integration work, as well as an obdurate resistance to being 'blamed' for past injustices.

While I have argued for the need to address racism directly, it must be done in an atmosphere that permits the ultimate identification of similar goals for all students.

In this way they can "debate and learn the skills necessary to live in a critical democracy" (Solomon, 1994), educated to recognize and contest power differentials.

In South African jargon this would translate into preparation for participation in a non-racial, non-sexist, non-elitist society that provides equal opportunity and the redress of imbalances.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine ways in which educators, themselves socialized within a hierarchical racist society, deal with the task of facilitating effective learning among children of different races.

However, this study goes beyond its original purpose in that the richness of the data revealed many paradoxes, contradictions and unpredictable outcomes in the South African desegregating experience. These will be explored below. Such is the effectiveness of the ethnographic method!

Teachers and administrators at Valour High had been given virtually no support, financially, professionally or psychologically, to cope with integration in a situation of extreme polarization. Nevertheless, they were facing the task fairly effectively - learning was occurring for all students and racial mixing was, at least superficially, unproblematic.

Black students generally considered their white

teachers to be 'fair' and 'helpful' and indeed, there were many examples of teachers and administrators prioritizing the needs of the black students. While there were incidents of a crude racial nature, on the whole white students showed some understanding of the way apartheid oppressed black people. They also seemed to grasp that 'getting along' was imperative for the future of their country. This, however, brought them into conflict with their own parents, who were mainly working class whites. Because of the competition for scarce resources, the lower class whites have historically been the most racist and conservative, since apartheid privileged them at the expense of their black 'comrades'.

These findings challenge the stereotype of white South Africans and are somewhat surprising, given that all whites were socialized within a hierarchical, racist system, validated by the State, Church and Court.

However, this study supports previous research (Adam & Moodley, Christie et al 1992) in contending that South Africa may best be understood as a capitalist and class-based society, wherein race and class articulate in an intense political and ideological struggle over power and privilege.

Moreover, traditional desegregation literature (Allport, Pettigrew, cited in Schofield, 1982; Hawley, 1983 et al) concurs that mere mixing does not imply improved race

relations or equal education for all groups. For this to occur, there needs to be equal access and equal power within the contact situation.

An examination of the admissions' policy at Valour High provides a clue to the relatively smooth transition to a racially integrated school. It acts as a screening device enabling the school to limit the numbers of black students and accept only the best, namely the ones who spoke English well and most closely approximated the white, western Christian norm - the ones who were most likely to 'fit in'.

However, this was unlikely to be maintained for long. The white population in the area was static and the school, equipped for 1,000 students only had 450. It would either have to close down or fill the remaining spaces with black students.

Teachers were concerned about a drop in academic and behavioural standards if the entrance criteria were loosened or removed completely. This was a legitimate concern due to the fact that many of the black township students had sabotaged their education because of political mobilization.

There was also the very real fear of being outnumbered and completely surrendering the white ethos of the school. Paradoxically, however, the most vociferous resistance was from the black students and their parents who were unanimous in their disapproval of admitting more black students.

Again, this brings into focus that while previously

race had overshadowed class as a mechanism of exclusion, the dismantling of apartheid has begun to crystalise class divisions. All the black students at Valour High were from the middle-class. They were rapidly aligning themselves with white culture and distancing themselves from the working-class blacks.

This study corroborates other research (Adam & Moodley, Christie, Coutts et al. 1992) which has shown that what blacks desire most is access to the power and privilege that whites had monopolized. This entailed access to a world language and a world culture - English and anglo culture has been perceived as the quickest route to achieve this.

Moreover, apartheid had robbed blacks of a history and a pride in their own culture and contributions. In Gramscian terms, this was replaced by the propagation of an 'official' world view by the dominant group. It is understandable therefore that the black middle-class internalized this hegemony. In addition, ethnicity and traditional black culture was manipulated by the apartheid regime and rather than being a source of pride and achievement, has instead become associated with deprivation, differentiation and primitiveness by middle-class blacks. All these reasons combine in an attempt to illuminate the seemingly unnatural desire by middle-class blacks to distance themselves from their black lower-class brethren.

