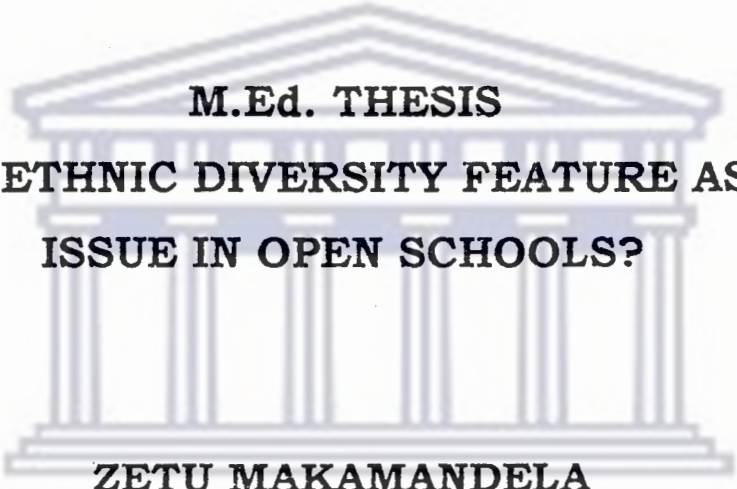


University copy

**University of the Western Cape
Department of Comparative Education**



M.Ed. THESIS
**DOES ETHNIC DIVERSITY FEATURE AS AN
ISSUE IN OPEN SCHOOLS?**
ZETU MAKAMANDELA
**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

DOES ETHNIC DIVERSITY FEATURE AS AN ISSUE IN OPEN SCHOOLS?

NTOMBIZETU MAKAMANDELA

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of M.Ed. in the Department of Comparative Education, University of the Western Cape.

Supervisor: Dr. Glenda Kruss

May 1998



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE
EXAMINATION COPY

ABSTRACT

DOES ETHNIC DIVERSITY FEATURE AS AN ISSUE IN OPEN SCHOOLS?

NP MAKAMANDELA

M.ED MINI THESIS, DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION,
UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Statement of the problem

There is more to the phrase “South African schools belong to all South African children”. While it sounds simple and true there is more to it in the case of the schools which once excluded other race groups under the principle of apartheid rule. Opening of schools means coming together of children, teachers and parents from different socio-economic, cultural and racial backgrounds. (While my focus is on the student-student and student-teacher relationships what this means for the parents is no less significant) What happens then? Do these groups embrace one another regardless of their diverse background and orientation? Do teachers automatically cope with this diverse audience, do something to facilitate a supportive environment to all, or are things merely left to chance? On the other hand, if the school recognises diversity as an issue that should be treated strategically for the well being of all those involved, what are the mechanisms in place to help both the learners and teachers cope with the new environment?

How is the problem investigated?

This is a case study of a former Model C school in Cape Town. Students from all classes were asked to fill in a questionnaire and in-depth interviews were held with their teachers. There was significant similarity in some of the questions asked in the areas of concern, namely: the school profile, students’ background, curriculum and diversity, communication and lastly there was an opportunity for the participants to share their own views on the open schooling system. Evidence gathered through interviews and questionnaires around these five areas was supplemented by the documents kept by the school, the researcher’s observation and informal dialogue with other staff members at the time of the research.

Main findings

- South African open schools need to be responsive to change. Admission of students from different backgrounds alone does not make the school open. Schools should provide the necessary support to help both the teachers and students cope with the situation.
- Among other areas of school life the curriculum, both formal and informal is the arena the school can effectively use to practice its openness.
- School should also seek to know their students well, taking into account the differences in culture, socio-economic background, and how these impact on the schooling of all.
- Schools must seek to discover whether or not the staff and students share the same ideals regarding the open schools.
- For the school vision to be common it must be well articulated to the school community and other people who come in contact with the school. Schools therefore need to establish and communicate a written policy regarding ethnic diversity.
- The government must assist the schools with training programmes to help them cope with the diverse audience.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized classical building with columns and a pediment.

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

DECLARATION

I declare that “**Does ethnic diversity feature as an issue in open schools?**” is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Ntombizetu Makamandela

Date: 08 May 1998

Signed:



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The help of a number of people is gratefully acknowledged and I am particularly obliged to the following: Mr. J.M.B. Koetsier and Dr. G. Kruss of University of the Western Cape for their guidance and help. I thank my late Aunt Ms. N. Mkiva for her moral support and my best friend, Mbuyi, for his encouragement and interest in seeing this project carried through. I would like to express gratitude to the Principal of Cape Town High School, staff and students for allowing their school to form the nucleus of this research.



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

TABLE OF CONTENTS:	PAGES
Abstract	(i)
Declaration	(iii)
Acknowledgements	(iv)
Preface	(vi)
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	1
CHAPTER 2 Critical Review of Literature	9
CHAPTER 3 The Research Process: A Long And Winding Road	35
CHAPTER 4 The Findings: Scrutiny and Manipulation of Data	51
CHAPTER 5 Creating A Shared Vision	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	89
APPENDICES	94
<i>Appendix 1</i> Entrance request to CTH	95
<i>Appendix 2</i> Feeder schools to CTH (1997)	97
<i>Appendix 3</i> Teacher Interview Schedule	98
<i>Appendix 4</i> Teacher Interview Results	105
<i>Appendix 5</i> Student Questionnaire	126
<i>Appendix 6</i> Student Questionnaire Results	131

PREFACE

The literature on the new education reform is full of opening of schools and the need for democratic approach and whole school and community participation. It is less forthcoming about how these principles might be put into practice especially in schools that serve diverse local populations (differentiated by ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural backgrounds). These populations relate to each other in various degrees of encounter that may range from harmony to hostility. Harmonious inter-ethnic relations cannot be taken for granted and how they can be fostered remains problematic. On the other hand, inter-ethnic hostility can take many forms: prejudice, racism, sexism, covert and overt discrimination (Verma G, Gajendra K 1994:vii). The truth is, policy and practice are at different stages of development.

One way to begin the process of changing school policies and practices is to listen to students' and teachers' views about them. However research that focuses on students' voices is relatively recent and scarce. For example, student perspectives are for the most part missing in discussions concerning strategies for confronting educational problems (Transvaal Education News June/July 1991). In addition, the voices of students are rarely heard in the debates about school failure and success, and the perspectives of students from disempowered communities, given the circumstances are even more invisible. The way in which democratic frameworks and policies translate into practice is inextricably tied to what happens in the classroom. The classroom (like the staffroom) is a site of ideological and political struggle where anti-racist progress is rarely simple (Cummin 1986:18).

The rationale of the research is rooted in five basic assumptions:

- a) that the condition of inter-ethnic relations in South African open schools, regardless of democracy continues to be a matter of concern;
- b) that the inter-ethnic tensions and conflict are correlated with racial prejudice and discrimination;
- c) that the educational system constitutes an important focus for consideration of the connected phenomena of inter-ethnic conflict and racial discrimination;
- d) that there is a clear connection between inter-ethnic relations on the one hand , and educational opportunities and attainments of students of ethnic minority

(Black, Coloured and Indian students in former whites only schools now called “public schools”) on the other;

e) that “good inter-ethnic relationships”, interpreted positively, means more than the mere absence of overt hostility or conflict between persons/groups. The phrase suggests, substantial and reciprocal knowledge and understanding of ways of life between students groups of different ethnicity and between teachers and students; substantially shared values concerning, for example, respect for persons, tolerance, together with public commitment to such values, throughout the school; and a considerable degree of positive interaction between persons and groups of different ethnicity.

The last element in the research’s rationale reflects my intention that the thesis should enable me to discern factors in the school which tend to promote good inter-ethnic relations. Specifically, as part of this thesis and its findings, it is hoped that those involved in the shaping or the execution of policy in the education department and in schools will have access to:

- a better understanding of the issues, problems and opportunities associated with inter-ethnic relations;
- a clearer grasp of which of those issues etc. are capable of being addressed at school level;
- a basis for a more systematic and pro-active approach to the practicalities of inter-ethnic relations, at school level, in such contexts as the school profile, students’ background, formal and hidden curriculum and communication.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There seems to be a wide-spread conviction in our society that children have “ethnic innocence” - that they are unaware of ethnic differences. In fact, a wide body of research (Tibbets 1989:9) has proved the opposite to be true and has established that, as a result of the young child’s need to order and categorise the physical world and personal experiences, an awareness of ethnic differences can exist as early as the age of two to two and a half years. According to early learning educators, the acquisition of racist attitudes by children, while popularly believed to happen simply because parents teach their children such feelings, can more accurately be seen to result from the far more subtle and complex processes of socialisation.

Recognition of ethnic differences is reinforced by society as an unspoken attitude - a negative and taboo subject. Early learning educators, according to Tibbets reinforce this conditioning by behaving as if ethnic differences did not exist. “A common claim is that the children all play so nicely ...and are treated just the same...” (1984:9) People are not the same, they are divided into different race groups. “Race” is a word that we all recognise. Part of English language for hundreds of years, the term has been subject to heated political and academic debate for more than a century. While many writers would agree that racism exists throughout the world, the massive literature available on the theme of race and race relations contains no consensus regarding a definition of the term racism. As Montagu (1972:33) puts it: “There exists as many definitions in the literature as there do specialists and experts in the field”. Many writers working in this field have utilised a concept of racism based upon the notion of racial prejudice existing at the level of personal feelings.

In this formulation, according to Montagu, a definition of racism involves two elements. Firstly a belief that the world is composed of different “races”, in the sense that human populations can be compartmentalised into different types on the basis of some immutable biological characteristics transmitted genetically from one generation to the next. Historically, colour of the skin has been taken as the crucial biological

characteristic. Secondly there is a belief that some races are biologically inferior to others, this inferiority being manifested in intellectual performance, moral qualities, or forms of social behaviour. In other words, that one's potential as a human being is biologically determined according to one's racial membership.

And yet, for all the controversy, it is still the case that people routinely (often unthinkingly) categorise themselves and others according to the racial criteria. Although the word remains unchanged, the meaning and significance of "race" have not. It is the complex and dynamic character of "race" thinking, shielded by a veneer of apparent simplicity and obviousness, that makes the concept of "race" such a powerful and dangerous aspect of contemporary society. This thesis focuses on "race" at work within the education system at the school level. The concern with education is especially pertinent because education occupies a pivotal role in contemporary society and in "race" politics (Ghosh and Tarrow 1993:81).

South Africa has been described as a cultural microcosm of the world (Couatts 1992: 20). Throughout history South Africans have regarded the range of cultures as a great problem. Attempts to challenge racism (which came as a result of South Africa's becoming a home to various race groups) have a long and troubled history. Some educationists and mainly students have been among the most active professional groups in the struggle against racism.

Additionally, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, education has emerged as a major ideological battleground in South African politics, and such is no surprise because education lies at the heart of any country's reform. The primary concern of this study is to consider the nature and quality of inter-ethnic relations among students and staff in a multi-ethnic open school and the impact school policies and practices may have on them. This would be done, taking into consideration the fact that children entering a primary school at the age of five or so have already been exposed to racially constructed images of social relations. "Children at primary school level engage in certain ideological practice of popular racism, which inform their engagement in learning tasks they perform in schools" Hatcher and Troyna (1993:110).

Against this background secondary and high school pupils including teachers have gone through many years of South Africa's apartheid rule. How can they suddenly be value and bias free? How can they be free of prejudice? Can the exercise of unlearning the deeply embedded stereotypes happen effectively within a few years of secondary teaching and schooling? However, it would be impossible to discover answers to these concerns (they are not research questions) without drawing a picture of the past and present forms of race relations in South Africa.

The Government has reformed the former education system and aims to effectively change the old order to the new. Since schooling in South Africa stands at the threshold of tremendous changes and its role in creating a new nation is considered central, the educational settings are consequently no longer considered as a place people go strictly to learn academic subjects. Classrooms are currently undergoing enormous changes as school populations are becoming increasingly heterogeneous (racially). In principle schools may become social laboratories where experiments in multiracial/multicultural education are occurring on a daily basis, whether planned or not. Nevertheless, the education system might not have the potential to challenge racism in ways that may have a lasting impact on school students (especially of varying ages and ethnic backgrounds) and the communities of which they are part.

Education is always a moral issue. It involves values, standards and judgements. In addition, it is always intellectual, because disciplined thinking is crucial. And it is always political, since the values and ways of thinking that are used favour some sections of the population. In the case of South Africa, education is faced with the task of playing a role in redressing the imbalances of the past by providing quality education to all South African children. Schools need not necessarily do this alone. All people are expected to help in educating the children about the newly forged understanding of race relations as contained in the new South African constitution. Parents are expected to play a bigger role because research proves that children mostly learn racial stereotypes from early age, that is before they join formal schooling (Troyna and Hatcher 1992:20; Syer 1982:102). This is especially true for South African children since they grew up in a society that has been determined to a large extent by segmented populations according to race. For many years until

recently, the entire constitution, legislation and practically every other phase of life has been based on the differential treatment of different sections of its population.

Racism in open schools

This study attempts to discover whether racism features as an issue in “open” schools where the client base is drawn from different backgrounds. More specifically I want to investigate how the forms of racism are produced, maintained and reproduced, on the one hand, and resisted, challenged and rearticulated on the other hand. This I will investigate by focusing on the following areas of school life: school profile, students background, curriculum and communication (refer to appendices C&D). Such issues are of enormous significance, thus an adequate understanding of how students and staff in “open” schools make sense of the contradictory images of the “racial” other, constructed through and within the practices of racism during the apartheid years is important. There have been stereotypes in different race groups about other groups within which most South Africans from childhood have been socialised. This applies to both the students and educators themselves. “...I believe, more true of South Africa than any other country, that race is destiny... The whole pattern of every individual’s life - from cradle to grave - is circumscribed by his/her race” (Tobius 1972:1).

As explained, the idea of race has gained a tenacious grip on the minds of South Africans. It has been and still continues to be a national neurosis of the obsessional variety (Nkomo 1989:13). I assume therefore that we cannot hope or guarantee that democracy, opening of schools, curricular change and new educational policies alone can develop anti-racist educational practices because here personal attitudes of individuals are involved. Within this framework, school reform in race relations depends almost exclusively on the reversal of values, attitudes and the human nature of social actors understood as “individuals”. According to Hall (1980:123) the theoretical, methodological and practical issues concerning race are complex, and that paradoxically, one cannot understand racial inequalities by studying race alone. As this study attests, the study of race in education must engage with the variables of class, gender and nation and their material expression in practices of school and social life.

My analysis is grounded in the experiences of both teachers and students in an open school in Cape Town. I will distribute a questionnaire among students drawn from all standards (6-10). The content will be designed to gather information on their experiences with special interest in how diversity in language, culture and background surface itself in the life of the school. In investigating whether race features as an issue in interschool relations, data for both parties will concern itself with the background of the different student population, their homes' distance from school and the means of travel used. The background will also inform this study on the access principles of the school. The curriculum is also used as an investigation tool in the questionnaire. Since the curriculum is the selection of relevant instructional material which may include books, articles, worksheets, pictures, etc. a broad repertoire of instructional methods and techniques I want to discover whether or not the school caters for its different students in choosing the latter. Mukherjee (1984:109) argues that teaching methods are to some degree culturally influenced and therefore certain methods work more effectively with some students than others. Educators who assume that the same methods will work effectively with all pupils ignore the influence of culture and other factors in education.

(data collection)

Teachers will also be interviewed, the interviews are structured such that they provide information on the school policy to deal or handle the diverse community of the school. The role of staff, if any also form a crucial part of the investigation. However, the experience of the exercise (opening of schools) could either be thrilling or frustrating to those involved. In South Africa so much has been pinned on the term "race" that not all is technically solved by opening all schools to all race groups and scraping off of racism from the constitution, I assume. The matter is delicate because it involves attitudes and behavioural patterns of people who are suddenly expected to reflect the "rainbow nation" after years of being separate and unequal in every sense.

Communication between students and staff and among students themselves will give key insight to the manner of relations between these groups. It will be crucial to discover if communication does take place at all including the forms that it takes. If communication were lacking for some reason it would be interesting to recover the cause for its absence. Informal communication between students may also reveal

typical student activities such as name-calling. In Britain name-calling has proved to be a broad platform for racist remarks (Moodley:1992:72).

I think it is noticeable that of the four areas (school profile, students' background, curriculum and communication) I put more emphasis on the curriculum. This I do without ignoring that they are interconnected and the success of each area squarely depends on the other. One thinks most easily about the curriculum as if it were simply a programme of content and this is useful for it is hard to imagine curriculum that does not involve careful attention to matters of content. We need, however to think about the curriculum far more widely than that. Curriculum is central to the education process. Broadly defined it refers to teaching and learning activities and experiences which are provided by the school.

The NECC (1992:1) defines the curriculum as follows:

- ◆ The **aims and objectives** of the education system as well as the specific goals of schools,
- ◆ The **selection of content** to be taught, how it is arranged into subjects, programmes and syllabuses and **what skills and processes are included**,
- ◆ **Ways of teaching and learning and relationships between teachers and learners** (pedagogy) and
- ◆ The forms of settlement and **evaluation used**.

The curriculum therefore is not a “thing” but embodies social relationships. It is not only about the content; it is also and crucially about **intention** and about **process** (thus my earlier statement about interdependency). It is drawn up by particular groups of people; it reflects particular points of views and is anchored in the experiences of social groups. In addition to the question regarding the content of the curriculum we have to ask what are the purposes or intentions of the curriculum and what are the procedures through which the curriculum is to be mediated to the students?

Apple catches something of this when he describes the curriculum as “educative environments in which students are to dwell” (1979:111). In other words we need to think about the curriculum as that which is experienced by the students in the teaching and learning setting. During the apartheid reign, the curriculum that was in place in

schools has been placed there by procedures, which gave the right of decision making to representatives of the dominant groups in society. The content and the resources available for learning textbooks and examination requirements to exercise control over the process, all these and more have been in the hands of the then dominant white minority (Van der Berg 1994:30). According to Van der Heever, ever since 1976 the people recognised that apartheid education cannot be separated from apartheid in general. "Education being a sub-system of society, necessarily reflects the main features of that society" (1989:6).

Curriculum, as I have indicated earlier is central to education or the schooling system because it is about values, it is not something educational that falls from the sky, values are not ultimately educational phenomena. If a teacher teaches her/his students respect for one another, is that an educational virtue or is it a moral virtue, or is it an economic value or political? Surely it is all of these. Yet, we tend to operate in education as if there are easily identifiable "educational" phenomena with which we can work, and which have nothing to do with ethical, economic, social or political values.

Aim of study

Educational institutions have become arenas where people drawn from different cultural backgrounds assemble together for a shared purpose - learning. The aim of this study is to investigate and bring to the fore the dynamics present when this happens. A better understanding of the aim and motivation to undertake this research could be achieved if this section could be read in the light of the contents of the Preface (p.vi) with special focus to the outlined basic assumptions. In any setting, I assume more so in the educational environment, these dynamics may have remarkable effects in the process of learning.

The beauty of opening of schools to all South African children is to me the best among the changes brought about by the new era - democracy. Nevertheless, coming together needs guidance and support from all the parties involved. The pull of different cultures definitely has irrational aspects that cannot be automatically overcome. This study is an attempt to bring those to the fore while at the same time

investigating possible methods that can be used to remedy the situation. The findings of this study will provide a lesson to learn from and prevention measures will also prevail accordingly.

Outline of chapters

This thesis proceeds as follows: Chapter 1 is an introduction to the entire research - introduces the subject, its significance and provides guidance to the reader on what to expect from each chapter. Chapter 2 is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the review of literature - the information related to the research problem. Since I have tentatively identified the problem, more information is necessary about it, so that it can be put in the proper context to facilitate effective proceeding of research. In this section there is evident focus on the history of open schools in South Africa before and after 1994. Since ethnic diversity is the key element of investigation in this study, the second section captures concepts that are central in understanding diversity.

Since some of the concepts may hold different meanings to different readers the way in which they are used here is explained to eliminate possible confusion and once again facilitate fair procession to chapters that follow. Chapter 3 is the classification of the methods used to conduct the research. Chapter 4 presents the interpretation of the results of the survey while Chapter 5 presents the summary and conclusions.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter provides a concise background to apartheid education in South Africa and the changes that led to “open schools”. For easier reading the meaning of “open schools” is defined. A clear understanding of the character of these schools will help in determining whether they have under their new status “public schools” changed at all. This thesis sets out to investigate how these schools handle the question of ethnicity, does it matter at all in the students and staff’s everyday interactions, what are the dynamics and how are they dealt with? “Open schools” incorporate Models B and C and these are also described later in this chapter. South Africa’s becoming a democracy affected all sectors of the state and education is no exception. Policies however, directly affect the people who practice them and in the case of schools, teachers and students are left to implement the changes at school level. In this chapter, I briefly look at the situation these parties find themselves in. Lastly, in this chapter is the definition of the major concepts related to ethnic diversity.

As indicated in the introduction, South African society has been and still is determined to a large extent by the particularly segmented or divided composition of the country’s population. This segmentation manifests itself in a diversity of human collectives. Historically, legislatively and socially this differentiation occurred on the basis of criteria that are essentially of a social nature and which can therefore not be described as being strictly “objective”. In South Africa matters such as physical appearance, culture, and language feature very prominently and being generally associated with race and ethnicity, they are regarded as relatively unchangeable. In this sense race is mainly interpreted as being indicative of a person’s descent and relationship to collectivities which are described as White/European, African, Asiatic, and or “mixed”. Ethnicity in turn is linked to characteristics such as language, culture and religion. (These terms will be dealt with in depth later in the chapter).

Apartheid education has legally segregated the education system along racial lines. The schools pointed to the ways in which racist practices were maintained. Schooling

in apartheid South Africa was never designed to bring population groups together, instead it was designed to keep them separate. Separate schools were part of an overall plan for the social, economic and political development of apartheid. Schools were part of creating and maintaining an awareness of separateness and difference. There were consequently 19 education departments that catered for the various ethnic groups. The relationship between education and culture is a crucial one, since “the way in which society reflects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates educational knowledge reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control” (Bernstein 1975:31). This argument applies to any education system irrespective of time in history. According to Nkomo the different departments were a step to realise the Verwoerdian maxim of separate and unequal education under apartheid. This was qualified by gross imbalances in terms of financial allocations per racial group (Nkomo 1989:27).

According to Christie (1985:55) a White child was likely to experience schooling that was well provided for in terms of facilities such as gymnasium, laboratories, computers, qualified teachers, a wide range of subjects to choose from and low teacher-pupil ratios. In contrast, African schools were inadequately resourced - whether that be a matter of the age and quality of the buildings (if any), the supply of teaching materials, the experience of the teachers and high teacher-pupil ratios, also the accepted expectation of how pupils will fare later in life. Learning under trees, lacking textbooks and never seeing a laboratory were common African students' experiences. “There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour” (H.V. Verwoerd 1955 cited by Christie 1985:1). The Coloured and Indian populations were better provided for than their African counterparts, but not to the same degree as the White population. As a result, writes Christie, not only was the experience of schooling under apartheid education racially segregated, but it also was qualitatively different - indeed separate and unequal (Christie in Freer 1992:123).

Open schools

The opening of schools to all was partly a response to the intense struggle for a non-racial democratic education. Open schools in South Africa - that is schools that have a racially mixed student population may be traced to Catholic and other private schools in South Africa. Private schools, catering to an elite group of South Africans, have traditionally enrolled Black students. According to Christie, these were usually the children of African Diplomats, Black South African government officials, or exceptionally wealthy Black parents. In 1976 following the Soweto students' uprisings, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference decided to defy apartheid educational legislation and to enrol Black students in Catholic schools. Initially, the Bishops' defiance centred on the principle of admitting the Black students into White registered schools. Later the Church defied the State's attempts to control the numbers of Black students admitted to Catholic school. The State began to impose general quotas, stipulating the admissible percentages of Black students in these schools (Christie 1990:120) and (Cross 1986: 78). Despite variations in Black enrolments in these schools, the percentage of Black students in open schools remained well below half the student population. This was partly due to the government - stipulated constraints - if Black admissions exceed 50%, the school would be forced to register with another racial group's educational department. It was also due to the admissions policies of these schools themselves, which included selection tests, affiliation with particular religion denominations, and ability to pay school fees.

Fundamentally though, both the private schools and the parochial Catholic Schools were outside the mainstream educational system, to which the majority of Blacks and Whites were subjected. It was only during the De Klerk reforms of 1990 that White State schools began enrolling Black students. In October 1990, the then Minister of White Education, Piet Clase, announced the possibility that White State schools might legally enrol Black pupils. To do this White school parent communities needed to vote on the issue, with stringent voting procedures stipulated. Schools needed to ensure that they achieved an 80% poll, out of which they needed to obtain a 72% majority.

Schools were given the option that they vote for one of the three models, these became the Clase Models (Metcalf 1991:17).

According to these models Model A is the option of privatisation. In this scenario, the White school closes down as a State school and re-opens as a private school. Model B is a State school option. Here the White State School remains a State school but has an open admissions policy. Model C is a semi-state semi-private school model. The State provides primarily for teachers' salaries and the rest of the schools expenses are borne by the school community. In addition, White schools could choose to remain as they are and not vote at all. In this instance they would remain all White State aided. Interestingly the Clase Models were recommended within the provisions of the apartheid constitution and were subject to the following conditions:

- a) All White schools must maintain a 51% White majority in their population,
- b) The cultural ethos of the school must remain intact,
- c) The Management Councils of the schools have the right to determine selection criteria,
- d) No school is necessarily bound to consider curriculum changes,
- e) The "opening" of schools does not necessarily mean the employment of Black teachers on the staff of the schools,
- f) The financing of the Black pupils at open schools is the responsibility of the Black parent and pupil (c.f. Carrim and Sayed 1991).

"Open schools" vs. open schools

South Africa now has two types of schools - the public and private schools. From this point onwards the term open schools will be used to refer to public schools which are funded by the government.

