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RACIAL INTEGRATION IN FORMERLY WHITE SCHOOLS: A PILOT STUDY OF EDUCATORS' PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES.

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ABSTRACT

The South African educational system has undergone massive changes in the last few decades. One legacy of the apartheid government’s racially segregating policies is inequality in the educational standards of different racial groups. The movement towards democracy in the early 1990s coupled with pressure from the educational community saw the policies changing. Eventually, all schools were declared open to all races and the process of racial integration in schools began. This has meant that for the first time in education, children from disadvantaged backgrounds, children from advantaged backgrounds and children from all races and cultures are now all attending the same schools.

The present research investigates some of the experiences historically whites only schools in a selected region of the Western Cape have undergone during the process of racial integration. An underlying objective was to investigate reported behaviour problems and other related problems in the school. This research was a qualitative pilot study of selected historically white state and private schools in Circuit 1 of the Wynberg School Area in Cape Town. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with school principals of the schools which met the criteria for inclusion in the study (N=9). The interview schedule consisted of both open-ended and closed-ended questions. Semi-structured questionnaires were also administered to three educators in each of the selected schools. Data analysis involved a descriptive and thematic analysis of the interview transcripts. Data derived from the educator questionnaires was used as supplementary information.

The results suggested that although some schools felt that the transition has gone smoothly on the whole, there have been some anxious times. All schools reported their share of problems, some of which may or may not be linked to the process of integration. Some respondents reported that they felt the rates of behaviour problems in the schools have generally increased in the last five years. All schools consistently reported that their observation has been that Black children, especially those from African townships and lower socio-economic backgrounds tend to find it harder to adapt. The findings of the study supported the view that there is a need for a paradigm shift in school psychology. Schools and mental health professionals need to collaboratively engage in initiating and implementing preventative intervention programmes to prevent at risk children from developing mental health problems, and to develop health promotive school environments.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The South African Education system has undergone vast metamorphosis in the last four decades. Schooling has gone through a transition from being racially segregated, to being optionally and conditionally segregated, to the present state of being, in principle at least, racially integrated. All these changes have been supported and enforced by government legislature. The process of change has been closely monitored by many researchers and an accompanying body of literature exists to document these changes from varying perspectives.

Available literature has tended to focus on legal and ethical issues related to the apartheid educational system. More recent researchers who have studied the "open schools" process have focused primarily on the children themselves, with most of the research being done soon after racially segregated schools were declared "open".

Some research also focuses on the children's experiences. Studies have explored issues such as whether or not children mix racially and whether or not they experience racism from teachers and students from other races. Other research has tended to focus on experiences of ethnic minority children and their families as a result of sending their children to previously segregated schools (Sacco, 1991). Such research has also explored experiences of domestic workers in particular undergoing sending their children to such schools (Christian, 1998; Mange, 1995).

Literature that focuses on the schools' experiences of the "open schools" movement, particularly on their perspective on behaviour and adjustment problems, is very scant. Likewise, little documented research was found where researchers have followed up the "open schools" process to evaluate the present status in South African education. This study will aim to serve two major purposes. In the first instance, it will be a follow-up of the "open schools" process in a particular area of the Western Cape, with the aim of shedding some light on aspects of what has happened thus far in the process. This includes the schools' experiences of behaviour and adjustment problems of children. Secondly, it will aim to encourage a shift in focus, to move away from focusing on the children and their families, towards focusing on the school as a system - a step towards preventative interventions.
1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

During my first year of study as a Master's student in Clinical Psychology, an African\(^1\) girl, Anne\(^2\), was referred to me for behavioural problems. The referral agent was her mother's employer (Mrs. H) who said "she steals from other children at school and is bossy and aggressive with her peers", among other things. Anne's mother was a domestic worker who had worked with her employer for a very long time. Anne went to a very expensive predominantly White school in an affluent suburb. She and her mother lived with the employer during the week (in a suburban area) and she spent weekends and holidays with her mother in an African township. Mrs. H was very involved in Anne's upbringing and she was the principal decision-maker in matters concerning Anne.

During the assessment phase, it was discovered that Anne had a dilemma about where she belonged and fit in, as opposed to where she wanted to belong. She displayed a strong need to identify with and belong in the "school world" and expressed her discontent about her life in the township. A lot of her symptoms were connected with her anxiety about where she belongs and feeling that she did not fit in either of her two "worlds". It later became apparent that her mother felt powerless where Anne was concerned as she felt she did not have much of a say in matters concerning her. Her feelings of powerlessness were compounded by her realisation that Mrs. H had afforded Anne the opportunity to experience a "superior" education and a life she herself could never have offered her child. She was unable to speak openly about Anne when Mrs. was present but was able to voice her frustrations in Mrs. H's absence. She reported that her relationship with her daughter was strained because of Mrs. H's over-involvement and "interference", especially in disciplinary issues.

Anne's mother's major frustration was with the school. She reported that the school communicated with Mrs. H about most issues pertaining to Anne. Mrs. H attended all the PTA meetings, parents' day functions, school plays and other such gatherings. However, when Anne was in trouble at school, especially for stealing, Anne's mother was contacted. She felt that Anne's difficulties were "blamed" on her while all the "good" things were attributed to her "White", socially advantaged employer's influence.

In dealing with the school in the management of this case, many questions were raised in me pertaining to their attitude towards this case and other such cases. I was given the impression that on the one hand, the school was very eager to help in any way possible. On the other hand, it could be the case that they attributed Anne's behavioural problems partly to the fact that her mother was a domestic worker, and

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\(^1\)Please see Appendix I for a note on the use of racial classification terms.

\(^2\)For purposes of confidentiality, a pseudonym has been used.
partly to the fact that she lived in an African township. They also referred to "Black culture", which implied a degree of homogeneity of culture for all African people. Questions were raised in me pertaining to their awareness of the complexity of cultural diversity amongst African people. Important to note is that the school was previously a racially segregated school which has recently been "opened". It is still a predominantly White school, with most children coming from middle-class backgrounds. Liaison with the school made me consider many issues and implications of previously racially segregated schools that have been "opened" to other races. I realised how important it is for the school system to adapt to changes associated with a new population of culturally different children. It is impossible to have monocultural education where cultural diversity is completely ignored and unacknowledged. It is similarly impossible to have an education system that encompasses all aspects of all cultures. It is therefore, imperative for a school system to adapt to the richness of cultural diversity they may be confronted with.

This study will aim to investigate aspects of how the schools have adapted to the "opening" of schools and what their experiences have been. What is their perspective on the process? The dissertation is part of a larger study. The ultimate aim is to explore entry points for the development of school based interventions (preventative and otherwise).

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this research is to investigate:

1.2.1 Common trends in schools' observations about behavioural and emotional problems of specifically black\(^3\) children. The study will be conducted in schools which were previously racially exclusive (for White students only) and have subsequently been racially integrated. A related objective is to compare the problems reported to be presented by black children to those presented by White children so as to enable the generation of hypotheses about any observed differences and/ or similarities. This may yield some important information about adjustment patterns in the schools. Secondly, the schools' attitudes and impressions about the behavioural and other problems will be explored. This is very important because, in general, a person's appraisal of a situation will impact on their ability to deal with it as well as the manner in which they will deal with difficulties, should they arise. This also applies to the schools. Therefore, in order to adopt a systemic view in understanding these children's difficulties, it is important to understand the system, how it works and how it appraises the situation.

\(^3\)Please see Appendix 1 for a note on the use of this term.
1.2.2 The schools' perceived role in the integration process—past, present and future. When the schools were undergoing the changes and this new population of children was introduced, what were their expectations? What sort of difficulties did they anticipate and in what way did they prepare themselves, should they encounter these problems? If they have encountered problems, especially with the new population of children, how have they dealt with them?

It is crucial to investigate all the above questions in the schools with an "open mind" as very little research with this focus has been done locally. The latter objective is not the direct focus of the research but serves a more contextual purpose. In order to contextualise the difficulties children are experiencing in the schools, it is important to consider the history of the circumstances they are in.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.3.1 Towards desegregation: A historical perspective

Racial discrimination is a phenomenon that has been a major part of South African history. Policies that were laid down under the apartheid government divided everything along racial lines. This apartheid system was based on White domination of all South Africans who were classified as "black". Included in this category were Indian, Coloured and African people. White people had their own laws and facilities, as did Indian, Coloured and African people. Likewise, education in South Africa has historically been marked with unequal provision and segregation along racial and class lines (Gilmour & Soudien, 1994).

Although racial discrimination in education has been prevalent for nearly three hundred years, it was reinforced when the National Party (NP) came into power in 1948 and introduced the policy of segregated education (Naidoo, 1996). Separate education departments were created to cater for the different population groups as stipulated in the Eiselen Commission Report in 1951, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Coloured Persons' Education Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965. By the 1980s, the House of Assembly was the controlling authority of education for White people, the House of Delegates was responsible for the education of Indians in South Africa, the House of Representatives was the authority for "Coloured" education and the Department of Education and Training catered for African pupils.

Concurrent with these laws were grave inequalities in the state funding for the different population groups, with African children's education receiving minimal funding. Their education was thus characterised by insufficient equipment, under-qualified staff and a general shortage of schools (Bot,
The per capita educational spending was R3082.00 for White schools and R411.58 for African schools in the 1988/1989 year (SAIRR 1990:795, as cited in Naidoo, 1996). Previously, government expenditure per child in 1980 was R139 for African children and R913 for White children (Eyber et. al, 1997).

Although there were some resistances to the apartheid education policies, nothing changed significantly until the 1976 Soweto student uprisings (Bot, 1992; Christie, 1994; Naidoo, 1996). The Catholic Church also became increasingly articulate about their disapproval of the apartheid policies in education. This was the beginning of a struggle which continued right into the 1980s (Christie, 1990). After some resistances, Catholic schools admitted their first African students into their schools, with much disapproval from government. As opposition grew stronger, government was compelled to allow a very limited number of African students into previously White private schools, after having laid down strict criteria for their acceptance. To get to this point, it took twenty years, which demonstrates the "pervasiveness of racial assumptions in South Africa" (Christie, 1990).

The move to open schools was met with much resistance. Furthermore, in the late 1980s, (1985 - 1989), many White schools had to be closed down because there were too few students and too many facilities to maintain. One such school was Johannesburg High School for girls. Yet there were many African township schools which were severely overcrowded, with many African children who could have filled those empty places in the White schools (Bot, 1992; Frederikse, 1992; Gilmour & Soudien, 1994; The Human Awareness Programme, 1990).

Many other private schools began to admit African students without government's approval, so in 1985, a new education act was introduced. One of the conditions was that the racial composition of the school would determine the level of subsidy they received; the more African students there were, the lower the subsidy. The Private Schools Act of 1986 stipulated that White private schools were legally permitted to cater for other population groups. In 1990, this act was amended and government introduced the "Clase Models" which set out the conditions under which White state schools could admit African pupils (Christie, 1994; Frederikse, 1992). White state schools could choose to either maintain the status quo in their schools or adopt one of the following three models which gave them control over their admissions.

Model A was a model which gave White state schools the option to close and become private schools. State would provide a 45 % subsidy, subject to their meeting certain criteria as well.

Model B stipulated that the school remains a state school under a management committee within departmental regulations. Most running costs would be funded by the state.
Model C was for state-aided schools which would be run by a management committee and the principal. The management committee had the power to decide on admission policies.

It was emphasised that schools would be registered with the racial department of the majority of their students (majority being 50% plus one).

The struggle towards desegregated schooling has not exclusively been in formerly White schools. The former Indian and Coloured schools have also had their share of struggles and have undergone a similar process of desegregation and “opening” to other races, mainly African students. Although this research venture focuses on the process as it has happened in the previously White schools, it is important to acknowledge that racial segregation in education was not only between Black and White but was far more complex. This clearly shows the extent to which education was divided and segregated under apartheid laws.

The history of South African education demonstrates the segregation, constraints, resistances and struggles schools endured in their attempts to evade racial divisions of apartheid. However, although open schools took their stance against racial segregation, this did not guarantee an automatic end to racial assumptions among students and school staff (Christie, 1990; Eyber et. al, 1997). Literature suggests that, in fact, the move towards racial integration in schools may have exacerbated racial tensions and mistrust (Bot, 1992; Eyber et. al, 1997). It has been a difficult process for all parties concerned, which has required a lot of adapting and compromising one's attitudes. Changing and challenging these racial assumptions and attitudes is a process which may still be in its infancy; the racial integration of public schools still has a long way to go (Naidoo, 1996).

1.3.2 School integration

Much has been written about racial integration in schools in general. South Africa is not the only country which has experienced racial segregation in schools. Many other countries have been through similar phases of racial segregation and integration. Studies have been documented the world over, including in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Holland and Zimbabwe to name a few. Some of the studies focus on the integration of immigrant children living in those states and some focus on the integration of black children into White schooling systems. Most of these studies have reported that integration has been more successful when it has resulted from choice (Bot, 1992). South Africa is one of the last countries in the world to abolish racially discriminating policies (Bot, 1992). In theory, one may hypothesise that South Africa has had the opportunity to learn from the mistakes, difficulties and
successes that other countries have encountered in their processes of racial integration. In practice, this is easier said than done.

1.3.3 Racism and education

Racial discrimination has been a major part of South African history. It has been there in the form of racism for centuries and to be rid of it and unlearn racist ways of thinking will be a long process for some people. For many, it is uncomfortable to speak about it and there are many sensitivities around the topic. It is easier to deny that racism still exists, especially in the education system, than to confront it (Asmal, 2000). One of the frequently reported consequences of racial integration in schools is an increase in racism (Bot, 1992; Eyber et. al., 1997; Frederikse, 1992; Verma, Zec & Skinner, 1994). Unfortunately, due to the discomfort experienced when speaking about racism, such issues are commonly not acknowledged or brought to the fore for open discussion. It is only through thinking about and understanding the issues of racism that it may be overcome (Eyber et. al., 1997; Asmal, 2000). At the Beyond Racism conference (May 2000), Minster of Education Kader Asmal referred to racism as a “continuous education, a life's work of self-taught prejudice. Undoing it is a life's work too”. The challenge is to therefore “unteach the mis-taught to give change another chance”.

1.3.4 Change: a long and laborious process?

Researchers and academic scholars have studied and identified many different approaches to change in order to understand the process of change. This is important because the process of change itself greatly impacts on the process of policy making (Ahmed & Pretorius-Heuchert, 2001; Lazarus, 2001). It has been found that positive personal interaction may change somebody's attitude towards an individual but not towards an entire group (Eyber et. al., 1997). Social change is thus the desirable goal as opposed to targeting individuals. Ahmed and Pretorius-Heuchert (2001) write about social change, particularly in communities. The school may also be viewed as a small community. They maintain that all definitions of change contain the element of time, a sense of history. Even though there is no unanimity on the forms, causes and consequences of social change. They explore definitions and theories of social change. From a Marxist perspective, social change is defined as “a struggle to transform oppressive and exploitative social relations, and social change is thus inevitable, desirable, and a necessary process to address inequality” (Ahmed & Pretorius-Heuchert, 2001).

A willingness to change requires an open mind. Lazarus (2001) identified 18 factors that influence the process of change and one of the most obvious and important factors is a readiness to change. Schools may have a “we did fine before” or a “we've got no problems here” attitude which may hinder the school
systems' ability to adapt (Eyber et al., 1997; Todd, 1993). Attitudes are deeply ingrained and are thus very difficult to change. So too are stereotypes. Where change happens, it is usually a slow process (Eyber et al., 1997; Klein, 1993). Klein suggests that instead of changing teachers' attitudes towards the children, it is better to change their behaviour. The rationale behind this is that the teachers' behaviour would affect the responses they elicit from pupils' responses which will eventually change the teachers' perceptions of them. Secondly, children are passing through the education system and they will not be there long enough to wait for the outcome of the slow process of attitude changes (Klein, 1993). Eyber et al. (1997) stress the importance of reflecting on issues encountered during the process of change in schools and the importance of developing a vision for the school.

1.3.5 Assimilation in schools

Most schools that open to ethnic minority groups usually expect assimilation to take place (Eyber et al., 1997; Todd, 1993). Assimilation has been described by Giddens as "the acceptance of a minority group in which the group takes on the values and norms of the dominant (as cited by Todd, 1993). It is viewed as a one-way process because the ethnic minority passively change and conform while the majority have the power to tolerate, reject or accept the assimilated ethnic minority. Children who are resistant to assimilation may, thus, be rejected as outcasts. Jenkins (1966, as cited in Klein, 1993) said that multicultural education should aim for equal opportunity and cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and not simply assimilation. Schools need to critically evaluate their policies and practices and they too, must adapt to the new population of students (Bot, 1992; Eyber et al, 1997; Frederikse, 1992; Klein, 1993).

1.3.6 The children's experiences

Research has been conducted in South Africa investigating children's experiences of entering multi-racial open schools. Most of this research was done in the early 1990s when the process was just beginning and most of it is directed towards African children's experiences. Christie (1990) conducted research in racially mixed Catholic schools in the 1980s and found that African children experienced problems in adjusting and making the transition from segregated schooling to multi racial schooling. Most of the difficulties experienced are social, emotional and/or scholastic in nature. African pupils also reported difficulties in mixing with White children. The research also suggested that open schools challenged racial assumptions amongst the White children.

Research published by the Human Awareness Programme in 1990 found that schools with more African pupils had to adapt and change the school culture in order for the African children to fit in. Other scholars
have also reported this (Eyber et. al., 1997; Frederikse, 1992). The pupils in these schools were more empathic towards African pupils and the “appalling living conditions” they went home to. However, in one school with very few African students, African pupils found it hard to adjust to the changes, especially when they are living in two worlds: the townships and the “White” school. In another study, one child said “sometimes I don't know who I am. When I'm at home, I feel Black, when I'm at school, I have to be White” (Beard & Gaganakis, 1991). Research has found that the African children who were the first to enter newly opened schools experienced a host of difficulties. Most of them were assimilated and came to be seen as “coconuts”; people with black skins and white interiors (Eyber et. al., 1997; Frederikse, 1992). It was a common occurrence for them to assume the racial discriminatory attitudes of their White counterparts and some became “racist” towards subsequent African children entering the schools. Research has shown that African children sometimes develop shame for their cultures and their backgrounds and tend to denounce their heritage. For example, they may refrain from speaking their mother tongues. This may be partly due to the lack of acknowledgement their different cultures get in some of the open schools (Eyber et. al., 1997).

Generally, literature suggests that racial problems and differences among students are more prevalent and obvious in secondary schools than in primary schools (Carrim, 1992; Christie, 1990; Dawes & Finchilescu, 1999; Eyber et. al., 1997; the Human Awareness Programme, 1990). According to Bot (1992), “the positive effects of desegregation are almost completely restricted to the early primary grades”. This finding has been replicated in international studies (Frederikse, 1992). These findings imply that there are difficulties in the integration of the more senior learners, whose attitudes and racial assumptions are more deeply ingrained.