South African literature, (Kallaway, Nasson, Burman et

al) has shown that apartheid did not exclude all blacks from education and privilege. On the contrary, it was an explicit aim to co-opt a black middle-class both to meet the changing labour needs of the country and in the hope that they could stabilize the political situation. However, these reform measures were both a response to the political mobilization of student activists, union members and the working class and were usually accompanied by the repression of these very people. Thus, ironically, the very actions that propelled the black middle-class into a position whereby they could easily access the 'good' schools, namely the former white schools, in turn jeopardized the life chances of those who had sabotaged their education for political mobilization. Thus it is imperative for any education system in a 'new' South Africa that professes democracy and equality to address this issue.

This study goes beyond current research in the field by exposing the perceptions of white teachers towards white working class students. In doing so, it highlights again the role of class in South Africa. The research does not, however, determine the extent to which the black middle-class aligns itself with white culture per se or within its social class.

My hunch would be that middle-class blacks perceived white society as homogeneous, all possessing the 'golden egg'. However as more blacks penetrate the circle of power

and privilege, it will become increasingly apparent that white society is as stratified as their own. Hence, I would anticipate an increasing distancing from the white working class.

There were already some indications of this at Valour High. Two black families had chosen to live outside the Woodsville catchment area because 'it wasn't good enough'. In addition the blacks seemed to be upwardly mobile in contrast to the entrenched white class. This can be deduced by the students' career aspirations and their parents' positions. While the black parents represented the lower middle-class in that they were small business people, principals, teachers and nurses, their children expected to be lawyers, doctors and professors. On the other hand, the career expectations of the white students reflected their parents' aspirations - clerks, secretaries and hairdressers. However, more research is needed in this area.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to facilitate integration at Valour High, pedagogical changes need to be made, most importantly with regard to in-service teacher training. Teachers need to be supported with on-going seminars, workshops and lectures. They need to learn how to mediate racial incidents, cope with students with limited language proficiency and adapt their curricula so that it has more relevance in preparing their students for participation in a democratic

society. They need exposure to new teaching techniques which will help them teach in a multiracial class consisting of native and non-native speakers of English. New teaching techniques may also help break down the resegregation that prevailed at the school.

The study has revealed the importance of teaching from a multicultural standpoint to foster a respect, tolerance and understanding of other cultures in a society which historically had little knowledge of each other. This should reduce the number of racist incidents. It should also promote more integration as one of the main reasons for segregated groups, according to both black and white students, was that they knew so little about each other's lives that they had 'nothing to talk about.'

In this study I have argued for the importance of teaching explicitly about racism while acknowledging that its 'accusatory', 'guilt-inducing' and 'inflammatory' tone is often counter-productive. Hence I have advocated a more inclusive form of ARE which examines Social Injustice and explores the many different ways, including racism, that it is manifested. In a school such as Valour High, which contains black and white students, middle-class blacks, working-class whites, and perhaps in the future, working-class blacks, disadvantage will be perceived in different ways, in different degrees. All these need to be explored. But in such a situation of extreme polarization,

it is imperative not only to understand and critique the nature of oppression, but also to provide a basis whereby students can unite and evaluate strategies for overcoming social injustice.

Valour High is in an extremely vulnerable position, given the low socio-economic status of the surrounding community, its proximity to densely populated black areas and its need to attract more students to the school. Coutts (1989, 1992) has pointed out that racial mixing is more likely to be problematic under such circumstances. Frederikse (1992) found that former white, suburban state schools in Zimbabwe have deteriorated due to white and middle-class black 'flight' and the loss of well-qualified teachers.