Prior to 1994, White schools that accepted Black; Coloured and Indian children assimilated these groups into the main stream culture and value system since they were minority. These children were absorbed into the dominant white culture so that they can take an informed and equal part in the creation and maintenance of the host society.

Respect for their own cultures and social traditions is only a secondary concern. In no way should it be encouraged to the point where it could possibly undermine the social and ideological bases of the dominant culture (“host” culture), or threaten the stability of what was seen as the “host” society. Emphasis was placed on minimising cultural differences and preserving cultural homogeneity of the host society. These children were required to abandon their own cultural heritage and acquire the dominant. “Cultural identity forms an integral part of one’s total self concept and it is therefore important to help pupils to develop positive feelings towards their own background before they can learn to understand, appreciate and respect the cultures of others” (Dekker and Lemmer 1993: 43).

The conditions of the Model C system linked to the apartheid constitution and did not enable the Clase Models to challenge the foundations of apartheid education. These models did not address the Black education crisis nor did they respond to the demand for a single, non-racial, and democratic education system in South Africa (Carrim & Sayed 1991:24). They prescribed reforms that tinker with the educational techniques and methods and left unaltered the racist fabric of the education system. At the time of the announcements the Clase models responded to the crisis facing White education in South Africa. White education was increasingly characterised by dwindling pupil numbers, wastage of facilities and closure of schools. Many of these developments were precipitated by demographic changes of the areas within which the White schools were located. These changes were brought about by the influx of Black residents, which was made possible by the scrapping of the Influx control laws and the Group Areas Act. At the same time, many of the wealthier White families moved out of these areas. As a result, the target population of White schools was dwindling rapidly. It became economically impossible to maintain such a situation in the current recessionary climate.

At the same time as the Clase announcements in 1990, the White Nationalist Government tried to appear as if it were making reforms in two ways. First, it projected itself as genuinely attempting to deracialise White schooling. This was in keeping with the main thrusts of the de Klerk reforms.

Secondly, by allowing decisions to be made by the White school parent communities as if being democratic, despite the fact that Black parents and pupils did not have an opportunity to participate in such decisions. Instead, the Black children were faced by entrance tests for selection as soon as they showed interest in these schools. According to Metcalfe (1991:65) these tests included proficiency in English and Mathematics, also testing on subjects like Physical Science, yet, no White, Indian and Coloured student was subjected to these tests.

The assumptions inherent in admission were themselves loaded with racist implications. Is the intelligence of Black students tested for diagnosis of educational strengths and weaknesses to determine admission? The tests may be educationally defensible, but the latter infringes on the child's right to education. What signals of racial difference do these tests have on students when some are subjected to tests writing and others are not? The calculated consequence of such activities is to maintain discriminatory practices that place Africans in a subordinate position without using the word apartheid. Carrim and Metcalfe see these tests as seemingly ways to include black students in desegregated schools and as means to keep them away at the same time. Those who got in came as minority, easily assimilable, whereas the majority remains outside, a distant "other" (1991:75).

The way in which the Nationalist government attempted to maintain apartheid in South African open schools showed how it was attempting to control access of Blacks and thereby maintain White privileges. This point makes an important distinction between deracialisation and desegregation. In the South African context, deracialisation may be seen when both Whites and Blacks may be found in the same situation and where no discriminatory practices seem to exist. Desegregation, according to Bowser (1995:110) may be seen as a removal of structural mechanisms of control that prevent Blacks from enjoying the social provisions and privileges enjoyed by Whites (1995:269).

The differences between deracialisation and desegregation suggest other forms of racism beyond explicit forms such as apartheid. Bowser argues that a shift from old-fashioned racism to more modern forms of racism is discernible. Modern racism or

what Hall calls “inferential racism,” has been evident in the open schools experience prior to the coming into power of the ANC. Halls describes inferential racism as,

Those apparently naturalised representations of events and situations relating to race, whether “factual” or “fictional”, which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of unquestioned assumptions. These enable racist statements and practices to be formulated without ever bringing into awareness the racist predicates on which the statements are grounded (Hall 1981:28).

For South Africa, coming to terms with modern racism is both revelatory and disappointing argues Bowser (1995:275). It is revelatory because it is the first time in South Africa’s history that the struggle against racism is not simply against glaringly obvious patterns of exclusion, denial, repression and discrimination. The struggle against racism since the De Klerk reforms of 1991 until the national elections of 1994 has been against subtle, less visible discriminatory patterns of personal and interpersonal forms of racism. “It is precisely because of this realisation that the new “freedoms” are not an end but call upon continued struggle against racism, a slightly different struggle, but a continuing struggle nonetheless” (Bowser 1995:270). Bower’s statement challenges all new freedoms and in this paper we will also discover whether the struggle against racism in open schools has come to rest. However, we have read in the media in 1995 how the parents in Potgietersrus Primary rejected the Black pupils who came to their school in the premise that all schools are open for all South African children. We continue to read of similar incidents in schools such as Pretoria High School. In institutions of higher learning too, racial fights have also been a recurring occurrence (Argus 6/3/1995).

The scope of this research paper sought to explore how students and staff construct their ideas of “racial” difference and how these ideas if they exist at all are socially organised through the practices of pedagogy and curriculum both formal and informal. In pointing out the distinctions between segregation and deracialisation in open schools experience in South Africa, we are able to show that racism in South Africa continued to operate in education after the De Klerk reforms. It occurred as illustrated earlier, through the use of mechanisms such as exclusionary admission policies, single racial and cultural ethos of the school, and schools that view Black students as academically and individually deficient. The apartheid ideology and

legacy continued to cast its long shadow in muted and subtle ways. Desegregation erodes visible, explicit forms of old-fashioned racism, but deracialisation became the fulcrum around which struggle continued.

Present dispensation *vis-a-vis* open schools

“The pedagogy of liberation is aimed at creating a deepened consciousness of a particular situation which in turn leads men to apprehend that situation as a historical reality susceptible to transformation” (Paulo Freire 1989:6).

As I write this thesis, South Africa is a democracy. In April 1994, parliamentary elections that included all South African citizens were held for the first time and resulted in the establishment of the present dispensation. This has, of course, had considerable implications for education, both in respect of policy development and the organisation of the previously racially based system of provision.

The challenge that we face at the dawning of a democratic society is to create an education and training system that will ensure that the human resources and potential in our society are developed to the full. It is the challenge posed by the vision of the Freedom Charter: “to open the doors of learning and culture to all ANC (1994:2).

In March, the then Minister of National Education announced that the education departments of the “own affairs” administration would be declared general affairs from 1 April 1994. According to Metcalfe, White schools could consequently no longer deny access to pupils on the basis of race (1991:19).

Following the elections the new minister of education, Professor Bengu, appointed a strategic management team to be responsible for continued service delivery, rationalising and planning the transition to functional national and provincial departments, and also determining policy. Considerable debate centred on the future of Model C schools especially in the Gauteng region where the MEC for Education Ms. Metcalfe came out in favour of the single model for all schools (Work in Progress 1991:31). Discrimination on the basis of race has been thoroughly condemned by the majority of South Africans as impossible to defend on moral grounds.

Coutts describes South Africa as a cultural microcosm of the world (Coutts 1992:20). Yet, throughout history South Africans have regarded the range of cultures as a great problem. The dawn of democracy has called for revision of the existing schooling models and has since abolished the model A, B and C schooling systems and replaced it with only two kinds of schools, public schools (formerly state and state-aided) and independent (formerly private) schools. "...This government is committed to creating sufficient legal, political, linguistic and cultural space for all our varied peoples to live together..." (Education White Paper 2 February 1996). Education lies at the heart of any country's reform and South Africa is no exception. Schools play a significant role in the maintenance of the existing social, political and economic order and are also agents in promoting dominant views, thus schools have always had to cope with change.

The teachers' "plight"

Among other objectives, the opening of schools to all South African children is also aimed at helping individuals gain understanding and appreciation of their own and other cultures. Teachers are faced with the challenge of teaching and managing pupils of unfamiliar cultures, heritages and ethnic backgrounds. The increasing diversity has resulted in a need for schools to evolve with the changing circumstances while at the same time maintaining excellence. Teachers in turn are required to create suitable learning environments that will meet the needs of the pupils from those diverse cultural, linguistic, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. As a result of this shift, cultural diversity has called for recognition as reality, which has to be taken into account.

According to Banks (1992:230) there are two functions of the teacher that must be examined: the teacher as exemplary person, and the teacher as methodologist or strategist. The concept of the teacher as exemplary person means that one should first and foremost bring to teaching an "open mind". It is unlikely that any person would have grown up without some bias cultural preferences, or even prejudicial attitudes and values. These may be religion, ethnic or they may be related to other areas covered by human rights. Current teacher education also has to react proactively to the new heterogeneous classrooms that face the teachers out there. There need to be

enhancement in their understanding of their student population since they may differ from themselves in cultural, ethnic and racial background.

Banks (1992:231) goes further to say, the afore mentioned roles of the teacher, (methodologist and strategist) are crucial aspects in teaching. “It is not just a matter of what you teach but how it is taught, or more aptly how it is learned”. Because the teacher mediates the messages and symbols communicated to the students through the curriculum, it is important for teachers to come to grips with their own personal and cultural values and identities. This will help them to help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups to develop clarified cultural identities and to relate positively to each other.

I am hypothesising that self-clarification is a prerequisite to dealing effectively with and relating positively to outside cultural and ethnic groups. There also need to be enhancement in the teachers understanding of the new incoming populations. I assume that once the teachers know “them” and the teachers are secured about themselves too it is less likely for them to reinforce structural inequalities and institutionalised discrimination, if any. The reflective teacher, (which is increasingly becoming a catch phrase for teachers who continuously analyse their assumptions and practice should be exemplary and teach the students to do likewise, because the students are also faced by the same dilemma of accepting other groups. These are the South African children who have experienced the apartheid laws of discrimination such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act etc. To find themselves having to share the same classroom with the “other” is potentially difficult and this applies to all race groups involved.

Quite simply, the social meaning of coming together of different ethnic groups in South African schools today has much to do with the promotion of racial harmony (whatever that might be) within a framework of cultural diversity and unity. The increasing diversity has resulted in a need for schools to evolve with the changing circumstances while at the same time maintaining excellence. It is now widely agreed in the developed countries that educational reforms live or die by the success of their implementation at the school level.

Teachers in turn are required to create suitable environments that will be conducive for these changes which includes meeting the needs of the diverse cultural, linguistic, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. In broad terms education is expected to prepare students for life in the wider community and must help all people to develop attitudes and ways of behaving which are appropriate to living in a society which wishes to eradicate racial prejudice and the social scars it produces.

According to the famous South American educational philosopher, Paulo Freire: "There is a great discovery, education is politics!" (Freire and Shor 1987:46). After that, when a teacher discovers that he or she is a politician, too, the teacher has to ask what kind of politics am I doing in the classroom? That is, in favour of whom am I educating, the teacher must also ask against whom am I educating? When education is viewed as a political process the teacher's role is seen as even more critical because schooling, then, is neither neutral nor objective. If teachers are key players in the education game, then the teacher education programmes are of great significance because they train the teachers. Teacher education has however been treated as apolitical because these institutions did not really prepare the teachers for the overall development of the pupils but were as mentioned earlier preparing teachers as agents of the apartheid education system. "...This increase in demand is likely to lead to major changes in the ways in which the preparation of teachers and other educators is structured" (ANC 1994:12).

The teachers' role goes beyond imparting the curriculum to the students. This task alone has often been generally considered simple, yet it never was nor will be. One thinks most easily about the curriculum as if it were simply a programme of content. According to Da Costa is hard to imagine curriculum planning that does not involve careful attention to matters of content. "We need however, to think about curriculum far more widely than that Da Costa (1994:31). In the first place, writes Da Costa, curriculum is not only about content, it is also crucially about intention and about process. In addition to the question regarding content we have to ask what are the purposes or intentions of the curriculum and what are the procedures through which the curriculum is going to be mediated to the students?

The teacher is at the centre of the exercise because s/he is the one to communicate the curriculum to the students and for the intended goals to be achieved the teacher has to do it in innovative ways.

The teacher therefore is no longer merely the one who teaches, but one who is him/herself taught in a dialogue with the students who in turn while being taught also teach. Defining the teacher, Reynolds and Skilbeck say teachers have to interpret and respond to the culture embodied in the official school approach in order to relate diverse short term teaching decisions. The teacher according to them is unavoidably and inescapably the bearer of meanings and values and these s/he mediates through his/her teaching (1976:105).

MAJOR CONCEPTS

Black

In this study the global term “black” is used to refer particularly to Africans. The Group Areas Act and the Group Registration Act of the apartheid system guide my classification of ethnic groups prior to the present government thus Black, White, Coloured and Indian. The national elections that led to the “new” South Africa facilitated a rethinking process to the above classification not an erasure of the term. This resulted in Blacks and Whites but to draw racial difference between Blacks and Coloureds, Black will in this sense be used in its fundamental sense.

Race

We come to realise that examining race relations is critical not simply for an understanding of social life as it is expressed in margins of industrial society, but ultimately for an understanding of life as it is expressed in its very dynamic centre. According to Christie this term has been at the heart of segregated schooling policies (1990:12).

Today, the children of different race groups attend the same schools but that does not make the term irrelevant especially in South Africa where people have been conditioned by the years of experience of different schools for different race groups. Part of this conditioning is to view everything in terms of race, making every aspect

of life become dominated by the thought “to which race group does that person belong?”

In South African context, race has been the subject of political and academic debate and in fact still is. Each group perceives the varying manifestations of the traits in different populations in different ways. To most people, race refers to any group of people whom they choose to describe as different. Scholars such as Montagu warn us against the “loose” use of this term. According to Montagu (1972:8), the term “race” designates a group of population characterised by some concentrations, relative as to frequency and distribution of hereditary particles (genes) or physical traits, which appear, fluctuate and often disappear in the course of time by reason of geographic and or cultural isolation. Each group perceives the varying manifestations of the traits in different populations in different ways. Among many definitions provided by scholars in this regard, Montagu’s definition will be my working definition throughout this thesis.

Montagu further says that what is perceived by other groups is largely perceived so that each group arbitrarily tends to misinterpret the variability, which occurs as a fundamental difference, which separates that group from all others. Race therefore refers to major sub-divisions of a single human family. These divisions get affected by environmental forces such as climate and the production of different race groups results, for example, people who live in sunny climate such as Africa tend to have darker skin and eyes etc. In this paper, however, the main issue is not what race is but the way it is used because people draw upon beliefs about nationality, ethnicity and class as resources for cultivating group identities. Montagu (1972:10) argues that there is no definite evidence that there exist inborn differences between human groups. There is evidence that whatever group differences of the kind there might be, they are greatly overridden by the individual differences, and by the differences springing from environmental factors. As for personality and character, he goes on to say, these may be considered raceless. In every human group a rich variety of personality and character types will be found, and there is no reason for believing that any human group is richer than any other in these respects.

Scholars such as Cashmore argue that since the beginning of the nineteenth century the use of this term shifted to other distinct senses. Cashmore then provides at least three uses of the term:

1. "Race can be used to as a synonym for species as in the phrase "human race".
2. Race is a synonym for what we usually call a nation or an ethnic group, as for an example, the French race, German race, but this usage becomes obsolete, but was common in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
3. Race can mean a group of people who are socially defined in a given society as belonging together because of physical markers. To avoid confusion, some people specify "social race" when using race in the third meaning. (Cashmore 1994:267).

Cashmore's second and third definitions complement Montagu's definition of race. Cashmore (1994:275) further argues that nearly all social scientists use "race" in the third sense - social group defined by somatic visibility or physical markers such as skin pigmentation, hair texture, facial features etc. Cashmore goes on to remind us to always bear in mind that "race" is not a universal idea, but, rather, emerges at a particular point in Western European history and over time, comes to be used to refer to supposedly fixed and discrete biological categories of the world's population. This shows that "race" is not a biological fact but a social construct. The biological fact and a myth of "race" should be distinguished. For all practical purposes "race" is definitely not a biological phenomenon as is a social myth. According to Montagu the myth of "race" has created an enormous amount of human and social damage. In recent years it has taken a heavy toll in human lives and caused damage. It was only in 19th century that the idea of "race" came to mean a typological classification of the human species (one that asserted that biological characteristics determined culture and psychological characteristics). This has suggested that racism be the name for identifying people.

Racism/ Racial discrimination/ Racialism/ Racialisation

Like "race" the related concept of racism has been the centre of considerable debate. In common usage racism is often equated with prejudice, implying a position of ignorance, an irrational hatred or fear of another racial group. Dictionaries and textbooks define racism as a doctrine, dogma, ideology or set of beliefs. The core

element in this doctrine was that “race” determined culture and from this was derived claims to racial superiority. Carter and Williams (1987:176) defines it as:

The assignment of characteristics in a deterministic way to groups of persons. These characteristics are usually articulated around some cultural or biological feature such as skin colour or religion, they are regarded as inherent and unalterable precisely because they are seen as derived from one’s “race”. Race-ism then employs these race-ial characteristics to explain behaviour, feelings, attitudes and ways of life.

The term racialisation entered the lexicon of “race relations” centuries back. It emerged in analysis to refer to a political or ideological process by which particular populations are identified by direct or indirect reference to their real or imagined phenotypic characteristics in such a way as to suggest that the population can all be understood as a supposedly biological unity (Cashmore1994:275). The process usually involved the direct utilisation of the idea of “race” to describe or refer to the populations in question. In simple terms, the analytic purpose of “race” therefore has been to specify “any process or situation wherein the idea of “race” is introduced to define and give meaning to some particular population, its characteristics and actions.

The dynamics of racism are complex, much deeper than a catalogue of attitudes that workshops might aspire to change. The very complexion of one’s skin, the nature of one’s blood, one’s view of the world are all experienced racially. This is an active or behavioural expression of racism and is aimed at denying members of certain groups equal access to valued resources. It goes far beyond thinking negatively or unfavourably about groups or holding negative beliefs about them, it involves putting them into action.

Often, argues Cashmore, (1994:273) racialism and racism are mutually reinforcing in a self-fulfilling way because, by denying designated groups access to resources and services, one creates conditions under which those groups can often do no more than confirm the very stereotypes that confirms the racist beliefs. According to Moore (1994:23) in the past, Black students and parents were said to be presenting problems to the education system through their apparently poor academic performance, disruptive behaviour, demand for supplementary schools and insistence on other specific political concessions. Racism therefore has been entrenched by the policy of

apartheid and has become endemic in our society. Education from the point of view of national reconciliation can only accomplish its goals if it is anti-racist in its nature, that is, if it contains enough dynamism to eradicate all those factors, which tend to legitimise, justify and reproduce racism. Sarup (1986:49) defines “racism” as a set of attitudes and behaviour towards people of another race, which is based on the belief that races are distinct and can be, graded “superior” and “inferior”.

Racial discrimination may range from the use of derogatory labels such as “kaffir” to the denial of access to institutional spheres. These actions may be intentional or unintentional. The use of the terms “racialist” and “racial discrimination” has diminished in recent years as racism and “institutional racism” has come into popular use as expressions of both thought and action. Gillborn (1995:5) argues that the question of how to conceptualise racism is not an academic matter, it is connected with a wider political culture in any given sphere. The new democratic era has come as a period in which issues of race are brought to the public consciousness via a series of events, which hit the national headlines. An example would be the decision of some White parents to withdraw their children from the open school education system (Freer 1992:160).

However, race continues to be seen as sensitive even contentious area that many people (including teachers, governors and local practitioners) would prefer to avoid (Gillborn 1995:97). Teachers, because of their influential position are entrusted with the enormous task in the restructuring process. Since schools have always had to cope with change, indeed, the ability to respond to changing local circumstances, and to initiate new programmes and approaches, has long been essential part of any education system.

Culture

An important aspect of virtually every human being has been the awareness of the differences between “us” and “them”- that is, the distinction between cultural outsiders and insiders. These differences can be manifested through language, dress, religion, political beliefs, national boundaries, physical characteristics and so on. Such differences occur both between different societies and sometimes within

societies. In South Africa culture and ethnicity have become terms of ill repute for all progressive people because of their manipulative use by the apartheid government. Part of the underlying ideology of the apartheid education has been the concept of culture (the second view of culture will explain what I mean by this statement).

The complexity of the concept “culture” necessitates a definition of some length, as the term is a seminal concept in this study. The Latin word *cultura* meaning “tilling, cultivating, tending” is a root word of the term “culture”. There are numerous definitions of the term and no single one is unproblematic. Moodley (1985:33) defines culture as the way of being, thinking, and feeling - a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by common language and sharing the same customs, habits and experiences. Nobles (1990:282) views culture as “the vast structure of behaviour, ideas, attitudes, values, habits, beliefs, customs, language, rituals, ceremonies and practices peculiar to a particular group of people which provide them with a general design for living and patterns for interpreting reality...”

Freire, (1987:4) not any different from Moodley and Nobles sees culture as the representation of lived experiences, material artefacts and practices forged within the unequal and dialectical relations that different groups establish in a given society at a particular historical point. It is a form of production whose processes are intimately connected with the structuring of different social formations particularly those that are gender, age and racial related (1987:4). Moodley, Nobles and Freire’s definitions of culture belong to one of the two streams of the contesting views about culture as clearly and overtly summed up by Koda. In his view, there exist two very different basic views of culture.

The first takes its cue from cultural anthropology, which took off in the early twentieth century. Here we had people studying the beliefs, practices, lifestyles and organisation of small scale and usually relatively isolated and self-contained societies. They called these patterns of living the culture of the society. From here it has been applied to other societies but with the same set of beliefs and practices pertaining to a demarcated group of people within a larger society. These beliefs and practices are orientated to the past in that they are associated with the tradition. This culture is

something that can be described and believed to be a crucial constituent of the “identity” of the individual within the cultural group (Koda 1994:224).

Koda’s second view is that culture is a construct used to organise and interpret human behaviour. As such it is contested. It can be used to block progress and development to legitimise oppression, or it can be used to help people achieve their aspirations. Culture, here, is a political concept which has to be understood in the context and the purpose for which it is being used. In the second view, culture is closely related to the dynamics of power and produces asymmetries in the ability of individuals and groups to define and achieve their goals. Here culture becomes an arena of struggle in the sense that there exists no one culture in the homogenous sense.

On the contrary there are dominant and subordinate cultures and in South Africa this has involved power and still does. The second view as opposed to the first one sees culture as having a political content and not a neutral concept as was the case in the first view. Culture in this view is historical, specific and ideological. The dominant class uses culture to legitimise hegemony over subordinate classes. Here culture is not a timeless and motionless body of value systems or lifestyles that remain unaltered by social change as put forward by common sense. It is an expression of the experience of the people and of their action upon their experiences.

I must admit though that the first view of culture is the most dominant and the most popular view. It is so dominant that even people who adopt the second view (like myself) often fall back into using culture in the first sense. South African apartheid system has made the second view even more popular. Its becoming popular is also due to the fact that even though culture has always been there, the apartheid system also had cultural oppression as part of its agenda. The politics of the concept of culture are a sensitive issue to many people including some scholars and educationists. “Culture is not a new name for “race” it is also a concept in terms of which a whole string of injustices has been justified” (Christie as cited by Moore 1994:251).

Ethnicity

As a term in the scientific literature, “ethnicity” is preceded by the notion of “race”. In countries such as Germany, atrocities linked to Nazi-racism account for discredit and disrepute of “race” as a term in the social sciences. “Consequently, a linguistic shift towards “ethnicity” replaced “race” in justifying ethnic genocide” (Bacal 1991:8) Nevertheless the debate on whether to use terms “race” and “racism” persists nowadays (Stavanhagen 1987:123). For instance, Mullard (1973:23) argues that in its current usage “racism” refers to and should be replaced by “ethnicism”. Ethnicity constitutes one of the major forms of social differentiation and structural inequalities in society.

As a major socio-cultural dimension, ethnicity significantly affects international, inter-group and interpersonal relations and also, last but not least, the psychological development process known as personal (ethnic) identity. The institutionalisation and social reproduction of asymmetrical inter-ethnic relations are usually treated in the literature as ethnic discrimination. In turn, ethnic discrimination conveys a complex set of prejudicial social attitudes, policies and practices, ranging from racism (social discrimination based on culture, different “racial”, colour and phenotypic group differences) to ethnicism (social discrimination based on “ethno-cultural” differences, as distinct from physical attributes). According to Bacal (1991:2), while distinguishable in some respects, racist and ethnicist discrimination usually blends in practice. Nowadays, the term ethnic discrimination subsumes both forms of social discrimination (1991:2). Ethnicity constitutes one of the major forms of social differentiation and structural inequalities in society.

On the right of the political spectrum, minority ethnic groups are viewed and treated through prejudiced eyes. Ethnic prejudice is manifested in practice through various forms and intensities of ethnic discrimination, ranging from stigmatisation and marginalisation. At the opposite extreme of the political spectrum, orthodox Marxists view ethnic claims with annoyance, as cumbersome relics from the past complicating the task of internationalisation, organisation and mobilisation of the working class (Bacal 1991:9). In the political “middle”, liberals often treat ethnic issues with assimilationist views, preferring to see people as the same and overlooking the basic

difference. Bacal argues that, both liberals and orthodox Marxists share a similar “modernisation expectancy” assuming that through industrialisation and “progress” ethnic phenomena would vanish.

The renewed presence of ethnicity in the contemporary scene attests otherwise, thereby revealing the limitations of the competing ideologies and popular political culture of our times on ethnic question. Just like culture and race, ethnicity has become established in recent times as one of the most important concepts in the social sciences.

Brah suggests that ethnicism define the experience of racialised groups primarily in “culturalist” terms: that is it posits “ethnic difference” as the primary modality around which social life is constituted and experienced (Magubane 1985:122). Moodley on the other hand, argues that ethnicity usually refers to the sense of belonging which a group shares, mobilised on the basis of descent, language, religion, common cultural values, political unity or territory (1992:7).