Frederikse (1992) uses Zimbabwe's experience of desegregation and likens it with the parallel process of integration that South African education is undergoing. Her research revealed, among other things, that as schools became more integrated racially, racial prejudice amongst the children became less apparent. Children, of all races, became increasingly prejudiced against children from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

1.3.7 The teachers’ experiences

A small body of literature exists on research that has been conducted investigating teacher’s experiences of the process of opening schools (Bot, 1992; Eyber et. al, 1997; Munshi, 1997; Skuy & Vice, 1996). This literature focuses mostly on teachers' attitudes towards racial integration in schools and not on their experiences (Bot, 1992; Skuy & Vice, 1996). One study investigated the attitudes of teachers from previously disadvantaged and segregated schools (Munshi, 1997). Some of these studies were conducted
in the early 1990s when the education policies were just beginning to change and consider desegregation. Most studies found that teachers were ambivalent about the change initially. Some of them, mostly English speaking White teachers, were in favour of racial integration, while the majority of Afrikaans speaking White teachers were against it (Bot, 1992; Eyber et al., 1997; Skuy & Vice, 1996).

Eyber et al. (1997) reported that since schools were declared “open” to all races, teachers have struggled, and are still struggling, with the constantly changing dynamics in their schools. Some of the previously privileged schools have voiced their concerns about drops in standards, and report that they are battling to maintain their identities. Unfortunately, these concerns are usually expressed in terms of race which may be interpreted as racism, which has been identified as one of the key obstacles to development in South African schools (Eyber et al., 1997).

Literature suggests that although most schools and their teachers have only good intentions for their African pupils, they may not always be helpful (Eyber et al., 1997). There are still many stereotypes in schools. For example, it has been found that some educators have stereotypical expectations of what African children are like and they speak of “Black culture”. Many African students in previously segregated schools have been identified as having a poor self image and low self esteem. In many cases, these conclusions are based on the observation that there are some quiet African pupils who do not mingle as much as the others. This is in part a consequence of their lack of understanding that there is no single “Black culture” and not all African children are the same (Eyber et al., 1997; Frederikse, 1992).

1.3.8 The schools' role- what the literature says

Democracy is best learned in a democratic setting where participation is encouraged, where views can be expressed openly and discussed, where there is freedom of expression for pupils and teachers, and where there is fairness and justice.

(Speaker's Commission on Citizenship, 1990 as cited in Klein, 1993)

The school is a social setting where the process of socialisation must take place. It is a site for the development, not only of skills, but also of norms, values and responsibilities which once were nurtured naturally in the family and community (Muller, 1990). The responsibility shifts to the schools and that is why it is imperative to examine what goes on there.

Another reason why the school plays an important role in the racial integration of children, not only in schools but in the communities at large, is that education is a very powerful means of influence. For after all, it was the process of education that transmitted racism and passed it down the generations in the first
place (Asmal, 2000). The schools are therefore the place where the cycle may be broken and new patterns of thinking may be nurtured.

Research also suggests that teachers' attitudes and expectations have a powerful effect on pupils' feelings about themselves and their school and may directly determine their academic progress (Rist, 1970 & Wright, 1985 as cited in Klein, 1993). It may be possible to find schools with a half open door where they have open school policies but racially segregating attitudes. Considering that racial assumptions may be deeply rooted, having been reinforced by the apartheid government, teachers may have their own prejudices and assumptions about ethnic minority children. The assimilationist approaches used in most schools (bridging and enrichment classes to help African learners "fit" in etc.), although done with good intentions, may be discriminatory and disempowering to pupils.

The manner in which the teachers and other staff interact with the pupils has been found to be one of the factors that affects learning (Eggleston et. al., 1986 & Gillborn, 1990, as cited in Klein, 1993; Macdonald et. al., 1989; and Rampton, 1981). The school system may be disabling to ethnic minority groups which may hinder them from achieving their full potential. Research suggests that teachers assess and appraise African children differently from White children (Eggleston et. al., 1986 as cited in Klein, 1993). The school, therefore, plays a very important role in determining how smooth the transition will be for all parties concerned. Racial integration should not be done at the expense of anybody's indigenous culture. In other words, the goal should be to help people become racially integrated, not assimilated, while at the same time appreciating cultural diversity.

1.3.9 Mental health and education: From past to present

Lazarus and Donald (1997) use the term "education" to mean not only the system of formal schooling, but also the "strategy for achieving both individual and broader social development". The definition of the term "mental health" falls within the definition of "health" which has recently been defined as "a complete sense of physical, mental and social well-being" and not just the absence of disease (Alma Ata Declaration, 1978, as cited in Swartz & Gibson, 1997). This definition acknowledges that all three identified aspects of health are interrelated and must hence be addressed in a holistic manner. Mental health exists along a continuum of "illness" and "wellness". It is thus important to recognise the need for curative, preventative and health promotive interventions in schools (Lazarus & Donald, 1997).

During the apartheid years, as in education, there were inequalities in mental health provision for the different races. While the first "psychological services", or their equivalent were established in White education in the 1940s, it was not until much later before similar services were established in education
departments catering for Indian, Coloured and African pupils. In 1989, the ratio of psychologists to students was 1:2750 for White students, 1:8800 for Indians, 1:9000 for Coloureds and 1:28000 for African students. Services established for White, Indian and Coloured pupils included psychological assessment and intervention for individuals, guidance and counselling in schools, specials educational schools, and classes and/or remedial services for children in mainstream schooling with special needs. However, for a very long time, services to African students were limited to group psychometric assessments (National Education Policy Investigation, 1992, as cited in Lazarus & Donald, 1997).

In recent times, there has been an increased emphasis on the promotion of mental health in education. In the early 1990s, the National Education Policy Investigation was launched. The aim was to research areas that were identified as important to education. One such area was Education Support services. This research identified and developed policy options for the support services in South African education. Furthermore, the Western Cape Education Support Services Policy Research and Development Group was initiated from this project. This was the beginning of the establishment of forums where role-players could debate policy issues relating to Education Support Services in South Africa. These forums have been central to advocating the importance of mental health and other aspects of health, in education (Lazarus & Donald, 1997).

1.3.10 Conclusion

Education in South Africa has undergone many changes in the last five decades. Schools have, especially recently, gone from being racially segregated to being racially integrated but it has been a great struggle to achieve this, partly because of the legacy of the apartheid government's racial discriminatory policies. With the advent of democracy in the early 1990s, schools were finally opened to all races. This has not been an easy process and has been monitored by researchers. Most of them have focused on student's experiences of the process of opening schools to all races. Although few, if any, local studies have been conducted to specifically investigate adjustment problems of children in open schools, they have been documented through the findings of other studies.

Attitudes about races have been, and still are, changing and altering the face of South African education. Furthermore, it is through the teachers and interactions with other people at school, that children are being integrated racially. The term "open school" should not refer only to the opening of schools to other races but also implies openness to cultural diversity, individuality and change. Schools have fought for change for decades. Change came and reality along with it. It will take many more years, and hard work to change ways of thinking and attitudes that have been enforced and reinforced for decades. Whether or not the schools realise the struggles ahead and are prepared to face those in order to make the transition as
smooth as possible is a question this research can only begin to investigate.

1.4 CLINICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Last year alone, at the Child Guidance Clinic (CGC) where I completed my first year of studies, nine African and Coloured children were seen who met the following criteria. They were all in primary and secondary schools which were formerly White, some of which are still predominantly for White learners. Some of them had parents who were domestic workers, as in Anne's case, some of them lived in townships and commuted to school every day, some of them had changed to the former White schools after having attended other schools. All these children presented with emotional problems manifested through maladaptive behaviour patterns, social withdrawal and scholastic difficulties, among other things.

Although these nine children were assessed and treated, there were many more like them who remained on the waiting list and were never afforded the opportunity to see a clinician. For example, one previously Whites only school referred 40 African children to the Child Guidance Clinic at one go.

In previous years, other researchers have conducted studies which were motivated by a scenario similar to that outlined above (Christian, 1998; Mange, 1995; Ngqakayi, 1991). The point is, therapy units such as the CGC may receive more and more referrals of this sort. Assessing and treating all these children individually could become an exhausting, expensive and time consuming task, especially considering the limited resources we have available. It may also inappropriately label the children as "the problem" and as the only problem. That is why we must look at the schools' resources with the aim of maximizing their potential and using those to help these children at that level. As the old saying goes, prevention is better than cure. If the schools were to be given guidelines as to how to help these children, they could possibly feel better equipped to help and they could become more involved and hence, empowered. There is also a growing sense that interventions with children from these schools need to shift from being only curative, i.e. when difficulties occur, to being more preventative and organizational based.

Unfortunately, there appears to be a grave paucity of literature that focuses on the schools' experiences of the "open schools movement": As mentioned earlier, most of the literature has focused on the children's and the families' experiences of sending their children to these schools. It is, however, crucial that research be done locally with emphasis on the schools and what their experiences have been, especially now since more than five years have passed since schools were declared open. It is hoped that this study will on the one hand, serve the purpose of giving mental health resources such as the CGC, some valuable insight that may be incorporated in preventative and other interventions. It is hoped that some useful recommendations may come out of this research project. On the other hand, this research will contribute to the narrowing of the gap in the literature.
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study reported on in this dissertation forms part of a larger collaborative investigation into issues of race in schools; this dissertation focuses only on the qualitative section. The results of the rest of the investigation will be reported on elsewhere. The investigation was conducted in the Wynberg School Area in the former "Whites only" schools. Part A, the qualitative research reported here, targeted a sample drawn from Circuit 1 of this area and Part B, the rest of the investigation, targeted the rest of the sample drawn from Circuits 2, 3, 4 and 5.

In selecting the research design, two important aspects had to be taken into consideration. First of all, the topic under study is relatively under-researched and there is very little research to build on. For this reason, the research venture that will be reported on in this dissertation was viewed as a pilot study: a preliminary inquiry. Furthermore, coupled with the highly sensitive nature of the topic, an explorative, descriptive and qualitative approach was employed. Qualitative approaches have been argued to be more ethical and informative when researching people's life experiences (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In such circumstances, one would not derive the true meaning of their participants' unique experiences if they were to be quantified before researchers gain a sense of what the issues are for participants (Lee, 1993).

2.2 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

There are 4 main school geographical areas within the Cape Metropole region: the Wynberg Area, Cape Town area, Athlone Area and the Atlantis Area. The target population for the larger investigation was the schools in the Wynberg school area. The Wynberg Area is divided into 5 circuits and 225 schools fall within those circuits. These include primary and secondary schools, private schools, special schools and pre-primary schools. This qualitative study focused on the schools in Circuit 1. This area was targeted partly because of the observed rapid increase in referrals to the CGC from schools in this area and also because the CGC falls within Circuit 1 of the Wynberg School Area.

There are 53 schools in Circuit 1 (see Table A2.1, Appendix 2). Of these, all schools which were

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4For further details and methodology of the larger investigation, please see Appendix 2.
5For a breakdown of all the schools by type, in the Wynberg school area, please refer to table A2.1 (Appendix 2).
historically for White pupils, (i.e. former Model C schools), were included in the sample. This is because most of the children who were referred to the CGC were from the historically White schools. A total of 8 public secondary and primary schools (4 of each) met this criterion and were included in the sample. Private schools were also included in the sample although some of them were historically involved in the formulation of racial inclusion policies. They were, however, all predominantly White until fairly recently (approximately 10 years ago). The inclusion of private schools, furthermore, gives a window into some comparative data on whether themes that emerge follow the same pattern as those from the public schools. Another reason why private schools were included in the sample is that private schools may also impact on the broader fabric of the community and should thus be considered in any schooling policy for a post-apartheid society (Muller, 1990). Private schools that were included in the sample had to have been previously for White pupils only, or at least pre-dominantly for White pupils. Correspondence colleges and part-time study institutions were excluded from the sample. A total of 6 private schools met the criteria and were hence included in the sample. It is important to emphasize that a full investigation into the experiences of racial integration in private schools per se is beyond the scope of this study. The final sample therefore consisted of 14 schools.

2.3 DATA COLLECTION

The study was divided into two parts. Data collection for both parts was done concurrently. The first part was a qualitative study of the schools in Circuit 1 where interviews were conducted with the school principals. The second part was also conducted in Circuit 1 but survey methods were used to investigate some of the attitudes and experiences of selected teachers in those schools.

Before any of the data collection could take place, permission to conduct this research was sought from the Provincial Administration- Western Cape (PAWC) Education Department⁶. After permission had been granted, letters⁷ were sent to all the schools in the sample, requesting their participation in the research and giving an overview of the study. This included the purpose of the study, the implications of the results and how they may be used.

2.3.1 Instruments

Even though a questionnaire and an interview schedule were used, the questions were similar in content. They were, however, adapted in order to be appropriate for the particular respondent, be it a school

⁶See Appendix 4 for the letter from the PAWC Education Department
⁷See Appendix 5 for a copy of the letter sent to schools
principal, or an educator. All the questions on both the interview schedule and the questionnaire were piloted and tested on 5 psychology students from the University of Cape Town.

2.3.1.1 Interview schedule

The interview schedule\(^8\) was modified from the survey questionnaire used in the larger investigation\(^9\). Most of the questions were adapted for use in an interview situation. The target was to have an interview schedule that would take a minimum of 30 minutes and a maximum of 45 minutes to administer. This is because if interviews are too long, respondents may lose concentration or become bored, which may bias the results (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1996). Face-to-face interviews were used because of their documented advantages in doing qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1996; Seale & Filmer, 1998). Firstly, interviews provide the opportunity to establish rapport and to stimulate the trust and co-operation of the participants. They also provide the opportunity to probe difficult areas sensitively. Another advantage is the fact that the researcher can help the respondents with their interpretation of the questions. Misinterpretation of questionnaire questions does happen, especially in sensitive questions (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1996). Another advantage of using interviews is that they allow the researcher greater control over the interaction. If they need to probe more on a particular response, they may do so, which is not possible with certain other data collection methods.

Due to the limited time available for the interviews, only questions which had to be answered in an interview setting were included in the schedule. Other important questions that would not require any further probing and could be answered in the respondent’s spare time, were included in the Statistical Information Sheet\(^10\). Included in the interview schedule were questions eliciting information about social groupings of children, challenges faced in the school, difficulties (behaviour and other problems included) they experience with the children and how they deal with them. The sequence of the questions was arranged in such a way that they started off being factual, closed ended and unthreatening and became increasingly open-ended, requiring more thought and reflection. Research suggests that asking sensitive questions earlier in the interview interferes with the establishment of trust and rapport (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1996). Finally, the respondents were asked more personal questions about the process of opening the schools to all races. They were asked open-ended questions about their experiences, observations, expectations and attitudes.

\(^8\)See Appendix 6 for the interview schedule.
\(^9\)See Appendix 3 for the questionnaire used for the larger study.
\(^10\)See Appendix 7 for the Statistical Information Sheet (SIS).
2.3.1.2 Statistical Information Sheet (SIS)

The Statistical Information sheet was devised in the form of a questionnaire. The questions included in this sheet were those that were considered very important but did not necessarily have to be asked in the interview. It was, therefore, mutually time-efficient, to compile some of the factual and background questions in questionnaire form for later completion. It was estimated that this form would take a maximum of 7 minutes to complete.

2.3.1.3 Questionnaire for educators

This questionnaire\(^{11}\) was also a modified version of the survey questionnaire used in the larger study. Questions directed towards management structures were excluded and more questions about problems children present with were asked. This is because educators spend the most time with the learners and are more likely to make observations about patterns of problems they experience with them. The information obtained from the educators, would enable the researcher to form a more holistic picture of the experiences of the schools. The teachers, were asked to express their opinions, attitudes and experiences about the open school process as well. It was thought that questionnaires would be most effective for use with the educators because firstly, it was more time-effective and secondly, the anonymity would enable them to be more open and honest without fearing that their superiors in the school would know what they said and who said it.

2.3.2 Procedure

For schools to be included in the study, they had to have met the following criteria:

1. The school must be in Circuit 1 of the Wynberg school area.
2. The school must be a previously segregated and/or predominantly White school (i.e. an open school)

A total of 14 schools met the criteria for inclusion in the study sample. Four of these schools were public secondary schools, 4 were public primary schools and the remaining 6 schools were private schools. For the first part of the study, short (30-40 minute) interviews were conducted with the willing school principals, the respondents. The interviews consisted of semi-structured questions, thus maintaining uniformity of procedure while at the same time, allowing respondents room to express themselves freely. The interviews were conducted in English, at mutually convenient times and took place on the school

\(^{11}\)See Appendix 8 for the educator questionnaire
premises. With the interviewee's permission, the interview sessions were tape recorded and the purpose of
the recording was explained to the respondents, i.e. for later transcription and analysis.

Each interview began with an introductory patter and framing. Considering it was a sensitive topic and
that the respondents had had a minimum of a week to think about the letter and create hypotheses about
the content of the interviews, it was inferred that they may be slightly anxious about the interview. It has
been suggested that when conducting interviews about sensitive topics, it is of utmost importance to
establish good rapport with the respondents (Lee, 1993). It was thus important to carefully explain to
them, at the beginning of the interview, what the research was about and to assure them of the
confidentiality of both their and the school's identity. Privacy and confidentiality are important
prerequisites to creating a framework of trust (Lee, 1993). Respondents were invited to ask questions
about any procedures that were unclear to them and when there was a sense of good rapport and less
anxiety, the actual interview process began. Although the question order was predetermined as a guide,
the order was, at times, changed in the interview. The areas of discussion and the questions themselves
were more important than the order. In other words, if the respondents' response led on to a question that
was going to be asked later, that question would be asked. The purpose of this approach was to maintain a
more naturally flowing interaction and not a rigidly standardized interview (Lee, 1993).

At the end of the interview, a short debriefing process occurred where the participants had the opportunity
to speak about their experience of the interview process. This was an off-the-record procedure as
candidates felt more comfortable talking about the process when the tape recorder was off and the
debriefing was an "informal chat". It is for this reason that information about the content of the short
debriefings will not be reported on in this study. Finally, respondents were thanked for their time and the
second part of their research involvement was explained to them.

The second part of the study required that the school principals select three teaching staff to fill in a semi-
structured questionnaire (the educator questionnaire). The responsibility of selecting educators to
complete the questionnaires was left up to the principal. The reason for this was to enable him/her to
have a say and some control over who should be included from the school. However, preferences were
indicated for teachers who had been in the school for at least five years, and it was suggested that it might
be useful to have teachers who are teaching children of different levels. For example rather than having
three educators who teach Grade 2 pupils, have one educator from Grade 2, one from Grade 4 and one
from Grade 6. This was particularly emphasised in schools which had single administration for both
primary and secondary schools.

