SCHOOLING, 'CULTURE' AND CLASS: A STUDY OF WHITE AND COLOURED SCHOOLING AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PERFORMANCE IN SOCIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploratory endeavour to investigate 'white' and 'coloured' schooling and the relationship between this schooling and performance in Sociology at the University of Cape Town. It investigates these aspects using a number of methodologies.

The first chapter reviews the South African literature on the relationship between schooling and university performance and how schooling is generally portrayed. It then proceeds to lay a theoretical basis for investigating schooling and how schooling influences performance in Sociology. The theoretical framework was significantly influenced by my empirical research. In this chapter, although the primary focus is on white and coloured schooling, some attention is also given to African schooling.

The theoretical framework stresses the relative autonomy of the school and the importance of the social class origins of pupils. It illustrates that the social class composition of a school is crucial in shaping the pedagogical process and academic achievement. It shows that schools in the same educational authority can be very different primarily due to the differing class origins of their pupils. This is illuminated firstly, by reviewing the literature in this area and secondly, empirically: for example, by showing how matric results are clearly related to a school's class composition.

The second chapter is a statistical investigation of the

relationship between schooling and Sociology results at the University of Cape Town. It examines the Sociology results of students who have emerged from schools under the white educational authorities and compares them to the results of students who have emerged from schools under the Department of Internal Affairs educational authority. It indicates that the differences are often not statistically significant and thus that the racial structuring of the educational system does not necessarily lead to students who have emerged from the white educational authority schools being academically superior. It also investigates the relationship between matric aggregate/ matric English symbols and Sociology results. It illustrates that although a relationship generally does exist there are also many individual exceptions.

The third chapter is based on in-depth interviews with Sociology students, school teachers and principals. Drawing on the interview material it argues that different types of schools can be identified. Each type is dominated by a specific pedagogical process and students who attend one type are more likely to be prepared for Sociology than students who attend another type. This section thus draws on, substantiates and develops the theoretical framework outlined in chapter one and moves beyond the purely statistical approach of chapter two.

The fourth chapter summarises the results of a questionnaire survey. It endeavours to assess the relationship between social class, schooling and Sociology results. It thus complements the proceeding chapters. An important finding is that a very small proportion of students who enter the Sociology Department are of

working class or lower petit bourgeois origins. A second important finding is that very few students felt that they were prepared by their schooling for Sociology.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis was inspired primarily by my work in the Academic Support Programme (ASP) in Sociology at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The programme entails the running of an extra tutorial programme for students who are not coping with the first year Sociology I course.[1] These students generally cannot extract the central argument from a clear sociological article. Many find it difficult to write a coherent paragraph, and almost all find writing a Sociology essay a very difficult task. Finally, their ability to argue and debate logically is very limited.

What initially surprised me were the characteristics of the students who join the ASP programme. A large proportion of these students obtain reasonable matriculation results (a D aggregate (50%-60%) or higher).[2] Many come from schools located in the white educational authorities (WEAs).[3] Furthermore, many of these WEA schools are viewed as 'good' schools in that they

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1. Generally, a student is accepted into the ASP programme only if he/she is failing Sociology I at the time the application is made. The programme is voluntary, so there are many students in the same position who do not apply. Sociology I refers to General Sociology I and Industrial Sociology I. At UCT they are run as two separate courses.

2. In 1983, of the 62 students who were in the programme at one time or another, 16 entered the programme with C matric aggregates, 37 entered with D matric aggregates, and 9 entered with E matric aggregates.

3. WEA schools are those falling under the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal education departments, the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) and the Department of National Education. The classifications white, coloured, African and Indian are used in the rest of this study without quotation marks. This is purely heuristic, it certainly does not indicate agreement with these classifications.

obtain good matric results and are reputed to prepare their pupils for university. Most of the remaining ASP students come from what are viewed as the 'elite' schools under the Department of Internal Affairs educational authority (DIAEA) schools. Although generally regarded as inferior to WEA schools these DIAEA schools are reputed to prepare their pupils adequately for university (initially, very few students doing ASP in Sociology came from Department of Education and Training (DET) schools). Finally, it appears, surmising from the schools attended, their residential addresses and their apparel, that very few students in the ASP classes come from economically deprived homes. Students of working class origins are clearly a small minority (the way I conceptualise class is discussed on pages 27 and 28).

The characteristics of the students who compose the ASP programme threw three conventional wisdoms into question. Firstly, it illustrated that the conventional wisdom that the schooling of ex-WEA students prepares them for university while the schooling of ex-DIAEA students fails to, does not adequately capture the existing reality, which is clearly far more complex. Secondly, it showed that there is not necessarily a strong relationship between matric results and Sociology results. Thirdly, it revealed that a student who emerges from the ranks of the dominant classes will not necessarily be prepared for Sociology.

The primary focus of this thesis is to further explore these aspects. It thus attempts to understand what shapes performance in Sociology by exploring what happens in the schools (in the WEA and DIAEA) and in the homes from which UCT Sociology students

emerge.[1] It also investigates whether there are correlations between matriculation results and Sociology results and how WEA students do in Sociology relative to DIAEA students.

The study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter reviews the literature that specifically sets out to examine the relationship between schooling and university performance. The contributions and limitations of this literature are highlighted. The chapter then moves to examine how schooling in South Africa is portrayed in order to ascertain whether this literature gives us an adequate understanding of the pedagogical process (the pedagogical process is defined on page 15). The limitations of this literature are noted and an alternative analysis of South African schooling is outlined. This alternative recognises the crucial influence of the racial structuring of schooling and the discriminatory allocation of funds, but also highlights the pertinence of social class as a crucial factor shaping the pedagogical process. It is argued that this alternative analysis provides a basis for understanding the pedagogical process in the schools and, following on from this, why students come to university differentially prepared.

The second chapter is a statistical investigation. It has two primary foci: firstly, to assess whether there are correlations between matric results and Sociology results, and secondly, to investigate whether students from WEA schools obtain

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1. Unfortunately, because so few students in the UCT Sociology Department and on the ASP programme had attended DETschools when this research was started, the focus of the empirical sections of this thesis are only on WEA and DIAEA students and schooling. In the theoretical and historical sections (chapter one) there is some discussion of DET schooling.

significantly better Sociology results than DIAEA students.

The third chapter, through the use of in-depth interviews, explores what happens in the schools and the homes of Sociology students and in what way this influences performance in Sociology. The fourth chapter, through a questionnaire survey, supplements the third chapter. The survey questionnaire enabled me to reach far more students than did the in-depth interviews. It made possible the gathering of statistically generalisable data on the way Sociology students perceive their schooling and home milieus. Chapter five draws the study together and outlines the conclusions reached.

The approach is generally empirical, and is informed by Marxist theory. The methodology employed is captured by Wright's (1983:10) description of the methodology he used in his research. He states that it was

> an attempt to develop empirical research agendas firmly rooted within not only the categories, but the logics, of Marxist theory. Such an approach would reject the positivist premise that theory construction is simply a process of empirical generalisation of law-like regularities, but would insist that Marxist theory should generate propositions about the real world which can be empirically studied (Wright, 1983:15).

This involves going beyond the level of appearances and analysing

> the social reality hidden behind those appearances. If we remain entirely at the level of appearances we might be able to describe social phenomena, and even predict those phenomena, but we cannot explain them (1983:15).

The first chapter shows that studies of schooling in South Africa which go beyond the level of appearances are a rare phenomenon. This study will endeavour to go some way towards partially filling this lacuna.