The debate about the increasing salience of ethnicity and race as bases of differential life chances, likelihood of success or failure and of inter-group conflicts, raises the question of what role the institution of education can be expected to play. Some countries’ policies endorsing multiculturalism as the Canadian case, are based on a view that ethnic differences are worth perpetuating to enhance the character of Canadian society (Dekker and Lemmer 1993:38). South Africa holds the same viewpoint. The Education White paper 1 assures all South Africans that the new South African society will be democratic, free, equal and just without any racial, ethnic and gender bias (1995:19,22).

It should be a goal of education and training policy to enable a democratic, free, equal, just and peaceful society to take root and prosper in our land, on the basis that all South Africans without exception share the same inalienable rights, equal citizenship, and common national destiny and that all forms of bias (especially racial, ethnic, and gender) are dehumanising (Education White Paper 2 1996:8).

If education in South Africa is not to avoid race, ethnicity and gender as irrelevant and /non existing but avoid their bias, it should therefore nurture the various ethnic cultures in its educational institutions. Perpetuation of ethnic cultures require at the very least, knowledge of and immersion in the languages of these cultures.

This requires the active encouragement of mutual respect for our people's diverse religious, cultural, and language traditions, their right to enjoy and practice these in peace and without hindrance, and the recognition that these are a source of strength for their own communities and the unity of the nation (EducationWhite Paper 1 (1995;19, 22).

Nevertheless, successful implementation of cultural perpetuation, is of course hardly possible in a society where teaching and learning take place predominantly through the medium of the English language, and where success is strongly dependent on how well dominant main stream norms, lifestyles and accents can be emulated.

Education in plural societies differs from ethnically homogenous contexts in that it assumes the additional task of socialising for national cohesion or, alternatively, separatism. In plural societies, education is likely to be politically charged (as I have shown in the case of initial opening of schools earlier in this chapter). According to Van Den Heever educators in the time were blind servants of the powers that be, the critical interplay between the state and ethnic identity was ignored and consequently national unity jeopardised (1989:220).

Assimilation

The Oxford dictionary defines assimilation as the process of making or becoming like, absorbing or being absorbed into a system.

According to Coutts (1992:97), an assimilationist approach to education is one in which one culture predominates, and others are absorbed into the mainstream. In assimilatory schools "traditional" cultures or other cultures of the "minorities" tend to be neglected.

Pupils tend to become isolated from their cultural communities into the main culture. At the base of this model, which was dominant in the mid seventies in South African multi-racial schools and which today still influences the thinking of many educationists in the open schools, rests the belief that a nation is a unitary whole,

politically and culturally indivisible. This conviction made and still makes some teachers in these schools believe that the only way for schools to deal with cultural diversity is to expedite assimilation into the mainstream society by teaching the same things in the same way to all students. Racial, ethnic, economic, social and linguistic backgrounds are of no consequence in the educational process. To these sceptics the study of cultural diversity overshadows human commonalities, ideals for democracy, and the presence of a national culture, and jeopardises national unity.

Mullard (1973:126) observe some link between assimilation, integration and multiculturalist approaches. He argues that the ideological context of all three approaches is relationally connected, dependent upon and reflective of the economic and political context. As a set of ideological forms based upon class (assimilation approach), race (integration approach); or ethnicity (multiculturalist approach), the ideological context of all three approaches is relationally governed by the need to resolve and present obliquely the justifications of powerful white middle class groups for the resolution of the same contradiction. According to Mullard assimilation theory attempts to resolve this contradiction by emphasising a unitary class-based value system and a consequent set of social norms, behaviour, practices and policies. Mullard sees to assimilate for whites as means to stay the same while for blacks it means to discard their identity and all that culturally defines their existence (Sarup 1986:15).

To further illustrate the implications of assimilation, below is a policy statement extracted from British literature on multicultural education:

A national system of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties the same as those of other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another culture and another tradition, the children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of all groups (Syser:1982:91).

This has been the case in South African racially mixed schools but the government since the announcement of opening the schools has promised provision for respect and upholding the different value systems in South African schools. There lies gap

between theory and practice therefore only the educators can tell us about its feasibility and success.

Going back to the policy statement mentioned above, for teachers such a policy means that they continue to see their role as putting over a certain set of values (host) and code of behaviour (middle class) as a set of academic and job aspirations in which White-collar jobs have higher prestige than manual. In the British context assimilation is seen by many educationalists, politicians, professionals alike as a set of beliefs about stability.

Integration

Coutts (1992:97) defines integration as adaptations made by a cultural group in order to “fit in “with the dominant, cultural group, without completely disregarding their own culture. Coutts argues that integration is not as severe as assimilation since it allows for the level of independence afforded by pluralism. Compared with the model out of which it evolved (assimilation) the integration perspective is less crude. According to Mullard (1992:125) many politicians including teachers in Britain rejected the assimilation model. Integration urged that what was required was not a flattening process of assimilation but equal opportunities, accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. In the past some South African multiracial schools accepted cultural integration merely as a modest tokenism, an acceptance of that which is quaint in a minority culture but a worried rejection of those cultural aspects that seem not just alien but threateningly so. In other words minority groups were allowed complete freedom to define their own cultural identity only in so far as this does not conflict with that of the White (host) community.

Pluralism

If the integrationist model is in fact a more sophisticated and liberal variant of the assimilationist model, then that which is constructed around the concept of cultural pluralism is in effect a more refined version of both.

“In many ways it is not a separate model or approach, all it does is to expand the idea of cultural diversity and establishes the existence of this idea as a central observable

feature of the social structure”. (Mullard 1992:129). Certainly in contrast to the assimilationist’s view of our society as being politically and culturally homogenous, its advocates maintain that our society consists of different groups which are culturally distinctive and separate.

Within a plural society, therefore there exists a positive commitment to difference and to the preservation of group culture, traditions and history. The only thing that is acknowledged as binding on all groups is the political authority of the state. It implies the recognition and maintenance of the right of the individual groups to retain their cultures and institutions virtually intact while sharing a common political system and economy in a shared territory. The identity and distinctiveness of cultural groups is thus respected.

Multicultural Education

Though much has been written on this subject, academics have struggled to attain consensus in formulating a clear definition of this term, and it remains a complex and ill-defined field. Banks and Lynch (1986:21) defines it as a “reform movement” that attempts to change schools and that all students from all groups have an equal opportunity to learn. Dekker *et al* (1993:120) shares the same perspective: “Multicultural education had emerged as an approach which is firmly committed to the principle of educational equality. In the contrary some scholars are quite critical of this “reform”. Mullard (1973:120) shares this view:

The broader social context of multicultural approach and the kind of education it promulgates is not only racist in character and structure but is also racist in consequence and application.

Mc Carthy (1990:40) warns us that the definitional aspects of any discussion of multicultural education should not be dismissed as being merely semantical. Rather, because definitions may serve to justify a particular kind of practice, or vice-versa, the importance of definitions as they relate to practice is of primary concern.

Verma and Modgil (1986) treat definitional clarity extensively in their discussion of multicultural education. Indeed Verma’s (1984) early position was that primarily because early definitions of multicultural education lacked clarity, they provided

fertile ground for both the possibility of conceptual confusion and subsequent distraction from the objective moral and social conditions affecting minority populations.

Banks (1986:222) therefore defines multicultural education as an inclusive concept used to describe a wide variety of school practices, programmes and materials designed to help children from diverse groups to experience educational equality. Despite Banks' definition, Grant (1992:45) insists that by definition, multicultural education suggest an educational concept concerned only with changing the external aspects of education without altering the basic patterns of education in a pluralistic society. He further suggests that so long as educators and activists continue to speak about multicultural education - and not education that is multicultural - no substantive change in curricula or society will occur. Grant's contention is a rather valid one that has been posited by several others.

Summarising such positions, Parekh (1986:19) writes:

For the conservative critics, multicultural education represents an attempt to politicise education in order to pander to minority demands, whereas for some radicals it is the familiar ideological device of perpetuating the reality of racist exploitation of ethnic minorities by pampering their cultural sensitivities.

It is understandable that multicultural education has never been without more than its fair share of criticism. Multicultural education in Britain has meant the assimilating or integration of Black groups, without disruption, into a society dedicated to the preservation of social inequality and a seemingly unchanging and cherished stock of central values, beliefs and institutions.

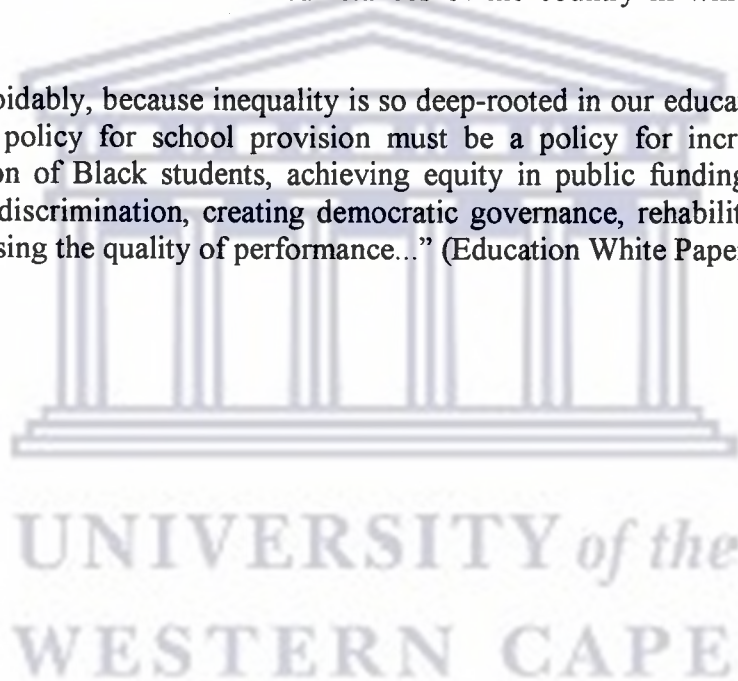
As interpreted and once practised in South Africa too, multiracial education appeared to become an instrument of control and stability rather than one of change, of the subordination rather than the freedom of Blacks in schools and or society as a whole. In the context of schools against wider societal background institutionalised racism, multiracial education programmes have in fact integrally contributed to the increased alienation of Blacks and communities (Van Der Berg 1994:123).

To be told, however politely and cleverly, that your culture and history count for something only within the pedagogic boundaries of the school curriculum and not

outside the school gates in the White dominated world of work and politics is to foster the response of further segregation. The mechanical transplantation of educational policies from those countries that, though pursuing cultural pluralist models, have reached a considerable level of cultural homogeneity, can be disastrous. The implication of this is that movement towards ethnic particularism that have resulted in the adoption of regionalist or multiculturalist education policies in Western settings cannot unproblematically be taken as a starting point.

As contained in education White Paper II the second prerequisite is that any educational policy concerned with national unity should reflect the specificity of the particular historical and cultural circumstances of the country in which it is to be implemented.

“Unavoidably, because inequality is so deep-rooted in our educational history, a new policy for school provision must be a policy for increasing access retention of Black students, achieving equity in public funding, eliminating illegal discrimination, creating democratic governance, rehabilitating schools and raising the quality of performance...” (Education White Paper II 1996:39).



THE RESEARCH PROCESS: A LONG AND WINDING ROAD

Educational research is to some extent complex and demanding. However, there is a broad spectrum of research activities that utilise various research methods, ranging from relatively simple operations, to complex combinations of procedures. There are a number of specific forms that research takes depending upon the unique characteristics of the subject or topic under investigation. Although research can take many forms, it is essentially a process of performing certain activities - educational research therefore has its characteristics and steps to follow. The general systematic characteristics of educational research can be illustrated as follows: problem identification, review of literature, data collection, analysis and lastly drawing conclusions. After a researcher has identified a research problem and completed at least some review of literature it is time to develop the research design. Hammersley (1992:30) has identified two basic purposes of research design: a) to provide answers to research question and, b) to control variance. The first purpose is general - to provide answer to the research question. But, going through the motions of conducting research or engaging in research activities alone will not provide answers. Research should be valid, which includes being able to interpret results and through these results, answer the research question or problem being posed. Good research assists in understanding and interpreting the results and insured that a research obtains usable results Wiersma (1980:77).

Finding the Research Site

The first project I undertook was to find a suitable school in the Cape Town area that admitted students from different ethnic backgrounds. To identify such a school I used a range of personal and professional contacts. Much feedback pointed towards Cape Town High School, which was in fact at the top of my potential research site list. I first got acquainted with Cape Town High from attending some meetings and functions since I had family attending the school. Later I managed a project that involved young women at high school level and again Cape Town High was on the list. Since 1991 this school has attracted media attention for its new and valuable approaches that were developed. Previously known as a “Whites only” institution,

Cape Town High School increased its intake of African and Coloured students rapidly and now has a “mixed” student body. In my previous contact with the school and through conversations with some of the teachers and the principal it was clear that ethnicity and race were taken seriously as issues that affected all the teachers and students. Other personal factors to the choice are that Cape Town High School was relatively accessible to me, yet the atmosphere was always friendly and welcoming.

Entrance to the site

My departmental supervisor wrote the school principal a letter on my behalf negotiating entrance to the school for research purpose. The letter is included in the appendices as Appendix 1. Upon receipt of the request the Principal in return asked me to provide him with the copy of the proposal and interview schedules for both the teachers and students so as to ascertain what the study was about. Having gone through the said materials the principal did not hesitate to grant me access. I will never forget his comment “I think we need to be studied”, he said. This openness was further reinforced on numerous occasions of my visit to the school. I was told by him and staff to make myself comfortable at the school. Even though observation did not form formal part of my research tools I spent time in the staffroom engaged in conversations with staff while sometimes I was invited to assembly addresses and this helped me to identify with the school even more. As explained earlier, by the time of the actual research, I had already established a working relationship with the school principal and some of the teachers thus access was relatively easily facilitated.

The principal appointed me a liaison teacher and deputy who happened to be the deputy principal and also a head of the History Department. I presented the research design to the History Department. After the presentation there was evident willingness from the history teachers to participate. Naturally, people provide information willingly if they are certain of the purposes behind the exercise. This Department suggested that I extend my scope by drawing in two other teachers (a guidance teacher and a “junior principal” - responsible for new students and standards 6&7 generally). They argued that their insights and exposure to some of the issues at school would be valuable and especially enriching to the research.

Research design

According to Burgess, in all research and evaluation the method of investigation must be appropriate for the problem at hand (1993:10). Therefore, a key decision in any research project is the selection of an appropriate research design. This is an ethnographic study - a single case that is studied in depth. According to Taft, ethnographic research consists essentially of a description of events that occur within the life of a group, with special regard to the social structures and the behaviour of the individuals with respect to their group membership and an interpretation of the meaning of these for the culture of the group (1990:30).

Charles, not any differently from Taft, defines ethnographic research as that which documents and explains social behaviour within groups:

Unlike other types of research ethnography explores behaviour holistically within a social setting of customs, values and styles of communication. Data sources are people, objects, environments and communication patterns inherent in the context under study (1995:23).

Ethnography, according to research methodology scholars is growing rapidly and is also gaining popularity. It is seen as considerably richer in detail than most other types of research and more likely to reveal implications that can be used to improve education (Delamont 1992:32; Wiersma 1980:34, Charles 1995:151). This case study is characterised by the following techniques: Questionnaire, Interviews and Documentation. According to Burgess (1993:10) among other methods case study provide some level of flexibility, there is no "standard" way in which these methods can be used. In my case I used what Burgess term "condensed fieldwork" since the data was collected within a fairly short space of time. Data collection took me one month and as mentioned earlier I used questionnaires, "semi- structured interviews", and a small amount of observation which in fact forms no formal technique of this study at all, but there is no substitute for being on the scene.

I have not seen the term "semi-structured interviews" anywhere in the literature-maybe as a researcher I am being creative. (Holly 1993:168 sees creativity as a normal manifestation of psychological health and inevitable trait of research). However, the point I want to make is that the interviews (to the teachers) are structured to obtain the necessary information. Since I personally conducted the

interviews free of help I had the freedom to probe for more information when necessary as opposed to a contracted interviewer.

Students' input took the form of a questionnaire-a set of structured questions mostly open-ended. There was no verbal interaction with them whatsoever except for my physical presence to provide clarity and explanation when needed during the process. I committed myself to oversee the process from beginning to end also ensuring validity of their responses at the same time. The nature of the questions asked were similar to what I could have asked had I decided to conduct verbal interviews with the students too. Clarifying the relationship between interviews and questionnaire, Wierma argues that:

Although interviews and questionnaires have similarities as data collection instruments, they also have some important differences. The interview is a face- to -face confrontation, an oral exchange, between the researcher and an individual or group of individuals (1980:142).

Wiersma understands a questionnaire as sometimes referred to as a written, self-administered interview, and by the same token an interview could be considered an oral questionnaire. The students' questionnaire consists of more verbal questions than numerical. The fundamental difference between it and the teachers interview schedule is that they responded in writing without any further information required of them. Delamont argues that there is no "correct toolkit" for fieldwork, only what works! While interviews and documents do not sound very exciting, they make up a typical package for an educational ethnographer (1992:104).

Traditionally, some research methodology strategies (experimental, ex post-facto, correlational and survey) have been designated as quantitative and others (ethnography and condensed case study) as qualitative (Scott 1996:52).

A mixture of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods ensured some degree of reliability and rigour. Measor (1984:115) argues that structural interviews used alongside with a questionnaire (mainly comprised of open-ended questions) prove efficient to provide adequate information and relevant data, which in fact is the basic characteristic of ethnographic research. Hammersley challenges the assumption that quantitative and qualitative methods represent two distinct and opposed approaches to the study of the social world.

This is not to deny that differences exist, but it is to suggest that the two methods do not belong within separate research paradigms and thus can sensibly be used within the same investigation (1992:18).

This research while ethnographic, is not purely descriptive, I have made use of statistical information especially from the students “written self administered interviews” which I have designated to refer to as “questionnaires” for clarity.

Documentation

I accessed a series of the school magazines some dating forty years back. As I have indicated that the school attracted media attention for its changes I also collected this mass media information long before I went to do the research and continued even while at the site. Other documentary data included: a) public documents inside the school (notices pinned up, booklets for students and parents, school brochure etc.); b) semi-public documents (records of students, the Executive Council constitution); c) documents that I have specifically asked for the research purposes such as the school mission document which was unfortunately being revised at the time of research, the list of the “feeder” schools.

It is worth mentioning that not all the documentation I requested was provided, some information was for official use only, the same applied to some of the questions I asked the teachers during the interviews. While this had a negative bearing on the findings of the research I understood their position, in fact there was not much I could do, it was their democratic right to refuse after all South Africa is a democracy! While the documents provided were either historical or contemporary I read them mindful of what Delamont calls the “golden rule” - *all* written records are socially produced (1993:105).

DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLING:

Questionnaire (students)

I have already presented the argument of how the student questionnaires were different from an ordinary quantitative method questionnaire, which I could refer to as a “traditional” questionnaire. Questionnaires seemed to offer the quickest method of obtaining information. I had also found out that students responded most positively to open-ended questions. The questionnaire was administered first in a pilot form to two male and female students (from a different school) and on the basis of their responses

I rephrased some of the questions to give additional guidance also looking at the language suitability for junior participants. The same questionnaire was used for all classes and therefore the juniors had to be taken through some of the concepts used. Some responses nevertheless, revealed a slight misunderstanding of what was required of the respondents. The aim of the questionnaire was to explore whether or not ethnicity affects students - students or students - staff relations. Refer to Appendix 5 for further insight, yet, later in this chapter are the different categories I have used for both the teachers interviews and the questionnaire to acquire data.

The structure of the students' questionnaire is designed just like the teachers' questionnaire so as to facilitate a coherent understanding of the data provided. According to Borg the questionnaire method is criticised for being shallow, that is its failure to dig deeply enough to provide the true picture of opinions and feeling (1963:221; Wiersma 1980:145). However my experience is slightly different - the "written interview" provided sufficient information, while there was a low level of non-response to some questions. Non-response is often viewed as the primary disadvantage of the questionnaire and a common practice is to ignore it.

✓ Sample

Bell argues that sampling is not something that is normally talked about by ethnographers - except for theoretical sampling (1984:75). This is true for complex institutions such as schools because I found myself as a researcher simultaneously engaged in both explicit and implicit forms of sampling. (I do not refer to sampling in any statistical sense but in terms of naturalistic coverage and selectivity). In this study for instance I intended to do stratified sampling, 10 students from each standard (6-10), 50% boys and 50% girls and to racially mix them. Eventually the number of questionnaires was way above 50. Since participation was voluntarily I could not balance the gender nor race as initially planned. Cohen refers to the inability to achieve the planned sampling as "sampling error". According to Cohen sampling error is not necessarily the result of mistakes made in sampling procedures, rather variations may occur due to the chance selection of different individuals (1990:78).

Writing on the problems researchers may encounter in selecting interviewees, Bell says it is likely to be difficult for an individual researcher working on a small scale to

achieve the sample as required, however, forced to interview anyone who is available and willing at the time - limitations of such data should be realised (1978:74; Charles 1995:98). Charles goes on to call such sampling convenience sampling. However, failure to achieve the planned sampling method may impact the overall findings of the research.

Interviews with the teachers

According to Borg, the interview as a research method in descriptive research is unique in that it involves the collection of data through direct interaction between individuals (1963:221). Wiersma sees this special characteristic of an interview as a particular advantage over the questionnaire (1980:145). The interviews, not any differently from the questionnaire were aimed at establishing the school's policy in handling the different race groups present at the school.

Compared to the students' questionnaire the interviews were consuming on time because I had to meet the teachers individually. The sessions with some teachers were longer than the scheduled time. I remember having to come back to meet the same teacher. Upon not finishing we found ourselves having to find more free time which was not easy on their part. Sometimes they preferred to stay longer after school hours, the idea being to use tuition time for its purpose and my visit was unfortunately during the busiest time of the academic year. This, to me showed commitment from their side and appreciation of the subject. Also it serves as an indication of a good working relationship between me as a researcher and staff. Refer to Appendix 3 for further insight on the development and structure of the interview schedule.

Towards the end of this section there is a detailed focus on the ground covered by the interviews and the questionnaire. In some cases the interviewer went beyond the given space for information and this was valuable since it was sometimes prompted by further questions. "Unstructured interviews centred around a topic may, and in skilled hands do produce a wealth of valuable data, but such interview require a good deal of expertise to control and a great deal of time to analyse" (Wiersma 1980 147).

Sample

I planned to interview history teachers only. The reason to focus on this department is that history stands out as a “politically charged” subject (Nkomo 1989:77). In this subject debates and discussions on race, ethnicity, culture etc. are likely to emerge from time to time.

Consciously or unconsciously, the history department, in some schools receive respect for the role it takes in translating the school’s ethos inside the classroom. While out in the field, it was suggested that rich data could be provided by the guidance teacher and a “Junior Principal” a teacher mainly responsible for the “new comer” affairs, registration etc. I had to take the advice, since research activity is not meant to be static, rigid process, but rather a dialectical process with methodology, data and theory informing the other (Measor 1984:112). Seven teachers therefore instead of five were interviewed. In addition, fruitful informal conversations that took place with different members of staff, in the staff room and down the corridors during my numerous visits were as useful.

For instance I spent some lunch times and break at the staff room and would engage in significant conversations with different staff members. Their input was very helpful towards the subject under investigation. This was an unintentional and unprincipled sampling. This also is another characteristic of case studies - where different methods can be used to generate valid and reliable data that have been obtained using different approaches (Burger 1993:11). This information remain significant even though I did not get to talk to all the staff members since I was closely tied to the history and guidance departments and the teachers who were friendly and showed some level of interest in what I was doing. Yet, my interaction or presence in the staff room were not equally distributed.

Data analysis

Charles defines analysis as making sense of data after they have been collected. To quantitative data, he says, this involves statistical treatment or logical treatments to qualitative data (1988:105). At the end of data collection I was sitting with voluminous data which was verbal due to the nature of research and had to simplify it then analyse to make it useful and accessible to the reader. Just like a typical beginner I was particularly scared of this section. Unlike data collection which is

broad and all encompassing, analysis attempts to find specific information to answer specific questions. I admired Valli's account on analysis:

Analysis is fascinating, but it is hard work...Although I was prepared for the research to be a dialectical process, with data and theory informing and transforming one another, nothing I read quite prepared me for the complexity and uncertainty that accompanied every step of the analysis (Delamont 1992:150).

Such statements were reassuring because I was in a complete different position. Literature on analysis in my case was not only readily available but was written in a friendly accessible and helpful way. Some authors literally took me step by step through what seems to be the most difficult part of the research process. I took heed of the advice I got from both the literature and my supervisor to begin with the analysis at the early stages of data collection. "Analysis begins as soon as the first set of data is gathered and runs parallel to data collection because each activity (data collection and interim analysis) informs and drives the other activities" (McMillan J *et al* 1993:482).

I started off by repeated reading of the data to make sense of the contents, then I began breaking it into smaller units. This I did by coming up with topics predominantly derived from the data themselves, these topics also had to foreshadow the problem while at the same time developing the hypothesis. All material that belonged to one topic got assembled physically in one place. Categories were formed and these became my working tool as I continued with reading, rereading and several major reorganisation. I finally made explanation of what the patterns suggested. While the process began with notes it ended up with interpretations. According to MacMillan *et al* data analysis is an eclectic activity; *there is no one "right" way*, nor a fixed formula but data can be analysed in more than one way; each analyst must find his or her own *style of intellectual craftsmanship* (1993:181).

Interrogating the data

The repeated reading, identification of topics and formation of the categories led to the interrogation of the data. This means exploring systematically what the data are saying. According to Charles (1993:190) validity and reliability of qualitative research are more difficult to establish but no less important. One of the reasons for

the difficulty is that unlike quantitative research data is not statistical but verbal yet is based on social behaviour within a specified social setting. In my case it was a school which had its values, customs and styles of communication and the data sources being people, the environment and communication patterns inherent at the school. Since the context of research is non-experimental and largely depends on the researcher's perception and skill in making interpretation, absolute reliability and validity becomes problematic but not impossible.