The school principal of each participating school was given the questionnaires for the 3 educators. Each
questionnaire was in a self-addressed envelope, which would be given directly to me. Standard instructions were given for the principal to allocate the questionnaires to his/her chosen educators, for them to be filled in, and left at the office for collection. The deadline for completion of questionnaires was set for a week to 10 days later. This questionnaire data was then later collected for analysis. It is important to know that there was absolutely no contact with the educators; there was total anonymity.

Finally, the school principals were given the SIS (Appendix 6) to fill in in their own time. The purpose of the information sheet was to obtain some background, factual information about the school in order to put the results into context. Context has been defined as "the specific set of properties that pertain to a phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The SIS was devised because the information is important but it was not necessary to ask those questions in the interview. The questions on the information sheet are those that either required looking up records or they were factual and could be done at another time.

2.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Once again, because of the sensitive nature of this research endeavour, there were many ethical issues that had to be considered. Indeed, all research must be carried out ethically and morally. This is especially true in the behavioural sciences but even more so when researching sensitive topics (Lee, 1993).

The research proposal was presented to an ethics committee from the University of Cape Town's Psychology Department for their input and approval. The five faculty consulted approved the study. Furthermore, permission to undertake the study in the schools was obtained from the Head of Education at the Provincial Administration Western Cape Education Department\(^\text{12}\). The department laid down conditions for the research and these were strictly adhered to. Informed consent was obtained from all research participants.

As the researcher, I am bound by a confidentiality clause signed at the CGC at the beginning of my training. Confidentiality of the participants was, therefore, strictly maintained. One way of achieving this was by assigning numbers to each of the schools that participated. The schools were referred to by these numbers. Only the researcher would be able to identify the schools. It was necessary to identify them because it was the only way outstanding questionnaires could be traced. Participants were aware that they did not have to answer any questions they were uncomfortable answering. After all interview sessions, a short debriefing process followed where they were able to voice any concerns and speak about their experience of the interview. This was a purely optional process and some respondents declined to say

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\(^{12}\)See Appendix 4
anything more and felt happy with the proceedings.

It is also important to consider that the findings of this research may be useful to mental health practitioners, to the schools themselves and to the children in the schools who are the target of this research (i.e. those with difficulties). It is, after all, unethical to undertake research of this nature just for the sake of doing the research (Lee, 1993). The research report will be available for all interested participants' perusal.

2.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Data analysis was done in four overlapping stages.

- Firstly, after having conducted the interviews in Circuit 1, all the tapes were transcribed personally by the researcher. This served as a reflective process where important interactions and process notes were also recorded.

- During the second stage, a descriptive analysis of the interview transcripts was done. Salient and prevailing trends in attitudes and experiences, arising from the interviews was extracted and grouped according to themes. The analysis of the data was done separately for the interviews and the educator questionnaires. However, the information derived from the educator questionnaires will be used to supplement that obtained in the interview. This is important as it will enable the researcher to obtain a more holistic picture of what the schools' experiences have been. The benefit of this method of analysis is that, one can make inferences about some of the major issues that are of concern in most of the schools, which may be an invaluable basis for future research to pick up on.

- During the third stage, quantifiable aspects of the research, for example reported rates of recurrent behaviour problems, were tabulated. The advantage of tabulating the quantitative aspects of the research is that it allows one to compare and contrast the findings from the different schools.

- Finally, contextual demographic information was extracted from the interviews, the SIS and the educator questionnaires. In the descriptive analysis, this contextual information was used to identify any trends relating demographic information to the experiences of the schools. Due to the relatively small sample size, statistical methods were not used to assess the correlations of different variables. However, some of the trends identified in this research could be followed up by future research.
2.6 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

There have been many approaches for evaluating reliability and validity in qualitative research. For example, positivists and interactionists have long debated issues of reliability and validity particularly in interviews. Miles and Huberman (1994) report that issues of instrument reliability and validity highly depend on the researcher. They are of the opinion that the researcher in qualitative research is the instrument. A good researcher will therefore be valid and will collect reliable data.

Silverman (1995) argues that in qualitative research, 'authenticity' rather than reliability is often the issue. This is because the aim in qualitative research is usually to "get an 'authentic' understanding of people's experiences" (Silverman, 1995). If the researcher and his/her research instruments achieve this aim, then the research is authentic and hence reliable.

Silverman (1995) suggested that reliable data is neutral, unbiased, and "untouched". In considering the validity of interview responses, it is important to consider what he terms "intersubjective depth". The interviewee's cultural beliefs, assumptions, background and expectations of the interview versus those of the interviewer come into contact during the interview. The validity of responses depends on the depth of that intersubjectivity: how much does the interviewer affect or bias the interviewee intersubjectively?

Laslett and Rapport (as cited in Lee, 1993) borrow the terms transference and countertransference from psychoanalytic theory and use them to refer to the interview context. In the psychoanalytic sense, transference refers to feelings derived from earlier experiences which are projected onto the analyst and countertransference feelings are similar feelings but on the part of the analyst. Laslett and Rapport, however, use the terms analogously and more loosely and refer to situations where, for example, "the interviewee develops an identification with the interviewer and vice versa" (Lee, 1993). The consequence may be thus, that respondents may give responses that they think the interviewer wants to hear, thereby biasing the true results. It is important to take this into account as well when assessing the validity and reliability of qualitative research.

Other considerations include the variables of the researcher herself (me). My interviewing approach was one where, although there was a sense of naturally flowing interaction, I tried to avoid showing any signs of my own attitudes, disapproval and/or approval by maintaining a relatively neutral, objective stance during all the interviews. I also avoided making any comments or prompts when respondents made responses or fell silent. Instead, the silences were used to achieve this aim. Another important consideration concerning me, as the researcher is the incongruence between my name, my accent and my race. Prior to conducting the interviews, I made telephonic contact with the participants. Considering I
have a rather British accent and a name considerably atypical of an African South African person, it may have been the case that most participants assumed that I was of another race, possibly White. However, on meeting me at the interview, they realised that I was, in actual fact, African.

Research suggests that there are many ways in which interviewers can affect the validity of the responses they receive (Lee, 1993). Two kinds of interview effects have been identified as particularly important when researching sensitive topics (Bradburn, 1983 as cited in Lee, 1993; Glass et. al., 1983 as cited in Lee, 1993). Only one of these is relevant in this study. They suggest that the social characteristics of the interviewers themselves may have a biasing effect, although slight, on the results. Studies have shown that the race of the interviewer may affect the responses received. These studies found that this did not affect responses to all areas of the interviews. However, one area that was affected was where questions were about attitudes, sometimes hostile attitudes, towards other races (Johnson, 1996; Lee, 1993). It is important to take this into consideration when interpreting the results of the present study as there is a likelihood that the validity of some of the responses may be undermined. This may be possible considering that I am a Black researcher researching race issues in a "White world".

The above points of view demonstrate some of the complexities of assessing reliability and validity of qualitative interview material. If we speak in terms of replicability, then it is possible to replicate this study. Although qualitative in nature, standardised research tools were used which could be used in any other study of this nature.

In summary, this research venture was a qualitative study of the experiences some of the schools in Circuit 1 of the Wynberg school area have undergone during the process of racial integration. Nine of the 14 schools that met the criteria for inclusion in the sample participated. Data collection involved interviewing the 9 school principals and administering questionnaires to 3 educators in each school (a total of 27 educators). Twelve educator questionnaires were returned (44%). Data analysis involved a descriptive analysis of the interview transcripts with data from the questionnaires being used as supplementary information. The results will be discussed in the following chapter.

13This term has been borrowed from Walton Johnson (1996).
CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

In this chapter, the results will be reported on. The results will focus on information derived from the interviews with the school principals. However, this information will be supplemented by information obtained from the Statistical Information Sheets (SIS) and the educator questionnaires that were returned. It is important to note that when reporting on qualitative data, a lot of the discussion usually takes place in the results section (Creswell, 1994). This is because in qualitative research, we are attempting to build a holistic picture; a narrative of people's experiences and views. This can not be done without entering into some form of preliminary discussion. However, a formal discussion chapter will follow.

3.1 RESPONSE RATE

Of the 14 schools selected for inclusion in the sample, 9 of them actually participated in the research. The remaining 5 schools were unable to participate due to different reasons. One school was willing to participate only if the school principal could peruse the questionnaires that would be administered to the educators before making the final decision. The school consequently opted not to take part as the principal did “not want staff to be asked such racially loaded questions”. Another school was willing to take part but only after February 2001 and 2 other schools were unable to take part due to human resource and time constraints at the school. The other school was not at all interested in taking part in the research.

The response rate for the interviews (64%) was fair considering the very limited time that was available for collecting the data. The limited time was as stipulated in the conditions under which the PAWC-Education Department granted permission to conduct the study (see Appendix 4). One of the conditions was “the investigation is not conducted during the fourth school term”. Data collection was done during the third school term, which was a short term. It was not possible to assess, nor is it appropriate to speculate, whether the schools which did not participate differed systematically from those which did, with respect to the variables under investigation.

Table 3.1 shows all the schools that were included in the sample. For purposes of confidentiality, the schools have been labelled with numbers and will be referred to by their corresponding numbers from here on. Information about the type of school each school is, and the level of learners they cater for has also been included in the table. This table may be referred to later on in the paper as this information may serve a contextual purpose. The table also indicates which schools consented to the interview, how many educator questionnaires were returned from each school and also whether the SIS was returned.
In summary, the 9 schools that participated included 3 state secondary schools, one private secondary school, 2 state primary schools, 2 private primary schools and one private school which has a single administration for both primary and secondary school levels.

3.2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

Of the 9 school principals interviewed, 6 were male and 3 were female. All of the interviewees were White. It is also important to consider some of the characteristics of the schools. School 1, a predominantly White school, comprises 60% White children, 26% Coloured children, 12% African children and 2% Indian/Asian children. The racial composition of School 2 was not determined as the school principal did not want to give any racial breakdowns because the staff reportedly "do not see race, they are all children". School 3 consists of 91% White pupils and 9% Coloured, African and Asian pupils. School 4 is comprised of 87% black pupils and 13% white pupils. School 7 is made up of 90% white and 10% black children. As with School 2, School 8 refused to give an indication of racial compositions at the school. However, it is a predominantly White school. School 9 is comprised of 40% White, 40% Coloured and 10/20% African and Asian pupils. School 10 has 80-85% Coloured children, 3-5% of the pupils are Indian, 1% are White and the remaining (+ 10%) are African pupils. School 13 is comprised of 70% White children, 15/20% Coloured children, 5% African children and the remaining children are Asian children.

\[14\] The term "Asian" in this context is used to describe Indian, Chinese, Japanese or any other children of Asian origin.
3.3 THEMES EMERGING FROM THE INTERVIEWS

The results will be organised in terms of important and pertinent issues that came up in the interviews. The schools' different experiences, expectations and perspectives of racial integration will be reported on and then consequent to that, aspects of some of the reported problems schools experience with the children will be presented.

3.3.1 Experiences of racial integration in state schools

All of the state schools in the sample felt that on the whole, the transition has gone smoothly and racial integration in the schools has been successful. However, the school principals reported on their own experiences and observations about the process of integration in their schools. They also spontaneously commented on their experiences in schools where they had worked previously. All the school principals from the state schools reported that the general trend they have observed is that schools that have had a "massive influx" of children of other races, and have experienced the transition as incredibly rapid and have encountered many difficulties in the process. Principal 13\(^1\), of a predominantly White school said, "Integration here has been positive. But if you want to see real problems, see schools where there has been a massive influx of children from other races and cultures. Here, not much has changed so the children have integrated well." On this topic, Principal 2, also a predominantly White school, said "the school where I worked previously changed colour almost overnight" and numerous difficulties came up. The principals reported that some of their colleagues in schools that had had large enrolments of black children have expressed concerns that the character of the schools has changed and academic standards have dropped. The colleagues attributed this to the flooding of children from poor academic backgrounds into the schools and them being unable to keep up so they are forced to lower the standards in the school.

Some of the schools reported experiencing apprehension during the initial stages of racial integration; anxiety about what was to come. Principal 8, a predominantly White school, reported that initially they had thought "Ah, there's a Black child, there are going to be problems. We all went through this fear of the unknown because we have been brought up that Black people are inferior and we were concerned about, not Black people, but standards. We've got very high standards in this school so we thought... you bring Black people in, the standards drop. But it hasn't happened in that way".

\(^1\)For purposes of confidentiality, the school principals will be referred to according to the school's corresponding number. For example the principal of school 1 will be referred to as Principal 1.

-25-
Another theme that came up was acknowledgement of the cultural diversity that racial integration has brought into the schools. Principal 1 said "transition has brought a richness to the school, with all different types of cultural diversity (sic). I think it has brought something to the school which was not there before, which I think is good for the school". Principal 10, a now predominantly Coloured school, felt that people have "downplayed differences too much", especially in predominantly White schools like where he worked previously. He said "they expect that you can just come in and be little Whites and they can be as blunt as that". However, Principal 1, a predominantly White school, had a slightly different perspective and reported that "we don't want them to be little westernised children, but would like to have normal, universal sorts of things".

But the schools have had to make some adjustments to accommodate the new population of students. One of the universally encountered problems is that the majority of the African pupils come from far away-the African townships. Many of these children have transport problems and this has implications for their inclusion in extramural activities designed to increase interaction and facilitate integration into the life of the school. Most extramural activities occur after school, usually after 2:30pm and in order for these children to get home before dark, they must leave school soon after it ends at 2:30pm. As a consequence, they end up missing out on sports and society meetings that occur subsequent to that. Schools 13 and 1 both gave examples of instances where some children from the townships have stayed on for extramural activities, which they have enjoyed, and have ended up being stranded at the school, sometimes until late at night. These schools are still working on finding feasible solutions. There are other practical adjustments that schools have had to make. For example, according to Principal 1, having Muslim children in their school meant that they had to adjust their catering to incorporate Halal dishes. In certain instances, schools have acknowledged, at least in principle, the need to make some adjustments in order to accommodate all the children and their needs. In reality, this has not been an easy thing to achieve. As Principal 13 said, "It is an unfortunate truth that schools have to change their way of thinking, but it's not that simple".

Although all the state schools have reported that the overall process has been smooth and positive, there have been anxious times. For example, all the state schools reported that one of their major problems is that most of the black learners that entered their system came from disadvantaged educational backgrounds. Many of them have scholastic difficulties. It has been difficult in some cases to maintain the high standards at the schools, which have reportedly dropped in some cases. 3 of the state schools reported a slight drop in standards, which has also been partly attributed to the changing policies.

School principals in the open schools have their own interpretations of their role in facilitating as smooth a transition as possible. Principal 8 has found that sometimes, it is difficult for people to accept aspects of
other people's culture. He gave the example of an instance where a small group of children were having lunch together. A little African girl was eating a chicken foot/claw and a little White girl was horrified. Principal 8 feels his role is to explain to people that certain actions that are not comfortable to them are acceptable to people from other cultures and there is nothing wrong with that. He feels his role is partly to help people from different cultures to understand and accept each other and their cultures. He envisions this as a two-way process, "we must understand them and they must understand us. It goes both ways". Otherwise, he feels that the children at his school "are integrated completely, in all aspects". Principal 2 sees his role as "To keep a positive feeling about public education in the face of massive changes. To say to people, yes, we can make it work peacefully in this country, and to have faith in the system". He acknowledges that we still have a long way to go. Principal 1 feels her role is firstly to encourage staff because they get discouraged, especially when they work very hard and see no results. Secondly, to ensure that everyone feels they are getting fair treatment and to disavow any use of racial difference as an excuse.

Principal 10 has had a very different approach to racial integration. He feels that it is important to acknowledge that there are different people from different backgrounds working side by side. There are and there will be racial issues and prejudices because that is how people have been brought up. "The thing is people do not acknowledge it, yet they know deep down in their heart that it is actually a racial issue. I am straightforward and say there is a racial issue here, let's talk about it, let's label it but let's not name-call" he said. What he has enjoyed the most is seeing those issues put on the table and spoken about openly, which was not done in his early years of open schooling where he noticed that "they just ran away from it, all the time. They will eventually have to face these things". He has found that one of the difficulties of multicultural education is that "people may react to you in a certain way and things may be interpreted in terms of race or different cultures when you may not have intended it in that way". So there are many sensitivities.

Another aspect that is difficult is the unpredictability associated with change. "The difficulty with change is you think it is going well then suddenly, something happens and you think the whole world is falling apart and then tomorrow, it's back to normal again" reported Principal 10. What he has observed through the transition is that "in change, even if you make a good decision, the first reaction is resistance and rebellion and afterwards, they realise it was a good change or decision." All in all, he feels that through addressing and debating these issues openly at the school, attitudes are changing, slowly. He hopes it will be positive and knows there is a long way to go because "change takes time". He feels it is important to acknowledge that obstacles are part of the process of change and people should not get discouraged but remain focused on a common, clear vision at the school. In his words, "We've actually got to dream, to me that's the bottom line. If you have a dream, a vision, you know where you're going. You have to keep
telling people to have the vision in front of them all the time. And perhaps that's the biggest challenge. If we can do that, we are going to succeed but if we lose that, then we're going to flounder, because when there are obstacles, people keep on saying “change just means disaster” and you have to keep saying, no, that is part of change.”

3.3.2 Experiences of racial integration in private schools

Three of the 4 private schools appear to have gone through a similar transition process whereas the experiences of School 4 have been very different. Although the process they have undergone and their experiences differ somewhat to those of the former Model C schools, there are some common experiences, in general.

The Independent16 schools have been admitting children of other races long before the state schools became open. For example, Schools 7 and 9 opened their doors to other races in the late 1970s to early 1980s and School 3 have accepted children from other racial groups since the early 1970s. Initially, independent schools had bursary schemes and these bursaries were awarded to African pupils, thereby giving them a chance to a better education. In those days, African pupils were drawn from the disadvantaged communities, usually rural areas and townships. According to Principal 7, there was a sense that this was a huge adjustment for the children to make, considering they were coming from relatively poor communities and coming into a “very wealthy, predominantly White environment”. Many of them struggled to adapt to the schools and the schools noticed that they must have struggled to re-adapt when they went home, to use Principal 7’s words, “kind of like living in two worlds but not one or the other”. The schools also admitted children whose parents could afford to pay the fees. According to Principal 9, “it was the only chance they had of receiving a perceived decent schooling at that time”.