To avoid such problems, Coutts recommends maintaining some form of entrance criteria, at least initially, in those schools which do not have academic support and bridging programs for severely disadvantaged students. While acknowledging that this is discriminatory, Coutts believes that having disadvantaged students floundering without assistance in such schools would benefit nobody.

Bearing in mind the teachers', black parents' and students' concerns at Valour High, regarding a drop in 'standards', I would agree with Coutts' position that some form of selective admission be maintained initially. However, the government and education department should make

the bolstering of black education in the townships, especially at the primary level, a priority. Massive funding should also be directed towards support programs at former white suburban schools, especially those in areas such as Woodsville, since schools in these areas will be on the front lines of desegregation en masse. Extensive academic and bridging programs need to be in place prior to the influx of deprived students, so as to make available the best possible educational opportunities for these children, while simultaneously not compromising the education of the other black and white students.

As Valour High and other state schools embark on new, unchartered territory, it should be borne in mind that inclusion and exclusion may combine in different ways. To look at social injustice only from the uni-dimensional standpoint of racism, without taking cognizance of other factors, such as class, will no longer be adequate. To ensure an equal education for all in a democratic South Africa, a dynamic, holistic approach will be needed.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One of the limitations of the present study is that it was an examination of one particular school, namely a formerly white girls' high school in a white working class area, bordering black townships. Hence, the generalizability of the findings may be limited. However, because of the in-depth focus of the study and the

consistency of the results obtained from interviews and observations, there is a likelihood that the conclusions may be applicable to other schools in similar situations. Moreover, the findings consistently support previous research in similar integrated schools in South Africa.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the purposes of this study was to contribute to the accumulation of basic data in an area which, because of its newness, has been underresearched. Further in-depth studies of other desegregating schools could confirm or contest the themes that have emerged from this study.

Another intention was to explore the interplay between race and class in South Africa. This has developed into one of the main themes from this study. A replication of this study with boys' schools, elementary schools or schools in different socio-economic areas, would provide greater understanding of the interaction between class and race in South Africa.

While some research has been undertaken in integrated private or alternative schools in South Africa, there has been little documentation of the desegregation of state schools. Further research is needed in this area.

One of the themes to have emerged from this study of a state school, which to my knowledge has never been identified in the literature, was the attitudes of white middle-class teachers towards white working class children.

Further research possibilities in this area are vast.

While this study shows the way in which the black middle-class is approximating the white, western norm and distancing itself from the black working-class, it does not indicate which white class, if any, it is aligning itself with. Will the upwardly mobile black middle-class distance itself from the white working class in schools such as Valour High or will there be a possibility for common ground and unity? Many fascinating research problems lie in this area.

Contrary to the North American desegregation experience, in Valour High, the black students, particularly one group, were achieving despite their backgrounds of disadvantage, deprivation and disenfranchisement. In the tradition of Maslow (1968) and Lawrence Lightfoot (1988), a study of high-functioning black students who succeed 'despite all odds', would be an intriguing and worthwhile undertaking.

The study took place before the first free elections in South Africa when the education system was in a state of flux and confusion. Since then the new government, the ANC, has implemented their own education policy. Further research could examine whether state schools are teaching in accordance with the ANC education policy objectives, namely preparing children for active participation in a non-racial,

non-sexist, democratic country, that provides equal education for all.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADIAN PRACTICE

A South African school just embarking on integration, provides Canadian theorists with the unique opportunity to witness an education system on the cusp of transition from an authoritarian, homogeneous, unilingual ethnocentric model to a democratic, multicultural, multilingual and global model. The ways in which South African educators at Valour High grappled with the following issues could provide valuable insights and implications for Canadian practice.

- Trying to balance the seemingly contradictory goals of building a national identity while still recognizing diversity.
- The ways in which the oppressed group seeks to gain access to a world language and dominant, first world economy, society and lifestyle, while still retaining the unique aspects of their own culture and ethnicity.
- How to develop positive intergroup relations in the classroom when each group has been rigidly polarized by institutionalized racism.
- The ways in which social class affects this process.
- How to facilitate second language acquisition in a traditionally unilingual class.
- The ongoing debate between multicultural and anti-racist education - whether to implement them and how to implement

them in a situation of extreme polarization.