Delamont (1992:159) defines three types of triangulation that could be used by ethnographers, these are: between method triangulation; between investigation triangulation and lastly is within method triangulation. From the three I employed "within method" triangulation. I scrutinised the data - checking whether an idea that has come through the identification of topics stage is also emerging from the rest of the data. If other data bear on the same issue then it means therefore that such data has a level of reliability in it. "The key concept in reliability is consistency" (Charles 1988:103).

Students for instance were asked whether or not they discussed topics such as race, class and gender in class. Few denied the presence of these discussions while most students and teachers acknowledged them. The following question seeks to establish the students' interest and participation in these discussions. The same students who denied the presence of these topics in the classroom teaching expressed interest and full participation in them. This therefore means that these students were not honest in responding to the previous question. Comparing what other informants say against what is said by others is another tool that I used to establish the authenticity of the data and source. As a researcher I also used my own logical interpretation of the data - looking at whether or not the events outlined by the informants were possible - and could be argued for or against.

The focus of the interviews with teachers and students questionnaires covered the four areas: school profile; the students' background; curriculum and communication. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

SCHOOL PROFILE

The aim of obtaining a school profile was to gather information that includes the school mission, admission policy and matters pertaining to the overall running of the school in regards to matters of diversity. The mission statement revealed the ethos and vision including the school policies, when they were revised and what led to the revision. Attempting to recover such information, questions were about whether the racial intake had changed in the past ten years and what was the motivation towards this significant step in the history of the school.

The opening of schools movement began in 1990 and some in 1991. Enquiring about the change and also giving a ten-year period was an attempt to ascertain whether this school moved with these changes. Question were asked about the revision of the mission statement in the light of Squelch's assertion that:

Given changes in staff, students and parents, levels of awareness, the school mission or policy should be reviewed and modified annually. Most importantly, a policy should be an affirmation of practice and not an unrealistic list that can never be achieved (Squelch 1993:187).

I also requested statistics from the school office. Schools keep and generate tremendous amounts of data. The administration collects data on racial composition, languages spoken, dropout rates etc. This data provided descriptive information on ages of students, race and their social background. It also suggested trends in general setting, where the numbers decreased or increased, for an example. Most importantly, for my purposes, it opened up avenues to explore these changes. Statistics on the number of students, academic and non-academic staff, their gender and race also informed this study on the current status of the school as far as ethnic diversity is concerned.

THE STUDENTS BACKGROUND

To a certain extent, the choice of school is determined by the catchment area in which the children live in. Open schools attract students of different cultural, social and economic backgrounds. Family status is important in the success of the child. “ The family is home port whence the child starts out starts out on a long journey through society. What happens to him at this point is of departure will significantly affect the later phases of the journey” (Syser 1982:78).

Black pupils entering a white school often experience cultural discontinuity, especially when the ethos, values, traditions, culture and expectations differ markedly from those of their home background and previous school experiences (Squelch 1993:182). To source out information about such students questions were asked about family income. Modes of transport used to reach school also indirectly provide information on the economic status of the family. Children in open schools come from a variety of backgrounds ranging from middle class professional to semi-illiterate or literate homes, from the elite suburb of the city or from townships, informal settlements or underdeveloped areas. Parent involvement in the education process is essential and therefore the background section also investigated whether or not all parents are made an important factor of the school and how.

CURRICULUM

As a rule formal education takes place on the basis of the curriculum. Classroom practice does not happen in isolation from the rest of the school. I at least assume that the change in the racial in-take of the school and policy change in general also has to effect change in both the formal and informal curricular, hence the key question: “Does the current curriculum reflect the cultural diversity of the school and the school system?”

Through the years the curriculum in racially mixed schools (Model C) has been Western and even though Black, Coloured and Indian children were admitted it remained unchanged (Squelch 1993:183). The content did not at all reflect the histories experiences and contributions of the “outside groups”. This therefore meant that dominant attitudes and values of the time continued to be perpetuated through the

content. It is interesting to discover whether or not all the students are now exposed to the richness of the history, literature, values and lifestyles of other groups.

The multi-ethnic school in-take presupposes multilingual pupils. Regardless, all students are required to study all subjects through the medium of English. White students, however, are privileged in the situation because they do not only have English as their mother-tongue but have had it as a medium of instruction throughout their schooling. Considering that the majority of Black students start their schooling career in Black schools, English language could be a potential problem in their progress. According to Lemmer, the status and popularity enjoyed by English is not equally reflected in the quality of instruction in English and in its general use in Black schools (1993:149). Lemmer goes on to place the blame for this on what he calls a “thorny matter”- which is the limiting manner of introduction of English in Black schools. Students under the administration of what was called Department of Education and Training have been instructed through the mother tongue medium only during the lower primary phase. Standard 3 marks a sudden and abrupt transition to English medium of instruction for the entire primary curriculum, which concurrently broadens into standard 10 subjects.

According to Van Rooyen (1990:1) this transition causes many problems in the education of a Black child. Foremost is the disparity between the English proficiency of these children and the proficiency required of them in order to master all school subjects through the medium of English. Moreover, says Van Rooyen teachers in Black schools themselves often lack the English proficiency that is necessary for effective teaching. Teachers do not have the knowledge and skills to support English language learning and to teach literacy skills across the curriculum. Language in the curriculum may serve as a hindrance towards the success of Black students in open schools and this could be especially true for those who did not begin their schooling in an English medium school environment. Sourcing out information in regard to language, the following question was asked: “How do real differences of language manifest themselves in daily teaching in the classroom situation?”

Cummins (1986:83) argues that the classroom setting and curriculum can support or hinder students’ perceptions of themselves as learners based on the language they

speak and their cultural backgrounds. In a similar vein, critical theorists assert that schools function to reproduce the systematic inequality of the society. In South Africa's case there are no longer formal inequalities present but we can not hope that the past habits of the apartheid era may be broken over night. According to theorists such as Freire (1989) and Mc Laren (1989) the only way to break the cycle is to focus on the kind of education "minority" students need - in the South African case these would be the Black, Coloured, and Indian students in open schools which are now "public schools".

According to Mc Laren (1989:78), if curriculum is primarily the what of education, then pedagogy concerns the why and how. No matter how interesting and relevant the curriculum may be, the way it is presented is what will make it engaging or dull to students. The following questions attempted to tap into the teaching styles and their relevance. "What are the specific aims or objectives of the school's history teaching?", "Describe the methods by which you implement those aims/objectives".

The connection of the curriculum to real life and the students' future is obviously important. Curriculum can provide what Freire (1989) refers to as cognitive empowerment, encouraging students to become confident, active critical thinkers who learn that their background experiences are important tools for further learning, hence questions such as "Do you allow debates or discussions in class?" Students generally feel confident to participate in discussions on things they know such as own life experiences. Nieto (1992:118) refers to a problem that he called "one-size-fits-all" approach, where students' cultural and other differences may be denied even if teachers' methods are well-meaning and progressive pedagogy. The point he is making is that no method can become a sacred cow uncritically accepted and used simply because it is the latest fad.

COMMUNICATION

Education is realised through communication. According to Troyna (1992:78), communication can be regarded as the central concept in sociopedagogics, since no socio-pedagogic essence can be actualised without communication among the persons

involved. There are many definitions of communication but for the purposes of this thesis I would like to adopt Lemmer's (1992:4) who defines it as:

The interactive process through which thoughts, opinions, feelings or information are transferred from one person to the another with the interaction of informing, influencing or eliciting reaction. It can take place by means of verbal or non-verbal symbol systems.

Communication in this thesis, even though equally used as an instrument to investigate the research question is presented on two different levels. One level is to investigate its levels between the students and staff while the second looks at same between the school and the parent body. From the students, I was also interested in friendships formed and the ethnic groups of choice in forming those friendships, for example: "Who are your friends?", "From which race groups are they drawn?". "Are you able to communicate with them in their own language/s?" (if they speak a language different from the interviewee's).

I then investigated commitment to these friendships whether or not were school based: "How often do you meet them outside school? i.e. over weekends and holidays. Sports and extra-curricula activities play a role in bringing different people together. I also looked at the role sport and other extra-curricula activities play in forging relationships. Prompted by Lemmer's definition of communication was this question for the students: "What racist assumptions (if any) emerge from teachers or students?" While interest in communication for students was at a more social level, from the teachers most questions were based on understanding professional communication. The aim however, is still to see how differences in ethnicity manifest themselves through communication. "What other forms of communication (besides newsletters) does the school use to reach the parent body?" Included in this section are questions on the media collections of the school which could be a powerful tool that can be used for the best or worst in ethnic relations: "Are media collections sensitive to the ethnic diversity of the school?" Besides the specific areas covered, I have for both students and teachers allowed flexibility of more opinionated questions, for example: "What is your personal view of open schooling?" to teachers and "What does the "new South Africa" mean to you in educational terms to students?"

Concluding remarks

This chapter has discussed the overall methodology followed in the research exercise. It started off by the type of research used - ethnography and how this type suits the research aims best. Sampling methods are discussed with their shortcomings - lest they have a negative bearing on the findings of the research. There has been an extensive discussion on the data collection procedures and the sensible use of quantitative and qualitative methods that are traditionally separate research paradigms. The attempts made by scholars to close or reduce the divide between the two research methods are mentioned here only to help the reader understand the arguments around the issue. This is the reason for not dwelling on the discussion involved.

My personal inexperience as a researcher has been shared to highlight the challenge I have been faced with and how both the literature on research and my supervisor were helpful in pulling me through. I have explained the analytic tools used to simplify the big chunks of data towards analysis. While reliability and validity are claimed to be difficult to determine in qualitative research (Charles 1988:103) I have attempted to carry this task out. Regardless of the limitations to this exercise, attempts to ensure accuracy were worth undertaking.

Data analysis leads to the results of any research activity because it is at this step that they are generated, manipulated and in essence reduced so they provide information for the ultimate conclusion. The following Chapter therefore contains an outline of the results generated from the case study. This chapter also cultivates some background understanding of how I reached the conclusions and the recommendations in Chapter Five.

THE FINDINGS: SCRUTINY AND MANIPULATION OF DATA

This Chapter and Chapter Five form the body of this mini-thesis. Chapter Four presents the results of the study of Cape Town High School. I will begin by describing the perceptions of the teachers and students, then go on to discuss these findings in terms of the key conceptual issues of the study. Chapter Five will be reserved for overall conclusions and recommendations. Before reporting on the findings it would help the reader's understanding to provide a general picture of Cape Town High School and some of its principles that impacted on the research.

The school

Founded in 1921 as a Whites only secondary school, Cape Town High School is today a mixed open school (former Model C). It is situated at the top of the Company Gardens and is within walking distance of the historic city centre and environment, the Parliament buildings, South African Museum and Art Gallery and the Planetarium. It is within fifteen minutes walk of the main bus and train terminals as well as just off the principal access highways into the city.

The students are drawn from different areas of Cape Town and the school has turned from a middle-class status to working class because currently its catchment area is mainly working class (refer to feeder school list - Appendix A.) The school has also become ethnically diverse regardless of the fewer numbers of White students. The intake of both Coloured and Black students has increased. At the time of the research the school had 665 students on roll and a teaching staff of 26 and a half (one part-time teacher).

The school did not keep precise details of the ethnic backgrounds of both the teachers and the students, neither did it generate a database for ethnic monitoring. At the time of the research, the school interpreted "ethnicity" purely in terms of students' first languages. The school despised the use of the term "race" at all. As was the case with the students' ethnic profiles, the same applied to the ethnic profiles of the

teaching staff. From my general observations, since I became a regular visitor at the school and was invited to attend some of their functions, the majority of the teaching staff was White. Even though I do not have exact numbers, the female teachers exceeded their male counterparts. There were few Coloured teachers and one African teacher who taught Xhosa.

General information about the school, and, in particular with regard to equal opportunities and ethnic diversity, was obtained from school documents. These included the school prospectus, “mission” statement, staff handbooks and newsletters. The school could not present a current mission statement document since it was currently being revised. The document provided served the purpose of the research nevertheless. I was told that their policy statement never stays the same, it changes to suit the needs of the day. Reading from the old one and other additional materials provided (brochures, Executive Council constitution etc.) the school strives to provide quality education to all those who choose to be its shareholders (learners, educators and parents). All have the opportunity to participate in decisions affecting them, and also have an opportunity to influence, initiate, and negotiate and to hone leadership skills and thus gain self-confidence as they prepare for the realities of life on leaving Cape Town High School. Accessibility to all is emphasised, disciplinary codes and so is fun and friendship. “We pride ourselves in the relationships and interaction that exist between all sectors of our school community - learners, educators and parents” (extracted from the school prospectus of 1997). The majority of the students stayed far away from school and therefore depended on different modes of transport to get to school, mainly public modes such as taxis, trains, buses, and lifts. Most parents however organised transport for their children while students are dropped off by their families.

Students interviewed were aged between 13 and 18 and were in different grades, standards 6 to 10 and were a combination of boys and girls. As indicated in the methodology a gender and racial balance could not be achieved as planned. Initially only history teachers were to be interviewed but other matters relating to the aim of the study could be gathered from two additional teachers. This increases the total number of teacher participants to 7. Methodologically, this meant an increase in the

research subjects and also enriched the data, which has impact on findings and conclusions.

Teachers' views on their school

The mission of the school confirms the open admission policy and the “open” status of the school. Its revision from time to time proves that the school is committed to the current educational changes and adapts its policies accordingly. There is a significant move towards democracy in school governance shown in the procedure of the selection of the school Executive Council, its function at the school and its presence in the PTSA (Parent Teacher Student Association) as opposed to the former PTA (Parents Teachers Association) structure. The central vision is that “Learners, educators and parents are considered to be **shareholders** in the present and the future at Cape Town High School.” (Cape Town High School and Your Child’s Education). Asked on the procedure of the election of the EXCO (Executive Council) all teachers mentioned the democratic character of the process.

“The school holds elections, candidates are drawn from standards eight and nine, there is transparency and the exercise is democratic, voting is treated like any other democratic voter exercise, privacy is maintained etc.” Teacher B.

In what was called a provisional mission statement, there is no mention on paper of the schools commitment to equal opportunities or to the promotion of intercultural understanding. In fact, the school policy statement says nothing on cultural diversity. There also is no set procedure except for general discipline rules laid down to deal with racial tensions should they arise. A new policy statement is, however, being developed. The objection of the school to provide a definitive picture of the school’s composition by ethnic group for both students and teachers, had a negative affect on the accuracy of the data. Nonetheless, I discovered that most of the teaching staff comprised of white teachers which could be due to the fact that for many years the school has been a Whites-only institution. The major difference between the ethnic profiles of staff, *vis a vis* the student body, was quite remarkable.

While Africans and Coloureds form the majority of the student body, the opposite is found in staff representation. It is worth pointing out that my informal observation do

not form part in any way of the research instrument. White parents who did not support the “open school” system removed their children to private schools. Since the admissions policy was revised African and Coloured students were admitted in significant numbers. These changes form part of the schools history. It is surprising that some teachers have little and some have no understanding whatsoever of when these changes took place and why. The lack of interest and or understanding thereof is suggestive of their indifference to the “new face” of the school. When asked whether the racial in-take of the school has changed in the past ten years and if so when exactly did these changes take place, the summary of the responses is as follows:

Q6 (teachers) How and when did this happen?

<i>Understanding the process</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>Familiar with the history</i>	4	1. Referendum 1990 2. Parents know about open schools in 1990. 3. Changes over from Model C to Open School.
<i>Not familiar with the history</i>	3	1. Just arrived 2. Don't know

Figure 4:1

Lack of knowledge or information became evident again when the teachers were asked about the previous form of student governing body, as reflected in figure 4.2.

Q15 (teachers) What governing body (students) did the school have in the past?

<i>Interest in the school history</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>On track with the changes</i>	4	<i>Prefect system and other attempts (vain) to change to Student Councils.</i>
<i>Lack of interest in the changes</i>	3	1. No idea. 2. Prefect system, I presume. 3. I do not know.

Figure 4:2

(Interestingly, all teachers knew exactly what the functions of the EXCO were including the election procedure. The teachers interviewed also expressed satisfaction with the work performed by this body - EXCO).

Teachers' perceptions of the background of their students

Drawn from different areas of Cape Town, (see feeder school list- Appendix A) most Cape Town High students travel by means of public transport, especially trains. This suggests that few of their families have cars to drop them off. The distance travelled varies from one area to another. Some students leave their homes very early without any meal and their waking time has a negative effect on their overall school performance. Teachers revealed a strong awareness of the problem as reflected in Figure 4:3:

Q20 (teachers) Does the distance affect them? How?

<i>Nature of the problem</i>	<i>No. understand</i>	<i>Effects on schooling</i>
<i>1. Distance travelled</i>	<i>ALL (7)</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>1. Hungry before lunch breaks</i> <i>2. Drowsiness (especially juniors)</i> <i>3. General participation in daily learning</i> <i>4. Inability to participate in after school activities.</i> <i>5. Absenteeism in evening functions</i>
<i>2. Modes of transport used</i>	<i>ALL (7)</i>	<i>1. Taxis are risky due to faction fights and trains are delayed sometimes.</i>

Figure 4:3

Beyond revising the starting and finishing time the school has done little to remedy the situation, as reflected in Figure 4.4:

Q21 (teachers) Are there any measures the school has taken to make the situation better?

<i>General following of the problem</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Solution</i>
<i>Aware of solutions by the school.</i>	<i>5</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>1. Starting later and finish earlier.</i> <i>2. Well equipped tuck shop opens early.</i> <i>3. After school activities not compulsory.</i> <i>4. Transport provided for sports outings.</i> <i>5. Parents meetings held at lunch & evenings</i>
<i>Unaware of any solutions devised</i>	<i>2</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>1. Not as far as I know.</i> <i>2. I don't think so.</i>

Figure 4:4

As in the case of the students, the parent body is also of different backgrounds. To accommodate and show interest in everybody, the school has two slots for general

parent meetings. One is during the day for the parents who do not have transport to attend the evening meeting and the lunch hour slot is especially meant for the parents who work in town. This decision increased parental involvement in the affairs of the school. The PTSA Annual General Meeting is held during the day on a Saturday to ensure the presence of all parents.

Teachers' perceptions of the curriculum issues

Schools do not have general autonomy to develop a curriculum relevant to their own needs. There are understandable exceptions to the rule. Open schools for instance, with a considerable number of Xhosa speaking students, now offer Xhosa as a first language, while in the past it was offered as second and third language regardless of whether pupils were mother tongue speakers or not. The history and guidance departments in the school have their own internal arrangement regarding what to teach. This happened without the official departmental mandate and is applicable to the internal classes. "There is internal flexibility in history in the junior classes but in matric (Std 10) we have to teach the prescribed syllabi" (Teacher B).

In junior classes the history department designs their curriculum using the prescribed textbook as a guideline, while in guidance the same happens throughout the classes because it is an examination free subject. Most teachers complain about the senior history curriculum saying it contains the old Eurocentric history doesn't touch the lives of the students to whom it is taught. The head of the department was, however, optimistic of the new curriculum, which is on its way. An additional factor shaping approaches to a curriculum sensitive to cultural diversity is the particular situation of a new democratic education system where everybody's history is considered relevant for the first time. As mentioned earlier, Cape Town High School has many African and Coloured students compared to Whites.

Among the variety of teaching methods used in history, discussions were the most preferred by teachers. The level of literacy of students in English (which is the medium of instruction) was expressed as a constraint. As a result the majority of the teachers interviewed expressed how language, among other things negatively impact on the teaching exercise.

TEACHER A

Language is a problem, it limits participation in class, making the teacher spend more time explaining some concepts, "I don't mind at all". Our different cultures make me learn from them and they learn from me too.

TEACHER B

Students sometimes speak their mother tongue languages and this is upsetting. Literacy in English is very poor and that makes learning difficult. We have special programmes for the juniors but the pace from Standard Eight is fast thus we advise parents to only send pupils in junior level.

TEACHER C

Code switching to mother tongue makes the teachers and others very uncomfortable. While working in groups no matter how hard one tries students tend to stick according to their race groups. If they speak their mother tongue outside the classroom or when it does not raise suspicion I don't mind.

TEACHER D

We make time to discuss some cultural differences trying to meet each other halfway, the African students for example are loud, but take pride in what they do and the way they wear school uniform. The Moslem students tend to use filthy language, speaking words White and black children would not say. Coloured children have low morals and no pride at all. African families tend to instil Western values to children and that is not impressive.

TEACHER E

Different cultures do not mix well in class. The difference in backgrounds also make learning and teaching difficult. Where I come from is not where everybody come from.

TEACHER F

My interpretation of the culture of learning differs from theirs. Different backgrounds affect the learning styles and capabilities to grasp.

TEACHER G

Most Xhosa speaking students cannot cope with the language especially the juniors. That they seem not to respect females especially the younger ones, could be a cultural tendency. Male and other teachers who have been longer at the school receive better treatment. I get a cultural shock everyday. I am not sure how to handle them.

A junior teacher, with frustration expressed how difficult it is for some of the students to construct one meaningful English sentence. At the same time discussions were used as an exercise to learn to speak up, present and defend an argument. The Head of the Department shared a series of skills that history students are exposed to and how such skills fit in different spheres in the work world with emphasis on personal growth. Some teachers shared their passion for the subject which was met with disappointment on the side of the students who did not seem to realise or appreciate

the efforts teachers put in preparation. Highlighting the same problem, one teacher directed the problem to the different interpretations of the culture of learning.

Ethnicity did not only feature as a problem in linguistic disabilities or between teachers and students only. An incident of a White student who could not stand sharing a classroom with African students was reported and she was consequently advised to leave the school. Teachers referred to this incident as an isolated one. Commenting on whether ethnicity is a problem or not, Teacher B says *“Sure it will, people have been kept apart for a long time to just feel free to find common ground. It is going to take a long time. Students are aware of what apartheid did to them and are very cautious not to open any wounds”*.

While group work was used as an attempt to initiate racial mixing, teachers were disappointed that it did not work. Students were more comfortable and productive when working with their friends who were half the time of their own ethnic origin. In few cases, hard working students would be comfortable to mix across the ethnic lines in class. In this case their academic potential brings them together. Teachers defined the school’s aim in teaching history in the following way:

TEACHER A

To move away from traditional methods, using a People’s approach (bottom up). Teach students to appreciate and respect each other. We have moved from the Eurocentric approach, students live their history and freely tell their stories.

TEACHER B

Helping them understand where they fit in society, understanding the past to make sense of the present and gain focus for the future.

TEACHER C

Teach them to think critically about their lives, educate them about skills they need in life e.g. sexuality and relationships. To break stereotypes and give good career guidance.

TEACHER D

To teach them how to communicate

TEACHER E

Give them a sense of their histories, make them think about where they come from and where do others come from too, help them understand each other.

TEACHER F

Develop critical thinking.

TEACHER G

To give them skills that are relevant to the South African youth today, and also to teach them on how to live with others.

When asked about the general performance of the students *vis a vis* their different backgrounds, language and culture, teachers emphasised language over culture as a potential barrier to get to the world of most students. Culture was not much of a problem, some teachers said (maybe because the school had laid down rules of do's and don'ts.) One teacher, however, complained of disrespect among junior African and Coloured males towards younger females. This teacher suspects that this attitude could have cultural origins (refer to Teacher G's comments on page 71). The naughty ones were the low achievers in class, too. Besides group work, teachers showed interest in debates and were comfortable when issues such as race, gender and class were discussed. They emphasised that debates and discussions should be relevant in the content of the lesson dealt with.

Discussing these issues helped the students to learn more about each other's histories and unlearn some stereotypes they have been holding against one another through the years and most importantly, enhances tolerance. These views are reflected in Fig.4:5 below:

Q39 (teachers) *Would you or do you encourage this? Why?*

YES / NO	Number	REASONS
YES	7	1. To teach them to listen and be tolerant of others' views.
		2. Teach them reach informative decisions as young people
		3. Taking out the prejudices, letting them surface and be dealt with.
		4. Sharpens their thinking.
		5. Enhance tolerance of others and their opinions.
		6. Understanding history as class, gender and racially based.
		7. Eradicate rote learning.

Figure 4:5

Teachers' views on communication

Except for language as a barrier (which is not applicable to all students), communication between teachers and students is seen to be good, varying from teacher to teacher. Teachers expressed the intuition that increased knowledge and understanding of each other's cultures is positively related to good relationships between them and among students. Those teachers who were optimistic tended to base their views on intuition more than on specific examples. In my view, based on observations some teachers are too close to both their subject matter and to students to see the benefits actually happening.

I personally think students could be spending more time after school in sports and other special programs. Even though participation in these activities is voluntary, students staying far away from school can hardly participate due to time and transportation constraints. Amazingly some teachers do not see this as a limiting factor. They instead emphasise choice and commitments because many students have the potential and interest, and do not bother about those with limitations. The following table illustrates the teachers' understanding of students' non-participation in school activities.

Q48(teachers) How is participation in special programmes and events (trips, sports etc.) distributed among students?

<i>Understanding of potential problems</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>Recognition of transport constraints</i>	2	<i>1. Especially if done during school hours 2. There are transport constraints</i>
<i>No recognition of transport constraints</i>	5	<i>1. Voluntarily 2. Depends on interest 3. Very fair 4. Mixed response</i>

Table 4:6

Teachers' personal opinions

The teachers interviewed mentioned various efforts made by the school to acknowledge and sustain its "multicultural" nature. One teacher held a different opinion. According to this teacher the school still upholds Western values and would ideally want whoever comes in to be assimilated into the "mainstream" value system.

Given the small number of White students present, the school has to move away from its traditional Western value system to give the incoming cultures space and a sense of belonging. All teachers interviewed were however, positive about the racial composition of the school

Q56 (teachers) What is your personal view of open schooling system?

<i>OPINION ON OPEN SCHOOLS</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>REASON</i>
<i>Supportive</i>	7	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Learning resource for students and teachers 2. Should have never been closed. 3. An opportunity to get to know people of different cultures. 4. An attempt to correct the mistakes and imbalances of the past. 5. True reflection of the South African nation.