Schools 3, 7 and 9 found that it has always been the case that children whose parents could afford to pay the fees tend to adapt much more easily than those who could not, as do children who enter the schooling system in the early grades. On the whole, these schools felt that black children have integrated well, but according to Principal 3, “mostly it is because when they have come in, they have been in a minority and they have tended to take on the patterns and expectations and so on, of the group they are moving into, rather than bringing their own baggage with them”. Principal 3 added that the school have always regarded that as problematic because it means that “whatever has happened to the school, it has not really been transformed in the process. The Black children are not necessarily making the school more black if they start taking on some of the attitudes and so on, of the White children and going through in that way”.

16The term “Independent” school is used interchangeably with “private” school
Principal 9 said "I don't think it was a question of trying to make little Blacks into little Whites but a question of trying to get them to feel quite at ease with their peer groups". Principal 3 feels that generally, black children have not been accommodated successfully within the school from that perspective and "that which suffers is their school work".

During the time when the private schools were enrolling African children, they had various programmes designed to facilitate integration. For example school 3 had a specific programme which was designed to help integrate African children academically into the school. They employed extra teachers specifically for bridging purposes. African children were pulled out of the junior classes and put into "second language English, second language maths type of classes". They were also put into classes that focused on science, geography and other such subjects which needed particular attention because "in their early schooling, they had not really dealt with these concepts". The children were in these sorts of bridging classes for 2 years (Grades 8 and 9) and then integrated into the mainstream in Grade 10. The school found that this system worked very well and academic problems were minimised. Unfortunately, the funding for that programme was withdrawn and marked the end of the programme.

With the advent of opening the state schools to other races, 3 of the private schools in the sample reported that they lost many of the African children who were attending their schools. The African pupils who left the independent schools were among the first to be admitted to the former Model C schools "because they had already gone through a good schooling system and were models, virtually, for the schools", reported Principal 9. Two of the independent schools reported that the number of African children in their schools has decreased dramatically through the 1990s and this is a cause of concern for them. Principal 7 said, "we do not think it is normal for our White children to grow up in a predominantly White environment in this country". The school principal inferred that it may be the case that the emerging Black middle-class probably opt to send their children to the former Model C schools rather than to private schools.

After the opening of the former Model C schools, the independent schools lost a lot of the funding that they used to give as bursaries to African children. According to Principal 3, "it became a lot more sensible for the big corporate to spend R30, 000 educating 5 boys at a state school than one boy at us." So the present status in the private schools is that they admit only those children who can afford to pay the fees. Schools 3, 7 and 9 find that children from families who can afford the fees are usually from relatively wealthy backgrounds. So the children have that in common; they come from similar social backgrounds and this facilitates the process of integration. These schools, on the whole, felt that they are still going through a transformation process but it is a very long, slow process "as opposed to a quick, rapid one", reported Principal 3. He added that long, slow processes have got many advantages over rapid ones, one being that people tend to adapt better easier when change is slower.
School 4, however, has had a completely different experience of integration. They have had a “massive influx” of African children in the school and are presently a predominantly African school. The school has had a very difficult time integrating racially, and according to the principal, it is their staff who have had the most difficulty. Most of the educators have been at the school for over 15 years and have seen the changes. According to the principal, change has been too rapid. She reported that “we were a completely White school with a very middle class type of child from a certain socio-economic background, coming to us with limited problems. Being a small private school, we did get children with remedial type of problems or behavioural problems but not to the extent we now find. I would say in the last 5 or 6 years, there have been dramatic changes. And change is always uncomfortable”. She reported that the educators are finding more academic problems amongst their pupils that they have ever dealt with before. 57% of the children at the school definitely come from disadvantaged educational backgrounds. According to Principal 4, these children seek a higher standard of education but there is a huge gap between the children's standards and the standards that the teachers are used to teaching and are expecting. As a result, there are very few children who are coping at the level the teachers expect them to and the majority are struggling. This is reportedly very difficult for the teachers to accept because “teachers want, for their own sense of accomplishment, to see their children achieving at a certain level and the fact that they have got to accept so much less is very frustrating for them”. The school reported that they have had to adjust their thinking in many ways and it has not been easy. This is partly because the dominant culture of the school has reportedly changed completely within a short space of time and people have not really had the chance to adapt slowly.

3.3.3 Factors perceived to be affecting integration

3.3.3.1 Parents and socio-economic circumstances

One of the commonly reported observations was that when a child's parents are professional, especially with African children, the child may be positively affected and may integrate better at the school. Principal 13 feels that “children with a healthy social background adjust and integrate well”. She reported that “children of professional parents who are aware of the importance of their child's balanced life, even if they are from the townships, are well integrated, lively and popular amongst other children, simply because they have has got the type of parents”. She feels that these children tend to feel more socially secure, adequate and are consequently better accepted by other children. This observation was also made by 3 other schools. Principal 8 said “children of cultured, educated parents integrate easier and make it easier for us”. If however, the child has unemployed parents, lives in the township and/or is from a lower socio-economic background, it is more likely that that child will feel socially inadequate and they tend to
isolate themselves more and stick with other children from similar backgrounds. Principals from schools 1, 2 and 10 also made this observation. According to the respondents, this impacts on the whole process of integration because when children are unhappy at school, their work suffers.

Principal 13 felt that the circumstances under which children from African townships come to open schools may affect their ability to interact with other children. The children usually have to wake up very early in the morning and queue for buses to get to school on time. They spend the day tired, interacting with rested, energetic children. At the end of the day, these children from the townships have to leave early in order to arrive home before dusk which has considerable implications on their ability to interact with others.

3.3.3.2 “Black children reject their Africanness”

The state schools and School 4 all spoke about the difficulty African children, particularly those from African townships, have with integrating and adjusting to these types of schools (former Model C schools). School 2 felt that it is not just these children's problem but theirs too because according to the principal, “we should be able to make it better for them”. He said that “if you come from a poor environment or a shack or if your parents are unemployed and you come into a school like this where the majority of parents are professional people, it is a very difficult adjustment to make. Although children who cannot afford the fees get a full rebate, it doesn't necessarily make it any easier to integrate to the different lifestyles at the school”. What he has observed is that in order to feel accepted, some of these children get involved in alternate societies. He gave the example of a child who joined rastafarianism and it was difficult to get her out of it. The end result was that she dropped out of school. Another route African children entering White schools tend to take is they “reject their Africanness, their heritage and their traditions”, according to Principals 4 and 2. They reported that this is more noticeable with the children who come from African Townships and children of domestic workers. There have been instances of children rejecting their mothers and being ashamed and embarrassed of them. This tends to result in children who do not really belong in the townships and are not exactly White either. This has associated emotional problems and other implications.

3.4 PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

With the advent of multi-racial education, in a country with a history of segregating policies, one would probably expect that there would be a degree of difficulty relating to and understanding people from cultures other than one's own, at least initially. This section will report on reported patterns of interaction amongst children across the different barriers. Interaction patterns pertaining to gender and age will not be
discussed in detail as they were not lines of segregation in education under apartheid laws. The focus will thus be on how well children are said to interact across religion, race and culture. Religion has been included because the majority of people from certain religious groups, for example Muslims, are from racial categories previously classified as black.

On the whole, all the schools observed similar trends in the social groupings of children. Although the schools have not noticed any major interaction problems, they have noticed some trends that concern them at times. Principal 2 reported that even the pupils are concerned and are very aware of differences. The Grade 11 pupils in school 2 were asked about issues they would like to improve on in the school. The third highest response was "greater mixing of the groups" and some of the pupils felt there was racism in the school. On the whole, it appears to be the case that the older the children are, the more aware they are of differences and they tend to stick to their own race, culture or religious groups. Younger children reportedly tend to interact more freely as compared to older ones. School 13 reported that they have observed that interaction problems tend to be more concentrated in certain classes. Principal 13 gave the example of a Grade 2 class with 6 out of 32 children having "serious interaction problems" warranting psychological intervention.

3.4.1 Racial mixing

There appears to be variations in terms of racial mixing. Principal 8 felt that children at School 8 are well integrated and mix freely. Although he said people do not notice colour at the school anymore, he was able to make some observations about racial mixing. The schools have mostly observed that as much as there are some multi-racial groups of children on the playground, there are also single race groups. According to their observations, Coloured and White children generally get along as do African children and White children. However, the mixing between African children and Coloured children is not as much as they would like to see.

Schools 8 and 10 reported that children do make racist remarks. While School 8, a primary school, reported that there has never been any serious fighting or acting out, School 10, a secondary school, reported that there have been instances where fights have broken out because of racial issues, especially between Coloured and African children. He added that in his experience, African children largely feel misunderstood. For example, he has observed that when they are happy, African children tend to shout and speak loudly which can be misinterpreted at times and this causes hurt, especially when their attempts at sharing their happy emotions are rejected or criticised. Another factor that he feels may influence mixing between African children and children of other races in his school is that African "children are too brave and challenging. They will speak out about a moral issue or honesty and label it. So they get
negative feedback and avoided by other children".

3.4.2 Culture and religion

All the state schools reported that they have observed that African, Xhosa-speaking children tend to group together and do not mix much with children from other African cultures. Such groups consist of almost exclusively Xhosa-speaking children. In fact, according to Principal 4, Xhosa-speaking children do not readily accept children from other cultures and other countries. Principal 1 feels that it may be the case that language is an issue and Principal 10 also finds that there are language divides in his school. He has observed that "people group more with people who speak the same home language". Principal 2 has observed that people who live in areas that are still largely one race group or one faith tend to group together at school too. Another pattern of interaction that has been noted in all the schools is that most Muslim children tend to group together and interact little with other children.

The principals of 4 of the 5 state schools in the sample felt that there wasn't enough "cross-cultural and cross-racial interaction as one would like to see". These were the words of Principal 10, a now predominantly coloured school. He has noted that although children mix freely in the classrooms, as they are required to do, they tend to separate along racial and cultural lines during recess. The other schools reported similar observations about the difference in interaction patterns in the classroom and outside of the classroom.

3.4.3 What the schools have done to facilitate integration and interaction of the pupils

Although schools may have policies that state that "no difference should be made whatsoever on grounds of culture, race, and religion" and they may do their best to encourage interaction amongst the children, the ultimate choice of friends and who to interact with outside the classroom lies with the children themselves. As Principal 1 said "you can lead a horse to water but you can't make it drink".

All the schools have various policies and activities designed to increase interaction amongst the children and to facilitate the process of racial integration. One of the tools schools have used to achieve this is through sports. Six out of the nine schools in the sample reported that they have found that sports, especially team sports, encourage interaction across all barriers. Other activities such as excursions, clubs and societies also encourage greater mixing. All the schools have reportedly endeavoured to provide a forum where people can share aspects of their own unique cultures and others can learn. For example,

11Quoted from the interview with Principal 13.
Schools 8, 1, 2 and 10 described cultural evenings where people bring food, recite poetry, dance and sing music characteristic of their cultures. School 10 generally encourages awareness of other cultures through assemblies and the arts and the school is especially “trying to increase awareness of proper Black culture, which has been neglected. But the audience is not always receptive to someone else’s culture so it is a challenge”, Principal 10 reported.

As reported earlier, children tend to interact more freely in the classroom situation. While School 4 attributed this to the fact that they have very small classes, Schools 10, and 13 felt the seating arrangements in the class increased classroom interaction. In these schools, children sit in small groups which are shuffled regularly. Furthermore, the children at School 10, a secondary school, are assigned set roles within those groups and those roles are also interchanged. This not only facilitates interaction, but gives the learners a chance to get to know one another as individuals, which is a necessary step to challenging racial and other stereotypes. Principal 10 feels it also facilitates a classroom atmosphere conducive to trust which results in a greater sharing of problems.

3.5 COMMON PROBLEMS SCHOOLS EXPERIENCE WITH THE CHILDREN

The following section will report on some of the common problems said to be experienced in the schools with the children in general. Although all the schools felt that the actual manifestation of (emotional and behavioural) problems has no boundaries, they identified some problems that seemed more common among certain groups of children. These will be discussed later.

3.5.1 In general

In general terms, all schools reported that children experience a range of behavioural, emotional and scholastic problems. The difference between the primary and the secondary schools seems to be the intensity of the problems they encounter. According to Principal 8, children at the school have an inability to express themselves and their feelings. This is especially true with children with limited English who become aggressive because they cannot express themselves. Children with limited English are usually African children. He has observed that as a result, the children are very reactive and retaliate rather than verbalising their concerns. Many of the children act out, partly because they fail to apply what they are taught at the school. School 4 reported similar observations. The biggest problem at School 8 is disobedience, which the Principal has also linked to language and comprehension problems.

Schools 1 and 10 have found that one of their biggest concerns is the learners’ inability to take responsibility for their actions. What Principal 1 has found most frustrating is that parents cover up for
their children and blame others with the result that nobody owns the problem. For example, they may attribute their child's bad behaviour to bad company at the school. School 1 reported that they have noticed many children have attitude problems and are very cheeky. About 3% of them have a "the school owes me something attitude", said Principal 1. She feels that parents' attitudes are even more problematic than the children's attitudes, and the children are greatly influenced by their parents. This makes it difficult for them to work with such problems.

One school (School 10) reported major problems with smoking and drugs. All the schools said that they get incidents of theft but most of them did not see this as a major problem in the school. Most of the schools reported that their pupils get into occasional fights. However, Principal 10 felt that in his school, they have major problems with fighting, especially with the senior learners. He said, "they have nasty fisticuffs... premeditated fights, which is very worrying. It is mostly with Matrics so they go into society with those attitudes".

In general, Principal 10 has observed that problems tend to be more concentrated in the middle to senior side of the school and also manifest more in children doing second language work. This observation, and that of Principal 2 suggests that there may be a link between language/communication difficulties and behaviour problems. Principal 10 has made the following observation "there seems to be a link between lack of academic progress, lack of good self-image... a link between how they feel about themselves and their behaviour. At their stage it gives them status when they act tough". These types of children are the ones that form the group who exhibit recurrent behaviour problems. Principal 10 said "slightly more than half of the children who get into trouble will be back for the next round of punishment". Punishment does not work for these children, which is worrying for the school.

School 4 has found the biggest problem they experience is that the majority of the children have attention-deficit problems and are very hyperactive. Many of these children are easily distracted, seek excessive attention and are disruptive in the classroom situation.

3.5.2 Recurrent behaviour problems

Table 3.2 indicates the estimated prevalence rates of recurrent behavioural problems in the 9 schools. Contextual information such as the academic level and the gender of the learners the school caters for is also included. Children with recurrent behaviour problems were defined as those who repeatedly get into trouble and get punished.
Table 3.2 Summary of the estimated rate of recurrent behaviour problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Gender Type</th>
<th>Rate of Problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Girls only</td>
<td>3-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>5-7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Boys only</td>
<td>3-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Boys only</td>
<td>4-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>3-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>4-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Girls only</td>
<td>2-3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When asked about the estimated rates of recurrent behaviour problems in the school, 5 schools indicated prevalence rates of between 2 and 5%, 2 schools indicated prevalence rates of up to 7%, 1 school had a prevalence rate of 10% and the other school had a prevalence rate of 25% of their total population. Literature suggests that the average rate of problematic behaviour in schools falls between 4% and 10% (Mortimore, 1995). However, it is important to note it is unclear whether these are recurrent behaviour problems or if “once off” behaviour problems are included in the definition of “problematic behaviour”.

3.5.3 Gender differences

The principals from both the girls' schools in the sample have had previous experiences in co-educational schools as well. Principal 13 reported “girls bully in a girlie way, with nasty words, comments and cheek”. She felt that there is “less bitchiness in co-ed schools... less of this girl nastiness”. This sentiment was shared by Principal 1. Both the school principals emphasised how potentially damaging this can be to other girls' self-esteem, if they are targeted. This type of behaviour appears to happen mostly in girls only schools although Principal 9 reported the same observation in his co-educational school. Principal 13 summed it up by saying “It’s unreal, they do get bitchy in the co-ed schools but not as intensely bitchy as in the girls only schools. Nasty, nasty, nasty! It is quite intense”.

Boys only schools reported higher rates of aggression related problems such as fighting and physical bullying when compared with both co-educational and girls only schools. Two schools reported that Muslim boys have attitude problems when it comes to females. Some of them tend to show a lack of respect for their female teachers and tend to generally undermine female authority. School 10 reported that African boys tend to show their affection and appreciation for girls in ways that are inappropriate and unappreciated by the recipients. For example, they tend to be very physical and show affection through excessive touching, which the girls do not like.
3.5.4 Racial differences

Although all the respondents felt that there were no real racial differences in the manifestation of behaviour problems, some respondents felt there were certain problems that were most typical of children from certain racial groupings. Some of these observations were expressed in terms of social standing or class. However, due to the legacy of apartheid, the majority people who may be classified as lower socio-economic status are African and sometimes Coloured people.

3.5.4.1 African children

School 13 has observed that African children in particular, are more likely to manifest symptoms suggestive of depression, unhappiness, feelings of inadequacy, and low self-image. This is especially true for African children living in townships, children of unemployed parents and children of parents with poor social status. Other schools also reported similar observations.

School 1, a girls only school, said a group of 20 African girls in Matric have particularly bad attitudes. They are “horrible to their Xhosa teacher and have made life hell for each successive teacher. And each successive teacher has quit”. According to the principal, these girls do not do this to any other teachers in the school. She has noticed that this attitude seems to get handed down in Matric and the next Matric pupils take over.

According to all nine schools the biggest problem they encounter with African children in particular is that of language. This is especially problematic with children coming from African townships. Many of the African children attending these schools have problems with the English language, which is the medium of instruction at all these schools. Principal 8 has observed that domestic workers' children have the most severe language problems. For the majority of African children, English is the second or third language. In most instances, they have difficulties expressing themselves and executing their everyday work tasks. This was a major problem particularly in secondary schools. They find that almost all black children who have entered the school system after having previously attended their own race schools, have had problems academically. Principal 13 has reported that “when children come into the system in Grade 1, regardless of race, culture, religion etc., and they go through the system, they all do well and have a firm foundation”. This observation was also made by 5 other school principals.

The schools all reported many secondary problems that arise from the language difficulties. The biggest concern expressed by all the schools was that these children struggle academically and some develop learning problems as a result of language and communication difficulties. This is worse in cases where
the children have little parental support at home and where one or both parents are illiterate and cannot speak English. School 2 reported that any problems they experience with African children are complicated by their unwillingness to accept help and to use social services. Another complicating factor is that African parents do not come in when they are asked to. "They seem to think problems will resolve on their own" Principal 2 said.