I hope this study will increase our understanding of the

pedagogical processes in the schools and by doing so will facilitate our ability to develop an alternative for the future. Part of this alternative will involve the development of a pedagogy that endeavours to ensure that pupils emerging from the schools have the ability to engage in debate, write coherently, and think critically (this will be elaborated on). On a more immediately practical level it is important that people working in ASP have a better understanding of what is happening in the schools so that they can develop better ASP programmes. Finally, increasing our understanding of the pedagogical process within the schools will, I hope, increase our ability to develop a Sociology I course that takes better cognisance of South African schooling.

CHAPTER ONE

SCHOOLING AND UNIVERSITY: A REAPPRAISAL

This chapter has two primary aims: Firstly, to assess how earlier South African studies have explained the relationship between schooling and university performance, and secondly, to review and reassess how schooling in South Africa is generally analysed. As such this chapter is divided into four parts. The first part reviews the available literature on the relationship between schooling and university performance in South Africa. The second part illustrates the pertinence of three inter-related aspects that are generally neglected in this literature, namely social class, the relative autonomy of the schools, and how teachers and pupils shape the pedagogical process. The third part outlines the work of non-South African theorists who have stressed the pertinence of social class in relation to the education process, and concomitantly sketches a theoretical framework which will be drawn on in the course of the study. The final section sketches how the questions posed will be approached in the remainder of the study.

The relationship between schooling and university performance

In South Africa there is a paucity of research on the relationship between schooling and university. The crucial questions of why some students succeed at university and others fail, and what role the school plays in this process, has not

been extensively researched.[1] The few studies that have been done have primarily revolved around trying to establish whether a correlation exists between matric aggregate and academic

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1. Research in this realm is relatively well-established in the United Kingdom and North America. However, as the focus of this study is on the South African social formation (and on Cape Town in particlar) which has its own specificity, the overseas literature will not be extensively reviewed. The overseas research done in this area has been extensively reviewed by Miller (1970). Some of his conclusions are worthy of note. In his review of the literature on the relationship between school performance and university performance he found that there is generally a high correlation. However, in a similar vein to the South African studies to be reviewed and my own research (see chapter two) he concludes that "we are on quite shaky ground if we depend too heavily on A-level or matriculation results. Even though they appear to be the best single predictors, the inconsistency of the relationship casts enormous doubt on their reliability, and hence their predictive validity".

   In his examination of the pertinence of social class he concludes "that at every stage of education middle-class pupils and students are over-represented among the high achievers" (Miller, 1970:37). However, his research also indicates that working class university students are not any less likely to graduate. His explanation for this phenomenon is worthy of note. He states that "they (working class students) would be less likely to go to university unless they were of exceptional ability; their education most often involves sacrifices for their parents, which they feel they should justify by doing well. They also feel less at ease with the university culture and so have fewer distractions outside work..." (Miller, 1970:38). Australian studies have, however, revealed the importance of social class in shaping academic performance even at university level. Schonell (1963) "found that working-class students do not do as well as students from homes of parents in professional, semi-professional, and administrative groups, of whom a good number would presumably have had university or college education of some kind" (Miller, 1970:40). A more recent British study by Halsey, Heath and Ridge (1980:180) also found that students of working class origins perform less adequately. Various studies have also suggested that the educational level of parents (which has a correlation with social class) is crucial. In this regard Miller refers to studies undertaken by Hammond (1957), Roe (1953), Astin (1964), and Harris (1940). In one realm there is total consensus. All studies investigating the class composition of universities have found that children of working class parents have far less chance of attending university. In the United Kingdom a child born into the 'service classes' has a ten times greater chance of entering university then a child from the working class (Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980:184). InFrance the son of a manager has an 80 times greater chance of attending university then the son of a manual worker

performance at university.[1] Although these studies have a limited focus, they are valuable as it is important to know the degree to which matric results are a reliable predictor of university performance. If they are, then the present criteria for university admission can remain unchallenged. If, however, they indicate that matric aggregate is not a reliable predictor, then the whole system of university admission has to be reviewed. Furthermore, failure to establish a correlation between matric results and university performance would raise the crucial question of what kind of pedagogy is being practised in the schools.

The first major study (commissioned by the Joint Matriculation Board) was undertaken over twenty years ago. It was "a statistical investigation into the transition from school to university" (Steyn, 1963: Foreword). The study focussed only on white students registered in the period 1954-1957. It is thus limited both in terms of its applicability to the present and in terms of its exclusive focus on white students. However, on a purely statistical level, the study generated some interesting findings which are worthy of note. An important finding was

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(Bourdieu, 1976:110). A final point that must be made is that it appears that a universal characteristic (and weakness) of research investigating aspects shaping university performance is its neglect of how the actual schooling process shapes performance at university.

1. This is similar to the focus in chapter two. However, the information obtained from the statistical investigation (chapter two) is limited. It does not reveal what happens in the school and in what ways this schooling affects university performance. These limitations compelled me to extend the study, hence chapters three and four. These two chapters, through in-depth interviewing and a survey questionnaire, endeavour to unravel what happens in the schools and homes of Sociology students at UCT and how what happens affects performance in Sociology.

"that a first-class matriculation certificate does not necessarily ensure successful university study. Relatively few first class matriculants obtain their degrees in the minimum time" (Steyn, 1963:22). However, although a first-class pass was not a guarantee of success, it was found that

> at all the universities and in all the faculties considered, the first-class matriculants do better than the second-class matriculants. For BSc, BComm and MBChB students, the probability that a second-class matriculant will obtain a degree is only about half the probability that a first-class matriculant will obtain a degree. Approximately 12% of the second-class matriculants who study for BSc complete their studies in a period of three years, and in all 29% obtain degrees, compared with 62% of the first-class matriculants; approximately 55% of the second-class matriculants obtained BA degrees in the period considered. The corresponding figure for first-class matriculants is 82%. It appears that, although the chances of success in other faculties may be small, the second-class matriculant still has a reasonable chance of obtaining the BA degree (Steyn, 1963:23).

What the study clearly indicates is that although a first-class pass did not guarantee success, a student who entered with a first-class pass had a far greater chance of being successful than a student who entered with a second-class pass. A second-class pass did not however mean that a student was definitely going to struggle. As indicated, "55% of the second-class matriculants obtained BA degrees in the period considered." The predictive value of the matric aggregate was thus to some extent limited.

The study also endeavoured to establish whether a correlation was evident "between the symbols obtained at school and the marks obtained in the same subject in the first year at university" (Steyn, 1963:57). The study found that although a correlation (usually approximately Ø,5) was evident it was lower than expected, and that " the symbol obtained in a specified subject at school gives only a vague indication of the marks which will

be obtained in the same subject at university" (Steyn, 1963:57).

The reasons given by Steyn for the low correlation between the symbol obtained in a subject at school and the same subject at university are not very illuminating. The same can be said for the reasons he gives for the high failure rate at university. Focussing mainly on the sciences, he states thatin order to improve university results and the correlation between matric results and university results what is needed is "better (teaching) training" and the "improving (of) the syllabus" (in schools) (Steyn, 1963:83). He is thus stating that the reasons for the high failure rate are the inadequate school teaching and syllabus. Although this is a reasonable conclusion, it is limited in that there is no attempt to explain how the syllabus and the teaching thereof contributed to the academic ineptness of students. Furthermore, there is no attempt whatsoever to bring in the home milieu and social class origins of students, and to try to ascertain how these possibly affect performance at university.

In concluding the review of this pioneering study, we can say that the study is informative on a statistical level. However it fails to give us insight into the schooling and socialisation processes and how these influence performance at university. It fails to go beyond the level of appearances.