Figure 4:7

Interviews with some teachers revealed that they are knowledgeable, experienced and sensitive. This is more due to some experience of working in multi-ethnic situations or to other relevant life experience than to specific and substantial professional development in which learning about students' cultural backgrounds was a major element. Some complained that the Department of Education does not care, it opens schools and does not equip teachers to meet this new challenge.

Drawing from the limited number of teachers interviewed, not all teachers are in every sense part of the establishment. Some had limited knowledge of the school history and lack of interest in its current changes. One teacher for instance had absolutely no idea of what is in the school library and also what the prescribed curriculum looks like because of the flexibility exercised internally.

Students' understanding of the school profile

Students interviewed acknowledged the presence of all South African race groups in the school i.e. Africans/Blacks, Coloureds, Whites, and Indians. Due to the complexity of the concept "race", some students went on to mention the different ethnic groupings within population groups e.g. Portuguese, Italians, etc. Responding to the question of majority and minority ethnic groups in the school, Coloureds were the most, followed by

Africans, Whites the least while no mention of Indians was made. All participants agreed that girls formed the majority of the student population. Since the school did not provide statistics on gender, I have to rely fully on the survey. Yet, my general observation of the overall student population confirms the same. This is further illustrated in the results of 1998 Student Executive Council election results, where out of 18 candidates 15 were girls and of the 15, five including the president is African.

I had the privilege to be at the school during the student campaigns for the Executive Council, the elections and inauguration of the new Council. The interviewees have a very clear understanding of this structure and its functions. Among other functions, many emphasised the role of the EXCO as a link between students and staff, helping students of different race groups and backgrounds to feel part of the school community. Some students highlighted the significant role EXCO plays in the establishment of extra academic support when needed. While the majority of the students interviewed showed trust, faith and support in EXCO some, however, indicated discomfort for a variety of reasons. The juniors, compared to the seniors were very critical of the EXCO, however, not all seniors are satisfied. The points of dissatisfaction were not race related at all.

Students' views on curriculum and diversity

Asked whether Cape Town High was their choice of institution the majority of students agreed while others referred to the school as their parents' preference. Students acknowledged the wide range of subject choice and many of those studying history especially acknowledged the opportunity to discuss topics such as race, class, gender in class.

Just like the teachers, students expressed enthusiasm in having such delicate issues discussed openly. Some students, however, denied the presence of these discussions. Ironically, the same students who deny these debates claim to participate and enjoy them. This has serious repercussions on the quality of the student data. Possibilities are that some students are simply being cynical or want to see these discussions happening in a more formal context rather than just part of a lesson. Whatever the case may be, this issue raises concern. Some students take longer to become part of the school or adapt in the school system than others. Students did not see culture as so much of a barrier to

“fitting in” as is language, as Figure 4:9 reflects. It is interesting that the teachers also share this perspective as reflected in Figure 4:10:

Q17&18 (students) Some students might have difficulty adapting (fit in) which students are these and why?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Who?</i>	<i>Why?</i>
6	<i>Africans, White students.</i>	<i>Literacy in English, loneliness, discipline rudeness.</i>
7	<i>Newcomers, Africans, naughty ones.</i>	<i>Language barrier, behaviour, demerit system, feel as if don't belong.</i>
8	<i>All pupils, Africans etc.</i>	<i>Social life, family problems, language barrier.</i>
9	<i>Naughty, newcomers, Africans</i>	<i>School culture, cultural diversity.</i>
10	<i>Afrikaans speakers, racists, Naughty students, Africans</i>	<i>Teaching methodology, language complex (inferior), literacy in English,</i>

Figure 4:9

Q33 (teachers) How does real differences of language manifest themselves in daily teaching?

<i>Nature of the problem</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>LANGUAGE</i>	7	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Feeder schools not English medium. 2. Code switching to own languages is unfair. 3. Competency in English affects progress.
<i>CULTURE (bad)</i>	4	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Different backgrounds and culture of learning. 2. Different cultures and backgrounds can show you the negatives of that culture, language, style of doing things. 3. Discipline and respect given according to age and gender.
<i>(Not necessarily bad)</i>	3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Culture as a learning resource.

Figure 4:10

Almost all interviewees, acknowledged literacy levels in English as one of the barriers to becoming part of the school system. Besides literacy in English other factors are the school culture, which could be different from that in Black and Coloured schools. Differences in school culture manifest in many spheres of school life such as teaching methods, assessment etc. Lack of communication between students and staff could also be influenced by the inability to speak “proper” English. It is interesting to note how students can draw a relationship between school and home, where social life and family problems are highlighted as potential barriers to belonging to the school. Also evident in possible causes is the discipline problem reflected by the use of “rude” and “naughty”.

Although cultural differences were not highlighted as a major problem, from my observation and as indicated in the response (refer to fig. 4:9 above), discipline among students is in fact a problem. In informal conversations with other teachers besides the interviewees, the school has a discipline problem and teachers are frustrated. Mutual discipline between students and staff vice versa also came as one of the concerns from the students.

While one would assume that only the non English speaking students would have difficulty adapting into the school system, due to the different values etc., some students on the contrary see the few White students as misfits, too- maybe because they are now the minority group. Most students acknowledge the teachers' awareness of the adaptation problem and responses as to whether teachers heed the problem vary. "Teachers get annoyed....ignorant, some defensive rather than helpful...". Figure 4:11 reflects this range of responses.

Q19 & 20 (students) Are teachers aware of this problem? How do other students respond to this problem?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Indifferent</i>	<i>Student Response</i>
6	7	1	2	<i>Talk to accessible staff, friends, Exco, makes them shy and useless.</i>
7	4	3	3	<i>Ignore it, Regret coming to the school, Cope regardless.</i>
8	6	3	1	<i>Teachers support, some don't give a damn.</i>
9	7	1	2	<i>Its your problem, live with it, Teachers get annoyed</i>
10	5	1	4	<i>Teachers are ignorant, some defensive rather than helpful.</i>

Figure 4:11

It is surprising how the students of the same school, facing the same problem (regarding language and adaptation) perceive mechanisms in place by the school to remedy the situation very differently as reflected in Figure 4:12.

Q 21 & 22 (students) Are there mechanisms in place to address it? If no, would you suggest a remedy?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Remedies (in place and suggested)</i>
6	2	4	<i>Teachers should make it their problem too, Academic support</i>
7	0	5	<i>Teachers must open forum to discuss these things, Racial/cultural Understanding essential between teachers and students.</i>
8	4	2	<i>Bridging classes, Open discussion about such matters, Extra lessons</i>

9	4	4	<i>Improved relations in students and teacher population</i>
10	4	4	<i>Special tuition, Close attention to those who need such help</i>

Figure 4:12

One of the suggestions provided to remedy the situation is the initiation of racial and cultural understanding between teachers and students. Nevertheless, the majority of students see coming to an open school as an advantage.

Q24 (students) Do you see your coming to an open school as an advantage or disadvantage? Why?

STD	Adv.	disadvan taged.	Indiffere nt.	Why?
6	7	0	3	<i>Exposure to other race groups, Getting to know cultures different from yours, Friends across races.</i>
7	2	0	7	<i>Knowing people you would otherwise not know.</i>
8	7	0	2	<i>Better facilities, Making friends across the racial lines, Understanding that other races are cool after all.</i>
9	8	1	1	<i>Unlearn stereotypes, Better education, Exposure to real South Africa.</i>
10	7	0	3	<i>Knowledge of other race groups, Learn that people aren't different, Learn to live and tolerate others.</i>

Figure 4:13

The overarching reason provided is the opportunity to get to know other race groups, learn their ways of life and unlearn the stereotypes people hold about the "other." While this is of general interest, the survey suggests that students do not make full use of the opportunity to get to know one another, irrespective of ethnic background. There is little evidence of friendships across racial lines. When they happen, they tend to be school bound. Little effort is made to meet outside school, during holidays, etc. I also am mindful that sticking together of the same ethnic groups at break, is not necessarily a racist gesture, but maybe a comfort zone.

Sports and extramural activities function as an informal mechanism to encourage students to get together. Levels of participation and interest are reported to be on the decline. This could be due to a number of factors such as distance between school and

home, lack of ownership and pride which are borne out of the sense to belong in an institution. Generally the levels of integration among students are relatively low.

I would not connect these tendencies to racism at this stage. Students, however, “Coloureds and Africans” highlight discrimination against them by White teachers. “Teachers think students of colour are inferior...” Interestingly some Blacks see Coloured students as receiving preferential treatment as opposed to them. It is a process of one blaming the other but there seems to be a conscious need to overcome this problem, yet no one initiates it. Asked about the things they would like to change about the school, an attempt to integrate students of different ethnic backgrounds came up repeatedly with particular emphasis on Coloureds and Africans.

Students opinion on change

Giving opinions on education in the new South Africa some students showed pessimism “...a new name for the old problem.” Maybe these students are in solidarity with their teachers because they shared concerns on retrenchment, delays in the promised new syllabi, etc. On the other hand some were appreciative of the new opportunity to be in an open school, compulsory education and equal opportunities. Issues identified are reflected in Figure 4:14.

Q 42 (students) What does the new South Africa mean to you (in educational terms)?

<i>STD</i>	<i>General Opinions</i>
<i>Juniors 6,7</i>	<i>Equal educational opportunities, compulsory education for Africans, youth getting attention, a new name for the old problem, mono-ethnic schools are neglected, the syllabus hasn't changed, teacher deployment a hassle.</i>
<i>Seniors 8,9, 10</i>	<i>'Free' education for the majority, educational opportunities for all South Africans, better motivation and better standards, freedom to choose schools, teacher retrenchment, same as it was in the past, racially mixed schools, new methods of teaching.</i>

Figure 4:14

CRITICAL ISSUES AT CAPE TOWN HIGH

A “colour-blind” open school?

Cape Town High School, changing its stance from Model C to a public open school has revised some of its policies accordingly. Its open school status has attracted a number of Coloured and African students while their White counterparts are reported to have been leaving the school since schools were declared “open”. Democracy was mentioned as a principle of conducting all the matters of the school. The following were the steps that could justify the democratic character of the school:

- Referring to parents and staff as shareholders of the school,
- Presence of the Students Council (EXCO) as opposed to the prefect system the school had in the past.
- The understanding and the support given to the EXCO by teachers and most students,
- The election system followed to establish the EXCO,
- Presence of the Parent, Teacher and Students association.

It was disappointing that some teachers who are understood to be “shareholders” had limited understanding of the significant changes of the school which were in fact the milestones of the school’s history (refer to figure 4:1 above).

Cape Town High School, however, objected to supply statistics on the racial groups and gender for both students and teachers which had a negative bearing on the accuracy of the data and the overall findings of the research. I acknowledge that the subject of ethnic monitoring is sensitive and within the framework of equal opportunities, policies and initiatives the situation with regard to ethnic monitoring is dynamic. According to Verma *et al*, (1994:35) schools should /indeed/must know their students, that is the first prerequisite for providing an appropriate educational, and, as far as possible, social environment for all of them.

Since it was stated clearly that I would not get the authentic statistics I attempted to recover this information through the interviews with the teachers but all was in vain. The teachers also insisted that they were “colour-blind” - saw children as children without any racial differences. Yet, most of the questions asked were based on the different ethnic groups at

the school. While teachers denied the importance of race in the school, in some of the responses, race was in fact quite salient to them.

For instance, asked on how the real differences of language and culture manifests themselves in daily teaching, Teacher B replied:

“We make time to discuss some cultural differences trying to meet each other halfway, African students for an example are loud, but takes pride in the way they wear their school uniform. The Moslem students tend to use filthy language, speaking words White and Black children would not say. Coloured children have low morals and no pride at all...”

According to Sleeter (1993:161) “People do not deny what they see, rather, they profess to be colour-blind when trying to suppress negative images they attach to people of a different colour”. In the same vein, Nieto (1992:180) argues that when groups of differing cultural backgrounds come into contact, features that distinguish the groups will be seized upon as socially significant. Often the cleavage between groups is reflected in and perpetuated by linguistic labels that refer to these socially significant features.

Research on group representation at the school suggests that Coloured students are the majority, followed by the Africans while the Whites are the least. In contrast, staff representation is opposite to that of the students. The school has one African teacher (teaching Xhosa) and fewer Coloured teachers compared to Whites. Besides other positive aspects and steps the school has taken to show interest in its multi-ethnic character it appeared, in this case, that the school did not consider the issue as significant.

Whatever the explanation of these differences, it is essential to clarify what it is exactly that scholars in multi-ethnic studies advocate as far as recruitment of multi-ethnic teachers is concerned (in the schools whose mainstream is White) and why they think inter-ethnic relationships are important. The proposition (according to Verma *et al*) is that a school with a significant proportion of any ethnic group of students (especially the minority) should seek to recruit a significant number of such teachers. Indeed, given the South African changes in the schooling system we would want to accept the proposition that, for the sake of education for cultural diversity in

all schools, ethnicity in teacher recruitment should be a conscious feature of any “open” schools staffing policy.

If the group which was once considered minority in “open” schools (Coloureds and Africans) is underrepresented in school staff, the school should do everything short of illegal reverse discrimination to address the imbalance (a lower level of representation than the proportion of the same ethnic group(s) in the school population as a whole.) This is nothing more than a policy of promoting equal opportunities in a society whose ethnic majority have been the disproportionate victims of inequality, to be justified in terms of the former mentioned general principle. According to Verma (1994:38) a school should exemplify not just deliver, multicultural/ ethnic education. Under the right circumstances, the presence of a fair balance of ethnic groups among staff and students is good for the school as a whole.

Black teachers’ presence in open schools is significant for several reasons. Role models, according to Squelch (1993:194) are virtually important in influencing children’s values and norms. She argues that people reproduce attitudes, emotional responses and actions exhibited by real life or symbolised models and children need to see these role models. If Cape Town High, for instance, had more Black and Coloured teachers it would be providing students from these population groups with real life everyday persons they can identify with. This would also offer children an opportunity to interact with teacher role models from different races and cultures.

The effects of students’ background

The most popular mode of transport used by Cape Town High students to school are taxis and trains. Teachers mentioned that few students walk to school while the other few is dropped off by the parents. This suggests that the majority of the students come from the working class background - where families rely on public transport. The distance lying between the school and their homes according to the teachers has a negative impact on these students’ general performance (refer to figure 4.3).

Aware of the travelling problem the school has not come up with feasible solutions to solve the problem. The solutions in place are not solving the problem but maybe are

helping in making it better (refer to figure 4:4). It would be difficult, however, to expect the school to come up with a solution that impacts on the school funds which are said to be on the decline, making the school operate on a very tight budget. Operating on limited funding, the school assists children from low income families in various ways to make their schooling possible. Assistance is according to need and comes in the following forms: limited bursary, books and uniform subsidies. The guidance teacher usually discovers the needy students through the private counselling sessions. For fund-raising the school relies largely on the EXCO and the parents while it also hires out some of the property such as the school hall, parking space etc. On rare occasions, old students or families forward donations towards the school fund.

The school strives to serve the community from which the students come from, I was told. The potential contribution of the parents to school affairs is made priority, thus the PTSA, which is an integral body in the operations of the school, especially as far as fund-raising is concerned. But, the role of this body goes beyond fund-raising. As “shareholders”, the parents are expected to advise and participate actively in major decisions affecting the school and their children’s future. There has been noticeable dearth of response from African parents as far as meetings are concerned and the school allocated both lunch times and evenings for the meetings, trying to cater for the parents who do not have access to transport for the evening slot. This too did not bring a remarkable response. Poor attendance from the African parents could be due to several reasons, which may include language as a barrier, as the case is with the students.

Many African parents do not have formal education themselves and this may lead to not playing an active role in the children’s education. According to Troyna (1992:203) parental views of education are heavily influenced by knowledge or understanding of what happens in the contemporary school. The EXCO has African members who sit in the PTSA meetings representing the student body. These students may feel bad by the poor attendance of the African parents compared to the parents of other groups. Overall, communication between the school and the parent community is not active regardless of the attempts made by the school. This could mean that Cape Town High School’s wide catchment area makes it less of a community or neighbourhood school. The school however, tries to keep all the parents abreast of the schools progress through the schools

media (newsletters letters and pamphlets). The school has an “open door policy” - parents are welcome to visit as they wish or may contact any of the teachers telephonically.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION

Communication among students

The survey showed that communication between students of different ethnic groups is moderate, while within groups it is high.

Q 32 & 33 (students) Do students of the same race group tends to stick together or is there integration?

Where does integration occur most, is in junior or senior classes?

STD	Integration	No Integration	Junior	Senior	Both
6	3	7	6	3	1
7	6	4	3	2	2
8	7	3	2	5	3
9	7	3	2	2	6
10	9	1	2	5	3

Figure 4:15

There has been an outcry over English as a barrier that affects academic progress, and relationships among students and between students and staff. Through the formal curriculum the teachers had attempted to facilitate some relationship by using discussion in class and arranging students accordingly. This attempt was perceived to be in vain. According to the teachers “..While working in groups no matter how hard one tries, students tend to stick according to their race groups”, while Teacher D says “..Different cultures do not mix well in class”.

Students at high school level generally have activities such as going to the movies over weekends or attending parties and dances, but Cape Town High students are different. Those who have friends residing far from their homes do not make the effort to visit at all. Under normal circumstances or should I say genuine friendships people visit each other or spend time outside school such as holidays or over weekends. When asked about maintenance of friendships outside school, reasons for not maintaining them ranged from not having an outgoing personality to transport constraints. In a nutshell there is reluctance to cross the racial lines for serious friendships. During my regular visits at the school these divisions were clear at lunch breaks. I have already mentioned that people of the same ethnic group sticking together does not necessarily mean racial discrimination. This

tendency as I have mentioned earlier might happen automatically without any planning or motive. Teachers too, agree that the communication levels among the students are low as reflected in Figure 4:16.

Q 43 (teachers) What is the general attitude of the students among themselves and towards you?

<i>TOWARDS EACH OTHER</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>TOWARDS ME</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Generally positive</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Not sure, am strong on discipline.</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>They sometimes have terrible fights</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Disrespectful</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Do not really open up to each other</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Open to talk</i>	<i>2</i>
		<i>Would like to believe they are positive -you never know</i>	<i>3</i>

Figure 4:16

Communication between students and teachers

The picture I got from the data is fragmented. Some teachers expressed strong commitment to providing the best possible educational experience for all students (refer to figure 4:5). While the motivation towards teaching history and guidance is positive, these teachers vary when asked about the students' attitude towards them (refer to figure 4:16 above).

Some students disliked some teachers. Asked what they could change at their school if given an opportunity to do so, some answered "removal of some members of staff".

On the contrary, some students showed empathy for the problems teachers were faced with at the time of the research (redeployment, plea from the department for voluntary pension).

Occasionally students argued that some of their teachers were racist as in Figure 4:17

Q37 (students) What racist assumptions (if any) emerge from teachers and / students?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Racist Assumptions</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>None</i>
<i>6</i>	<i>White teachers discriminate against Black and Coloured students.</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>7</i>	<i>Teachers have racial preferences, and do not favour Blacks.</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>8</i>	<i>White students feel discriminated by Black students, teachers and students think Africans are inferior, Whites assume control.</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>9</i>	<i>Teachers think students of Colour are inferior.</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>10</i>	<i>Teachers favour certain racial groups and alienate others.</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>

Figure 4:17

Students who say teachers are racist exceed those who deny racism from the teachers (29:21). A teacher felt that racist attitudes by some staff spoil the attempts to help students from disadvantaged background. *“You try to do things...to go out of your way to help, but some teachers go the other way. They make too many racist comments...”*.

CURRICULUM AND DIVERSITY

Even though according to Verma *et al* (1994:80) the direct impact of the curriculum content and process of delivery on inter-ethnic relations remain open to question, it nevertheless seem certain that curriculum and relationships are at least correlated, in the sense that one of the ways in which a school may be seen to be consciously addressing the issue of ethnic diversity is through curriculum activities.

An ethnically significant curriculum

The majority of teachers interviewed mentioned the need for a new curriculum since the one in place does not cater for the needs of all the students. While schools do not have complete autonomy over the curriculum the history department has done internal alterations and inclusions to the old syllabi. They have tried to include the interests of other race groups who were not made part of history at all. This is another attempt by the school to make all students feel part of the school. This flexibility does not happen in matric because the matriculants have to study the prescribed syllabi from on which the final examinations are based.

In the past Xhosa in “multi-racial” schools was taught as a third language (even to mother-tongue speakers) while some schools did not have it at all. According to Nieto (1992:121) that students’ background and experiences are missing in many schools is particularly evident where the native language of most of the students is not English. In such settings, it is not unusual to see little or no representation of these students’ language in the curriculum. In Cape Town High, Xhosa is formally taught at two levels: as a first and third language. Students have a choice and this makes at least one or two aspects of the curriculum related to their lives outside the classroom.

The role of extra-curricula activities

The prevailing view of the researcher was that the involvement by all students in these activities entailed informal contact with other students and with staff and thus promoted good relations. From the teachers' interviews it was evident that these activities were not taken very seriously, in terms of performing such an essential role of promoting good informal relations. The results show that some students did not participate in sports because the school did not provide for their favourite codes. From the 10 students interviewed from standard nine none of them participated in any sporting code at the school. Sports practice are often conducted after school hours and some students may not be able to attend due to the distance home and the dangerous use of public transport. Hockey was mentioned as a missing code that many would like to participate in.

As part of the extra-curricula studies the school held a cultural day each year and students celebrated together. The African students play Marimbas and different traditional dances are performed. After the inclusion of Xhosa in the curriculum the school is now involved in debates with neighbouring schools. The students' support is reported to be high. The school magazine "The Capetonian" contains articles written in all the languages spoken by the students at the school and this is a positive step as far as the language issue is concerned.

(History) teaching and teachers' attitudes

History teachers saw themselves as performing a special role in the "new South Africa" through their teaching. These teachers are themselves faced with an enormous task. As teachers they are being creative but the problem is that they know so little about the audience and they are not trained in dealing with students of different backgrounds. The internal history curriculum is designed to empower all students especially those who have been marginalised and are consequently not present in history books. *"..we give them a sense of their histories, make them think about where they come from and others too, help them understand one another..."* Teacher B.

These teachers are not equipped with the necessary skills to handle a multi-ethnic classroom and I would imagine that eventually they do not achieve some of their intended goals such as *"..Breaking down the stereotypes, ..teaching self-identity..."*

“Teachers are human beings, who bring their cultural perspectives, values, hopes and dreams to the classroom. They also bring their prejudices, stereotypes and misconceptions” (Banks 1992:167). These teachers were once South Africa’s youth at a different time in history. In their years of youth and schooling, their curriculum reinforced the status quo. How can they effectively impart skills relevant to today’s youth without any form of exposure and maybe formal training to deal with youths drawn from different ethnic backgrounds. How can these teachers break the students’ stereotypes without help to deal with own stereotypes?

Most Xhosa speaking students cannot cope with the language especially the juniors. That they seem not to respect females especially the younger ones, could be a cultural tendency. Male and other teachers who have been longer at the school receive better treatment. I get cultural shock everyday. I am not sure how to handle them (Teacher G).

What is worrying here is the way the teacher moves between the general and the specific. Disciplinary problems with some African students are to be expected - as is conflict with individuals of all other ethnic backgrounds. Of concern is the way the teacher generalises the problem: “*That they seem not to respect females...*”. It is also event that the teacher does not know the cultures of the students. Yet, according to Reynolds & Skilbeck (1976:148) no teacher can “transmit” culture effectively without interpreting and responding to the consciousness of his/her pupils. This is to say, without understanding their own cultures, teaching as an activity gets distracted unnecessarily sometimes, because teachers have emotions too.

Realistically, we should not be suprised that some teachers still hold negative views despite the new constitution with regard to race relations and the new policy developments. According to Banks (1992:224) if teachers are to become agents of liberation and empowerment, they must also be committed to social change and action

In guidance too, *breaking the stereotypes* was mentioned among the subjects’ goals. Hickson and Christie (1992:156) warn guidance teachers and counsellors in non-racial schools that due to an indication that traditional psychotherapy and counselling is often inappropriate for meeting the needs of culturally different clients, they, too, need to assess the relevance of their services and methods to individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Even though these teachers are not trained and might make mistakes in the

process, the initiative to try, however, shows their dedication to teaching as an exercise, the appreciation of their teaching subjects and their commitment to the current changes in South Africa.

In presenting these subjects, the teachers do not avoid the emergence of difficult, contentious or potentially conflicting issues such as race, ethnicity and gender. One teacher however expressed caution in dealing with such matters. This teacher shared with the researcher how cautious she had to be in handling discussions on religion while Pagad was in the media. Haberman says exemplary pedagogy involves students in real life situations - allowing them to reflect on their own lives (Nieto1992). He finds good teaching taking place when teachers welcome difficult issues and events and use human difference as the basis for the curriculum.

In Canadian and Ontario education, for instance, the aware and sensitive teacher is expected to set standards of behaviour and be exemplary in how they treat children of diverse backgrounds (Banks 1992:230). It is no wonder that Teacher B says:

"It all starts with me, I show respect and genuine interest in them and they open up to share, communicate. I make them interact give everybody fair chances because their experiences like their backgrounds are different, even from mine."

Banks goes on to say this exemplary conduct is crucial to the educative process, to teaching attitudes and values, or what is referred to in pedagogy as the "effective domain".

English as the language of expression

Teachers are increasingly called upon to teach students who are racially and ethnically different from themselves and to recognise that students irrespective of the ethnic background have the same academic potential. Yet, teachers' experiences seem at first to tell otherwise. The following are extracted from some of the teachers comments regarding the impact of the differences of language and culture in teaching:

Teacher A "*Language is a problem, it limits participation in class..*" Teacher F "*My interpretation of the culture of learning is different from theirs, ..different backgrounds affect the learning styles and capabilities..*" Teacher G "*Most Xhosa speaking students cannot cope with the language..*"

How can they avoid stereotyping certain groups as more or less academically able, when they see first hand significant differences in academic performance and attitudes towards some aspects of schooling such as general participation in class?