School 10 have also identified the language problem as a major one. The principal reported that, one of the reasons they are now emphasising the sharing of people's cultures is to empower these children, and to enable them to express themselves through their cultures. He has observed that their lack of communication skills in English and the local slang used by other children, leaves them feeling left out. He has also noticed that most African children do not show their (upset) emotions and tend to remain silent. The result is they may experience many emotional problems such as feeling inadequate, out of place and disempowered. Some of them reportedly act out aggressively while others go unnoticed.

Principal 4 reported that in their school, African children tend to have more attention deficit related problems and tend to be a lot more aggressive than other children. They tend to resolve their problems by being violent and fighting. She has also observed that African children tend to have poor impulse control and low frustration tolerance level. She however, felt that there could be other factors that cause them to be like that other than the fact that they are African. "I am not sure it is a racial thing or it is a way of living. I mean a White child in the same circumstances would react probably in the same way", she said. Principal 4 has observed that African children from stable homes tend to manifest fewer problems than those from unstable homes. She described an unstable home as "homes where the parents are separated, or one parent is violent or abusive, or when there is financial hardship".

With regards to domestic workers' children, all schools reported that they experience the same problems as with all the other children. The biggest problem the schools experience with domestic workers' children, however, is language. These children tend to struggle academically because in most cases, they have limited English and their parents are usually illiterate. So these children lack the support when they go home. Another observation made by all schools who have domestic workers' children, is that these children tend to overcompensate at times. For example, School 4 reported that domestic workers' children bring a lot of money to school and use that to gain friendships by buying other children things from the tuck shop.

3.5.4.2 White children

Five of the schools felt that their biggest problem with White children is that some of them are lazy. They
do not complete their work and/or homework, and higher rates of absenteeism apparently exist among the population of White pupils. Five schools reported that attention deficit problems are also common among their White children. Principals 13 and 1 felt that some White children are “spoilt, pampered, wrapped in cotton wool”, to use the words of Principal 13. School 13 observed that White English speaking children tend to have serious emotional problems when both parents are high-powered academics or professional people and work all day. These children tend to be “emotionally fragile” and as a result, they do things you don't expect them to do and exhibit maladaptive attention-seeking behaviours. School 4 reported that White children from single parent homes are the ones who tend to exhibit attention-seeking behaviours.

Another concern that was voiced with respect to White children is that, those who come from high-achieving families have higher incidences of eating disorders, depression and other stress related problems. This observation was made by Principal 2. Four of the schools have found that many of their White children put a lot of pressure on themselves. According to Principal 13, some of their White children “take an unrealistic look at their own capabilities”. For example, many expect to get 80% in all their subjects and when they do not achieve that, they get disappointed and very discouraged.

3.5.4.3 Coloured children

Seven schools did not report any problems that they felt Coloured children were most likely to exhibit or experience. Principal 13 felt that in terms of behavioural and emotional problems, Coloured children followed the same trend as the other children in the school. However, she has observed that sometimes, “they come in from their schools where they were doing well and then suddenly, their percentage average drops by 20/25% and the rug gets pulled out from under them, which is devastating for them and their parents.” She attributed this to the observation that in many cases, Coloured children coming from traditionally Coloured schools come into the system with a lack of basics in reading, writing and comprehension skills; skills that are taught in former Model C schools right from the beginning (Grade 1). Principal 10, has observed that Coloured children tend to be very aggressive. He initially hypothesised that maybe these children, who live in gang areas, look up to gangsters as role models and adopt some of those behaviours. However, he later commented that Coloured children from “softer areas” also follow the same trend of aggression and fighting.

3.5.5 Schools' hypotheses of the etiology of problems

Schools have different hypotheses about why some children have more problems than others. One salient theory that came out in the interviews was that, in most cases, behavioural and emotional problems of children where a symptom of underlying social problems, usually linked with problems in adjusting.
Principal 1 said "recurrent behaviour and attitude problems are usually symptomatic of not coping in a situation or something else so we try and get to whatever the underlying cause is". She has observed that sometimes, just that extra bit of acknowledgement helps.

Schools that have instances of stealing reported that they have come to realise that stealing in these schools is almost always a symptom of an underlying emotional problem. School 13 gave the example of a little girl who stole lunches from other children's lunch boxes. They learnt that the underlying cause was that she needed attention and "didn't have a daddy who cares for her and had a mommy who worked all day". So instead of treating the symptoms only, schools are beginning to explore more of the underlying dynamics of children's behaviours. Some schools made the observation that problems sometimes tend to be concentrated in particular classes at times and hypothesised about whether or not peer groups influenced each other.

School 4 believe that some of the problems children manifest, especially attention deficit problems, are caused by bad diet. The children eat too much "junk food" and sweet things and may not be getting a balanced diet at home. Another hypothesis was that children are watching too much television and are into technology to such an extent that it affects their attention spans. The principal said "you have got to be performing like a clown sometimes to be able to just keep their attention... you can't just stand up and teach anymore".

3.5.6 Trends of behavioural problems over the last five years

It is reported that, in general, there has been an increase in children manifesting behaviour problems in schools during the last five years. Five of the nine schools have observed that children are becoming more and more aware of their rights and tend to speak up more. They are quick to challenge when they are being disciplined and quick to say that they know their rights. Principal 10 feels that as a result, they do not take responsibility for their actions anymore. He also feels that children are developing a "blaming attitude" and tend to blame other people for their actions. Children are also reportedly becoming more emotional and reactive and tend not to think before they retaliate in conflicts. Another trend Principal 10 observed in his school is that there is more aggressive acting out, especially amongst the senior children. On the positive side, he reported that with his coming to the school, the introduction of the new code of conduct and his emphasis on having a clear vision, the children have reported a renewed sense of trust. According to him, one child said "the arrival of a new principal has heralded the end of the victory for the gangsters". So there is more of a sense of trust in his school.

The experiences reported by School 4 were, once again, slightly different to the other schools. The
principal reported that due to the fact that the majority of their children are "culturally different", they have had to adapt their thinking, especially with regards to what constitutes problematic and what is now the norm. The principal reported that the (African) children they now have at the school tend to be more "boisterous, excitable, loud and appear to be less controlled than the old style of the classroom situation or the playground situation we had". They find that in the last five years, attention deficit related problems have increased dramatically and children are becoming more aggressive and less controlled. The school also reported that children are being exposed to a lot more trauma than 5 years ago and manifest trauma-related difficulties.

3.6 PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGIES EMPLOYED IN SCHOOLS

The schools all have problem solving structures designed to tackle from the smallest of problems to more serious ones. This section will report on the measures that the schools take to address specifically behavioural, emotional and academic problems they experience with learners.

The schools all have problem-solving tiers designed to deal with difficulties they experience with the children. When it comes to mild problems of conduct, most of the schools have systems which range from warning the children, to making them write lines and detention. In all the schools, if a child receives punishment for misbehaviour 2 or more times in a row, parents are called in and involved. In more serious cases of misconduct, most of the schools refer the children to the school principal and in severe cases, a disciplinary hearing may take place with the governing body and the child may be suspended or even asked to leave the school. School 10 does not believe in the traditional mode of suspending children without any intervention to "correct" maladaptive behaviours. If the school's governing body decides to suspend a child, the school liaise with the parents and tries to involve the child in work or life skills programmes during the suspension period from school. For example, they regularly use a life skills programme called "break through" at Cape Youth Care. All the schools reported that, if, at any point they feel that the child needs some psychological intervention, then they may refer the child to a school guidance teacher or counsellor. All the schools reported that they supplement their internal resources by sometimes referring children to external organisations for assessments and interventions.

3.6.1 Available mental health and intervention resources

Most of the state schools have counselling and remedial teaching structures which are not funded by the Education Department. School 1 has Lifeline trained peer counsellors and 2 guidance teachers who are psychologists. They also have other staff who have been trained in mediation skills and other skills they sometimes call upon when helping troubled children. School 2 has a school counsellor, a social worker
who works 2 days a week, and a remedial language teacher. School 8 has remedial teachers who work 2 days a week but no school counsellors. They rely on outside resources such as private psychologists and the Newlands School Clinic. School 10 has a part-time counsellor and they have trained peer-counsellors. School 13 has a remedial teacher who works 3 days a week and they also have 2 parents who help with bridging classes. All the schools reported that to supplement their internal mental health structures, they refer to external, specialised mental health services. Some of the organisations that are regularly consulted by the schools include the CGC, the Newlands School Clinic, Cape Youth Care, SANCA, William Slater Centre for Adolescents, and private clinical psychologists.

In terms of the private schools, School 3 does not have a resident counsellor but has connections with 5 educational psychologists and an occupational therapist. The majority of children who attend the school can afford to consult private practitioners. School 4 feel they have limited resources and feel the community resources are also limited. Private schools may not use the school clinics so they rely on the CGC to meet their mental health needs. They do not have any remedial teachers or a school counsellor. However, a psychologist runs a support group with the educators to give them a forum to talk through some of their frustrations and issues concerning race.

Some of the schools are moving towards maximising their internal capacity to handle problems. School 1 try to “sow seeds all the time”. They invite people to conduct workshops to teach the children things like how to take responsibility and how to sort small problems out themselves. Schools with small classes felt advantaged because they endeavour to detect problems quickly and sort them out before they escalate. Their focus is on training their staff on how to detect early warning signs and intervene early. School 10 try to teach their pupils to view the code of conduct as a code of living not as “don't get caught doing something wrong in terms of it”. Four schools reported a paradigm shift in terms of how they view discipline. Instead of focusing the child as a problem child, they focus on the child's behaviour or actions so the child “knows it's not about them, it's about the thing that happened” reported Principal 10. This may help develop their self-image and teach them to take responsibility for their actions.

School 10 have many programmes designed to facilitate racial integration and to prevent the development of problems. They have been focusing on training their staff in conflict resolution, behaviour management and communication skills. Some of the learners are being involved in peer counselling programmes. The principal hopes that by mobilising the whole school and equipping people with these skills, “people will actually talk in an appropriate setting and not feel victimized or picked on, especially the Black children who do not show their upset emotions”. The school hopes that if everyone is involved and there is an atmosphere of caring at the school, “trust levels will increase as time goes on and people will get rid of the distrust and blaming attitudes that still exist at the school".
3.6.2 Trends in schools with high enrolment rates of black children

School 10 was one of the schools in the sample that had very high enrolment rates of children from other races. The school consists of only 1% White pupils and is a former Model C school. A very noticeable observation is that they have become a lot more proactive in dealing with problems when compared with other schools. They seem to be moving towards systemic and preventative modes of interventions. School 4 was the school which was the most affected by high enrolment rates of African children. They have very high rates of recurrent behaviour problems. A quarter of the whole school is reported to exhibit recurrent behaviour problems and that is excluding children who experience scholastic difficulties, emotional problems and children who manifest once-off behaviour problems. They seem to be desperate for help as they have tried various things on their own and nothing seems to have helped. School 7 has a relatively high number of black children (60%). The school reported relatively higher rates of recurrent behaviour problems. All these schools have also got high rates of children with language problems, with School 4 reporting that the majority of children at the school have language problems.

Some of the observations made by the schools suggest that socio-economic circumstances may contribute to children's difficulties. Children in the open schools from very wealthy backgrounds, with high-powered, busy, professional parents, reportedly tend to experience mostly emotional problems. It was also suggested that children from very disadvantaged backgrounds, with unemployed parents and/or parents who do not hold professional jobs, experience mostly behavioural problems. However, most children from disadvantaged backgrounds are reportedly African children and most of them have difficulties with the English language. This limits their ability to express themselves and communicate their feelings. It is therefore likely that these children may experience high rates of emotional problems, but due to their limited language abilities, they possibly tend to externalize their problems more and act out, thus the high rates of aggression and behaviour problems.

3.7 A NOTE ON EDUCATOR QUESTIONNAIRE CONTENT

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of the educator questionnaires to supplement the information from the interviews. As such, much of the information from the educator questionnaires has been incorporated with the results from the interviews. Most of what the educators said corroborated the school principal's views. However, there were a few important issues that were raised in the educator questionnaires. Educators questionnaires from almost all the schools that returned the questionnaire felt that they needed to undergo a process of “acculturation”, to use the words of an educator from School 3. They felt they need to become more aware of the reality and practical implications of having people from different cultures and languages with different interests and aspirations in the school. All three educators from School 4, and
two from School 10 expressed their frustrations and desire for help. They expressed frustration at the lack
of parental involvement in the school and the level of problems, especially academic, that they
encountered with the children. One educator felt they needed workshops to help them learn to identify
"what is wrong" with the children before things get out of hand. Three other educators felt they needed
help with encouraging more parental involvement and counselling parents about discipline skills.

Another interesting observation is that one educator who identified herself as the first coloured woman to
be employed as an educator in one of the former Model C schools has felt that the transition has been
particularly hard for her. She has felt that some of the staff have problems with her colour and she feels it
is particularly evident with the staff who have been in the school for a long time.

In summary, schools reported on their different experiences of racial integration. However, there was a
general trend that was identified from the reports of all the schools. Schools with more children of other
races reported higher rates of language and scholastic problems. Some of these schools have felt the need
to adapt their thinking in order to cope. Schools also reported on many other types of problems they
commonly observe such as behaviour problems and manifestations of emotional problems. The following
chapter will discuss these problems in more detail and options of interventions will also be discussed.
Finally recommendations will be made about future research and possibilities for engaging schools in
school based interventions.
CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is important to note that this research was a pilot study conducted with the aim of shedding some light into aspects of schools' experiences of racial integration and some of the problems they have encountered. As such, the results reported on appear to be broad. While this has its limitations, it is also advantageous in that questions may be raised to direct future research in the field.

4.1.1 Sample size

Only a fraction of one school area was studied, namely Circuit 1 of the Wynberg area. It was, therefore, not possible to compare and contrast with other areas to see whether or not the results are similar. Furthermore, it is important to note that due to the relatively small sample and the qualitative nature of the data, one cannot generalise any of the findings to the larger population. However, the results may be used as guidelines to gain some insight into some of the experiences and issues some of the schools in the larger population may be dealing with.

4.1.2 Timing of the research

The response rates of the research may have been influenced by the timing of the data collection. Permission to conduct the research was granted by the PAWC- Education Department in July 2000. As mentioned earlier, one of the conditions of the permission was that the research would not be carried out in the fourth term. As a result, the interviews took place during the last month of the third school term and many of the schools were already involved in their end of term activities.

4.1.3 Rates of behaviour problems

The schools were only asked about the rates of children exhibiting recurrent behaviour problems. This was because the focus was initially on behaviour problems. It would have been useful to also ask questions about the rates of children who generally manifest behaviour problems (including those who manifest recurrent problems) and also to ask about the rates of children manifesting symptoms of perceived emotional problems and those experiencing scholastic difficulties. This information would be useful to assess how prevalent the above problems are in schools.
4.1.4 Information on behaviour problems is based on reports

It is important to emphasise that the information collected in this research is based on reports from the school principals and the educators. These reports (on behaviour and other problems) are not based on facts. According to Howlin (1995), it is often the case that judgements as to whether a child has behavioural or emotional problems are based more on the attitudes, policies, practices and the tolerance levels of the individual teachers than on any objective criteria. Assessment of such problems may thus, be problematic. It has also been suggested that behaviour ratings made by parents may differ from those made by teachers (Howlin, 1995). It is important to consider this when interpreting the results.

4.2 IMPORTANT NOTES ABOUT THE DATA GATHERING PROCESS

Qualitative interviewing is about interaction and interaction is a two-way process. It is thus important to consider some of the unsaid but powerfully present dynamics that surfaced during the different stages of this research. Due to length constraints of this dissertation, it will not be possible to report on all of the process observations that were made. Some of the interactions and occurrences during the data collection process demonstrate the depth of the sensitivity of race issues in a post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.1 Sensitivities about a black researcher, researching integration issues in White schools

As mentioned elsewhere in the dissertation, I am a young, African female with a White-sounding name and a touch of a British accent. When I began making contact with the schools, I endeavoured to make direct telephonic contact with the school principals, who were to be my interviewees. In most cases, appointments were set up directly through them. Many of the principals said they would be happy to be interviewed and were looking forward to sharing some of their experiences. Having not yet met me, it is possible that they made their own impressions of me through the sound of my voice, my intonations, my accent and any other cues they may have picked up over the telephone. It was, however, obvious that none of them had expected that I would actually be African. This was evident in the shocked and surprised expressions on the faces of some of the principals. One principal said, “are you Esther Price? My, you look... different. I did not expect you would be so... young”. Other school principals also expressed surprise to discover my race and tried to contextualise me. Some asked questions about my accent, if it was a result of independent schooling, and some asked if I was Xhosa speaking and other such questions. I got the impression that I was now, in part, a threatening presence and no longer the safe avenue for discussing issues as I had previously been on the telephone.
4.2.2 Countertransference feeling of being a spy

Many of the participants became very guarded after meeting me. This was compounded by the fact that I had requested to tape record the session and all expressed concern about the purpose of the recording. Three interviewees explicitly voiced their discomfort at speaking about racism and racial issues. I had to repeatedly explain that the focus was on racial integration and specifically on adjustment and behaviour problems of children and not racism. It was stressed that it was hoped that information arising from the research would be used to improve mental health services rendered to the children and useful recommendations could come out of the research.

Although I may have began the interviews with non-threatening questions and framing of the interview, many of the participants seemed defensive. They anticipated questions about race and read race into some of the open-ended questions, which were not intended to elicit any specific information pertaining to race. For example, to the question “Would you please comment on observed trends in social groupings and interaction amongst children”, two school principals responded by saying that they do not notice any colour and admit any child into the school, regardless of the race, and the children are completely integrated. They said that there is no racism in their schools. At times, the interactions made me feel like they thought my purpose was actually to spy for the Education Department and monitor to see if they were enrolling enough African pupils and if there were racist attitudes in the school. In addition, I was seen not simply as a researcher but also as a representative of all African people. My response to this feeling was to assure them of confidentiality. Even some of the respondents who seemed to be very open with their views said things like “I am saying things which could put me in jail”. There was also the sense that respondents were keen to be sensitive towards me and did not want to offend me. For example, some respondents said, “I hope this is not going to offend you but...”. This may have had some implications for the research process. I was not entirely in control of my own countertransference feelings, considering the unconscious nature of such feelings. I was, however, very careful not to act on the feelings of which I was aware. I processed and reflected on the feelings on my own, in supervision and in therapy in order to be more aware of them and hence, exercise greater control over my reactions. However, one of my reactions may have been an inclination to want to assure people that the research is not harmful to them. This may have made me less critical of their responses and may also have impacted somewhat on my ability to probe more, especially in areas perceived to be sensitive.

Another observation that was made about the process was that there appeared to be a concrete mode of approaching the questions. In some cases, they asked me to narrow the question down and give them an example and then they would respond based on the example. It seemed less threatening for some respondents to respond to the more structured questions. This observation has been made previously with
regard to researching sensitive topics (Lee, 1993).