A similar study was commissioned by the Committee of University Principals in 1976. It is a study of the "profile(s) and opinions of unsuccessful first-year university students of the academic year 1975" (Erens, 1977). This work is a more elaborate and wide-ranging study than the Steyn investigation. It involved

the use of a survey questionnaire that was distributed in the ten white or predominantly white universities. The sample consisted of 1687 students who failed first-year university and 666 students who passed first year. The study tried to obtain a picture of the home milieu of the respective groupings, their schooling histories and then the reasons why these students failed.

Unfortunately the methodology used (there was no in-depth interviewing, only a survey questionnaire) and the questions asked or not asked weakened the study substantially. Thus there was no attempt to establish how social class origins, and/or parental encouragement and/or the amount the student reads while at school, influenced performance at university. The questionnaire made it very difficult to draw out the more subtle but vital differences which might exist in the background of many successful versus unsuccessful students. In terms of schooling, no attempt was made to distinguish between the different schooling experiences of the respondents and whether this influenced their performance at university.

The weaknesses of the study are illustrated by the very limited conclusion of the author when talking about the influence of "family and school background": "All that can be said is that there is very little difference between the background of successful and unsuccessful students, particularly if one is looking for factors which can be used as indicators or predictors" (Erens, 1977:3). He provides little evidence to substantiate this conclusion. My own research (as will be illustrated in later chapters) shows that his conclusion is not necessarily correct.

However, despite these serious limitations, Erens's study did elicit some useful information. For example, in relation to the home milieu, it was found that there was a statistically significant difference in the educational levels of the mothers of successful versus unsuccessful students (Erens, 1977:27).

There was some relationship between marks obtained at school and university performance. For example, fewer than "1% of the successful students (had) an average mark of less than 50% (in their final school examination) as opposed to nearly 7% of the unsuccessful students" (Erens, 1977:4). However, "over 40% of the unsuccessful respondents (had) first class passes" (Erens, 1977:4). The conclusion was thus similar to the 1963 study: doing well at school was no guarantee of doing well at university. The study fails in any serious way to explain this phenomenon. The question of why there is often a disparity between school and university performance is not addressed.

The questionnaire did ask students why they failed but there was no attempt to explore why students responded in the way they did. The statistics are, however, in themselves interesting. 43% of the respondents stated that the main factor that contributed towards their failing university "was that they 'felt a lack of purpose' in their studies...". A further 28% indicated that the transition from school was important, 28% felt they chose the wrong field of study and 22% listed 'severe emotional stress' as the primary factors contributing to their failure (Erens, 1977:7).

It is clear that this study, although providing some useful information, does not move beyond the descriptive level. There

is no attempt to explain why many candidates "appear to be ill-prepared for university"(Erens, 1977:7). There is no analysis of the processes in the schools and the home milieu that result in students arriving at university in varying 'states of preparedness'.

Besides these two large scale investigations, some smaller, more specific studies have been done which serve to substantiate the trends of the large scale studies.

A study by Mitchell et al (1984) examined the relationship between matric aggregate and the results of medical students at the University of the Witwatersrand. Their research indicated that "amongst current matriculants admitted to the (medical) school, the matric aggregate is not a good predictor of subsequent performance". They concluded that "clearly amongst students admitted to the medical curriculum, attributes required to score well in matriculation are not the same as those required to score well at medical school" (Mitchell et al, 1984:49). Even in the realm of predicting failure, the matric aggregate was found not to be "a useful predictor". A remarkable finding of the study was that "the candidates with the lowest aggregates (50-55%) were as successful as candidates with aggregates of 81-85%" (Mitchell et al, 1984:50). These findings once more indicate the weakness of the matric aggregate as a predictor of academic performance at university.

Another interesting finding of the study was that "the best academic predictor of risk of failure was the sum of the mark in mathematics and physical science" (Mitchell et al, 1984:52). This finding is important as it indicates that we cannot view all

matric subjects as having equivalent predictive value. However, it does illustrate that some school subjects test similar skills to those required for some university courses. Thus those school subjects that require the use of logical reasoning could help prepare students for university subjects which require this capacity. Unfortunately it was beyond the scope of my exploratory study to ascertain whether a correlation exists between subjects like Physics or Mathematics and Sociology.[1]

A study conducted at the University of Cape Town (UCT) by Moulder (1984) found that students who entered with an A or B matric aggregate had a substantially greater chance of graduating in three years than did candidates who entered with D, E, or F aggregates. As regards WEA students 59% of the A and B grouping doing a BA graduated in three years versus 45% of the C grouping, 22% of the D grouping and 19% of the E and F grouping. The figures for DIAEA students are similar: 62% of the A and B grouping graduated in three years versus 36% of the C grouping, 20% of the D grouping and 20% of the E and F grouping.

These findings once more indicate that a candidate who enters with an A or B matric aggregate will generally cope better than his/her counterpart who enters with a D or E matric aggregate. The question that still remains to be answered, however, is why some students who enter university with high matric aggregates do poorly while, on the other side of the spectrum, some students who enter university with low matric aggregates do well.

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1. It is clear that there is great potential to extend the scope of this study. I thus had constantly to draw my own boundaries so as to to keep the study manageable.

Jackson (1984) looked at the relationship between "matriculation results in biological subjects and Biology" and found that there is a "poor correlation". The reasons given by Jackson for this low correlation are worthy of note. He saw it as being primarily due to the university course requiring "a break with the 'rote-learning' system and a more independent approach to practical work as well as theoretical studies by all students" (Jackson, 1984:93). He concluded that

> it should be accepted that a large number of students are entering our universities from our school system who do not have the requisite learning skills to benefit from a classical, lecture-orientated type of academic education at first year level (Jackson, 1984:95).

All these studies show that the predictive value of the matric result is generally limited. However, they are all characterized by an almost complete failure to go beyond the descriptive plane and to try to understand and analyse what the processes are within the schools and outside the schools that contribute to the scenario illustrated by the statistics. This study (in chapters one, two and three) will move some way beyond a mainly statistical analysis (see chapter two) and will thereby endeavour to explore what actually happens in the schools and homes from which UCT Sociology students emerge. Only in this way can we approach an understanding of why some students arrive more prepared and other students less so, for university and more specifically for Sociology I at UCT.

Schooling: A brief review of the literature

Alongside the few specific statistical studies of the relationship between schooling and university, a reasonably

extensive body of literature focussing on schooling in South Africa has emerged over the last few years. However, most of this literature, for the purposes of this study, is not very helpful for a number of reasons. The most crucial reason is the methodology used, and related to this the focus of the vast bulk of this research. Most of the research on schooling has relied on archival material and has generally been of an historical nature.[1] Only a negligible amount of research on schooling in South Africa (see Molteno, 1983; Maree, 1984) has used methodologies generally associated with the social sciences, i.e. participant observation, interviewing, questionnaires, etc. As a result there is almost no research on South African schooling that examines what actually happens in the schools, i.e. how the syllabus is taught, how it is viewed by students, what the differences are between schools from different educational authorities and within the same educational authority, what role social class plays in shaping the pedagogical process, how teachers treat students, and for the purposes of this study how schooling does or does not prepare students for university and, more specifically, for Sociology.[2]

Another limitation of research on South African schooling is that the primary focus of contemporary theorists, especially those

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1. This is reflected in the most recent collection of writings on Bantu Education edited by Kallaway (1984). Only 1 of the 15 articles (Maree's article) employed participant observation and interviewing. Interestingly, this was the only article in the collection that actually examined the pedagogical process in the schools.