While the school has Xhosa as a taught subject teachers insists that students communicate in English in class. *“Students sometimes speak their mother tongue languages and this is upsetting”* Teacher B. *“Code switching to mother tongue makes the teachers very uncomfortable”* Teacher C.

This sends a powerful message to young people struggling to maintain an identity in the face of overpowering messages that they must assimilate. According to Nieto (1992:118), practices such as not allowing students to speak their mother-tongue are certain to influence negatively students’ identities and their views of what constitutes important knowledge:

“Messages about culture and language and how they are valued or devalued in society are communicated primarily by schools, including the media and community as a whole” (1992:120).

The “English only” stipulation is contrary to the South African constitution that gives equal status and protection to all eleven South African languages. The ANC’s Department of education, expressing its commitment to promote multi-lingualism in the education system and to remove all forms of linguistic discrimination, distinguished the promotion and development of the use of two or more languages throughout schooling in such a way that no language should be introduced at the expense of another (ANC 1995).

African and Coloured students are expected to speak English at the expense of their languages and consequently emulate the Western accents so as to sound “English”. Tuku Mukherjee calls this emulation “My Victorian values”. “This leads to cultural ambivalence and these tendencies extend from school to the home” (1984:245). One teacher expressed disapproval of African families who instil Western values to the children. The school plays a significant role in this by giving the impression that “English” holds a better status than any other language. The situation is further complicated by the competing messages students pick from the community as well. According to Nieto (1992:120) although students’ cultures are important to them, personally and in their families, they, are also problematic because they are rarely valued or acknowledged by schools.

In a similar vein Mc Laren argues that “Schools play a significant role in the process of social reproduction, schools perpetuate and reproduce the social relationships and attitudes needed to sustain dominant economic and class relations” (1992:112). When White schools assimilated non-white students the encouragement to speak English only was justified by the policies of schools and the time in history.

English as the medium of instruction

While the English-speaking students are at an advantage to have their mother tongue as a medium of instruction, other groups are at a disadvantage. This is especially the case for those who did not begin their schooling in English-medium schools. Even though academic progress did not form part of the interviews “English” negatively affected the students’ academic progress, the teaching activity and the general adaptation to the school system e.g. mixing with students speaking a different language from one’s own and general orientation to the school culture. “*Language is a dividing factor..*” Teacher G said. The teachers were very concerned about the language issue. It was mentioned that due to the language and its effects to the students parents are advised to bring new students for junior classes only and the school is reluctant to accept new students for higher secondary.

Apparently Cape Town High school is not the only open school sitting with the language problem. In a meeting held in Johannesburg for all open schools, schools reflected on language as a major problem. “...No problems had arisen at a social level but pupils from disadvantaged schools are experiencing language problems on the academic level” (Work in Progress 1991:64). Most schools reported a lack of reading, listening and comprehension skills.

These pupils tended to interpret all texts very literally, thereby missing the point through a lack of deductive skills, yet, the teachers are not really prepared for the challenges they are now facing. The syllabus particularly needs to be adjusted to reflect the present situation in South Africa rather than a more classical “English civilisation” Roy Steiner of Wendywood High School (Work in Progress 1991: 66).

Children from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds face linguistic deprivation. Some homes do not have educational radios, television sets nor newspapers, books or magazines. In Waverly Girls High, an open school in Johannesburg, while social matters are particularly good language is reported to be a problem. Essential efforts had to be made

to restructure worksheets and particularly to consider how questions were worded, as it frequently was not a matter of not knowing the answer, but of not understanding the question (Work in Progress 1991:68).

Qualifying these experiences on language Nieto (1992:180) argues that where English is seen as the language of the school and of social mobility, a gulf is formed between the non-English home and the school, and this may lead to dissociation of learning from the home. When asked about students, who take long to adapt into the school, responses from all grades included language as the most strongly felt barrier (refer to figure 4:11). Black pupils are said to be experiencing frustration from the experience of knowing the answer but not having the vocabulary to express it, the bewilderment of being thrust into an alien environment, and a lack of preparation to deal with an all English school experience. In all ways, stress negatively affects the children's academic progress and in particular the acquisition of English (Lemmer 1993:159).

Students and Teachers views on the Open Schooling system

Since White students formed the minority in this former White school, African and Coloured students saw their coming to this school as an opportunity for Africans and Coloureds especially to get to understand each other. When asked about their views on open schools, the overarching answers from both the students and teachers were:

- Opportunity to get to know and respect people of different cultures,
- An attempt to get correct the mistakes and imbalances of the past,
- Learning resource for both the teachers and students.

Besides the positive aspects of the open schooling system, language, lack of discipline and racism were mentioned as the negative side of the initiative, but only by the students.

Concluding remarks

Based on the data, this chapter has provided an in-depth discussion of the issue of ethnic diversity in Cape Town High. In so doing it has also provided an insight of what continues to be at stake regardless of the efforts that are already in place from the school's side. Chapter Five will be based on this chapter as it gives operational insight to the entire research, thus providing conclusions and recommendations.

CREATING SHARED VISION

According to Parker (1990:3) a shared vision brings people together, it unites and provides the link between diverse people and activities. She goes on to say:

Shared visions are expressions of what people have in common, of what they, in community are committed to. People with shared vision are more likely to take responsibility; they are more likely to challenge the bounds of convention.

In recent years the literature describing the importance of vision in leadership, organisational transformation, strategy, peak performance, and innovation has increased significantly. Although this is true, few, if any examples exist of schools as organisations, where the leader is the principal or the school governing body. The government has, through policy introduced changes at school level. It is for the schools therefore to re-perceive their world, to adapt, learn and be responsive to the change, to transform. This chapter contains conclusions of the research. While it seeks to provide the summary of the findings it also provides a set of recommendations, for other open schools. This study however could have been more informative had some of the occurrences taken a different shape at the research stage. Below are the limitations to the study, a revisit or reminder on the assumptions of the research, a summary of the findings and the recommendations.

After the fact: Operational insights

In retrospect, this is but a case study of one school. The findings could have been richer had there been either comparison with a similar school or an increased sample than what is used in here. Besides, the school refused to provide statistics on the racial intake over the past years to date. Had this not been the case, the findings could have been more precise. However, they provide the overall picture, based on other tools of research.

The teachers interviewed described the school as colour-blind, making a claim that in the eyes of the staff all the children are the same. Constructing an interpretation of ethnic differences on complete denial was a challenging exercise. The colour-blind stance that the school took in the matter might have prevented the surfacing of some of the dynamics that take place when people of diverse ethnic backgrounds get together.

Nieto (1992:217) condemns the possibility that a person can look at two people of different race groups and backgrounds and recognise sameness (see also Sleeter 1993).

The small numbers of the White students made their voice to be almost invisible, yet I chose the school for its White past assuming that White students will still be part of the school in better numbers than what I experienced. Besides the dwindling numbers of White students, little was said about the involvement of the parent community in the openness of the school. However, more could have been said about the significance of the parental involvement in school affairs. The significance and detail of that issue could not be encompassed by the scope of this thesis.

The question under investigation was whether or not ethnic diversity features as an issue in open school relations. Underlying the question were the following assumptions:

- Even though South Africa is a democracy inter-ethnic relations in open schools continue to be a matter of concern,
- Education is an important focus for consideration of inter-ethnic conflict and racial discrimination,
- The phrase “good inter-ethnic relations” goes beyond the absence of hostility between persons or groups to substantial and reciprocal knowledge and understanding of ways of life between students of different ethnic backgrounds and between teachers and students. Included in the phrase will be shared values e.g. respect for other people tolerance and public commitment to such values at school and beyond.

FINDINGS

Dealing with ethnicity:

- The findings suggest that admitting African and Coloured students to open schools does not necessarily bring anti-racist thinking on the part of the students and teachers. Cape Town High School staff denied the existence of ethnic differences at the school but their tones say there is more to the surface of the answer provided. They stressed the mildness of the tensions that have been experienced to convince the researcher that there is really nothing worth noting. This is evident in teachers’ responses to the question: “Does ethnicity feature as a problem among students?”

TEACHER A

Very rarely in my experience - obviously there will be problems, nothing major though.

TEACHER B

Sure it will, people have been kept apart for a long time to just feel free to find common ground. It is going to take time. Students are aware of what apartheid did and are very cautious not to open any wounds.

TEACHER C

There are friendships across the colour line. One girl left because she could not stand African students in the same class. Children are used to mixing but parents do not like it.

TEACHER D

We have few racial problems, race is not an issue among the students and the school does not stress it at all.

TEACHER E

I do not think so. There's been one or two incidents in the beginning i.e. verbal comments, nothing major.

TEACHER F

Yes, some feel alienated and pressured by any dominant social group.

TEACHER G

Yes, mainly through language, most feeder schools are not English medium schools, language negatively affects general mixing.

However, not noticing racial issues may simply mean that there is no way of talking about it within the school. It does not necessarily mean that racial issues cease to exist. It is important for open schools therefore to develop ways of resolving conflict, no matter how minor, rather than denying them. The research at Cape Town High highlights a number of crucial areas for the development of school policy to deal with ethnicity.

- The school should build a clear, democratically formulated and pervasive framework of democratic values and should locate its determination to confront ethnic abuse.

- Schools should establish a written down policy on its commitment to inter-ethnic relations, how to promote harmony between all groups including ways of handling conflict should it arise. It would be helpful if this policy is placed where the people who make contact with the school can see it e.g. on the wall of the main administration building or the visitors office.

- A school should seek to know its students very well. There should be ethnic monitoring and profiling which helps to build a clearer picture of broad patterns of ethnicity in school. Such a profile can be drawn to ensure equality of opportunities and appropriate provision for all students. School authorities could be more attuned to the racial compilation of sports teams, choirs, debating groups, drama groups etc.
- A school should make an effort to retain and promote teachers from all race groups. Cape Town High for instance, has a majority of African and Coloured students while in staffing the opposite is the case. That there is only one African teacher and few Coloured teachers which does not fit with the image the school wants to present of itself.
- Structured strategies for dealing with race and ethnicity are likely to be more effective than unstructured strategies and these may include school committees - such as EXCO, Parents and different awareness programs.
- While not all parents support the social mixing in open schools, schools should do more to work effectively with parents.

Understanding Students' background:

School policies and practices need to be understood within the socio-political context of the society in general, rather than simply with individual schools' or teachers' attitudes and practices. "Teacher bashing" according to Nieto (1992:161) provides an easy target for complex problems. It fails to take into account the fact that teachers function within an institution and are also human. In addition, it results in placing an inordinate amount of blame on some of those who care most deeply about students and who struggle everyday to help them learn. That some teachers are racist and meanspirited is not a question here, even though the majority of the teachers are not consciously so.

However, although many teachers are hardworking, supportive of their students and talented educators, many of the same teachers are also burned out, frustrated and negatively influenced by the stereotypes about the students they teach. What I am getting at is that teachers could benefit from knowing more about their students, families, cultures and experiences as well as about students' views on the school and how it could be improved if

necessary. “Somehow educators have forgotten the important connection between the teachers and students. We listen to outside experts to inform us, and consequently we overlook the treasure in our own backyards - our students” (Nieto 1992:170). The experience at Cape Town High highlights the significance for teachers’ understanding who their students’ are, also the significance of planning as a high priority on services and attitudes that go beyond academic instruction.

This study reveals a clear need for structured provisions to be made for students who do not meet the standards of open schools (mainly from a non-English background). Bridging classes may be helpful. Since this may temper with the limited school budget the venture may also attract external funding. Yet, the results could be broadened through partnerships with other open schools while this could also be helpful in sharing ideas.

The teachers interviewed demonstrated how they are creatively engaged in responding to ethnic diversity and their openness to new cultural experience. It should be a co-ordinated effort of the school to make sure that all staff share these ideals even if it means formation of a special committee to oversee the process. Senge, an expert in systems thinking would define such a scenario as that of a “learning school” whose prime characteristic has to be a shared vision:

Catalysing people’s aspirations doesn’t happen by accident; it requires time, care, and strategy. Thus the discipline of building shared vision is centred around a never-ending process, whereby people in an organisation articulate their common stories-around vision, purpose, values, why their work matters, and how it fits in the larger world (Senge 1994:298).

CURRICULUM AND DIVERSITY

A learning environment that supports positive interethnic contact:

It is often believed that by simply bringing together different groups of people who have been previously grown up in isolation, barriers to interpersonal contact will fall away naturally and positive social contact will ensue immediately or gradually. However, research has shown that this is not the case. According to Squelch (1993:193) casual contact does not necessarily bring about improved interpersonal relationships or reduce

racial and cultural prejudice. It is therefore important for schools whose student fabric consists of students and teachers drawn from different ethnic backgrounds to create a suitable learning environment that fosters inter-group contact, which, in addition is facilitated by appropriate educational support.

Formal curriculum:

➤ It is evident that schools can benefit from the school based curriculum development - while the new curriculum is not yet developed. Where possible, curriculum development should be materials based, so that it can be shared with other open schools as in the case of bridging classes suggested above. In the case of scarce resources, sharing of materials and ideas with neighbouring open schools would benefit from greater co-operation from teachers. Curriculum must be reformed to reflect the multi-ethnic character of the school and the desire to meet the needs of all students and parents. This complex process should include selection of the content to be taught, structuring and the way of presenting it.

➤ Schools should be given incentives by the Education Department to develop ethnic studies programs and to infuse the curriculum with the reality of the pluralist nature of South African society. Such will definitely enhance the self-esteem of all the students and give them a more authentic view of the nature of society.

➤ Knowledge and values appropriate to good relations should be addressed through all the departments of the school.

➤ As far as **language** is concerned schools should in their programmes for improved ethnic relations include basic language courses for teachers to learn the languages of the other groups in school. In the case of Cape Town High this could be only Xhosa, as a regional African language and Afrikaans since English is the medium of instruction. As the language policy allows, the school may stipulate how far the mother-tongue of the students can be taken but it is important that it is made part of the schooling experience. Looking at the language issue in South Africa, Lemmer (1993:156) argues that bidialectism, although controversial, could offer a possible alternative to coping with the mother-tongue interference among pupils in South Africa, where a distinctive use of English by Africans is also observable but hitherto undocumented.

Hidden curriculum:

➤ In schools, social conformity is achieved, not only through the stated curriculum, but also through the hidden curriculum, that is the less obtrusive aspects of school life, the organisation of the school, teaching practices and social relationships. According to Senge shared vision has a way of spreading through personal contact, organisations depend on informal networks –communication channels where people talk easily and freely meeting at participative events and other informal gatherings.

➤ Outside the classroom schools should do more structural activities which encourage racial mixing such as school camps, retreats, socials etc. Such activities are important because they allow different sets of student-teacher and student-student interaction to take place. Efforts should be made to ensure that all students are equally able to participate in these activities. Schools should use this opportunity to the maximum because students who could be somewhat tense in class are now at ease and are accessible to make contact with and relationships will develop as time progresses.

➤ Break times may be used for students clubs and meetings to discourage the sitting together of the same groups. While I have argued earlier that this is not a bad thing altogether, it may be discouraged for a good cause.

➤ The selection of recreational activities could take into account the interests of all racial groups. Students could be consulted in making these choices. The Cape Town High study reveals a number of curricula initiatives that may facilitate positive learning environment.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER TRAINING

While Freire (1989:34) refers to teachers as agents of structural change in the society, their abilities must not taken for granted simply because they are teachers. Teachers are believed in most sectors of the community to be able to handle just about anything. The knowledge of teachers as far as multi-ethnic classrooms need to be broadened. This could be done through staff development programmes for teachers already in the field.

Pre-service teacher preparation should prepare the student teachers for the audience they are going to be faced with as they enter the field - which is a multi-ethnic classroom.

Lynch (1989:8) identifies five necessary areas of professional education for teachers:

- to prepare young people for life in a multi-ethnic and racially harmonious society;
- to have an awareness and understanding of racism;
- to have an awareness of the interethnic relations;
- to be able to teach and recognise, any particular need of different groups of pupils and;
- to interact effectively with colleagues in relation to these issues.

New teachers would benefit from induction programmes that set out the history and objective of open schooling and how they differ from the previous racially mixed schools that existed in the past. In-service programmes could help teachers to confront and work with their own social and political assumptions, attitudes and stereotypes.

Does ethnicity feature as an issue in open schools?

In the light of the findings of the research, ethnicity will continue to feature as an issue in open schools. This will happen in varying degrees depending on an number of factors such as the values of the school itself, the role played by the governing structures and the school community's attitude towards change.

While this is a case study of one school, I hope the findings will guide further research. Many more secondary schools with students from diverse background need to be visited for longer periods of time to determine whether the features which emerged in Cape Town High school apply to similar contexts. The features themselves need to be examined in greater depth so that educators can understand them more fully and apply them in appropriate contexts. For example, a study of parent involvement in open schools should include extensive interviews with parents themselves as well as with students and school staff. Nevertheless, the study has extended our knowledge of what makes schooling work for an ethnic diverse school population.

Epilogue

The greater proportion of African and Coloured students in Cape Town High school and the attempts already in place to make all the students belong serves as testimony as to how the school has been active in addressing the diverse needs, expectations and perspectives of all its students. The school, it seems, is still coming in terms with the changing perspectives and demands of the students. Although I encountered a gap between what the teachers say regarding ethnic diversity and the curriculum *vis a-vis* the students' response and attitude, there was on the other hand no shortage of inter-ethnic good will among both the students and the teachers.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANC. (1994) "A Policy Framework for Education and Training", Education Department, ANC.
- Apple M (1994) "Reproduction, Contestation and Curriculum" in Da Costa Y *et al* (eds.) Let The Voices Be Heard: Process and Practice in Education, Wyvern Publications, Cape Town.
- Bacal A. (1991) Ethnicity in the Social Sciences: A View and Review of Literature on Ethnicity Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.
- Banks J.A. (1992) "A Curriculum for Empowerment, Action and Change" in Moodley K. Beyond Multicultural Education: International Perspectives, Detseling Enterprises Ltd. Alberta.
- Banks J.A. (1986) Multiculturalism in Western Societies, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London.
- Bernstein B.L. (1975) Class, Codes and Control: Towards a Theory of Educational Transformation Vol. 3 Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Bogdan R. and Biklen S. (1992) Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods, Allyn and Bacon, London.
- Bowser B.P. (1995) Racism and Anti-racism in World Perspective Sage Publications, Wild Oaks
- Bot M.(1992) "Educational Integration" in Mc Gregor and Mc Gregor (eds.) Educational Alternatives. Juta, Kenwyn.
- Borg W. (1963) Educational research: An Introduction, Longmans, London.
- Bullivant B. (1981) The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Burgess R. (1993) Research Methods Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.
- *Carrim N., Metcalfe M, Sayed T. (1991) "Open Schools: Reform or Transformation?" in Work in Progress. Vol 61 No2.
- Carter B. and Williams M.(1987) "Attacking Racism in Education", in Troyna B.(ed.) Racial Inequality in Education, Tavistock, London.
- Cashmore E. (1994) Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations, Routledge, London.
- Charles CM. (1995) Introduction to Educational Research: 2nd edition, Longmans, San Diego, USA.
- *Christie P. (1985) The Right to Learn: The Struggle of Education in South Africa, Sached Trust, Johannesburg.
- *Christie P. (1990) Open Schools: Racially Mixed Catholic Schools in South Africa (1976-1986), Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Coutts A. (1992) Multicultural Education: The Way Ahead, Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.
- Cross M. "The Road to Non-Racial Education in South Africa: The Case of the Catholic Open Schools in South Africa in the Transvaal -1976-1986", in (1987) Critique-Vision Strategy: Proceedings of the Kenton-at-Helderfontein Conference, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

- Cummins J.(1986) "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention" in Harvard Educational Review No 56
- Dekker E. and Lemmer M. (1993) Critical Issues in Modern Education, Butterworths, Durban.
- Delamont S. (1992) Fieldwork in educational settings: Method, Pitfalls and Perspectives, The Falmer Press, London.
- Department of Education (1995) "Towards a language policy in education", Government Printers, Pretoria.
- Department of Education (1995) "Education White Paper 1", Government Printers, Pretoria.
- Department of Education (1996) "Education White Paper 2", Government Printers, Pretoria.
- Dhlomo L.(1992) "Let's Be Proud of Our Ethnicity in the Reformed South Africa", in Freer D. Towards Open Schools:Possibilities and Realities for Non-racial Education in South Africa Boleswa, Manzini.
- Fox DJ. (1969) The Research Process in Education, Holt, Rinehart and Winston., New York.
- Freer D. (1992) Towards Open Schools:Possibilities and Realities for Non-racial Education in South Africa Boleswa, Manzini.
- Freire P and Faundez A. (1989) Learning to Question: A Pedagogy Of Liberation, Continuum, New York.
- Freire P. (1987) Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Penguin, Harmandworth.
- Ghosh R. and Tarrow N.(1993) "Multiculturalism and Teacher Educators: A view From Canada and the USA" in Comparative Education Vol.29 No.1.
- * Gillborn D. (1995) Racism and Anti-Racism in Real Schools, Open University Press, Philadelphia.
- Goody J.S. (1989) "Education in a Multicultural Society: Some Prevalent Theories and Approaches", in South African Journal of Education, Vol. 4, No. 3.
- Gramsci A. (1985) Selection from Cultural Writings, Lawrence and Winshart, London.
- Grant A.C. (1992) Research and Multicultural Education: From Margins to Mainstream, The Falmer Press, London.
- Hall S.(1981) "The Whites of Their Eyes: Racists' Ideologies and the Media", in Bridges G. and Brunt R.(eds) Silver Linings: Some Strategies for the Eighties, Lawrence and Winshart, London.
- Hall S. (1980) Teaching Race in Multicultural Education, Lawrence and Winshart, London.
- Hammersley M. (1992) What's wrong with Ethnography? Routledge, London.
- Hatcher T. and Troyna B.(1993) "Racialisation and Children' in Mc Carthy C and Chichlow W. (eds.) Race, Identity and Representation in education, Routledge, New York.
- Hickson J and Christie G.(1992) "A Framework for Guidance and Counselling in Non-racial schools" in Freer D (ed) Towards open schools: Possibilities And Realities For Non-racial Education in South Africa, Oxford University Press, South Africa.

- Holly LM. (1993) "Educational research and Professional Development: On Minds that Watch Themselves" in Educational Research and Evaluation for Policy and Practice, Falmer Press, London.
- Human T. (1991) "Reaching Beyond Assimilation? An Investigation of Teaching Practices in Some Open Schools in Cape Town", University of Cape Town, Cape Town (unpublished).
- Koda B. in Moore "Multicultural Education in South Africa: Some Theoretical and Political Issues" in Perspectives in Education, (Vol.15 No.2 Winter 1994).
- Lemmer E.M.(1993) "Addressing the Needs of the Black Child with a Limited Language Proficiency in the Medium of Instruction", in Le Roux J (ed) The Black Child in Education, Vol.1, J.L.Van Schaik, Pretoria. ✕
- Lynch J. (1989) Multicultural Education in a Global Society, Falmer Press, London.
- Magubane B. (1985) "The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa" in Bowser R. (ed) Racism and Anti-Racism in World Perspective, Sage Publications, London.
- Mc Carthy C. (1990) Race and Curriculum: Social Inequalities and the Theories and Politics of Difference in Contemporary Research on Schooling, Falmer Press, New York.
- Mc Laren P (1989) Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education, Longman, New York. #
- McGurk N.J. (1990) I Speak as a White: Education, Culture, Nation, Heinemann, Durban.
- McMillan J (1993) Research in Education: a Conceptual Introduction Harper Collins, New York
- ✕ Metcalfe M. (1991) Desegregation Education in South Africa 1985-1991: Update and Policy Analysis, Education Policy Unit University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Moema T. (1990) "The Cultural Perspectives of People's Education", in Research for Education in South Africa, University of Essex, London.
- ✕ Montagu A. (1972) Statement on Race, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Moodley K. (ed) (1985) Race Relations and Multicultural Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- Moodley K. (1992) Beyond Multicultural Education: International Perspectives, Detseling Enterprises, Calgary.
- Moore B. (1994) "Multicultural Education in South Africa", in Perspectives in Education, Vol.15, No. 2.
- Mukherjee T.(1984) "Combatting institutional racism: A Training Manual Course For Experienced Teachers" in Martin-Straker W. (ed) Education for a Multicultural Society: Case Studies in ILEA Schools, Bell and Hyman, London.
- Mullard C.(1973) Multicultural Education in Britain: From Assimilation to Cultural Pluralism, Allen and Unwin, London.

- NECC (1992) Curriculum: Report of the NEPI Curriculum Research Group Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Nieto S.(1992) Affirming Diversity: The Socio-political Context of Multicultural Education, Longman, New York.
- Nkomo M. (ed) (1989) Pedagogy of Domination, Africa World Press, Johannesburg.
- Owen D. (1991) A New South African Challenge: Teaching History in Multicultural Schools, Albany Museum, Grahamstown.
- Parker M. (1990) Creating Shared Vision, Dialog International, Oak Park, USA
- Reynolds J. and Skilbeck M. (1976) Culture and the Classroom, Open Books, London.
- Sarup M. (1986) The Politics of Multicultural Education, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, London.
- Scott D. (1996) "Methods and Data in Educational Research" in Scott D and Usher R. Understanding Educational Research Routledge, London.
- ✓Senge P. *et al* (1994) The Fifth Discipline Fieldbook: Strategies and Tools for Building a Learning Organisation, Bantam Doubleday, New York.
- Sleeter C. (1993) "How White Teachers Construct Race" in Mc Carthy and Chichlow W (eds) Race, Identity and Representation In Education, Routledge, New York.
- Stavenhagen R (1996) Ethnic Conflicts and the Nation-state, McMillan, New York.
- ✓Squelch J. (1993) "Towards A Multicultural Approach in South Africa" in Le Roux J (ed) The Black Child In Crisis: A Socio-educational Perspective, Routledge, New York.
- Syser M. (1982) "Racism: Ways of Thinking and School", in Tierney J. (ed) Race Migration and Schooling, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London.
- The Education Foundation.(1995: April) Edusource, No. 8.
- Taft R.(1990) "Ethnographic Research Methods" in Keeves JP(ed) Educational Research, Methodology and Measurement: an International Handbook Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- Tibbets C.(1984) "Working with under fives; A multi-ethnic Approach" in Straker-Welds (ed) Education For A Multicultural Society: Case Studies In ILEA Schools, Bell and Hyman, London.
- Troyna B. (1992) "Multiculturalism and Anti-racist Educational Principles" in Gill *et al* (eds) Racism and Education: Structures and Strategies, Cromwell Press, Great Britain.
- Van den Heever R.(1989) "The People's Education Initiative" in Levin (ed) (1989) Research In Education In South Africa, University of Essex.
- Van den Heever R. (ed) (1988) Alternative Education: Vision of a Democratic Alternative, United Teachers' Association of South Africa Publication, Cape Town.
- Van der Berg C.(1994) "Politics Of Curriculum Change" in Da Costa Y. *et al* (eds) Let the Voices Be Heard: Process and Practice in Education, Wyvern Publications, Cape Town.
- Van Rooyen H. (1990) "The Disparity between English as a Subject and a Medium of Learning" HSRC, Pretoria.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

Letter of entrance to the school





University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa Tel. Ad.: UNIBELL
Telephone: (021) 959-2427 Fax: (021) 959-2647

Faculty of Education

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

021-9592272(direct)
Ref.021-9592427(secret)

Faculty of Education
Department of Comparative Education

MED9615.TES/CD MED

18 November 1996

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that Ms. Zetu Makamandela is a part-time Med student in the Faculty of Education, Department of Comparative Education in 1996 and will register again in 1997.