### 4.2.3 Sensitivities about the question on racial break down of pupils

The question on racial compositions of the schools was included to obtain information that would enable the researcher to put the results into context. For example if a school had said 20 African pupils manifest recurrent behaviour problems and there were 22 African pupils in the school, it would have strong interpretative implications as opposed to if there were 1000 African pupils in the school. However, considering the country's history of apartheid and segregated education, the question was a highly sensitive and controversial one. This was evident in the manner in which the majority of the respondents refused to answer the question and were, in some cases, rather infuriated by it. Some of their irritation was reportedly due to the fact that the Department of Education sends out questionnaires asking the questions and it has happened that the responses have been reportedly misinterpreted before. Some of the respondents preferred not to answer the question due to fear of being misinterpreted.

### 4.2.4 Sealed questionnaires vs. unsealed ones

In considering the following observation, and indeed any observations reported elsewhere, it is important to bear in mind the small sample that was used in this research. It must be emphasized that one cannot generalise to the larger population. However, the observations reported on here and elsewhere, refer to the small sample in particular and not to the larger population.

When receiving the educator questionnaires, I noted whether each one was returned in a sealed envelope or an unsealed envelope. There was a very interesting trend that came up. Respondents of questionnaires that were returned in unsealed envelopes appeared very sensitive to race issues. In almost all cases, they refused to respond to the question requesting racial breakdowns of the children. In some cases, they also refused to respond to questions on racial differences in the manifestation of behavioural problems. Some of these respondents gave very little information about their experiences of racial integration in the school and tended to give a "we are colour-blind and are used to it. We don't even think of it" impression. However, questionnaires in sealed envelopes were much more explicit on racial issues. Educators openly voiced concerns, gave racial breakdowns of the children, and also made observations about racial differences in manifestations of behavioural problems. However, it is interesting to note that questionnaires from schools with the highest rates of problems and schools with more African children, seemed relatively open about these issues, regardless of whether or not the questionnaires were in a sealed or unsealed envelope. This possible trend raises questions about how race issues are dealt with in the schools. These observations suggest that schools with high rates of problems may be becoming more
open with their internal discussions about issues concerning race, racial integration and accompanying difficulties. On the other hand, it may be possible that other schools tend not to encourage open discussion of these issues and may adopt a “these are all children, we don’t see colour here, there are no racial issues so let’s not talk about it (openly)” approach. Cowley (1991, as cited in Eyber et. al., 1997) reported that teachers who said “at our school we are colour-blind and if we do not draw attention to difference the children will also not be concerned about these issues” may be neglecting important areas of exploration. The observation that educators who sealed their envelopes brought these issues up suggests that there may be a need to create a forum in the schools where these issues may be discussed and debated more openly. School 4 created such a space with an external psychologist and have found that the experience is very “freeing” and sharing their experiences positively impacts on their ability to deal with difficulties when they arise. It might be interpreted that I am assessing the honesty of the participants based on the information obtained in this research. It is not possible to talk about who was more honest that who or about honesty per se. What is clear, however, is that the circumstances at work (at the school) may impact on how they respond.

4.3 CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS

During the apartheid era in South Africa, African children's education was the most neglected and disadvantaged. African children were subjected to significantly lower standards of schooling in the traditionally African schools (Bot, 1992). With the advent of the opening of previously White schools to other races, many African children flocked to the open schools in search of a better education. However, many of these children have had difficulties in the schools, partly because of their disadvantaged educational backgrounds, partly because of problems with the language of instruction (mostly English) and partly due to some of the socio-economic circumstances in which they live (Du Toit, 1995). This section of the dissertation discusses the results and raises questions about the potential role of schools in contributing to and/or overcoming some of these children's difficulties. Recommendations arising from the discussion will follow.

This research venture set out to “open mindedly” investigate and explore racial integration issues and also some of the problems encountered in multicultural schools. A lot of important information about both these aspects arose from the study. One of the most salient trends that emerged was that schools with higher enrolment rates of African pupils expressed more behavioural problems with them than schools that had fewer African pupils. In other words, the more African pupils there were in the school, the more the reported behavioural problems manifested by African children. Regardless of the number of African children they have, all schools reported that many African pupils had language problems and consequently tend to underachieve and experience scholastic difficulties. These trends were prevalent in
both private and state schools. This raises many questions. Why are African children seen to manifest more behavioural problems when there are more of them in the school system? Why are they not seen to manifest behaviour problems when they are the minority population? It must be emphasized, once again, that what is presented in this dissertation is based on reports. I cannot conclusively say that rates of problems do differ but it may be useful to speculate.

4.3.1 Racial assimilation

Research suggests that one of the things that happens to African children when they enter racially integrated schools is that they get assimilated into the schools (Du Toit, 1995; Eyber et al., 1997; Todd, 1993). The results of this study suggest that assimilation may well occur in schools, and children who are assimilated may present to their principals and teachers as “well-integrated”. For example, Schools 3 and 7 reported that when African children are the minority, they “integrate” well, mostly because they tend to adopt the patterns, attitudes and expectations of the majority population - the White children (see p 30). Other schools reported that African children from middle-class families and those with professional parents tend to “integrate” easier and others felt that as a result, many African children “reject their Africanness”. One hypothesis could be that children from middle-class families may be more westernised and tend to assimilate easier. These observations were all made in schools where White children were the majority. These schools generally reported fewer problems, behaviourwise, with African children. So why do schools with more African children report higher rates of behaviour and attitude problems from their African pupils?

Schools with many African children reported that African children tend to be more aggressive, more reactive, and many are disruptive and inattentive in class. Could it be that when there are more of them, they feel “empowered” to rebel against assimilation and losing their own (cultural) identity? Could it be that they are rebelling against a school system that they possibly feel does not acknowledge or accommodate them? One school principal commented that sometimes, when a child with behaviour problems is referred to the school counsellor, the problems subside because “sometimes, just the acknowledgement helps”. Eyber et al. (1997) reported a similar observation. They found that African children tend to respond positively when they not treated as “previously disadvantaged” but are treated as equals and their language and cultural backgrounds are acknowledged in the school.

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18See introduction (p7) for a literary discussion of “assimilation”.

-50-
Cultural intersubjectivity in schools

Many researchers have stressed that adjustment in racially integrated schools should not be a one-way but a two-way process. The school system also has to adjust to accommodate the new population of (black) students, especially considering the cultural diversity multicultural education has brought. During apartheid, "culture" was used as a synonym for "race". As a result, culture was viewed as unchanging, and there are many stereotypes based on culture (Eyber et al., 1997). However, in basic terms, "culture" refers to how people interpret the world around them by developing shared understandings. It is not static, it evolves. According to Eyber et al., (1997), culture is "a continuous process of change and the boundaries are always porous". People from diverse cultural backgrounds come to the school where they interact and learn to share a common understanding, depending on the mission, vision and ethos of the school. One cannot deny or disregard the cultural differences. However, if the concept of intersubjectivity were to be applied, then it may be true to say that when they are all in the school environment, their different cultures should interact resulting ultimately in a common culture. That common culture should reflect aspects of all other cultures and not just how the dominant culture (i.e. White people) organise and understand the world around them. If the common culture does not reflect aspects of other cultures, then difficulties are bound to arise (Eyber et al., 1997).

According to Du Toit (1995), the needs and interests of African pupils should be accommodated if the school wants to continue to function effectively. "Rather than being forced to bring about change with all the possible negative implications this might hold, schools need to be pro-active in this regard." Du Toit's study found that many African pupils in his sample had repressed feelings of rejection, alienation and of non-acceptance. He concluded that these "repressed negative experiences undoubtedly have the potential to lead to destructive conflict and to serious disruption of schools, if they are not dealt with pro-actively".

Behaviour problems and scholastic difficulties

One of the trends that came up in the results was that schools with higher enrolment rates of African children from disadvantaged educational backgrounds, reported the highest rates of scholastic difficulties and language problems. These schools also reported higher rates of children manifesting recurrent behaviour problems and other types of emotional and non-recurrent behaviour problems. Some of the schools felt there may was a link between a child's self-concept, language and scholastic problems and behaviour problems. Research suggests that conduct problems are a common accompaniment to

19The term "conduct problems" refers to disturbances in conduct and other behaviour problems that may be symptomatic of conduct disorder. It does not necessarily refer to the clinical syndrome of conduct disorder but may include aspects of it.
educational underachievement (Rutter, 1990) and may thus, be linked. Furthermore, studies have shown a strong link between language and reading problems and conduct problems (Rutter, 1990). One of the hypotheses that has been made for this connection is that reading and language are important skills at school. According to Rutter (1990), failure or difficulties in any one of these areas may be a "potent source of discouragement, loss of self-esteem and antagonism which may contribute to the development of delinquent activities" and rebellious behaviour.

It appears that many of the commonly reported problems in the schools may be symptomatic of conduct disorders\(^\text{20}\). It is important to emphasise that this research did not endeavour to diagnose children in the schools but to raise some questions for future research about aspects of their experiences and the problems they reportedly manifest. Having said this, the likelihood of there being high rates of conduct problems in certain schools, particularly those with high rates of recurrent behaviour problems, may not be excluded. The Revised Behaviour Problem Checklist\(^\text{21}\) contains a list of behaviours typical of conduct problems. Although the scale was not used as an instrument in this research, some of the descriptions have been borrowed for the purpose of illustrating that many of the problems schools experience fall within the spectrum of conduct disorder type behaviours.

### 4.3.4 Adjustment problems

Schools reported that in general, there has been an increase in children presenting with problems in the schools in the last five years. It is interesting to note that it has been six years since the advent of democracy in 1994. It was from that time that integrated schools began accepting an increasing number of black children and Education policies continued to change. Another possible way of making sense of the reported increase of problems in schools is that some of these difficulties may be a manifestation of children struggling to adjust to a changing system.

According to the DSM-IV\(^\text{22}\), the essential feature of adjustment disorder is the "development of clinically significant emotional or behavioural symptoms in response to an identifiable psychosocial stressor". There must also be significant impairment in social and/ or academic functioning. The psychosocial stressor may be chronic and may affect a large group or community, for example a school. One of the commonly reported associated features of adjustment disorder is depression. In children and adolescents,

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\(^{20}\)See Appendix 9 for diagnostic criteria for conduct disorder.

\(^{21}\)See Appendix 10 for a copy of the antisocial scales in the Revised Behaviour Problem Checklist (RPBC). Due to length constraints, these will not be discussed in detail as the implications of the results are of more value than the actual behaviours themselves.

\(^{22}\)Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder, Fourth Edition (1994).
depression may manifest itself as disturbances in conduct, hyperactivity, aggressiveness and irritability (Carlson & Cantwell, 1980; Harrington, 1995). All of these difficulties do affect academic performance. Many of the schools that participated in this study report experiencing these types of problems, especially those with high rates of children from disadvantaged educational backgrounds. These problems exacerbate scholastic difficulties which in turn may perpetuate inner feelings of depression and low self-esteem which may result in more behavioural responses and acting out (Rutter, 1990). This suggests that there may be a vicious cycle of problems operating in the schools.

4.3.5 School related risk factors

Clinical syndromes and other such problems have more than one etiological factor. No mental health problem is caused by only one factor. There are many factors that have been identified as risk factors for conduct and adjustment problems, one of them being the school itself. Research suggests that characteristics of the school may contribute to, and increase the risk for conduct problems in children (Earls, 1995). However, characteristics of the school have also been associated with more favourable outcomes (Mortimore, 1995). There are many clinical implications of the findings of this research. With regards to the problems discussed above, one may look at each child individually and assess and treat their individual circumstances but when so many children are having problems, it becomes necessary to look at the whole school, as a system and how it is functioning.

4.4 A SYSTEMIC UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEMS IN SCHOOLS

4.4.1 Systems theory and education

According to systems theory, the word "systems" refers to the different levels and groupings of the social context. The functioning of the whole system depends on the interaction amongst all the parts (Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana, 1997). A school is an organisation; a system with many different parts including its staff, pupils, administration and its curriculum. Furthermore, systems have subsystems within them and these subsystems overlap. For example in a school, a class is a subsystem, there may also be overlapping subsystems based on race, gender, social class etc. in the school. These subsystems interact with the whole and the system itself (the school) interacts with other systems outside it (e.g. the wider community). Systems theory states that, in order to understand the whole, one must examine the relationship between the different parts of the system. Anything that happens in one part of the system, will affect all the other parts. The fundamental principle of systemic thinking is that cause and effect relationships do not take part in one direction only. That is to say, something occurring in one part of the system cannot be blamed to be the cause of the occurrence of something else in another part of the system.
(Donald et. al, 1997). In systemic thinking, actions are seen as “triggering and affecting each other in cyclical, often repeated patterns”. This often results in vicious cycles of problems forming in the system, as previously hypothesised from the results. Any poorly functioning part or subsystem will result in a ripple effect through the whole system. The same goes for the problems schools experience with the children. When there are many problems within the school system, for example high rates of pupils manifesting problems, it raises questions about the functioning of the system as a whole. It is important to understand these problems in the whole social context otherwise interventions will not be effective in addressing them at any level.

4.4.2 Whose problem is it?

When an individual in a system has behavioural manifestations of social and interpersonal problems, whose problem is it? In the study, (and possibly partly as an artefact of the way questions were asked), many of the school principals tended to identify individual pupils as the problem. This causes one to believe that the solution to the problem is thus in the individual pupil and the schools attempt to “solve” the problem through punishments ranging from detentions to expulsion, and sometimes counselling (Donald et. al., 1997). However, according to systemic thinking, the problem could be in the school system itself or it could be seen that the problem lies in the interaction between the different levels and subsystems. For example, in many instances, when such children are referred to mental health practitioners, one often finds that the problem is not as simple as the presenting problem (e.g. problematic behaviour). There are usually other factors such as family problems and the child might be living in a violent community with high rates of poverty. In this instance, considering the apartheid history, it is likely that there are issues of race and racism in the schools. Feelings associated with racism are usually disavowed because they are associated with guilt, anger and hatred. As a result, it is likely that there many such repressed feelings underlying many of the dynamics in schools which could manifest as aggression and behaviour problems in children (Eyber et. al., 1997). However, if the school structure accepted that these issues exist and dealt with these issues openly, as an organisation, there might be different consequences.

4.5 TOWARDS ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

4.5.1 Illness vs. wellness

As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, mental health occurs on a continuum of “illness” and “wellness”. There has always been a problem-oriented or “illness” focus and interventions have been more curative in nature. However, during recent times, researchers and mental health practitioners in education have
advocated a paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of mental health in education (Lazarus & Donald, 1997). They suggest a shift from a problem-oriented or “illness” focus to a more “wellness”-oriented one, which implies a more “health-promotive”, developmental and preventative emphasis. In many cases, this has implied a shift towards organisations based or systems based preventative interventions. They have argued many educational, social and economic advantages of this approach. The biggest economic advantage being that the success of preventative interventions would progressively reduce the “almost overwhelming present need for curative services” in education (Lazarus & Donald, 1997).

There have been some systems based programmes which have been implemented that have followed this paradigm shift and these have been largely successful. These include the violence prevention intervention that was initiated by Community Psychological Empowerment Services (COPES) and implemented at pre-school level in Lavender Hill (Petersen & Carolissen, 2000), and the Teacher’s Inservice Project (TIP) which was implemented over a five year period at Modderdam High School. The focus of the TIP was on working pre-actively with the school as a whole and the project was based on school organisation development theory (De Jong, 2000). The CGC has also been involved in organisational development where the focus has been on capacity building through in-service training and sometimes, sharing basic psychological skills amongst the so-called “front-line workers” in organisations such as schools (Gibson, 2000).

4.5.2 School organisation development: Developing health-promotive schools

School organisation development has been defined by Davidoff and Lazarus (1997, as cited in De Jong, 2000) as “a normative re-educative strategy for managing change, which is aimed at facilitating development of people and the organisation as a whole for the purposes of optimising human fulfilment and increasing organisational capacity”. This definition implies that the school, as an organisation, needs to be more proactive and must constantly and systematically reflect on its own practice and make necessary adjustments arising from new insights gained through the reflective process (De Jong, 2000). Organisation development also includes, but is not limited to, resource development. This is the process that needs to take place in all multi-racial schools, because most of them are still functioning as they did before. There have been policy and structural changes but this is not enough to “transcend South African education’s deep malaise” (De Jong, 2000). Cultural transformation must also take place. According to systems theory, positive changes at the organisational level, in the whole school system, may have widespread ripple effects at more of the other levels, and would eventually also impact on the individual- the child who presents with adjustment and behaviour problems. Cultural transformation may,

23People who deal with the children directly in organisations such as schools. e.g. teachers
thus, acknowledge children who feel marginalised and they may feel more accepted (Du Toit, 1995).

Some of the schools in the present study appear to be moving towards thinking along the lines of organisational development. For example, at School 10, in dealing with their problems pro-actively, have gained some useful insights that they have been experimenting with for the past two years. For example, their peer-counselling programmes, the workshops they organise for their educators (e.g. behaviour management, communication skills and problem solving), life skills training for their pupils and their emphasis on having a clear, shared vision and ensuring that all stakeholders keep focused on it. They also have an emphasis on discussing racial issues and “not brushing them under the carpet”, acknowledging that they exist and dealing with them openly. It is interesting to note that this is one school that does not follow the trend that came up results of this study, the trend where schools with higher enrolments of black children have higher rates of behaviour problems. School 10 has 98% black children and reports relatively lower rates of problems. It may be hypothesised that their systemic approach may positively impact on the children. However, further research is needed to investigate why some schools with similar circumstances have more problems than others.

4.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

4.6.1 The role of psychology in schools

Considering that the country is just coming out of a “vicious and oppressive political dispensation” and the present state of high crime rates, poverty and violence, it is possible that there are millions of South Africans who would benefit from psychological help (Pretorius-Heuchert & Ahmed, 2001). The present status quo in psychology is that only a fraction of the people who need psychological services actually get treatment. This is especially true in education, where there is a growing number of children being referred for treatment and very few resources to meet the demand. Mental health clinics function under pressure with very long waiting lists. It has become increasingly apparent that traditional psychological treatments such as individual psychotherapy are neither sufficient nor relevant in dealing with the overwhelming demand for psychological services. During the last decade, psychology has undergone much transition and during that process, a “new” psychology has been conceptualised. According to Swartz & Gibson (2001), the “new” psychology differs to the old style of psychology in that it “rejects professionalism in favour of community participation; elitist academic knowledge in favour of lay understanding; and the consulting room in favour of community based interventions”. This does not imply abandoning the “old”, traditional modus operandi of psychology, but rather to integrate the two and redefine the role of psychology. Having said this, the tentative data collected in this dissertation supports the view that the role of psychology in schools should shift.
Most of the schools studied in this study who are utilising psychological services, report doing so in the traditional way. Much of the literature that exists on community psychological practices has tended to focus on poorer, disadvantaged communities. Very little literature exists on the application of community psychology principals to White communities or more advantaged communities. It may thus be a factor that limits practitioners from applying such methods in traditionally White schools. However, there is a need to shift this thinking because as the need for psychological services becomes more pressing, the need for preventative, schools based interventions becomes more logical and justified. There seems to be a need for the psychologists role to rather be of the consultant. In this instance, consultation refers to the range of activities the psychologist may engage in to make their skills and knowledge accessible to frontline works in the school environment such as educators (Swartz & Gibson, 2001). The aim should be capacity building within the organisation not only to facilitate better coping with the situation, but also to enable the system to develop and adjust to the change.