2. The pedagogical process refers to the way the syllabus is conceptualised by teachers and pupils, the way the syllabus is taught, the frequency, intensity and level of discussion and debate, the social relations between pupils and teachers, the way higher education is portrayed and viewed, and the way knowledge is conceptualised and transmitted.

working within historical materialist framework, is on black schooling and more specifically on 'Bantu education'. There is a remarkable paucity of contemporary research on schooling falling under either the white educational authorities (WEAs) or the Department of Internal Affairs educational authority (DIAEA). This does not help us in this study where all of the students being focussed on are from WEA or DIAEA schools.

This focus on 'Bantu education' is linked to an overwhelming tendency to put almost all the stress, when examining schooling in South Africa, on the racial aspect. Class analysis in the realm of schooling is either ignored or alternatively, for those theorists working within an historical materialist framework, social class and race are generally ultimately conflated so that white schooling equals dominant class schooling and black schooling equals dominated class schooling.[1] A crucial argument of this thesis is that although the racial structuring of schooling and the discriminatory allocation of funds does have a very significant influence on schooling, the tendency to conflate race and social class limits our ability to understand the dynamics of schooling in the South African social formation. More specifically it will be illustrated that in order to understand schooling, and following on from this, why some students do poorly in Sociology and others do well, it is crucial to take account of social class as a factor distinct from race.[2]

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1. Black schooling refers to African, coloured and Indian schooling.

2. It must be stressed at this point that this theoretical section has been significantly influenced by my empirical investigations (see chapters two, three and four). There has been a substantial inter-play between the empirical research and my theoretical perspective, the former shaping the latter and vice-versa. The statistical investigation (chapter two)

A central thesis of this study, drawing on my empirical work, is that although racial discrimination between educational authorities has a significant effect on the pedagogics practised and educational attainment, the differences between schools within the same educational authorities based on social class are probably as significant. This must be taken account of if we are to understand the pedagogical process and avoid the mechanistic and limited analyses found in most work on South African schooling.

As stated, even theorists working within an historical materialist framework ultimately conflate race and class when examining schooling in South Africa. Thus, Chisholm (1981:136) states that

> CNE and gutter education are the institutionalised forms for ensuring the specific amounts of know-how attained by specific groups and also for ensuring that each is provided with an ideology which suits the role it has to fulfil in class society.

This conception takes no cognisance of the fact that these 'groups' are made up of different social classes that have different interests, resources and ideologies. Furthermore, these different classes generally attend schools dominated by their respective social class. This emerged very clearly in the course of the in-depth interviewing (chapter three). It will be illustrated in this chapter and again in chapters three and four that schools in the same educational authority differ substantially due to the influence of social class. Thus even in

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was the first indicator that race was not the only factor operating. The in-depth interviews (chapter three) then clearly revealed the pertinence of social class. The pertinence of social class was further confirmed in chapter four. As the discussion evolves this will become more apparent.

DET schools, although most are extremely inadequate there are, as will be shown, some DET schools that are substantially different to their counterparts. The social class composition of a school plays a vital role in shaping the pedagogical process within any particular school.

African Schooling and Social Class[1]

The tendency to neglect social class as a pertinent factor in the shaping of the pedagogical process and differential educational attainment is probably most apparent and pervasive when the schooling of African children is examined. Thus Christie and Collins (1984:165), after emphasising the importance of class analysis in explaining schooling in South Africa, ignore the possibility of there being class disparities and related to this disparities in the pedagogical processes in African schooling. They describe the schooling of black South Africans (they are referring predominantly to the schooling of people classified African) between 1928 and 1945 in the following way.

> Compared with white education, the per capita expenditure on blacks remained low throughout the period... Not only was expenditure on black and white vastly different; throughout the period the relative difference remained virtually unaltered. As a result, educational provision for blacks was far from adequate. There was a shortage of teachers, many of whom were poorly qualified or not qualified at all. School facilities were limited. Buildings were usually rudimentary and inadequate, and there were shortages of furniture, books and other equipment.

There is little doubt that, overall, black education was hopelessly inadequate. However, it can be argued that this

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1. It is beyond the bounds of this thesis to give an exhaustive historical account of the pertinence of social class in shaping South African schooling. The focus is purposefully on the contemporary conjuncture.

totally monolithic view of black schooling and the complete negation of any class disparities within it leaves us with an inadequate historical account of black schooling. Thus as far back as 1862 there were differences between schools serving the sons and daughters of the peasantry and those serving the very small, nascent African petit bourgeoisie. Ross, the Inspector-General for schools, reported in 1862 "'that of those schools in the colony that were attended exclusively or mainly by Africans, half could be closed without loss to educational advancement'" (Shepherd, 1940:163). Ross submitted an excellent report on Lovedale however, stating that it was "probably the greatest educational establishment in South Africa" (Shepherd, 1940:163). He described Lovedale as a school

> with the greatest range in operations, the utmost boldness in its plans and prospects, and the most perfect order in its organisation and administration. The yearly turnover is upwards of L15 000 and no less a sum than L1 475 was paid in 1881 as fees by native boarders (Shepherd, 1940:64).

The total fees paid in 1881 give some indication of the class composition of Lovedale at this time. Fortunately, the amounts charged per student are available for 1928. The fees were "paid in lump sum for board and tuition" and the sums charged for secondary school were either " L22, L25, or L30 a year depending on the food that a pupil ate" (Murray, 1929:116). It is clear that very few members of the African working class would have been able to afford these fees. The amount of money involved can be gauged by the fact that the average wage rate of unskilled African workers in 1929 in the Witswatersrand area was 20 s 8d per week or approximately 4 L per month (South Africa, Union of Official Year Book, 1929-1930, 1931:217). An unskilled worker would thus have had to pay the equivalent of approximately 6 months wages in order to send his/her child to Lovedale.

Moving to the present period, we can deduce that with the ever-increasing growth of the African petit bourgeoisie, contemporary schooling for African pupils will be characterised by ever-increasing differences revolving around the class composition of respective schools.[1]

However, despite the growth of significant class divisions within the grouping classified African, African schooling is still treated as a uniform, homogeneous entity. This approach is captured in the following quote:

> Bantu education is geared towards the reproduction of labour as required by the needs of capitalist accumulation in general: it is a mass-based system, geared towards schooling on the lower levels, quite unlike its white counterparts (Christie and Collins, 1984:81).

Although I agree that this is generally the case, it is a limited depiction of DET schooling. Again, little inkling is given that possibly 'Bantu education' is not a monolithic structure and that there possibly are DET schools that are composed predominantly of petit bourgeois pupils and, as such, will not gear their pupils to 'lower levels,' but will on the contrary endeavour to ensure that their pupils have similar aspirations to their parents.

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1. Simkins and Hindson (1979:44) in a study of the shifting class composition of the black population concluded "that over the period studied (1969 to 1977), there has been rapid penetration of coloureds, Asians and Africans into petit bourgeois activities (particularly clerical, white-collar, technical and non-manual work) in the private sector of manufacturing, construction and commerce. In addition, some penetration of races other than white has taken place within the services sector, reflecting the creation of racial bureaucracies in the public sector." They give examples of substantial African upward mobility in certain job categories. Thus the number of Africans employed in "supervisory and inspectional" positions increased from 14,1 percent of the total in 1969 to 26,3 percent of the total in 1977. Africans employed in "clerical/sales representatives" increased from 7,7% in 1969 of the total employed in this sector to 14,5% in 1977 (Hindson and Simkins, 1979:33).