- The extent to which the admission of a new student clientele necessitates curriculum and pedagogical change.

- Contrary to traditional desegregation literature, black students at the school were achieving academically.

Valuable insights for Canadian practice can be gained by looking at models of success in situations of extreme disparity.

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INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

These will parallel the Observation Guidelines to a large extent, as well as providing the opportunity for the Principal and teachers to "tell their own stories".

1. How do you select Black students for admission? (Principal only).
2. What are the school songs, logos, symbols, mascots and celebrations? Have they changed as a result of opening the school to students from other races?

Do you envisage any changes occurring in the future?

3. Is there a parent association? Is it multi-racial? What activities does it promote? (Principal only).
4. Who are the school prefects, captains, club presidents? How are they chosen?
5. Which students get punished more often? What for? What is the nature of the punishment? Does it affect all children equally?
6. How do you organize your classroom? Seating/grouping arrangements?
7. What responsibilities do you give Black and White students? Do they require the same amount of attention? Who stays after school/the lesson to discuss problems, questions they might have?
8. Who initiates classroom discussions, answers questions, asks questions, models correct answers?
9. How important are grades in your class? What are the academic results in your class? Have academic standards changed as a result of opening the school to students from other races? Do you envisage any changes occurring in this area? Explain. What kind of support is there for students with language or learning difficulties?
10. What kind of teaching methods do you use?

Co-operative/competitive classroom?
Lecture format/discussion, task-based?
Ability grouping?
Teacher-fronted/teacher as facilitator?

Have there been any changes in this area as a result of racial integration? Do you envisage any occurring in the future?

Interview Guidelines
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11. Have you made any changes in the curriculum as a result of integration? Explain: Do you envisage doing so in the future? Explain: Do you feel it's important to connect the personal experiences of your students with classroom learning? How do you do this?
12. What are the problems that arise in your class (& school) because of integration?
13. Do you consider that opening the schools to children from all races has had a positive or negative effect on the school/your class? Please specify in what ways.
14. What are your hopes/fears/expectations for the future in terms of a racially integrated school.
15. Any other comments you'd like to make?

OBSERVATION GUIDELINES

1. What is the social context of the school? Physical description of immediate area - White/racially mixed; socio-economic status; proximity of school to pupils' homes.
2. How supportive are the parents and community? Is there a parent association; is it multi-racial; what kinds of activities does it participate in?
3. What is the school ethos? School songs, logos, symbols, mascots and celebrations.
4. How are status relations reproduced in school?
 - (a) Who are the prefects, sports captains, house captains, class captains and club presidents?
 - (b) Which students get punished more often and for what infringements? What is the nature of the punishment?
5. What racial attitudes exist amongst teachers and students, and amongst students themselves?
 - (a) Physical arrangement of desks.
 - (b) Club and team membership.
 - (c) Playground contact and associations.
 - (d) After school associations.
6. What are teachers expectations of children? What responsibilities do the teachers give Black and White students; how much attention do teachers give to their answers, questions, problems?
7. Who initiates classroom responses, discussions? Which students do the teachers call upon to respond to questions, model answers, give opinions?
8. How does the school promote positive self-concept among its pupils? #3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 will provide indicators for this question.
9. What kind of pedagogy does the teacher use? Co-operative versus competitive classroom environment? Ability streaming or grouping? Support for students with language or learning limitations? Does the teacher stress grades? How? What are the academic results?

Observation Guidelines
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10. To what extent does the curriculum accommodate African culture? Examine history textbooks, to see if they reflect the histories and contributions of all racial groups; does it deal with the history of Apartheid, Black struggle for equality, Black leaders and heroes? Is the art, music, drama of non-Anglo cultures included in these classes? What languages are taught?