Considering that there seems to have been a number of problems in some of the schools in the sample during the last five years, it would take a lot of work to stabilise the problems within the system. Although one cannot infer exactly what may have happened in other schools, it is likely that other former Model C schools are in similar situations where children are acting out and psychological services are scarce. It is recommended that research be conducted in schools to identify high-risk schools, i.e. schools with higher rates of acting out behaviour and other problems which may be linked with adjustment difficulties. Mental health practitioners need to liaise more with the schools and conduct needs assessments in the schools, as they would any other community interventions. The present perceived role of the school in psychological interventions with children is to provide collateral intervention about how the child functions at the school. It is now imperative to find out how the school functions in relation to the child.

4.6.2 The need for school based interventions

The findings of this study lend support to the view that four levels of the school system may benefit from interventions. First and foremost, there needs to be some intervention taking place at the level of the whole school systems itself. Other parts of the system that were identified as potentially requiring some intervention were the pupils, the educators and the parents. This would be in line with systemic thinking-the more sub-systems involved in interventions, the greater the (positive) effect there will ultimately be on the individuals.
4.6.2.1 The school as a whole

One of the needs identified in this study is the need for schools to be involved in interventions. Some of the teachers in the study felt ill-equipped to deal with some of the problems they experience. Due to reported cultural differences, many of them have never encountered some of these problems before. In cases where they have encountered similar problems, many have never experienced them to the extent they now find. Some educators expressed a need for a process of being exposed to other cultures. One way of doing this might be to have some workshops in schools where people from different cultures teach other people in the schools about their cultures. The workshops should be incorporated during normal school hours, potentially during assembly time. A recommended format could be to learn about a different culture each month. These workshops should be for students and staff alike. They could be interactive workshops where people can learn about ways of living, song, dance, food and beliefs of other cultures and ask questions. This would empower all cultural groups in the schools and may be an entry point to invite parents to come in and tell about their cultures. One of the problems schools find was that most African parents are not involved in the life of the school. A hypothesis that was made was that they may feel as though they are only invited to discuss problems. If they were invited to teach the school about their cultures, they might become more involved and feel more acknowledged within the school system. The children would no longer have to have shame about their cultures. Another advantage of this may be that there would be increased interaction between the various parts of the school system, which is desirable.

Another observation made in this study was that it appears to be the case that certain sensitive issues are not discussed openly in the schools. There are many sensitivities around discussing race issues, partly due to the fear of perpetuating politically constructed, stereotypic categories of identity and partly due to the fear of being labelled “racist”. However, the only way to confront these issues is to discuss them openly (Eyber et. al., 1997). This is, after all, a nation of people who were taught to despise each other from the very time they were in pre-school (Bot, 1992). So it would be expected that people may still have some prejudices, which need to be discussed as a step towards eradicating and challenging some of those prejudices. Considering that attitudes are deeply ingrained by adulthood, it may be correct to say changing people's attitudes, particularly about race, is a process that may take a very long time. There are already forums being created nationally where issues concerning race and racial integration can be discussed and debated. One such forum is the TV programme “Re a bua”. The study suggests that there is a need to have such forums in the schools themselves because otherwise, people suffer in silence. Schools 4 and 10 have taken on such an approach and find it helps to speak about some of the unsaid underlying dynamics, that people speculate about anyway. Research also suggests that repressed anger arising from experiences with race and racism may manifest as aggression and impulsivity (Eyber et. al., 1997). This
may, in part, explain some of the difficulties children are having.

4.6.2.2 The educators

Many of the educators reported a need for training. Training programmes could be initiated with educators, of particularly at risk schools to start off with. These programmes should focus on developing skills such as conflict resolution skills, behaviour management skills, communication skills and basic counselling skills. The training programmes should take into account cultural differences, how different cultures communicate distress, how conflicts are resolved and how they deal with problems. Furthermore, educators who find they are having difficulties coping, especially in schools where there have been overwhelming changes, should have the opportunity of experiencing support groups where they can discuss some of the issues they deal with, as a group. These could be held once fortnightly depending on the needs of the schools. This may seem like a daunting task but if approached strategically, it may have its advantages. For example, schools in a particular circuit of a geographical school area may co-ordinate and hold some of their groups together. One advantage of this method would be that educators may discover that other schools report similar experiences and they may not only support each other, but they may also learn from each other's experiences. The aim of such programmes would be to build capacity within the school so that educators may become more aware of the students needs, and may provide primary mental health support services to the children. The role of the psychology in this instance would thus be consultation and training.

Literature suggests that the classroom plays a major role in contributing to or preventing problems in children. The atmosphere in the classroom is very important because that is where one can effect the most change (Donald et. al., 1997; Eyber et. al., 1997; Nicol, 1994) Some of the schools reported having observed that sometimes problems are more concentrated in certain classes and not in others. It is thus, the role of the teacher to ensure that their classroom is a “health promotive” one (Donald et. al., 1997). Donald et. al. (1997) reported that the role of the educator is to understand the dynamics of the class; how power dynamics get played out, race issues, participation patterns and patterns of cohesion, among other things, and to use that understanding to foster balance in the classroom, in all these areas. Educators may initially need training to help them identify areas that may present as risk factors, and to maximise on already existing “health promotive” strategies being used in the classroom. For example, it could be useful if teachers could be trained in basic behaviour modification interventions. Literature consistently suggests that rewarding students often for positive behaviours, and being fair to all students, may have a

24For an in-depth discussion about the role of educators in a multiracial school, and for comprehensive practical guidelines, please see Donald et. al., (1997).
positive impact on students, particularly those that exhibit behaviour problems (Donald et al., 1997; Eyber et al., 1997; Howlin, 1994). Some schools have already started thinking along those lines. Another way of maintaining a health promotive classroom, especially in a society that has just come out of apartheid, may be to focus more on team work in the classroom and less on individual competitiveness. The children who consistently struggle, usually the African children, may feel more positive about their learning experience which could ultimately positively impact on their learning and their sense of self esteem.

4.6.2.3 Parents

Many of the schools expressed a need to involve parents more in the life of the school, especially parents of African children. The importance of having the support of parents before embarking on preventative programmes cannot be stressed enough (Dawes, 1994; Dawes, Robertson, Duncan, Ensink, Jackson, Reynolds, Pillay & Richter, 1997; Rutter, 1990). Research needs to be conducted to investigate how African parents from lower socio-economic circumstances and from the townships, in particular, feel about sending their children to racially integrated schools. This research could investigate some of the reasons that may hinder them from participating in their child's education and life at the school. The parents could be asked what would make it easier for them to be more actively involved in the school. The findings of such research would enable schools and mental health practitioners to gain insight into the parents' experiences and to collaboratively devise appropriate strategies to accommodate the parents more and hence facilitate greater parental involvement. For example, if the issue is that meetings in the schools are held at night and the parents have transport problems, the school could think of alternative times for such meetings.

Another option might be for parents support groups to be initiated to facilitate interaction between parents of different cultures. Parents could all come together and talk about pertinent issues concerning their children and share their experiences. For example they could talk more about what their needs are and what they would like to see happening more in the schools. Generating such discussions could get the parents more involved and many would feel more empowered. These could either be school based or community based.

4.6.2.4 Learners

Learners are probably the most vulnerable part of the system as they are still in the early phases of their development (Dawes, 1994; Donald et al., 1997). Any effects they suffer now may have lasting consequences. It is thus important to protect them by engaging them in preventative interventions
concurrently with working with the different tiers of the school system. Most participants of this study reported that children from lower socio-economic backgrounds reportedly have more difficulties settling in to the school. According to Landman (1992), “an effective child and adolescent mental health service must function in the full knowledge of the socio-economic environment it serves”. Because the former Model C schools and private schools studied here are situated in suburban areas, it may be easy to overlook some of the socio-economic circumstances many of the learners live under. Hence, it is very important to take those into consideration. Furthermore, school staff should be trained to identify at risk learners and such learners should be offered short term counselling and support. Another important consideration is that research suggests that preventative interventions are most effective when younger children are targeted (Petersen & Carolissen, 2000). These interventions have been mostly successful on pre-school age children (Petersen & Carolissen, 2000).

Some of the school reported many children lack essential social skills, especially those with language problems. Although some schools have initiated their own life skills programmes, it would be essential for all schools to implement such programmes. Life skills and social skills training should be ideally, incorporated in the curriculum and should be offered to all students, and not just those who may seem to be having difficulties. Another way of teaching learners to take responsibility is to have structures in place where students may have the chance to be in a leadership role. This would be over and above existing class prefect and schools prefect structures. Preferably, the leadership role should rotate regularly, enabling each child to have the chance of being in a leadership role of some sort. The children in these sorts of leadership roles should be supported by educators and acknowledged by the school.

Peer counselling structures may also be useful in schools. The schools reported on here have reported observations that problems seem to be more concentrated in older years when peer groups become very important. Possible peer counselling programmes may be initiated. The more senior students could receive some training in mediation skills and basic counselling. This would enable other students to discuss worries and concerns with their peer counsellor as a starting point. This would be most effective in secondary schools.

Finally, the role of group interventions in the school environment cannot be undermined. Options for group interventions in schools should be explored, especially for the children with existing emotional, behavioural and other problems. This is where the schools might enlist the help of mental health practitioners in the role of consultants and trainers.
4.6.3 The need for advocacy

None of the above recommendations would be effective without the support of the Education Department. There is, thus, a need to lobby government into investing and developing more mental health structures in education. It is clear that the school clinics (support centres) are immensely overloaded and the educational community cannot function effectively under restrained resources. One cannot overlook the efforts that went into establishing the school clinics in the first place, but with the changing needs of the school communities, there has been a substantial increase in the demand.

4.6.4 The need for further research

Many of the recommendations for further research have been discussed earlier in the dissertation. However, there are other areas which would be useful to investigate. Further research is needed to investigate in more detail what the schools' perceptions are of the role of the mental health professional. The results of the study suggest that when the school experiences problems with a child and that child is referred for psychological services, they look to the psychologist for solutions to the problem - the child. There seems to be a perception that the mental health professional will fix it and if he/ she doesn't then this child must be expelled. How do the schools perceive the role of the psychologist in education? How would they like to define the role? What would be most useful to them? This information would be very useful in devising preventative intervention programmes in the schools. Before such programmes can be set up, it is important to also investigate the parents' experiences and what they expect from the mental health professional and what they expect from the school.

Another area of further research might be to investigate whether or not parents' reports of behaviour problems, especially African children's parents, differ from or correspond with the reports of the schools. There are many difficulties associated with using the reports of the schools alone as mentioned earlier in the dissertation. This investigation could yield useful information about cultural definitions of "behaviour problems". What constitutes problematic behaviour in different cultures? For example, School 4 found the "loudness" of African children rather disturbing, do they include such behaviour in the category of "problematic behaviour"? How would African parents define problematic behaviour. Answering such questions could improve the interaction and communication between the school system and the parents who might feel their children are being marginalised because of their behaviour. It is very important to understand the symptom and what it means, what it is trying to communicate before you can actually "label" it and treat it (Rutter, 1990).
Because culture and race issues are so sensitive, many researchers are reluctant to conduct ethnographic studies and to share observations they may have made about people from different races and cultures (Swartz, 1998). The same appears to be true for educators in schools. Much research research is still needed in order to investigate more thoroughly the role of race and culture in multi-racial schooling.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This study set out to shed some light on aspects of the schools' experiences of racial integration and some of the problems they experience with the children. The research venture was spurred, in part, by the rapidly increasing referrals of particularly African children, made to the CGC from open schools. Due to the increasing demand for psychological services for children, child mental health organisations such as the CGC, have been unable to meet the demand. Many children have remained names on a waiting list.

The study was a pilot study, conducted in circuit 1 of the Wynberg geographical school area. Of the 14 schools that met the criteria for inclusion in the sample, 9 participated. In general, the findings appear to accord with the findings of previous research. It was found that the process of racial integration has not been easy for all but it has been harder for some people. It appears that African children are those that have found it harder to adapt to the school environment in open schools. It was consistently reported by all schools that African children, particularly those residing in the African townships and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds experience scholastic problems. Many of their academic problems were attributed to disadvantaged educational backgrounds and language problems, which also tends to impact on their ability to communicate. It was found that schools with higher enrolment rates of African children reported that these African children tend to act out their frustrations aggressively, and many exhibit related behaviour problems. Schools with lower enrolment rates of African children, reported that the African children with such difficulties tend to withdraw and internalise their difficulties more. Whichever the case, these children may be at risk of developing problems that may warrant psychological intervention. The findings suggested that children were not the only people who have had some difficulty adapting to the transition. Teachers in some schools, particularly those with more black children, reported that they have found it difficult at times. Some attributed this to the challenge of teaching children from diverse educational backgrounds and with different levels of ability. Some felt it was due to a lack of understanding of other cultures, which sometimes leads to misinterpretations. Generally, most schools felt that behaviour problems are on the increase and children are taking less responsibility for their actions.

In line with the current trend in psychology, it was recommended that there is a need for psychological interventions in schools to redirect their focus. Instead of focusing on the child, a viewpoint which may imply that the child is "the problem" and the only problem, interventions should focus more on the whole
school system, the child being a small aspect of the system. This acknowledges the changes the school system has undergone with the process of racial integration. The advantage is that organisation based interventions may be preventative, developmental or curative in nature and in this case, it was recommended that there needs to be more preventative programmes for the children.


APPENDIX 1:
A NOTE ON THE USE OF RACIAL CLASSIFICATION TERMS

Race refers to the socially imposed categories of human beings in terms of ethnicity, skin colour and other visible differences and matters such as language, religion and cultural heritage. In biological terms, there is only one race— the human race. But this study used the term in its socially constructed sense. It is important to emphasise that considering South Africa's history of apartheid, the use of racial categories may be offensive to most readers. The terms are not used to perpetuate politically constructed categories of identity. Nor does the use of such terms imply that I accept them as valid categories of classification. However, in certain instances, it may be necessary to know a person's racial classification. This is because each racial category has historically undergone very different experiences, be it in education or elsewhere. The dissertation uses the terms "African", "Coloured", "White" and "Indian". The term "black" has historically been used to refer to African, Coloured and Indian people and is also used as such in this dissertation. It is important to emphasise that the use of these terms does not imply acceptance (of the terms) by the author.
POPULATION AND SAMPLING

There are 4 main school geographical areas within the Cape Metropole region. The Wynberg Area, Cape Town area, Athlone Area and the Atlantis Area. The target population in this study was all the schools in the Wynberg school area. This area was targeted partly because of the observed rapid increase in referrals to the CGC from schools in this area and also because the CGC falls within that school area. The Wynberg Area is divided into 5 circuits and 225 schools fall within those circuits. These include primary and secondary schools, private schools, special schools and pre-primary schools. A breakdown of all the schools in the Wynberg school area, by type, is outlined in table A2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circuit</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Special</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Pre-primary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>82</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a total of 119 public primary and secondary schools. Of these, only schools which were historically for white pupils, (i.e. former Model C schools), were included in the sample. This is because most of the children who were referred to the CGC were from the historically white schools. Furthermore, for this part of the study, only schools falling in Circuits 2, 3, 4 and 5 were included in the sample. Some private schools were also included in the sample although some of them were historically involved in the formulation of racial inclusion policies. The final sample, therefore, consisted of 56 primary, secondary and private schools from Circuits 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the Wynberg School Area. Table A2.2 shows the breakdown of the schools which met the criteria for inclusion in the sample.
Table A2.2  *Schools included in the sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Secondary Schools</th>
<th>Private Schools</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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</thead>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Circuit 5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of public schools which were included in the sample is 43 (30 primary schools and 13 secondary schools). Private schools that were included in the sample had to have been previously for white pupils only, or at least pre-dominantly for white pupils. Correspondence colleges and part-time study institutions were excluded from the sample. A total of 13 private schools met these criteria and were hence included in the sample. The final sample therefore consisted of 56 schools.

**DATA COLLECTION**

In Part B, the 56 schools from Circuits 2, 3, 4 and 5 were surveyed through the use of semi-structured questionnaires. Before any of the data collection could take place, permission to conduct this research was sought from the Provincial Administration---Western Cape (PAWC) Education Department. After permission had been granted, letters were sent to all 56 schools, requesting their participation in the research and giving an overview of the research.

**Instrument (Survey Questionnaire)**

All the questions of the questionnaire were piloted and tested on 5 psychology students. The survey questionnaire\(^1\) had two sections; a structured section with a mixture of closed ended and open-ended questions, and a semi-structured section with only open-ended questions. The first section focused mainly on the schools themselves; their past and present experiences, and other such information. Questions were divided into four categories. These were "Background Information", "School Structure", "Present Status (Pupils)", and "Challenges". The sequence of the questions was similar to that used in the interview schedule. Questions at the beginning of the questionnaire were factual, closed ended and unthreatening and became increasingly open-ended. The last section of the survey questionnaire asked open-ended questions pertaining to more personal experiences. The focus was on the respondents' attitudes and experience of the whole process of opening schools to all races and on their experiences with problems that children present.

\(^1\)See Appendix 3

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Data gathering

Semi-structured questionnaires (Appendix 3) were posted to the school principals of the 56 selected schools in circuits 2, 3, 4 and 5. Semi-structured questionnaires were used as they are focused and directive but at the same time, they allow room for expression and for the respondents to volunteer information. Each school was sent only one questionnaire, to be completed by the school principal. Some researchers who have conducted research in schools before, were consulted and according to their experiences, the expected (average) response rate was calculated at being between 15% and 25% (8 - 14 schools). The expected response rate could undermine the representivity of the sample but every effort was taken to increase the response rate.