There is a paucity of past or contemporary research into class differentiation and its effects within African schooling. However, a recent study by Lawrence and Roodt (1983) on three schools in Bophuthatswana confirms that African schools can have substantially different class compositions. Unfortunately, the study is limited as it does not really attempt to unravel the influence of these class differences on the pedagogical process in the respective schools. Their findings are nevertheless worthy of note. They found that the three schools they studied showed "considerable variation in terms of...socio-economic characteristics" (Lawrence and Roodt, 1984:2). Thus in the predominantly working class school, school A, 56% (9/16) of the parents of the pupils in the sample were either unemployed or unskilled or semi-skilled; 19% (3/16) were skilled workers. In school B only 37% of the parents were unskilled or semi-skilled workers and the same proportion could be classified as petit bourgeois. In school C not one parent of the pupils in the sample was semi-skilled or unskilled; 85% (17/20) were professionals and/or managers. If the sample was random we can conclude that this school (school C) was distinctly petit bourgeois in composition.

The above study was done in Bophuthatswana and it is thus not legitimate to see this pattern as a general South African trend. Unfortunately, there are no similar studies of DET schools in large urban areas like Soweto.

Another more tentative indicator however, that there are substantial class differences amongst African schools, is the

differences in the matric results obtained.[1] In the Ciskei, for example, the percentage pass rate in 1983 in the Middledrift and Keiskammahoek areas was 66,1%. In contrast the pass rates in Hewa and Zwelitsha were 39,2% and 26,7% respectively (Daily Dispatch, 4 January, 1984). There is a very strong possibility that schools in the Middledrift and Keiskammahoek areas are composed of pupils whose parents are more affluent than those in the Hewa and Zwelitsha areas. Although no income figures were available the latter two areas have been the site of massive population relocations. Between 1970 and 1980 the population of Hewa increased from 31904 to 74068 (132,1%) and that of Zwelitsha from 92829 to 166998 (79,9%). Very few people have been relocated to Middledrift or Keiskammahoek. Between 1970 and 1980 the population of the former increased by 30,5%, from 36734 to 47926, and in the latter area by 45,4%, from 26531 to 38280 (Hirsch, 1984:142).

In the Transvaal matric results also varied considerably. At the Hofmeyr High School in Atteridgeville the pass rate in 1983 was 39,1%. In sharp contrast the Lethabong High School in Soshanguve in the Northern Transvaal had a pass rate of 85,8%. The national average was 50,4%.[1] (Sowetan, 5 January, 1984). Unfortunately

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1. The tentative nature of this indicator is accentuated by irregularities concerning the DET matriculation. There are constant reports of matric papers being leaked. For example in 1983 the Maths exam was rewritten after being leaked. Although DET admitted that the English paper was leaked it was decidednot to rewrite it (Daily Dispatch, 31 January 1984). There has also been strong criticism of the quality of the markers of the DET matric exam. The president of the African Teachers Association stated "that members do not even know who the examiners are and how qualified they are to be examiners." (Evening Post, 5 January 1984)

2. A statistic worthy of note is that the 1983 pass rate in the matric exam in the most affluent Bantustan, Bophuthatswana, was 60,8% versus 35% in Kwazulu, one of the poorest (City Press, 22 January, 1984). In 1980 the per capita income in

it was impossible to obtain the class compositions of these respective schools. Very tentatively one might suggest that these substantial differences are related to the schools in these respective areas having different pupil compositions in terms of their social class origins. However, due to the lack of available data this conclusion must remain tentative. The pertinence of social class becomes far more evident when examining the primary foci of this thesis, WEA and DIAEA schooling.

Generally, the relationship between social class and results obtained, are underplayed when attempts are made to explain poor matric results. The state's racist policies are seen as the sole influence. Thus COSAS, referring to the very poor 1983 DET matric results stated that

> the results showed the Government's perpetuation of an oppressive, racist and undemocratic education system... and were another painful reminder of the racist gutter education under which the oppressed students suffer (Cape Herald, 12 January 1984).

There is no doubt that this statement has some validity but it is a partial explanation.

Ironically, the Institute of Race Relations appeared to be the only organisation that implicitly took some cognisance of the influence of social class. Not all the blame was pinned on the educational policy of the state. In attempting to explain the 1983 DET matric results, they stated that "blacks frequently faced tremendous problems in living in overcrowded conditions and in lacking a home educational background" (Cape Times, 7 January,

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Bophuthatswana was R463 (Statistical Survey of Black Development Part I, 1983:29). The per capita income of Kwazulu in 1980 was R124 (Statistical Survey of Black Development Part II, 1983:58).

1984). These difficulties are of course compounded by the lack of adequate teachers and facilities within the schools. However, it is probable that pupils of petit bourgeois origins will not only have an adequate studying milieu but will also be attending schools that have reasonably adequate teachers and facilities. Unfortunately, an empirical investigation of this hypothesis for African schooling is beyond the scope of this thesis.[1]

White schooling and social class

Historically, the role of social class in shaping the nature of white schooling has been given some recognition. This is probably due to the greater apparent degree of class differentiation amongst whites, certainly right up to the 1930s.[1]

The pertinence of social class in the shaping of white schooling in the late nineteenth century is dramatically revealed in Malherbe's (1932) study for the Carnegie Commission on 'Education and the Poor Whites'. In his study Malherbe (1932:35) reproduces a table representing white schooling in the Cape in 1878. The table distinguishes between three "types of schools". The labels given are "1st class", "2nd class" and "3rd class" schools. In the 1st class school 49% of the pupils were above Std III, in the

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1. Nonetheless, occasionally in my research on UCT Sociology students some insights were obtained. For example, an African student whom I interviewed attended what she described as a "middle-class" school near Lichtenberg. The school was begun as a missionary school in 1924 and over the years has established a reputation for being a "good school". She estimated that approximately 25% of the matric class go to university. She saw this as being due to university being strongly encouraged combined with "good teaching", "good facilities" and an "excellent library".

2. The class differentiations amongst whites up to the 1930's are graphically revealed in the Carnegie Commission of 1932.

2nd class school 30% were, and in the 3rd class school 17% were. Ross, the Inspector General of Education in the Cape, in his 1883 report stated that

> the good schools are a drop in the ocean compared to the large mass of inferior work in the lower strata of schools and the large number still outside the system...third class schools with their inferior teachers and low standard virtually shut out the most important section of the community (the farmers) from the blessing of real culture" (Malherbe, 1932:36&37).

In 1892 this sentiment was repeated by Dr Muir (the chief inspector of schools) who stated that "the circuit schools (which) aim at reaching the neglected poor of European descent...are the least satisfactory" (Malherbe, 1932:xxv).

In a study done by Malherbe in 1929, white schools were grouped in three categories, according to the economic condition of the majority of parents whose children attended those schools: A - more or less affluent and well to do: B - economically average: C - economically weak, or indigent. Malherbe (1932:75) found substantial differences between the different types of schools in terms of the "percentage of pupils who left school at different stages of their primary school course up to and including Std VI". He established that

> there is a decided difference between the holding power of schools in a more prosperous environment (A), and of those in a poor environment (C). In the first case about 40% ended their school education at some stage within the primary school, and the remaining 60% proceed further. In the second instance, more than 90% ended their school education in the primary school and only 10% studied beyond Std VI (Malherbe, 1932:79).

He also divided high schools (Std VII to matric) using similar criteria and found that

> in the schools of class (C) more than half the total number of children in the school are to be found in Std VII, but in the richer schools it would be a little more than one third (Malherbe, 1932:83).