Since 1994 Ms. Z. Makamandela is a student in our structured Masters Course in Educational Management and Administration. She has successfully completed her course work which counts for 50%. Each student on this course is engaged in research towards a mini-dissertation, this research component being crucial to the completion of the course. Given the nature of the course, students will investigate topics which make it necessary to interview students and staff and other relevant stakeholders in schools and the Department of Education.

Ms. Z. Makamandela's mini-thesis 'Does the issue of ethnic diversity feature in intergroup relations in open schools?' is a combination of a literature review and empirical research. For the later part she has contacted Cape Town High to make enquiries about getting permission to do research at this school. Her study will be a detailed case study concerning the understanding of Teachers and Students of ethnic diversity at the school level and its implication for wider community issues.

I would be much obliged if she could be granted permission to do the above mentioned research. Ms. Z. Makamandela will be able to provide the school and the Department of Education with a detailed research proposal. The final results will be made available to the school and the Department. All information collected during her research will be treated as confidential and anonymous. No parts of the thesis will be published without prior permission of the persons and institutions which have been involved in her research project.

Yours sincerely


Jos Koefsier
Lecturer on the structured Med course

Appendix 2

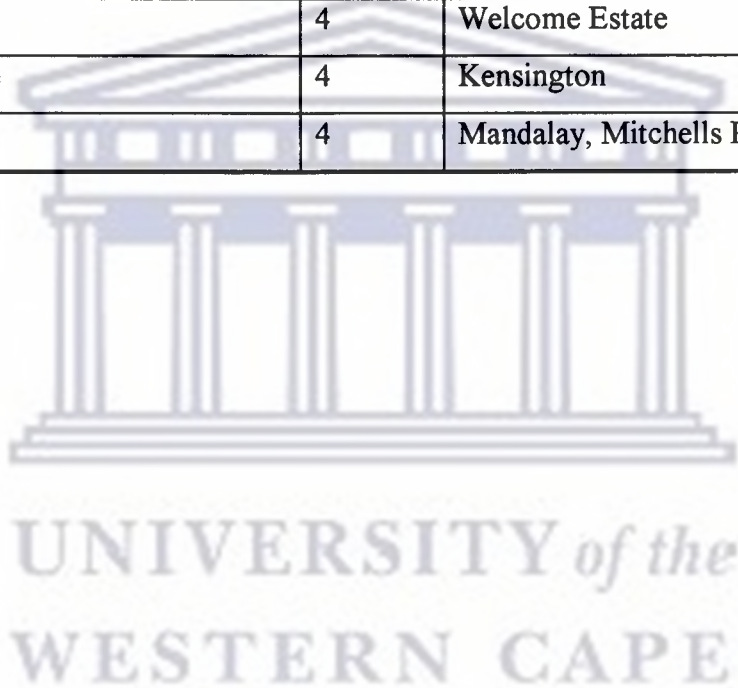
Feeder schools into Cape Town High 1997

FEEDER SCHOOLS 1997

Yellowwood	1	Montagu Dr.	1	Saffie	1	Rahmaniyeh	3
Simonsberg	1	Mountain Rd	4	Montagu Drive	1	York Road	1
St. Pauls	10	Rahmaniyeh	3	Moshesh	1	Nobantu	1
Eisleben Road	1	York Road	1	Heideveld	1	Heldekruin	1
St. Raphaels	3	Hyacinth	1	Pioneer	1	Kannemeyer	1
Parkhurst	9	Cecil Road	2	Sea view	2	Thornton	1
Strandfontein	1	Windermere	4	Sea Point	1	Blomulei	1
Holy Cross Pr.	9	North Pine	1	Talfalah	1	West End	1
Kenmere	7	Portland	2	Eastville	1	Tuscany Gl.	1
Walmer	3	Harvester	1	Vuyani	2	Cornflower	1
Ellerton Co-Ed	1	Homba	3	Norma Road	2	Athlone	1
Dennegeur Avenue	1	St. Agnes	1	St Mary's	1	Good Hope	2
St Theresa	4	Vanguard	2	Spurwing	2	Athlone Nth	1
Norma Road	2	St. John's	3	Northwood	1	Surrey	2
Boundary	1	Rosewood	3	Dryden Street	3	Silverleaf	3
Chapel Street	5	Regina Coeli	2	Acasia Park	1	Sosebenza	2
Zonnebloem	5	Liesbeeck	2	Mandalay	4	Primrose Pk	2
Intshinga	1	Easter Peak	1	Primrose Park	2	Observatory	1
Rosemead	1	Lwazi P.P.	1	Parow East	1	Montevideo	3
Tamboerskloof	1	Sunderland	1	Protawe	2	J.S. Klooper	1

Top 10 Feeder Schools

School Name	Tot. Stu.	Area
1. St Pauls	10	Cape Town
2. Parkhurst	9	Mitchellsplain
3. Holy Cross	9	Cape Town
4. Kenmere	7	Kensington
5. Chapel Street	5	Woodstock
6. Zonnebloem	5	Woodstock
7. Mountain Road	4	Woodstock
8. St Theresa	4	Welcome Estate
9. Windermere	4	Kensington
10. Mandalay	4	Mandalay, Mitchells Plain



Appendix 3

Teachers' Interview Schedule



Ethnic diversity in open school - does it feature as an issue?

A. SCHOOL PROFILE

1. What is the mission of the school?

2. When last was the mission revised?

3. What is the admissions policy of this school?

4. How many pupils did/does the school have?

Year	Black		Colored		Indian		White	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1997								
1993								
1989								
1985								

5. Did your racial intake change in the past ten years?

6. How and when did this happen?

7. How many teachers does the school have?

Year	Black		Coloured		Indian		Whites	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1997								
1993								
1989								
1985								

8. Besides the teaching staff (academic) who forms the support staff?

9. What duties does the staff perform?

10. From which race groups is this staff drawn?

11. Does the school have a student government body?

12. Who forms this body, i.e.

Race	Boys	Girls	Year
Black			
Coloured			
Indian			
White			

13. When did the school introduce this structure?

14. How was this body elected? By whom?

15. What governing body (students) did the school have in the past?

16. What are the functions of this structure?

17. Is the staff happy about the functions of this structure?

B. BACKGROUND

18. From which areas do your students come?

19. How do they travel to and from school?

20. Does the distance affect them? How?

21. Are there any measures the school has taken to make the situation better?

22. Does the school have a Parent Teacher Association? (or any other body)

23. What are the typical issues dealt with by this body?

24. Do parents and teachers have an opportunity to meet regularly?

25. When and where do these meetings take place?

26. Does the school have children from low income families?

27. How are such children assisted?

28. Does the school raise funds? If so - how?

C. CURRICULUM

29. Does the school have the autonomy to develop curriculum relevant to its particular interest?

30. Does the current curriculum reflect the cultural diversity of the school and the school system?

31. Which subjects form the formal curriculum?

32. Does ethnicity feature as a problem among students?

33. How do real differences of language and culture manifest themselves in daily teaching? (classroom situation)

34. What are the specific aims or objectives of the school's history teaching?

35. Describe the methods by which you implement those aims/objectives in the classroom?

36. How does the school handle differences in religion?

37. Do you allow debates or discussions in class?

38. Do your pupils discuss issues of race, religion, class and gender in class?

39. Would you or do you encourage this? Why?

40. Could you give examples of activities where you feel your students have really "experienced history".

41. What are your views on the history books you are using?

42. Do you see the need for a new syllabus?

43. What in general is the attitude of your pupils towards each other and you in class?

D. COMMUNICATION

44. Does the school write newsletters to parents? _____

45. What other forms of communication does the school use to reach the parent-body?

46. In which language(s) does this communication take place?

47. What are the extra-mural activities offered at the school?

48. How is participation in special programmes and events (trips, plays, sports) distributed among students?
Equally?

49. Does participation in these events reflect class or ethnic distinctions?

50. Does the school have its own magazine?

51. What is the magazine's name?

52. Are media collections appropriate to the cultural diversity of the school?

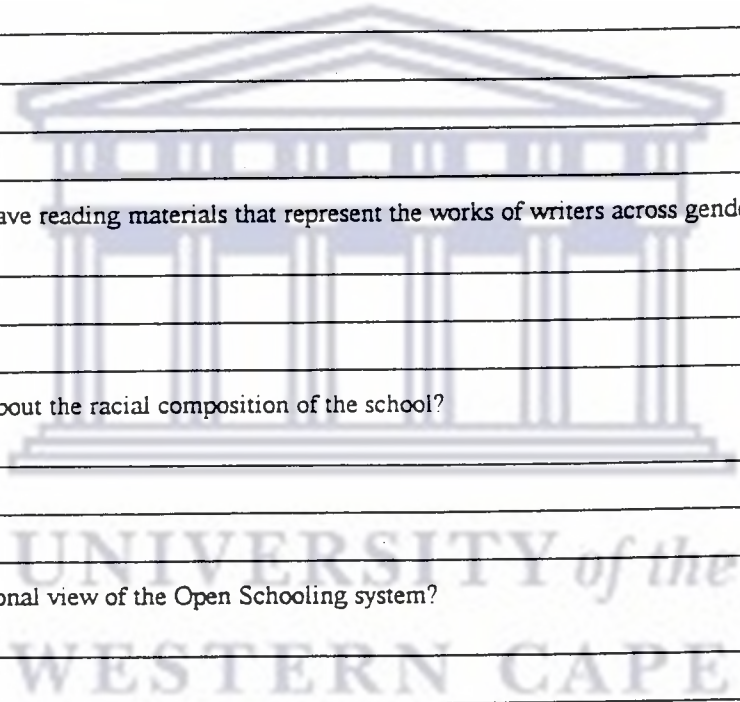
E. OPINION

53. What efforts does the school make to acknowledge and sustain the multi-cultural nature of the school?

54. Does the library have reading materials that represent the works of writers across gender and racial lines?

55. How do you feel about the racial composition of the school?

56. What is your personal view of the Open Schooling system?



Appendix 4

Teachers' interviews results



Teachers' interview results

A. SCHOOL PROFILE

1. What is the mission of the school?

2. When last was the mission revised?

Ans. It is currently revised for further clarity and to meet the changes that have taken place in the school.

3. What is the admission policy of the school?

Ans. The school adopted an 'open school' stance and is therefore open to admit students who choose to come to the school.

4. How many pupils does the school have?

Ans. The current student roll is 665. The information for the past years required in the questionnaire was not available. Required in the questionnaire also was the gender and racial breakdown of which the school refused to provide, even for the current student roll.

The objection even though impinged negatively on the purpose of the question asked was however welcome.

5. Did your racial intake change in the past ten years?

<i>YES</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>NO</i>	<i>3</i>

6. How and when did this happen?

TEACHER A

No knowledge.

TEACHER B

Gradual multiracial influx since 1990, parents' knowledge of the school's "open" stance.

TEACHER C

New, arrived in 1995, no knowledge

TEACHER D

When we became an open school.

TEACHER E

Since 1991 after the referendum concerning school population organised by the White National Department of Education.

TEACHER F

No definite knowledge, knows change from Model C to "open school".

TEACHER G

No knowledge, just arrived.

<i>Understanding the process</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>Familiar with the history</i>	4	1. Referendum 1990 2. Parents know about open schools in 1990. 3. Changes over from Model C to Open School.
<i>Not familiar with the history</i>	3	1. Just arrived 2. Don't know
<i>Others</i>		

7. How many teachers does the school have?

Ans. 26 and a half (one teacher works on a part-time basis)

8. Besides the teaching staff (academic) who forms the support staff?

Ans. Caretaker, Groundsmen, two Cleaners, Tea Lady, Bursar and two Secretaries (financial and general).

9. What duties does this staff perform?

TEACHER A

Maintenance of the buildings, fields, grounds and general cleaning of the entire school.

TEACHER B

Cleaning, in fact they are responsible for the general maintenance of the school, making the environment conducive for its purpose.

TEACHER C

General maintenance of the school grounds.

TEACHER D

Making sure that the school is in good shape and is conducive for learning.

TEACHER E

Finances and general maintenance of the school.

TEACHER F

Maintaining the grounds and the school shape.

TEACHER G

School administration and cleanliness.

<i>Understanding of role and relevance of support staff</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>Linked to daily and overall school success.</i>	2	1. Making environment conducive for its purpose. 2. Making sure the school is in good shape and is conducive for learning.
<i>No connection to the learning process</i>	5	1. Maintenance of grounds 2. School administration and cleanliness. 3. Maintenance of buildings, fields etc.

		4. Maintain grounds and the school shape. 5. Finances and general maintenance.
--	--	---

10. From which race groups is this staff drawn?

ALL	7
-----	---

On principle the school and staff refused to provide the exact racial breakdown of the support staff.

11 Does the school have a student governing body?

YES	7
-----	---

12 Who forms this body?

Ans. Staff refused to provide racial and gender statistics including the year of office.

13 When did the school introduce this structure?

TEACHER A

Before my arrival, I am here for four years now.

TEACHER B

In 1994

TEACHER C

In 1994/5 am not sure

TEACHER D

In 1994

TEACHER E

About three years back.

TEACHER F

About three years back.

TEACHER G

I am new, will therefore not know.

Understanding of the internal changes	Number	Reasons
Interested and abreast of the innovations.	5	1. 1994 2. 1994 3. About three years back. 4. About three years back. 5. 1994 / 5
Not interested in the internal changes.	2	1. Before my arrival. 2. Am new I do not know.

14. How was this body elected ? By whom?

TEACHER A

By the students through a democratic process, candidature open between standards 8 & 9.

TEACHER B

School holds elections, candidates are drawn from standards 8 & 9, there is transparency and the exercise is democratic, voting is treated like any other democratic voter exercise.

TEACHER C

By students through a democratic election process.

TEACHER D

Students and some teachers are involved and the process is as democratic as possible including the voting procedure.

TEACHER E

Through secret ballot by all bona-fide students of the school.

TEACHER F

Through formal democratic elections.

TEACHER G

Democratic and transparent process, applications open to standards 8 & 9.

<i>Understanding the process</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>ALL</i>	<i>(7)</i>	<i>Issues mentioned: -democracy, transparency, elections, candidature from STD's 8 & 9</i>
<i>Lack of detail</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Teachers F & G do not say explicitly who the voters are.</i>

15. What governing body (students) did the school have in the past?

TEACHER A

No idea

TEACHER B

Prefects and Student Council from time to time.

TEACHER C

Prefects.

TEACHER D

Prefect body.

TEACHER E

Prefect system and attempt on several occasions to have a School Council as well.

TEACHER F

Prefect system, I presume.

TEACHER G

I do not know.

<i>Interest in the school history</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>On track with the changes</i>	4	<i>Prefect system and other attempts (vain) to change to Student Councils.</i>
<i>Lack of interest in the changes</i>	3	<i>1. No idea. 2. Prefect system, I presume. 3. I do not know.</i>

16. What are the functions of this structure?

TEACHER A

Responsible for student affairs, plan various activities, assists towards implementation of the school policy.

TEACHER B

Help in fund-raising, smooth running of the school and handle general students concerns in the school.

TEACHER C

They have different portfolios such as media, etc. Represents students concerns, community service, organise charity functions, cultural affairs in and out of school.

TEACHER D

They are not necessarily responsible for students discipline. Have different tasks according to portfolios held.

TEACHER E

To run specifically pupil affairs in the school.

TEACHER F

To organise students, assist teachers in administration, generally are the voice of the students.

TEACHER G

They are different from prefects, are leaders of the students, keeping rules, fund-raising and organising functions according to different portfolios e.g. cultural, academic support, sport etc.

<i>Knowledge of Executive Council</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>ALL</i>	7	<i>All teachers elaborate at different length on the functions of the Executive Council.</i>

17. Is the staff happy about the functions of the structure?

TEACHER A

They are doing more than the Prefects, they work hard, have different portfolios which are a huge undertaking - am worried about the time they take off from studies.

TEACHER B

Some teachers have little to do with it, while some have lots. Staff is reasonably happy.

I'm happy with their progress thus far.

TEACHER C

Good exposure on leadership and democracy. There are no conflicts but a culture to negotiate, most staff is supportive.

TEACHER D

Yes, even the prefects were not strict on discipline.

TEACHER E

Generally content, are different from the prefect structure, they are no police.

TEACHER F

No, some staff see them as not doing nothing, these are the older ones, are not really used to democracy especially at student level.

TEACHER G

Mixed feelings, some are happy some not. They could be doing more, they say...

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Concerns</i>
<i>HAPPY</i>	<i>(7)</i>	<i>1. Hardworking 2. Differs from Prefects 3. Generally content.</i>	<i>1. Academic work vis-a-vis the demands of the office held.</i>
<i>OTHERS (HAPPY)</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Reasonably happy</i>	
<i>OTHERS (UNHAPPY)</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>1. Mixed feelings 2. Have little to do with Ex Co.</i>	
<i>INDIFFERENT</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>1. Not really different from Prefects</i>	

B. BACKGROUND

18. From which areas do your students come?

<i>NO</i>	<i>Response</i>
<i>7</i>	<i>All over the Western Cape</i>

19. How do they travel to and from school?

Ans. They use various modes of transport, mainly public i.e. trains, busses, taxis, lifts, etc. few is dropped off by their parents while some walk.

20. Does the distance affect them? How?

TEACHER A

Obviously it takes longer to get here and back home, affects the ability and performance, some cannot participate in after school activities.

TEACHER B

Yes, it does, they get hungry, tired and affects participation in after school activities. In winter when it rains it is difficult for them.

TEACHER C

It does, travelling is time consuming, some give up the opportunity of playing sports after school. Public transport, used by the majority is not safe, there are regular taxi fights, sometimes trains get delayed.

TEACHER D

Yes, definitely, they get tired, hungry, sleepy and lots do not eat breakfast, due to their time of departure from home, some might not even have the money. They hardly cope with the school day.

TEACHER E

I think so , yes, it affect punctuality as and hampers extra mural activities, extra lessons and evening events.

TEACHER F

Yes, to some extent, tiredness, punctuality & getting hungry soon.

TEACHER G

Yes, the distance tires them, waking up early, delays in public transport affects their time, sometimes cannot participate in afternoon activities.

<i>Nature of the problem</i>	<i>No. understand</i>	<i>Effects on schooling</i>
<i>1. Distance travelled</i>	<i>ALL (7)</i>	<i>1. Hungry before lunch breaks 2. Drowsiness (especially juniors) 3. General participation in daily learning 4. Inability to participate in after school activities. 5. Absenteeism in evening functions</i>
<i>Modes of transport used</i>	<i>ALL (7)</i>	<i>1. Taxis are risky due to faction fights. 2. Trains are delayed sometimes.</i>

21. Are there any measures the school has taken to make the situation better?

TEACHER A

I do not think so, the parents sometimes organise lifts on their own.

TEACHER B

We start reasonably late (8:10am) and finish at 14:30pm or 14:15pm sometimes. The tuck shop is well equipped and is open in the morning to cater for those who need food. After school activities are not compulsory.

TEACHER C

Starting time moved from 8:00am to 8:10am. For sports transport is provided.

TEACHER D

Soup kitchen is in the pipeline. It is impossible to organise transport because they come from different areas. Some parents organise lifts.

TEACHER E

School starts a bit later. Some events get repeated i.e. lunch hour and evenings.

TEACHER F

Well equipped tuck shop.

TEACHER G

Not as far as I know.

<i>Nature of the problem</i>	<i>No. understand</i>	<i>Effects on schooling</i>
<i>1. Distance travelled</i>	<i>ALL (7)</i>	<i>1. Hungry before lunch breaks</i> <i>2. Drowsiness (especially juniors)</i> <i>3. General participation in daily learning</i> <i>4. Inability to participate in after school activities.</i> <i>5. Absenteeism in evening functions</i>
<i>Modes of transport used</i>	<i>ALL (7)</i>	<i>1. Taxis are risky due to faction fights.</i> <i>2. Trains are delayed sometimes.</i>

<i>General following of the problem</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Solution</i>
<i>Aware of solutions by the school.</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1. Starting later and finish earlier.</i> <i>2. Well equipped tuck shop opens early.</i> <i>3. After school activities not compulsory.</i> <i>4. Transport provided for sports outings.</i> <i>5. Parents meetings held at lunch & evenings</i>
<i>Unaware of any solutions devised</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1. Not as far as I know.</i> <i>2. I don't think so.</i>

22. Does the school the school have a Parent Teacher Association?

<i>YES</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>NO</i>	<i>0</i>

23. What are the typical issues dealt with by this body?

<i>Function</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Fund-raising</i>	<i>All (7)</i>

24. Do parents and teachers have an opportunity to meet regularly?

<i>YES</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>NO</i>	<i>0</i>

25. When and where do these meetings take place?

Ans. School premises, offices (depending to number, e.g. one/two parents), main hall (mass meeting). Meetings have two slots, lunchtime and the evening to accommodate parents who do not have transport in the evenings.

26. Does the school have children from low income families?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>1</i>

27. How are such children assisted?

TEACHER A

There are bursaries they can apply for. In general the school has an understanding financial approach. Parents are free to come and explain their situation and are allowed to pay in terms.

TEACHER B

There's a bursary scheme and sometimes the needy get assisted with school uniform and books. There is a books bursary and some people sponsor students coming to this school.

TEACHER C

The school has a bursary facility, from counselling sessions some students are referred for financial help. The school allows payment in kind.

TEACHER D

They apply for bursaries but the WECED will soon drop this scheme. School subsidises some towards textbooks.

TEACHER E

I think there are bursaries from the school and WECED.

TEACHER F

Through financial aid.

TEACHER G

Not sure.

<i>Understanding of the procedure</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Sponsorship, Bursaries, Subsidies</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>1</i>

28. Does the school raise funds? If so - how?

<i>YES</i>	<i>HOW</i>
7	1. <i>Through PTSA</i> 2. <i>Executive Council.</i> 3. <i>School hires out premises.</i>

C. CURRICULUM

29. Does the school have the autonomy to develop curriculum relevant to its own interests?

TEACHER A

There is an internal flexibility in history in the junior classes but in Matric we have to teach the prescribed syllabi.

TEACHER B

Certain subjects would do own courses. Schools now have the autonomy to have such space for instance we have introduced Xhosa at first Language level.

TEACHER C

As a guidance teacher I do.

TEACHER D

Yes, but not in matric.

TEACHER E

To a certain extent, yes, but we receive guidelines but we internally go beyond them.

TEACHER F

Yes, but not in matric classes.

TEACHER G

Yes, especially the history department.

<i>YES</i>	<i>SUBJECTS</i>	<i>CONDITIONS</i>
7	<i>History</i>	<i>Not in Matric</i>
	<i>Guidance</i>	<i>At all levels</i>

30 Does the current curriculum reflect the cultural diversity of the school and the school system?

<i>YES</i>	3
<i>NO</i>	4

31. Which subjects form the formal curriculum?

SCIENCE: Biology, Science, Mathematics

COMMERCE/BUSINESS Typing, Accounting/Entrepreneurship, Business Economics

ACADEMIC English, Afrikaans (1st & 2nd), Xhosa (1st, 2nd & 3rd)

French, Music Art, Geography and History.

PRACTICAL Home Economics, Woodwork/Technology.

32. Does ethnicity feature as a problem among students?

TEACHER A

Very rarely in my experience - obviously there will be problems, nothing major though.

TEACHER B

Sure it will, people have been kept apart for a long time to just feel free to find common ground. It is going to take time. Students are aware of what apartheid did and are very cautious not to open any wounds.

TEACHER C

There are friendships across the colour line. One girl left because she could not stand African students in the same class. Children are used to mixing but parents do not like it.

TEACHER D

We have few racial problems, race is not an issue among the students and the school does not stress it at all.

TEACHER E

I do not think so. There's been one or two incidents in the beginning i.e. verbal comments, nothing major.

TEACHER F

Yes, some feel alienated and pressured by any dominant social group.

TEACHER G

Yes, mainly through language, most feeder schools are not English medium schools, language negatively affects general mixing.

<i>RESPONSE</i>	<i>NUMBER</i>	<i>REASONS</i>
<i>YES</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1. They are different and obviously there will be problems. 2. Been separated too long to easily find common ground. 3. A White girl left school for not tolerating African students. 4. Alienation of smaller groups by the dominant social groups. 5. Language divides.</i>
<i>NO</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Friendships across racial line, children mix easily unlike adults.</i>
<i>UNCERTAIN</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Once off incident, nothing major.</i>
<i>RARELY</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>No stress on race.</i>

33. How does real differences of language and culture manifest themselves in daily teaching?

(classroom situation)

TEACHER A

Language is a problem, it limits participation in class, making the teacher spend more time explaining some concepts, "I don't mind at all". Our different cultures make me learn from them and they learn from me too.