Each letter sent to the school principals contained information about the research. This included the purpose of the study, the implications of the results and how they may be used. A stamped, self-addressed envelope was enclosed with the letters and the questionnaires. This was done with the hypothesis that sending stamped, self-addressed envelopes may increase the response rate as it reduces the tasks required of the respondents. A deadline of 3 weeks from the date of sending the questionnaires was set, after which, letters of reminder were sent to all schools that had not yet responded. These letters were later followed by phone calls to the schools, where an attempt was made to speak with the respondents (the school principals) themselves. Participants who were interested in filling in the questionnaire but had not yet done so were identified and those who were not interested in completing the questionnaires were also able to indicate this. A list of prospective respondents was drawn and their names were ticked off when their questionnaires were received. Finally, telephonic contact was made for the last time with the participants on that list whose questionnaires had not yet been received.
APPENDIX 3: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the changes in the education system in South Africa may have affected the children and the schools. Your school has been selected for inclusion in the study. The aim is to investigate avenues that may help children adapt better to changes, with the possible inclusion of schools in interventions. This questionnaire is designed to elicit:

a) basic background information about the school; information that will form the foundation of this research.
b) information pertaining to attitudes and perceptions about the process of opening schools to all races.
c) information about the experiences schools (staff and students) have undergone in the transition towards becoming open schools.

Information arising from this research will be treated with strict confidentiality and the identities of schools and respondents will remain confidential. Your co-operation and honesty would be of utmost importance and it would be much appreciated if you could complete all the questions. If possible, a school brochure would be a great help.

Background Information

1. In what year was the school established? ___________________________________________

2. For what population group was it originally intended? ________________________________

3. What was the initial medium of instruction? ________________________________
   What is it now? ________________________________________________________________

4. When did the school become "open" to all races? Please comment on the process before and after that decision including an outline of the school’s racial inclusion policies.
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________

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School Structures

5. What is the school's governing structure?

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

6. What is your staff complement comprised of (please give figures)?

(a) Educators

(b) Administrative staff

(c) Support staff

(d) Others (please specify) _____________________

__________________________________________________________________________

7. How many of your teaching staff are

(a) White?

(b) coloured?

(c) Black?

(d) Indian?

(e) other?

__________________________________________________________________________

8. Apart from the educators, which staff are directly involved with the children and in what capacity?

__________________________________________________________________________

9. How often do you, as educators, have

(a) formal meetings?

(b) informal meetings?

10. Please comment on parental involvement in the school.

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
**Present Status (Pupils)**

14. How many learners do you presently have in your school? _____________
    How many did you have in 1995? _____________

15. At present, how many of your learners are

   (a) White _____________
   (b) Black _____________
   (c) coloured _____________
   (d) Indian _____________
   (e) other _____________

16. How many were there in 1995?

   (a) White _____________
   (b) Black _____________
   (c) coloured _____________
   (d) Indian _____________
   (e) other _____________

17. How many of your learners reside in an African township? If you are not sure, please give an estimate. _____________

18. How many learners are domestic workers' children? If you are not sure, please give an estimate. _____________

19. What is the educator/learner ratio now? _____________
    What was it in 1995? _____________
20. Please comment on common observed trends in social groupings amongst the children.

21. Do the children interact socially across (please comment on each).
   (a) gender

   (b) age groups

   (c) race

   (d) culture

   (e) religion

22. What role does the school play in terms of encouraging social interaction amongst the children across the above barriers? Please give examples.
23. Does the school have any policies pertaining to cultural issues? Please expand.


Challenges

24. What are the major challenges that you face in the school?


25. What are the school's problem solving structures?


26. What sorts of difficulties do you experience with the children in general?


27. (a) Please estimate the percentage of pupils who manifest recurrent behaviour problems.

(b) Please give an estimated breakdown (percentage) of the prevalence of these behavioural problems under the following categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coloured children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28. What are the commonest problems (behavioural, scholastic and/or emotional) that Black children specifically present with?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

29. Could you estimate the commonest problems (if any) you have with

(a) White children

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

(b) Black children of middle class parents and living in suburbs

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

(c) Coloured children of middle class parents and living in suburbs

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

(d) Black children living in African townships

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

(e) Children of domestic workers regardless of their domicile.

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

Please comment on whether or not there are observable differences in the incidence/manifestations of these problems when you compare these children.

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
30. Have you noticed any changes in the incidence of behaviour problems in your school in the last five years?

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

31. How do you deal with the children’s behaviour problems, especially if they are recurrent?

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

32. Does the school have a Psychologist or alternative resources (e.g. counsellors, outside referrals agents)? Please be specific.

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

We, at the Child Guidance Clinic, are particularly interested in the process of integrating the schools and how it affects people involved. Would you like to comment on how you, as a school and also in your capacity as a staff member, have experienced the transition thus far.

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

What would you say has been the most difficult aspect of the transition process?

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

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What difficulties, if any, did you expect to encounter during the process? What measures did you take in anticipation of these problems and how have you dealt with these difficulties (if they have arisen).

What would you say is your role in facilitating as smooth a transition as possible in the school?

Looking back on the initial stages of the process of change and the experiences you might have encountered, is there anything that you would have done differently in terms of preparing staff and students for the transition towards open schooling?

We thank you very much for your time and effort. Your contribution to this research is invaluable. We hope that the results may be useful in devising appropriate intervention strategies for schools where necessary. Please send the completed questionnaire in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope, to reach us before Friday 8 September 2000.
Ms Esther Price
University of Cape Town
Child Guidance Clinic
Chapel Road
Rosebank
7780
Fax: 4623143

Dear Ms Price

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: Open Schools Process

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

- Principals, teachers and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
- Principals, teachers, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
- You make all arrangements concerning your investigation.
- The investigation is not conducted during the fourth school term.
- A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal of each school where research is to be conducted.
- A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Curriculum Management (Research Section).
- The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

  The Director: Curriculum Management (Research Section)
  Western Cape Education Department
  Private Bag 9114
  CAPE TOWN 8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards

HEAD: EDUCATION
DATE: 17 July 2000

MELD ASBEEI, VERWYSINGSAAMERS IN ALLE KORRESPONDENSIE. PLEASE QUOTE REFERENCE NUMBERS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE.
Dear

My name is Esther Price and I am an MA (Clinical Psychology) student at the University of Cape Town. I am presently completing my internship as is required for my master’s degree in Clinical Psychology. I have a keen interest in the transition process schools have undergone in the movement to become open schools and intend to conduct research on the process. This research will be conducted under the supervision of Professor Leslie Swartz, who is the Director of the UCT Child Guidance Clinic.

This transition process has been closely monitored by many academics. A lot of their research has tended to focus on policy issues pertaining to the transition process itself, the children and their experiences, and families and their experiences and feelings. My colleagues at the Child Guidance Clinic and I, are particularly interested in what the schools’ experiences have been, particularly the teaching staff’s perspectives. This research will aim to explore some of the experiences that the teaching staff has undergone.

Your school has been selected for inclusion in the sample. The school met the inclusion criteria in that it falls within Circuit one of the Wynberg School Area, and it is one of the schools that have been undergoing change. Should you be willing to participate in this research, we should like to conduct a 30-45 minute interview with you, the school principal, and to administer structured questionnaires to three willing members of your teaching staff, selected by yourself. This should take 5-10 minutes per staff member. Confidentiality of identities of involved persons, as well as of the school, will be strictly maintained. We hope to administer the interviews and questionnaires before the end of the third semester, i.e. before 18 September 2000.

We hope that information and recommendations arising from the research may be beneficial to schools, especially in understanding common experiences people have undergone. The research may also be useful in identifying ways of using that understanding to ensure and/or maintain as smooth a transition as possible for both the educators and the learners. The Child Guidance Clinic has an interest in providing appropriate services for schools and the information will be helpful to our planning. As the attached documentation shows, the research has the support of the Provincial Administration Western Cape Department of Education.

I would be very grateful if your school is able to take part in this study. Should you have any further queries about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me on the above numbers. Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated. If I do not hear from you to the contrary, I will be contacting you soon by telephone to set up an appointment.

Yours sincerely

Esther C. Price
Intern Clinical Psychologist

"OUR MISSION is to be an outstanding teaching and research university, educating for life and addressing the challenges facing our society."
**APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

1. For how long have you been the school principal?

2. At the CGC we are very interested in social groupings and interaction of children in the school setting. Would you please comment on any observed trends in social groupings of children and how they interact socially across gender, age, race, culture and religion?

3. What role does the school play in terms of encouraging social interaction amongst the children across the above barriers?

4. Does the school have any policies pertaining to cultural issues?

5. What are the major challenges that you face in the school?

6. What are the school's problem solving structures, especially pertaining to the children?

7. What sorts of difficulties do you experience with the children in general?

8. Could you please estimate the percentage of pupils who manifest recurrent behaviour problems in the school?

9. Would you please give an estimated racial breakdown of the estimated % of children who manifest recurrent behaviour problems.

10. What would you say are the commonest problems (behavioural, scholastic and/or emotional) that Black children specifically present with?

11. What about White children, what are some of the commonest problems you experience with them?

12. What about Black children of middle class parents and living in suburbs?

13. And with Coloured children of middle class parents and living in suburbs?

14. What are the commonest problems you experience with Black children living in African townships?

15. What about domestic workers' children? What are the commonest problems you experience with them?
16 Please comment on whether or not there are observable differences in the incidence/manifestations of these problems when you compare these children.

17 Have you noticed any changes or trends in the incidence of behaviour problems in your school in the last five years? (Prompt more if yes).

18 How do you deal with the children's behaviour problems, especially if they are recurrent?

19 Does the school have a counsellor or alternative resources?

20 We, at the Child Guidance Clinic, are particularly interested in the process of integrating the schools and how it affects people involved. Would you like to comment on how you, as a school and also in your capacity as a staff member, have experienced the transition thus far.

21 What would you say has been the most difficult aspect of the transition process?

22 What would you say is your role in facilitating as smooth a transition as possible in the school?

23 Is there anything more you would like to share that has not already been covered within the body of the interview?

Thank you very much for your time. Your contribution to this research is invaluable. (Switch off tape recorder to allow some space to speak about the interview process informally as a debriefing procedure).
Background Information

1. In what year was the school established? ____________________________________________

2. For what population group was it originally intended? _______________________________________

3. What was the medium of instruction? ____________________________________________
   What is it now? _______________________________________________________________

4. When did the school become "open" to all races? Please comment on the process before and after that decision including an outline of the school's racial inclusion policies.
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

School Structures

5. What is the school's governing structure?
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

6. What is your staff complement comprised of (please give figures)?

   (a) Educators ________________________________________________________________
   (b) Administrative staff ______________________________________________________
   (c) Support staff ____________________________________________________________
   (d) Others (please specify) ___________________________________________________
7. How many of your teaching staff are
   (a) White?
   (b) Coloured?
   (c) Black?
   (d) Indian?
   (e) other

8. Apart from the educators, which staff are directly involved with the children and in what capacity?

9. How often do you, as educators, have
   (a) formal meetings?
   (b) informal meetings?

10. Please comment on parental involvement in the school.

11. Is there a PTA?
    If yes, how often does it meet?

12. How often does the governing body meet?

13. How are decisions made in the school?
Present Status (Pupils)

14. How many learners do you presently have in your school? _____________________ 
   How many did you have in 1995? -----------------------------------------

15. At present, how many of your learners are

   (a) White ____________________________
   (b) Black __________________________________
   (c) Coloured __________________________________
   (d) Indian __________________________________
   (e) other ____________________________

16. How many were there in 1995?

   (a) White __________________________
   (b) Black __________________________
   (c) Coloured _________________________
   (d) Indian __________________________
   (e) other __________________________

17. How many of your learners reside in an African township? If you are not sure, please give an estimate.

18. How many learners are domestic workers' children? If you are not sure, please give an estimate.

19. What is the educator/ learner ratio now? ________________________________
   What was it in 1995? ________________________________

Please leave the completed questionnaire with your secretary for collection. Thank you very much for your time and effort. Your contribution to this research is invaluable. We hope that the results may be useful in devising appropriate intervention strategies for schools where necessary.
APPENDIX 8: EDUCATOR QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the changes in the education system in South Africa may have affected the children and the schools. Your school has been selected for inclusion in the study. The aim is to investigate avenues that may help children adapt better to changes, with the possible inclusion of schools in interventions. This questionnaire is designed to elicit

a) basic background information about the school; information that will form the foundation of this research.

b) information pertaining to attitudes and perceptions about the process of opening schools to all races.

c) information about the experiences schools (staff and students) have undergone in the transition towards becoming open schools.

Information arising from this research will be treated with strict confidentiality and the identities of schools and respondents will remain confidential. Your co-operation and honesty would be of utmost importance and it would be much appreciated if you could complete all the questions.

1. In what year was the school established? ______________________________________

2. For what population group was it originally intended? ____________________________

3. What was the initial medium of instruction? ________________________________

   What is it now? __________________________________________________________

4. When did the school become "open" to all races? _______________________________

5. How often do you, as educators, have
   (a) formal meetings? ______________________________________________________
   (b) informal meetings? ____________________________________________________

6. Please comment on parental involvement in the school.

   ______________________________________________________________________

   ______________________________________________________________________

7. Is there a PTA? __________________________________________________________

   If yes, how often does it meet? __________________________________________

8. How are decisions made in the school?

   ______________________________________________________________________

   ______________________________________________________________________

   ______________________________________________________________________

   ______________________________________________________________________

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9. How long have you been teaching at this school? __________________

10. What standard learners do you teach? ____________________________

11. How many learners do you have in your class(ess)? __________________

12. At present, how many of your learners are
   (a) White ____________________________
   (b) Black ____________________________
   (c) Coloured _________________________
   (d) Indian __________________________
   (e) other ____________________________

13. How many of your learners reside in an African township? If you are not sure, please give an estimate. ____________________________

14. How many learners are domestic workers' children? If you are not sure, please give an estimate. ____________________________

15. Do the children interact socially across (please comment on each).
   (a) gender
      ____________________________
      ____________________________
   (b) age groups
      ____________________________
      ____________________________
   (c) race
      ____________________________
      ____________________________
   (d) culture
      ____________________________
      ____________________________
   (e) religion
      ____________________________
16 What sorts of difficulties, if any, do you experience with the children in general?

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

17
(a) How many of your pupils manifest recurrent behaviour problems? ____________________

(b) Please give an estimated breakdown (percentage) of the prevalence of these behavioural problems under the following categories:

White children ____________________ Coloured children ____________________

Black children ____________________ other children ____________________

18 What are the commonest problems (behavioural, scholastic and/or emotional) that Black children specifically present with?

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

19 What are the commonest problems (if any) you have with
(a) White children

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

(b) Black children of middle class parents and living in suburbs

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

(c) Coloured children of middle class parents and living in suburbs

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

(d) Black children living in African townships

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

(e) Children of domestic workers regardless of their domicile.

__________________________________________________________
Please comment on whether or not there are observable differences in the incidence/manifestations of these problems when you compare these children.


20 Have you noticed any changes in the incidence of behaviour problems in your school in the last five years? Please comment.


21 How do you deal with the children's behaviour problems, especially if they are recurrent?


22 In your opinion, what more could be done to help children with such problems?


We, at the Child Guidance Clinic, are particularly interested in the process of integrating the schools and how it affects people involved. Would you like to comment on how you, as an educator, have experienced the transition thus far.
What would you say has been the most difficult aspect of the transition process?

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

What difficulties, if any, did you expect to encounter during the process? What measures were taken by the school in anticipation of these problems and how have you dealt with these difficulties (if they have arisen).

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

In your opinion, is there anything further the school can do, in order to facilitate as smooth a transition as possible?

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Looking back on the initial stages of the process of change and the experiences you might have encountered, is there anything that you feel should have been done differently in terms of preparing staff and students for the transition towards open schooling?

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

If there are any other comments you would like to share but have not been addressed within the body of the questionnaire, please write them on the extra sheet of paper provided. We thank you very much for your time and effort. Your contribution to this research is invaluable. We hope that the results may be useful in devising appropriate intervention strategies for schools where necessary. Please seal the completed questionnaire in the enclosed envelope and leave at the secretary's office for collection.
Further comments


APPENDIX 9: DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA FOR CONDUCT DISORDER

A. A repetitive and persistent pattern of behaviour in which the basic rights of others or major age-appropriate societal norms or rules are violated, as manifested by the presence of three (or more) of the following criteria in the past 12 months, with at least one criterion present in the past 6 months:

**Aggression to people and animals**

- (1) often bullies, threatens, or intimidates others.
- (2) often initiates physical fights
- (3) has used a weapon that can cause serious physical harm to others (e.g. a bat, brick, broken bottle, knife, gun).
- (4) has been physically cruel to people
- (5) has been physically cruel to animals
- (6) has stolen while confronting a victim (e.g. mugging, purse snatching, extortion, armed robbery).
- (7) has forced someone into sexual activity

**Destruction of property**

- (8) has deliberately engaged in fire setting with the intention of causing serious damage
- (9) has deliberately destroyed others' property (other than by fire setting)

**Deceitfulness or theft**

- (10) has broken into someone else's house, building, or car
- (11) often lies to obtain goods or favours or to avoid obligations (i.e. "cons" others)
- (12) has stolen items of nontrivial value without confronting a victim (e.g. shoplifting, but without breaking and entering; forgery)

**Serious violations of rules**

- (13) often stays out at night despite parental prohibitions, beginning before age 13 years
- (14) has run away from home overnight at least twice while living in parental or parental surrogate home (or once without returning for a lengthy period)
- (15) is often truant from school, beginning before age 13 years

B. The disturbance in behaviour causes clinically significant impairment in social, academic, or occupational functioning.

C. If the individual is age 18 years or older, criteria are not met for Antisocial Personality Disorder.

Source: The DSM IV (1994)
APPENDIX 10: REVISED BEHAVIOUR PROBLEM CHECKLIST

Revised Behaviour Problem Checklist

Scale 1: Conduct Disorder

☐ Seeks attention; show-off
☐ Disruptive; annoys and bothers others
☐ Fights
☐ Has temper tantrums
☐ Disobedient; difficult to control
☐ Uncooperative in group situations
☐ Negative; tends to do the opposite of what is requested
☐ Impertinent; talks back
☐ Irritable; hot-tempered; easily angered
☐ Argues; quarrels
☐ Sulks and pouts
☐ Persists and nags; can't take no for an answer
☐ Tries to dominate others; bullies, threatens
☐ Picks at other children as a way of getting attention; seems to want to relate but doesn't know how.
☐ Brags and boasts
☐ Teases others
☐ Selfish; won't share; always takes the biggest pieces
☐ Not liked by others; is a loner because of aggressive behaviour
☐ Cannot stand to wait; wants everything right now.
☐ Refuses to take directions; won't do as told
☐ Blames other; denies own mistakes
☐ Deliberately cruel to others

Source: Earls (1995)