It is clear that from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1930's white schools differed considerably as regards the class origins of their pupils and that this had a significant influence on the educational achievements of respective schools. It also, in all probability , had a major influence on the pedagogical process in the various white schools. An early example of the relationship between social class and the pedagogy practised is the case of the South African College (SACS) (a school for the children of the dominant classes) where Latin and Greek were taught from 1829 onwards. The Commercial Advertiser's reporting of the SACS prize-giving in 1830 is noteworthy:

> Master Faure, on being presented with a prize which he had won in the Dutch Latin class, returned thanks in a Latin speech, which took about fifteen minutes to deliver, and Master Faure, a son of the Rev. A. Faure... also expressed his gratitude in Latin... (Ritchie, 1918:67).

It is unlikely that Latin and Greek were taught in those schools composed mainly of children whose fathers were workers and/or poor farmers. If it was, it is unlikely that much value was attached to it.

As regards the contemporary period, it is apparent that almost no research has been done in white schools on the influence of social class although its influence is still crucial. Although the 'poor white problem' has by and large been solved, the section of the population classified white is still by no means homogeneous:[1] significant class divisions remain, particularly

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1. In the Cape Town area this can be clearly illustrated. In the white group area, Pinelands, in 1980 only 6% of the economically active population could be classified as production workers and the average income of a white male was R992,07 per month (Patel, 1984:117). In sharp contrast, in another white group area, Observatory, 19% of the economically active population could be classified as production workers and the average income of a white male in 1980 was R441,48 per month (Patel, 1984:111).

between the working class/lower petit bourgeoisie and the middle/upper petit bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie.[1] It will be

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1. Before proceeding it is necessary to sketch a brief definition of social class. I utilise Wright's approach to class in that I see class location as determined by a person's position in the social division of labour. This in turn determines the degree of control you have over what is produced, how it is produced and the degree of a person's control over labour power (see Wright, 1983:72). A person's position in the social division of labour will also correlate broadly with his/her income and educational qualifications.

   Using Wright's approach in relation to his broad defintion of the petit bourgeoisie, I divide the petit bourgeoisieinto three categories, the lower, middle and upper petit bourgeoisie. This division has also been influenced by the material gleaned from the in-depth interviews. These revealed that generally substantial differences exist within the petit bourgeois as regards attitude towards schooling, university achievement and career. This is especially true for the lower petit bourgeoisie relative to the middle and upper petit bourgeoisie. For example the lower petit bourgeois pupil is generally less aspirant then the middle and upper petit bourgeois pupil. This will be elaborated on in chapter three. Although Wright is not very clear in his defining of the petit bourgeoisie, a central thrust of his argument is that many members of this class occupy "contradictory class locations". Examples of occupations that occupy "contradictory class locations" are "managers and supervisors...(who) occupy a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (and) certain categories of semi-autonomous employees who retain relatively high levels of control over their immediate labour process (and who) occupy a contradictory location between the working class and the petit bourgeoisie (and) small employers (who) occupy a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie" (Wright, 1983:63).

   The concept of "contradictory class locations" is important for our purposes. Implicit in this conceptualisation is the notion that certain members of the petit bourgeoisie will be closer to the working class and others will be closer to the bourgeoisie. This is measured, mainly, in terms of the degree of control over the labour process and the amount of autonomy the employee has. A central problem with this conceptualisation, which will not be explored in this thesis, is how this autonomy is measured. When does an employee gain enough control over the labour process to become a member of the petit bourgeoisie?

   A person whom I have termed lower petit bourgeoisie generally has far less control and autonomy in his/her work situation (and correspondingly would, as stated, generally have a lower income) than a person who is a member of the middle or upper petit bourgeoisie. A person who is part of the middle petit bourgeoisie, for example a teacher, is more skilled, has more control over the labour process and generally earns more

shown in this chapter and again in chapter three that these differences are still pertinent in relation to white schooling.

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than his/her lower petit bourgeois counterpart (for example a supervisor). He/she is also generally more secure in their class location than a member of the lower petit bourgeoisie. The latter has a greater chance of slipping into the proletariat during their life-time. In contrast the upper petit bourgeoisie (doctors and accountants are examples of occupations in this class category) border the bourgeoisie. They generally have high incomes and a great deal of autonomy and responsibility in the work-place. They have a reasonable possibility of entering the bourgeoisie during their life-time.

Although Wright (1983:77) does not use the terms upper/middle/lower petit bourgeoisie he does imply a similar view. For example, he states that "the contradictory class location closest to the working class is that of foremen and line supervisors (the lower petit bourgeoisie). Foremen have little real control over the physical means of production, and while they do exercise control over labour power, this does not extend much beyond being the formal transmission belt for orders from above... At the other end of the contradictory location between workers and capitalists, top managers (upper petit bourgeois) occupy a contradictory location at the boundary of the bourgeoisie". Examples of the occupations that I have slotted into the lower/middle and upper petit bourgeoisie respectively appear in Appendix I (see pages 223-224). From this point, when using lower/middle or upper petit bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie will be represented by PB.

In this study the bourgeoisie are viewed as those positions involved in the appropiation of surplus value through their ownership of means of production. Also included in this class are top executives who might not necessarily own stock in the company concerned but whose incomes and decision-making powers are considerable. Another component of the bourgeoisie are those members of the state apparatus who wield substantial power and are highly remunerated. They are generally in "positions which involve control over the creation of state policy..." (Wright, 1983:97). Examples of the occupations I have slotted into the bourgeoisie appear in Appendix I.

The working class, following Wright (1983:97), "can be defined as those positions which... occupy the working class position within the social relations of production i.e., wage labour which is excluded from control over money capital, physical capital and labour power". Thus an employee does not have to produce surplus value in order to be a member of the working class. A crucial defining characteristic would be the level of control the individual has over the labour process and I would add the income he/she earns. One could argue that some domestics have a great deal of control over the labour process. This does not, however, make them members of the petit bourgeois. Specific examples of working class occupations appear in Appendix I.

Two studies, both worthy of attention, have been done on a predominantly white working class school in Cape Town. The first study was done in 1960 (the study was only published in 1970) and the second study was done in 1981 (Watson, 1970; Gilmour, 1981). Both studies will be recounted in some detail as they graphically illustrate the influence of social class in white schooling.

As regards the class origins of the pupils, the 1960 study found that

> a small proportion of parents fall into categories typical of poor whites (eg. railway workers , bus conductors,..)but a very much larger proportion of occupations reported are skilled or semi-skilled manual occupations. Among the actively employed, 67,4 percent of the fathers and 73,9 percent of the mothers are engaged in such occupations.

He concluded that "the whites of Colander (the name of the school) then belong to the working class...".

Watson then examined the aspirations of the pupils at the school. His findings are worth quoting at length:

> The sons intend following in their fathers' footsteps. Almost all the boys chose occupations which fall within the skilled trades category - they want to be mechanics, fitters and turners, print compositors, electricians; most think their wishes will be realised; all believe - and in this they are encouraged by their parents - that they will in fact become tradesmen of some sort. As for the girls, there are those who wish to be air hostesses, nurses, models, or hairdressers, but most want to become - and almost all think that in fact they will become - typists or office workers of some kind. In the entire school only two children hope to pursue a professional career, neither of them expects his wishes to be realised (Watson, 1970:63).
>
> The boys reject bus-conducting ('overcrowded', 'awkward hours'), and other non-trades ('because when you've got a trade nobody can take it away from you'). By far the most numerous and vociferous hostile remarks are, however, reserved for middle-class occupations - clerk ('stuffy'), teacher ('don't like school'), doctor ('works his whole life through'). The girls are even more class-conscious in their responses. The most commonly rejected occupations are factory hand, salesgirl and book-keeper... Next in order of unpopularity come the middle-class occupations of teacher, doctor, nurse and librarian (1970:63).
>
> Those occupations which are rejected by the children are rarely recommended to them by parents (1970: 63-64).