TEACHER B

Students sometimes speak their mother tongue languages and this is upsetting. Literacy in English is very poor and that makes learning difficult. We have special programmes for the juniors but the pace from Standard Eight is fast thus we advise parents to only send pupils in junior level.

TEACHER C

Code switching to mother tongue make the teachers and others very uncomfortable. While working in groups no matter how hard one tries students tend to stick according to their race groups. "If they speak their mother tongue outside the classroom or when it does not raise suspicion I don't mind".

TEACHER D

We make time to discuss some cultural differences trying to meet each other halfway, the African students for example are loud, but takes pride in what they do and the way they wear school uniform. The Moslem students tend to use filthy language, speaking words White and Black children would not say. Coloured children have low morals and no pride at all. African families tend to instil Western values to children and that is not impressive.

TEACHER E

Different cultures do not mix well in class. The difference in backgrounds also make learning and teaching difficult. Where I come from is not where everybody come from.

TEACHER F

My interpretation of the culture of learning differs from theirs. Different backgrounds affect the learning styles and capabilities to grasp.

TEACHER G

Most Xhosa speaking students cannot cope with the language especially the juniors. That they seem not to respect females especially the younger ones, could be a cultural tendency. Male and other teachers who have been longer at the school receive better treatment. I get a cultural shock everyday.

<i>Nature of the problem</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>1. Feeder schools not English medium. 2. Code switching to own languages is unfair. 3. Competency in English affects progress.</i>
<i>CULTURE (bad)</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1. Different backgrounds and culture of learning. 2. Different cultures and backgrounds can show you the negatives of that culture, language, style of doing things. 3. Discipline and respect given according to age and gender.</i>
<i>(Not necessarily bad)</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1. Culture as a learning resource.</i>

34. What are the aims of the school's history teaching? (same asked to other teachers outside the history department)

TEACHER A

To move away from traditional methods, using a People's approach (bottom up). Teach students to appreciate and respect each other. We have moved from the Eurocentric approach, students live their history and freely tell their stories.

TEACHER B

Helping them understand where they fit in society, understanding the past to make sense of the present and gain focus for the future.

TEACHER C

Teach them to think critically about their lives, educate them about skills they need in life e.g. sexuality and relationships. To break stereotypes and give good career guidance.

TEACHER D

To communicate.

TEACHER E

Give them a sense of their histories, make them think about where they come from and where do others come from too, help them understand each other.

TEACHER F

Develop critical thinking.

TEACHER G

To give them a variety of skills to use in and out of school. Skills that are relevant to the South African youth today. teach them on how to live with others.

35. Describe the methods by which you implement those aims/objectives in class.

TEACHER A

It all starts with me, I show respect and genuine interest in them and they open up to share and communicate. I make them interact through group work and other activities. I give everybody a fair chance because their experiences, like their backgrounds are different, even from mine.

TEACHER B

Discussion, Group work, Research, Source work, Open notes, Tests (open and closed books), Exhibitions, Displays, Visits to places of concern, inviting people in for presentations on certain topics.

TEACHER C

Discussions, Thought provoking questions, Tests, Speakers coming to address them.

TEACHER D

Giving students equal opportunity to participate in class, holding all views as important.

TEACHER E

Making sure that all histories emerge to enhance people's understanding of themselves and others.

TEACHER F

Source based work, Dealing with confrontational issues, Teaching from different points of view.

TEACHER G

Research projects, Essays, Assessment, Focusing on ability to interpret situations.

OVERARCHING METHODS IN ANSWERS

1. Research, Exhibitions and Displays
2. Source based work
3. Equal opportunities to communicate in class.
4. Self reflection
5. Discussion, Group work

36. How does the school handle differences in religion?

Ans. There is no emphasis on religion at all. It is not taught, but there is tolerance and respect in the different denominations present at the school. Fridays, school breaks early to give those of Moslem faith opportunity to go to Mosque. they are allowed to observe their holidays as well but school continues and it remains an individual's responsibility to catch up.

37. Do you allow debates and discussions in class?

YES	7
NO	0

38. Do your pupils discuss issues of race, religion, class and gender in class?

YES / NO / DEPENDS	Number	SCENARIO	ATTITUDE
YES	6	1. Class discussions 2. Lesson on "Slavery" 3. In orals sometimes	1. Objective
DEPENDS	1	4. Guidance "Abortion", Sexuality, Media e.g. when Pagad was in the media (Religion).	2. Cautious

39. Would you or do you encourage this? Why?

YES / NO	Number	REASONS
YES	7	1. To teach them to listen and be tolerant of others' views.
		2. Teach them reach informative decisions as young people
		3. Taking out the prejudices, letting them surface and be dealt with.
		4. Sharpens their thinking.
		5. Enhance tolerance of others and their opinions.
		6. Understanding history as class, gender and racially based.
		7. Eradicate rote learning.

QUESTION 40 (Question posed to history department only)

Could you give examples of activities where you feel your students have really experienced history.

TEACHER A

In Std 8 we discussed the stage where South Africa is in history and we all looked critically at the Government, its progress and failures. Nobody took anything personal, we were all citizens, this is but one example.

TEACHER B

When I asked the students to put themselves in the positions of the people in the past. reading documentaries thereof and then asked how would they respond in some cases, e.g. to be a master and have slaves, would they have slaves at the first place. Critical as they are of the practice given the circumstances such as economy, expensive machinery etc. some agreed with "but.." This helped them think, the past helps them understand today.

TEACHER C

It happens everyday, they live history, we do not talk of the great discoveries of Jan Van Riebeeck any longer but about people as agents and writers of living history.

TEACHER D

We once had a huge workshop on slavery and the preparations they have done for it were very eye opening for history students, such as visiting the museum, looking at archives material, libraries for research and radio talk show as an end result.

TEACHER E

A trip to Robben Island facilitated deep thinking of the country's history and students are happy to be part of it.

OVERARCHING ANSWER

History students are happy to see themselves as agents of history, seeing history as alive and at the same time able to touch the past and sometimes put themselves in the shoes of key people in history to examine what they could have done differently.

41. What are your views on the history books you are using now?

<i>Junior prescribed work is generally good "Broken String" and there is flexibility to retaylor it as we please.</i>	4
<i>Do not know what the prescribed work looks like, hardly use it</i>	1
<i>Senior syllabi needs improvement, the new is on its way</i>	4

42. Do you see a need for a new syllabi?

YES	5
NO	0

43. What is the general attitude of the students among themselves and towards you?

<i>TOWARDS EACH OTHER</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>TOWARDS ME</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Generally positive</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Not sure, am strong on discipline.</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>They sometimes have terrible fights</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Disrespectful</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Do not really open up to each other</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Open to talk</i>	<i>2</i>
		<i>Would like to believe they are positive -you never know...</i>	<i>3</i>

D. COMMUNICATION

44. Does the school write letters to parents?

YES	7
NO	0

45. What other forms of communication does the school use to reach the parent body?

Ans. Meetings, telephone calls, newsletters.

46. In which language(s) does this communication take place?

Ans. English

47. What are the extramural activities offered at the school?

Ans. Soccer, hockey, cricket, softball, tennis, basketball, volleyball, swimming, table tennis, chess, music, art, home economics, woodwork, typing, drama, dance

48. How is participation in special programmes and events (trips, plays, sports) distributed among students? Equally?

TEACHER A:

Equally

TEACHER B:

Participation is voluntary.

TEACHER C:

Open across standards and there is mixed response.

TEACHER D:

It depends on ones interest.

TEACHER E:

Participation is equal especially if these are done during school.

TEACHER F:

It is fair depending on interest and commitment but there are constraints such as transport. For outings the school organises transport.

TEACHER G:

With sports individuals decide.

<i>Understanding of potential problems</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>Recognition of transport constraints</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1. Especially if done during school hours 2. There are transport constraints</i>
<i>No recognition of transport constraints</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1. Voluntarily 2. Depends on interest 3. Very fair 4. Mixed response</i>

49. Does participation in these events reflect class or ethnic distinction?

<i>Not necessarily</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>No recognition</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Yes</i>	<i>1</i>

50. Does the school have its own magazine?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>No</i>	<i>0</i>

52. Are the media collections appropriate to the cultural diversity of the school?

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
<i>Yes</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1. All students participate in the content</i>
<i>No</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1. Kids come here for a Western understanding of life. There is narrow space for others cultures present to develop.</i>

E. OPINION

53. What efforts does the school make to acknowledge and sustain the multicultural nature of the school?

TEACHER A:

The school reflects this character through different cultural activities. In the past we had English only debates. Now we have Xhosa debates, all students are allowed to assert their identity in constructive ways.

TEACHER B:

We have Xhosa as a first language, literacy programs, revised students code explaining guidelines and principles.

TEACHER C:

Cultural activities, languages taught, enrolment numbers, openness of Exco, and general tolerance of the different backgrounds.

TEACHER D:

There is a Xhosa Debating Society. Marimba band is part of the cultural activities. Malays go to Mosque on Fridays. Coloureds feel left out sometimes.

TEACHER E:

Languages taught, religious tolerance, media collections, the face of the Capetonian.

TEACHER F:

Social events, space to portray identity. School unfortunately does not have a collective wheel to exercise its Western culture and therefore gives space to others. Had it had this wheel it wouldn't give space to other cultures.

TEACHER G:

Variety of cultural activities, languages taught, and there is language enrichment programs to assist second language English speakers.

<i>Efforts made to acknowledge the "multicultural" nature of the school</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Religious tolerance</i>	<i>(ALL)</i>
<i>Languages taught</i>	
<i>Variety of cultural activities</i>	
<i>Ethnic representation on school Exco</i>	
<i>Other: Had there been more White students the school would enforce the traditional Western culture. It unfortunately does not have a choice.</i>	

54. Does the library have reading materials that represent the works of writers across gender and racial lines?

TEACHER A:

I do not know. Most of the material is old and given our financial situation that won't be a priority, but I would like to see it happening.

TEACHER B:

Yes, it does.

TEACHER C:

I'm not sure. I know we have different language materials.

TEACHER D:

There are Xhosa books, but there is new stock coming.

TEACHER E:

Yes, it does.

TEACHER F:

No, it does not. Which library does anyway?

TEACHER G:

I don't know.

<i>Library materials: representative</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>No knowledge of the library materials available</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Not representative</i>	<i>1</i>

55. How do you feel about the racial composition of the school?

<i>OPINION</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>REASON</i>
<i>Happy</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1. Kids are kids. 2. Best for individuals and the country's future. 3. We teach children race does not matter.</i>
<i>Indifferent</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1. Does not affect me, they are people, race is not an issue.</i>

56. What is your personal view of open schooling system?

TEACHER A

It is the best, am in favour of it. Teachers need to be retrained so as to be acquainted with the change of audience and be equipped with relevant instructional methodology thereof.

TEACHER B

I fought for it, there's been always that desire from "liberal minded" staff years back.

TEACHER C

Schools should have never been closed at the first place. Wish they got opened while I was still at school.

TEACHER D

Wonderful! An opportunity to meet different cultures and people whose backgrounds are different. This is eye - opening, besides I love children regardless of colour.

TEACHER E

Should have happened years ago, in fact should have never been closed at the first place. Its going to take time to fully correct the imbalances and mistakes of the past.

TEACHER F

The best system, reflective of the real South Africa.

TEACHER G

It is the only solution to rid segregation, but has many problems such as language, different cultures etc.

<i>OPINION ON OPEN SCHOOLS</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>REASON</i>
<i>Supportive</i>	7	<i>1. Learning resource for students and teachers 2. Should have never been closed. 3. An opportunity to get to know people of different cultures. 4. An attempt to correct the mistakes and imbalances of the past. 5. True reflection of the South African nation.</i>



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Appendix 5

Students' Questionnaire Schedule



A. SCHOOL PROFILE

1. How many racial groups does the school have?

2. From these groups which groups have the least number of students and which one has the most?

3. Overall, does the school have more boys than girls or vice-versa?

4. How many teachers does the school have? _____

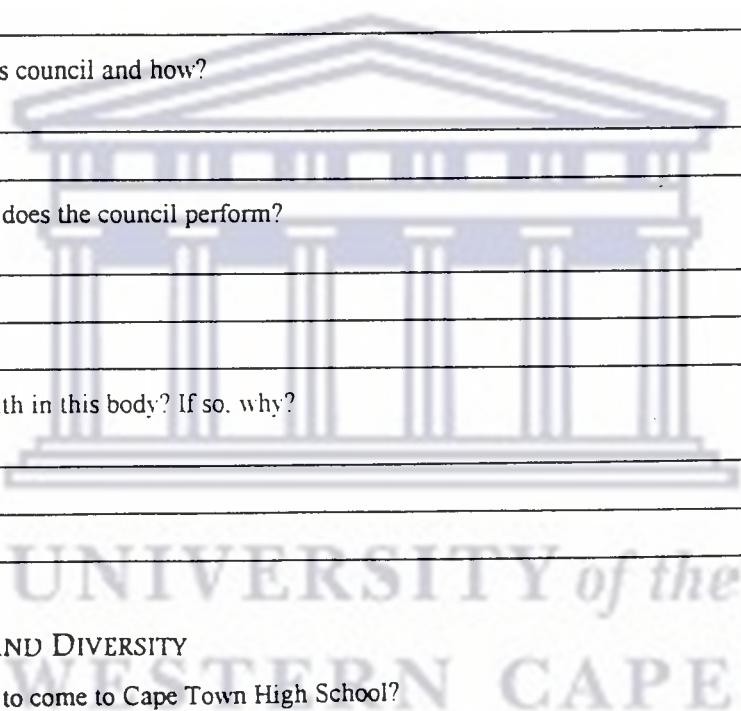
5. Does the school have a student council? _____

6. Who makes up this body?

7. Who elected this council and how?

8. What functions does the council perform?

9. Do you have faith in this body? If so, why?



B. CURRICULUM AND DIVERSITY

10. Did you choose to come to Cape Town High School?

11. Which subjects are you doing?

12. Do you have an opportunity to discuss and debate issues such as race, class and gender in class?

13. During which teaching periods do these discussions emerge?

14. How do you feel about them? (b) Do you participate in them?

15. Do other students freely participate in these discussions?

16. What are the levels of communication between students and staff?

17. Some students may have difficulty adapting to the school system. in your school which students are these?

18. What makes it difficult for them to adapt? (fit in)

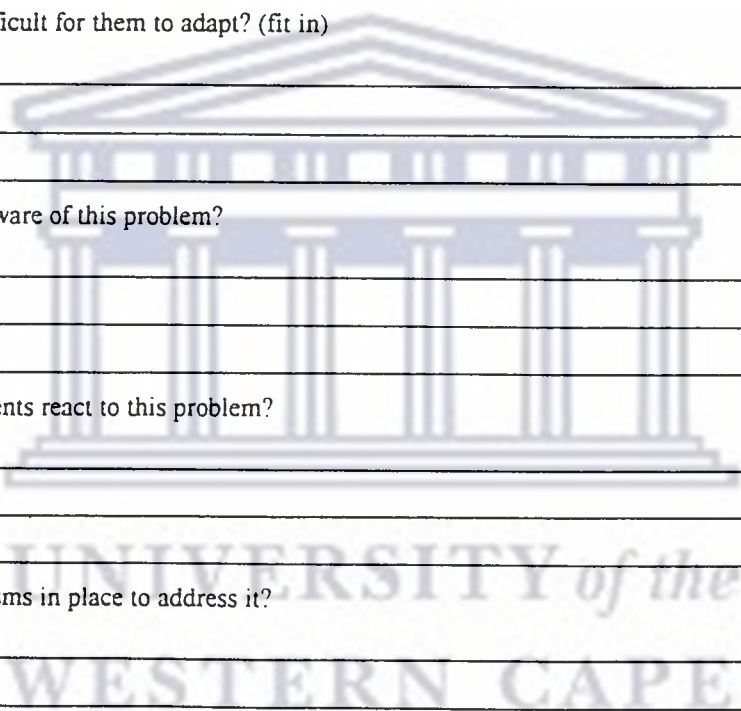
19. Are the teachers aware of this problem?

20. How do other students react to this problem?

21. Are there mechanisms in place to address it?

22. If not, what would you suggest as a remedy?

23. Which subjects do you like most? Why?



24. Do you see your coming to an open school as an advantage or disadvantage? Why?

C. COMMUNICATION

25. Who are your friends?

26. Are they in the same class as you?

27. Which languages do they speak?

28. Are you able to communicate with them in their languages?

29. How often do you meet them outside school? i.e. holidays, and weekends?

30. Have you been to their homes?

31. What extra-mural activities does the school offer?

32. In which ones do you participate?

33. Is/Are there sports codes the school does not have yet you would like to participate in?

34. During breaks do students of the same race group tend to stick together or is there integration?

35. Where does integration occur mostly, is it in Junior or Senior (groups) classes?

36. What is the nature of graffiti (if any) in the school?

37. What racist assumption (if any) emerge from teachers and/or students?

38. Which school holidays does your school observe and what do you do towards those days?

39. Is there a sense of community among students at the school?

D. OPINION

40. Given your experience of this school, what is your general view of open schools?

41. If you were given an opportunity to change anything about your school, what will this be?

42. What does the new South Africa mean to you (in educational terms)?

Appendix 6

Students' questionnaire results



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Students' questionnaire results

A. SCHOOL PROFILE

1. How many racial groups does the school have?

Ans.(All South African groups: African, White, Coloured, Indian)

2. From these groups which groups have the least number of students and which one has the most?

STD	African	Coloured	White	Indian	No Respon.	Overall Response
6 Most	2	4	1	0	3	Coloured
Least	0	1	5	0	4	White
7 Most	1	6	0	0	3	Coloured
Least	0	0	5	0	5	White
8 Most	3	5	0	0	2	Coloured
Least	0	0	7	0	3	White
9 Most	9	0	0	0	1	African
Least	0	0	9	0	1	White
10 Most	2	6	0	0	2	Coloured
Least	0	0	7	0	3	White

3. Overall, does the school have more boys than girls or vice-versa?

STD	Girls	Boys	No Response	Genral Response
6	5	4	1	Girls
7	4	3	3	Girls
8	9	0	1	Girls
9	10	0	0	Girls
10	6	2	2	Girls

Questions 4, 5 are are the same as the teachers i.e. number of school teachers, whether or not the school has a students council.

6 & 7 Who makes up this body (student council) and how?

STD	Who: General Response	How: General Response
6	Students of different race groups	Election
7	Students	Voting
8	Students	Election
9	Students	Democratic Election
10	Students	Democratic Election

8. What functions does the Council perform?

<i>STD</i>	<i>General Response</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>ALL</i>	<i>Fund-raising, social functions, see to students needs and concerns, link between teachers and students, charity events.</i>	<i>Do not know, do nothing</i>

9. Do you have faith in this body and why?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Indifferent</i>	<i>Negative Response</i>	<i>Positive Response</i>
<i>6</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Neglect new comers</i>	<i>Very helpful, accessible, role models</i>
<i>7</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Don't keep promises</i>	<i>Helpful</i>
<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Help us belong</i>	<i>Make our views known</i>
<i>9</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Empty promises</i>	<i>Listen to grievances</i>
<i>10</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Failure to perform</i>	<i>Work hard</i>

B. CURRICULUM AND DIVERSITY

10. Did you choose to come to CTHS?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Response</i>
<i>6</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Good reputation, Parents' choice</i>
<i>7</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Good reputation</i>
<i>8</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Parents' choice, Near home</i>
<i>9</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Parents' choice, Good education</i>
<i>10</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Friends, Near home</i>

12. Do you have an opportunity to discuss and debate issues of race, class and gender in class?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>7</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>8</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>9</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>10</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>

13, 14, 15, During which teaching periods do these debates emerge? Do you participate? Do you like them?

GENERAL ANSWER

Students who agreed on the presence of debates participate, across the grades and express interest.

16. What are the levels of communication between students and staff?

STD	Low	Average	High
6	5	2	3
7	5	2	3
8	3	4	3
9	5	4	1
10	3	5	2

17 & 18 Some students might have difficulty adapting (fit in) which students are these and why?

STD	Who?	Why?
6	Africans, White students.	Literacy in English, loneliness, discipline rudeness
7	Newcomers, Africans, naughty ones.	Language barrier, behaviour, demerit system, feel as if don't belong
8	All pupils, Africans etc.	Social life, family problems, language barrier
9	Naughty, newcomers, Africans	School culture, cultural diversity
10	Afrikaans speakers, racists, naughty students, Africans	Teaching methodology, language complex (inferior), literacy in English,

19 & 20 Are teachers aware of this problem? How do other students respond to this problem?

STD	Y	N	Indifferent	Student Response
6	7	1	2	Talk to accessible staff, friends, Exco, makes them shy and useless.
7	4	3	3	Ignore it, Regret coming to the school, Cope regardless.
8	6	3	1	Teachers support, some don't give a damn.
9	7	1	2	Its your problem, live with it, Teachers get annoyed
10	5	1	4	Teachers are ignorant, some defensive rather than helpful.

21 & 22 Are there mechanisms in place to address it? If no, would you suggest a remedy?

STD	Yes	No	Remedies (in place and suggested)
6	2	4	Teachers should make it their problem too, Academic support
7	0	5	Teachers must open forum to discuss these things, Racial/cultural Understanding essential between teachers and students.
8	4	2	Bridging classes, Open discussion about such matters, Extra lessons
9	4	4	Improved relations in students and teacher population
10	4	4	Special tuition, Close attention to those who need such help

24. Do you see your coming to an open school as an advantage or disadvantage? Why?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Adv.</i>	<i>Disadv.</i>	<i>Indiffer.</i>	<i>Why?</i>
6	7	0	3	<i>Exposure to other race groups, Getting to know cultures different from yours, Friends across races.</i>
7	2	0	7	<i>Knowing people you would otherwise not know.</i>
8	7	0	2	<i>Better facilities, Making friends across the racial lines, Understanding that other races are cool after all.</i>
9	8	1	1	<i>Unlearn stereotypes, Better education, Exposure to real South Africa.</i>
10	7	0	3	<i>Knowledge of other race groups, Learn that people aren't different, Learn to live and tolerate others.</i>

C. COMMUNICATION

25 - 30. Who are your friends (ethnicity included), Do you speak their languages? Ever visit them outside school? Have you been to their homes? **A = if friends are drawn from own ethnic group, B (opposite), no comment in language if friends are of the subject's mother-tongue.

<i>STD</i>	<i>Friendships</i>	<i>Know their language</i>	<i>Visit outside school</i>	<i>Been to homes</i>	<i>Comments</i>
6	A. B. 4	4	4	2	<i>Speak English, Meet at movies sometimes.</i>
7	A. B. 2	2	1	1	<i>Transport constraints,</i>
8	A. B.2	2	1	2	<i>Used to speaking English.</i>
9	A. B. 3	2	2	1	<i>Indoor person.</i>
10	A. B. 4	3	2	2	<i>Little time to socialise, church-goer.</i>

32, 33. In which sports do you participate? Is/Are there sports codes you would like to participate in that the school does not offer?

<i>STD</i>	<i>Involvement in extra-mural activities</i>	<i>Missing sports codes preferred</i>
6	9	2 (volley-ball and hockey)
7	6	1 (hockey)

8	3	1 (hockey)
9	0	1 (hockey)
10	5	4 (hockey and cycling)

34,35. Do students of the same race group tend to stick together or is there integration?

Where does integration occur most, is in junior or senior classes?

STD	Integration	No Integration	Junior	Senior	Both
6	3	7	6	3	1
7	6	4	3	2	2
8	7	3	2	5	3
9	7	3	2	2	6
10	9	1	2	5	3

36. What is the nature of graffiti (if any) in the school?

Ans. Standard teenage graffiti mentioned with no racist connotations at all.

37. What racist assumptions (if any) emerge from teachers and / students?

STD	Racist Assumptions	Number	None
6	White teachers discriminate against Black and Coloured students.	5	5
7	Teachers have racial preferences, and do not favour Blacks.	6	4
8	White students feel discriminated by Black students, teachers and students think Africans are inferior, Whites assume control.	7	3
9	Teachers think students of Colour are inferior.	5	5
10	Teachers favour certain racial groups and alienate others.	4	6

38. Which school holidays does your school observe?

STD	Trends in feed back
Juniors Stds 6,7	National holidays, Christian holidays, Freedom Day.
Seniors Std 8, 9,10	Public holidays, All, Christian holidays.

39. Is there a sense of community among students at the school?

STD	YES	NO	INDIFFERENT
6	5	3	2
7	4	3	3
8	9	0	1
9	8	2	0
10	7	2	1

D. OPINION

40. Given your experience of this school, what is your general view of open schools?

STD	General Opinion
Juniors 6,7	Too much racism and lack of discipline, interesting challenge, good exposure to different ways of life, opportunity to learn and respect other race groups and cultures, good experience, I wish more students had the opportunity
Seniors 8,9,10	Learn to mix with students of various cultures and races, creates religious and cultural understanding, its the key to a better life, provides opportunity for exposure to other racial groups

41. If you were given an opportunity to change anything about your school, what will this be?

STD	General Opinions
Juniors 6,7	Improve relations between African and Coloured students, change the demerit system, remove racism, emphasise respect for students as adults
Seniors 8,9,10	Fewer school hours and more holidays, improve sports equipment, have more social functions, remove some staff members, improve relationships between students, mutual respect between authority and students, integrate Africans and Coloureds, remove racist stereotypes

42. What does the new South Africa mean to you (in educational terms)?

STD	General Opinions
Juniors 6,7	<i>Equal educational opportunities, compulsory education for Africans, youth getting attention, a new name for the old problem, monoethnic schools are neglected, the syllabus hasn't changed, teacher deployment a hassle.</i>
Seniors 8,9, 10	<i>'Free' education for the majority, educational opportunities for all South Africans, better motivation and better standards, freedom to choose schools, teacher retrenchment, same as it was in the past, racially mixed schools, new methods of teaching</i>