It is clear that the social class origins of the pupils had a dramatic influence on their occupational aspirations. There was little or no desire to go to university. Jobs that involved intellectual/mental activity were generally rejected. The occupational desires indicated that a pervasive anti-intellectualism was dominant amongst the pupils.

The social class origins of the pupils shaped social relations in the classroom in various ways. Watson portrays the relationship between pupils and teachers as one of enmity, the enmity being strongly related to the class origins of the pupils. He expresses this in the following way:

> With teachers and parents at loggerheads in such crucial matters as the goals of education, it is inevitable that the war that pupils wage upon their teachers is tinged with deep-seated animosity (Watson, 1970:67).[1]

This animosity revealed itself in different ways. According to Watson (1970:67), it was "no better evidenced than in the type of leader that the class throws up. These are the toughs and repeaters..."

The observation about classroom leaders is important as it reveals the reverence of qualities that are anti-intellectual and those associated with masculinity. Teachers are generally viewed with disdain:

> When older pupils were asked what type of pupils teachers liked they responded in the following order: 'goodies',

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1. The differences between the parents and the teachers as regards the goals of education appear to be related to their different class locations. Thus the teachers are concerned with "the development of character and (felt that) the recognition of spiritual values is of as much importance as the acquiring of factual knowledge" (Watson, 1970:66). The parents had a more utilitarian, pragmatic view of the goals of schooling. They saw their children's schooling in the light of how it affected their potential earning capacity.

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> 'squares', and those who are 'intelligent', 'wealthy', 'well-mannered', 'neat', and 'quiet'. Nothing makes them quite so pleased as 'creeping'... and, to a lesser extent, 'laughing at their jokes'...'keeping quiet', and 'doing as you are told', and lastly, 'working'...The older boys singled out for attack 'prefects',...'teacher's pets'... and they wax caustic at the expense of 'creepers', 'hangers-on', 'ratters', 'nickers', 'squirts' and 'moffies' (1970:70).

This anti-intellectualism, as will be elaborated on, is a crucial aspect of the predominantly working class school and its surrounding context. It has an acute effect on the pedagogical process. Academic achievement is not admired and there is generally little or no desire to be successful academically: "while it is little disgrace for a boy to be near the bottom of his class; the well-behaved and obtrusively studious boy is rejected by his peers as a 'sissy!'" (Watson, 1970:72). It is clear that this pervasive anti-intellectualism had a profound influence on the pedagogics practised:

> A teacher cannot afford to allow ever-present hostility to break out into classroom disorder by permitting the expression of spontanaeity and independence: his technique is therefore confined to drilling, to the teaching of mechanical skills, to the maintenance of rigid standards of conduct: these maintain hostility and therefore the need for further drilling (Watson, 1970:77).

The pedagogy practised was clearly lacking in creativity or innovation. It is noteworthy how the anti-intellectualism of the pupils virtually ensured that a rigid pedagogical practice was adopted. This aspect will be returned to when we examine the theoretical work in this area. At this point it is worth noting how remarkably close the scenario sketched by Watson is to more contemporary studies such as that carried out by Willis (1978) in a predominantly working class school in England, and furthermore how the empirical observations of Watson serve to substantiate the theoretical writings of Bourdieu. The latter will be relied upon extensively in this study. As will be shown Watson's

conclusions also concur with the conclusions reached in chapter three.

Watson's study was re-evaluated 21 years later by the present principal of the school in question. The findings are different in some realms and similar in others. An examination of the class composition of the fathers revealed that most pupils were still of working class or 'lower petit bourgeois' origins. Thus 24% of the fathers were fishermen, 24% skilled or semi-skilled artisans, 9% were pensioners or unemployed, and a further 9% were possibly in white-collar jobs - clerk, quality controller, supervisor. "The remainder included such diverse occupations as crane-driver, caretaker, barman, shop-owner...security guard" (Gilmour, 1981:3). Gilmour's (1981:3) conclusion is interesting. He concludes that

> it would appear, then, that there are now fewer 'qualified' tradesmen among the fathers - i.e. it can be argued that job-wise, the inhabitants of Woodstock are even lower down the social ladder than they were 20 years ago.

The present white working class in Woodstock appears to be less skilled than the white working class that made up the area in 1960.

The pupils did not have particularly high occupational aspirations: "30% of the boys wanted to do a trade and over a quarter sought white collar jobs" (Gilmour, 1981:4). Although not stated by Gilmour, it seems that very few if any of the male pupils wanted to go to university. Interestingly there seemed to be little direction from parents. Thus "many pupils stated that they did not know what jobs their parents wanted them to follow". The aspirations of the girls were also low. 27% wanted to become typists and "jobs like air/ground hostesses and teaching (were)

quite frequently mentioned as desirable jobs" (Gilmour, 1981:5). Interestingly, there is seemingly a substantial disjuncture between the job desired and the job eventually obtained. Thus Gilmour (1981:5) states:

> It is my view that many of the pupils have, in fact, false expectations. During the past eight years many boys have gone in for jobs within the skilled and semi-skilled trades category; and the majority of girls have gone to office jobs.

It would seem that the majority of pupils have not been able to escape their class origins. This tendency undermines the notion that white schooling necessarily perpetuates or serves to create a middle or upper petit bourgeoisie. Gilmour's findings would seem to indicate that social class origins still play a key role in determining the future social class locations of white pupils. We can conclude that the massive discriminatory allocation of resources to white education does not necessarily result in white pupils of working class and lower petit bourgeois origins escaping the social class into which they were born. There is an overwhelming tendency in the literature on schooling to collapse the white working class and lower PB into the categories of the middle and upper PB (see Kallaway, 1984).

The class composition of the school in question is still playing a crucial role in determining the type of pedagogics practised. Thus in 1974 a 'Practical Course' was introduced. Its clear attempt to cater for and reproduce the predominantly working class composition of the school is illustrated by Gilmour's (1981:6) description of its aims and the type of student who joined:

> The object of the course was to provide an alternative to the more academic course in which the curriculum would be more weighted towards 'practical' (vocational) subjects - Industrial Arts/Woodwork, Housecraft, Typing, Business Methods, Accountancy - and the approach in the academic

> subjects would be of a more 'concrete' or applied nature, rather than abstract or theoretical... The type of pupil who qualified for admission to this course were those who would normally have been expected to enter the trades or perform office jobs of a routine nature - typing, filing, etc. Those pupils who aspired to higher things continued with the academic course.[1]

Gilmour (1981:7) agrees with Watson that much of what constitutes the academic syllabus is viewed as irrelevant by the pupils "because it assumes a middle-class culture, with attendant values, experiences and goals". Unfortunately Gilmour does not draw out the implications of this view of the syllabus by pupils.

In terms of the way pupils relate to extra-curricular activity there does not appear to have been a substantial change since 1960. Thus

> certain characteristics noted by Watson still pertain...Pupils spend a great deal of time hanging around shops where there are pin-ball machines, or sitting home listening to music. There is a great reluctance to be committed to anything; and allegiance even to a sport which the pupils enjoy playing is not very strong. Attempts by teachers to organise excursions or activities outside school hours have often been met with very little support (Gilmour, 1981:14).

Gilmour's sketch indicates that an anti-intellectualism is still dominant amongst these pupils and that not much has changed since 1960.

We can conclude that the two studies reviewed graphically illustrate the essentiality of social class in any analysis of white South African schooling. The fact that the school in question was dominated by pupils whose origins were predominantly working class or lower petit bourgeois clearly had a crucial bearing on the pedagogical process within the school.

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1. In 1981 13 matric pupils wrote the normal Cape Senior Certificate and 15 wrote the practical exam (Cape of Good Hope (Province) Education Statistics: White Schools 1981, 1981:25).

If the social class origins of the pupils were not taken into account we would not have been able to understand the pedagogical process operating within the school and why this school obtains such poor matric results.[1]

There are seemingly no sociological studies of white schools composed predominantly of petit bourgeois to bourgeois students.[2] The few studies that have been done are generally historical, tracing the history of the school from its formation to the

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1. In 1983 only three out of the twenty matriculants who passed the matric exam obtained a matric exemption (Cape Times, 24 December 1983).

2. An immediate question that emerges is how were the class origins of pupils at a particular school ascertained. This is a crucial methodological problem of the study. The class composition of a school was ascertained in various ways. The locality of the school was looked at as very often the locality of a school is a very important indicator of its class composition. A school generally reflects the class composition of its locality. Very rarely is a school that is composed predominantly of the upper PB and bourgeoisie located in a working class area and vice versa. Patel's (1984) study endeavours to give a class breakdown of different localities in the Cape town area using the 1980 population census. Sharp class differences between areas are evident. For example, a large part of the economically active population in Observatory (approximately 55%) falls into the working class or lower PB. The average monthly income in the area was R441,48 for white males and R279,76 for white females. The average white incomes in the Cape Town area were R808,33 for males and R363,33 for women (Patel, 1984:111). There is little doubt that the high school in the area (Rhodes) broadly reflects the class composition of its locality and is thus composed of predominantly working class and lower PB pupils. The average income in the Rondebosch area was R1164,93 for males and R522,74 for females (Patel, 1984:122). White males in Rondebosch thus earned nearly three times as much their counterparts in Observatory. Only 4% of the economically active males in this area were classified as production workers versus 19% in Observatory. Again I would argue that there is little doubt that the schools in the Rondebosch locality reflect the class composition of the area. Thus there would be very few pupils in Rondebosch schools whose origins are working class or lower PB. The class breakdown of Simonstown is another example worth noting. Using Patel's (1984:132) figures it emerges that only approximately 21% of the economically active whites in this area are middle or upper PB or bourgeois. This ties in with interviews. The material from the interviews indicated that Simonstown High School could legitimately be classified as a being composed mainly of pupils of lower to middle PB origins.

present (see Peacock, 1972; Ritchie, 1918). However, my own research has revealed important aspects of these schools. This research will be discussed in detail in chapters three and four. A crucial finding is that due to their social class origins the pupils in these schools are generally more educationally and occupationally aspirant and thus have a stronger commitment to doing well at school. Besides being clearly illustrated in the interviews (as will be elaborated on in chapter three) this is also clearly indicated by the number of pupils various white schools send to UCT. Generally, the schools composed predominantly of students of upper PB and bourgeois origins will

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As regards DIAEA schools the situation is more complex. This is often directly related to the affects of the Group Areas Act. Residents have been removed from certain areas but the schools, i.e. Harold Cressy and Livingstone have remained. The schools composed of predominantly petit bourgeois pupils thus often do not draw on their immediate locality. Because of the paucity of lower PB to middle PB DIAEA schools pupils will commute from all over Cape Town to get to these schools. It can be argued that the mere fact that pupils do commute to these schools indicates that they are composed of petit bourgeois pupils. The working class cannot afford to commute. There is little doubt that schools in working class coloured areas are composed of predominantly working class pupils. Thus the schools in the Manenberg area are likely to be dominated by working class pupils and will have very few pupils whose origins are petit bourgeois. In 1980 the average income for males in Manenberg was R177,39 and R111,79 for women (the average monthly income for coloureds in Cape Town in 1980 was R438,11 for males and R226,05 for females). In 1980 57% of Manenberg's economically active population were classified as production workers (this would generally be factory workers) and a maximum of 14% fall into the lower or middle PB (Patel, 1984:103). It is highly unlikely that a family in Mannenberg would be able to afford to send their children to schools outside of the area.

The in-depth interviews were another crucial means of obtaining a profile of the class composition of respective schools. Interviewees were generally able to give a reasonably clear portrayal of their school's class composition. They could state where and how the pupils at the school live, how pupils come to school and what common occupations of the parents are. Finally, my school-teaching experience (I taught for three years), discussion with colleagues and my residence in Cape Town were extremely important in giving me a sense of the class composition of various schools in the Cape Town area.

have the highest number of ex-pupils at UCT.

Thus in 1983 SACS had the largest number of ex-pupils (359) at UCT, followed by Rondebosch (346), Herzlia (312), Westerford (279), Diocesan College (Bishops) (257), and Rustenburg GHS (221) (University of Cape Town Careers Office, 1983:1). All of these schools are composed of middle and upper PB and bourgeois pupils. In sharp contrast schools composed predominantly of pupils of lower petit bourgeois to middle petit bourgeois origins had far fewer ex-pupils at UCT. Plumstead had 81 pupils and Cape Town HS had 80 (University of Cape Town Careers Office, 1983:1). Schools composed predominantly of pupils of working class and lower petit bourgeois origin had very few ex-pupils at UCT. Thus Muizenberg and Queen's Park had fewer than ten ex-pupils at UCT.

Another indicator of the influence of social class in WEA schools is the percentage of pupils in matric. It can be surmised that the dominance of an anti-intellectualism, combined with greater financial constraints, will lead to a higher drop-out rate in working class to lower PB schools relative to the middle to upper PB and bourgeois school. The latter would thus have a greater proportion of its pupils in matric. The statistics indicate that this does appear to be the case. In 1981, 16,7 percent (115/688) of Rondebosch High School was constituted by matrics, at SACS the percentage was 18,2 (119/652) and at Rustenburg it was 16,2 percent (98/606). In the working class to lower PB and lower PB to middle PB WEA schools selected, only 12,4 percent (28/225) of the pupils at Queen's Park, 10,3 percent (26/252) of the pupils at Muizenberg, 12 percent (30/249) of the pupils at Rhodes and 10,1 percent (36/355) of the pupils at Ysterplaat were

in matric (Cape of Good Hope (Province). Educational Statistics: White schools 1981, 1981:25).

Even in terms of facilities there appears to be a marked difference between WEA schools composed of pupils of different class origins. Thus Queen's Park, "has limited playgrounds, two cricket practice nets, and three combined tennis-netball courts". Staff complained that "we can't offer what other schools can" (Argus, 4 May, 1974).

A final crucial differentiating factor is matric results. The evidence shows that there are significant differences in the matric results obtained by schools composed of pupils from different social classes. Those schools dominated numerically by pupils of middle/upper PB and bourgeois origins outperform those schools whose pupils are predominantly lower/middle PB and outclass those schools whose pupils are predominantly working class (WC)/lower PB. This is illustrated in the following table that displays the matric results obtained in 1981. 1981 was selected as this is the latest year in which the number of matriculants in each school is obtainable. The schools listed are a selection of schools in and around Cape Town. They were selected on the basis that they almost certainly represent the social classes attributed to them in the table and they all wrote the Cape Senior Certificate exam. Schools whose class composition is unclear were not included. Unfortunately there are very few working class(WC) to lower PB schools in the sample. This is due to the small number of WEA schools in Cape Town that I could ascertain had this class composition.

Table 1.1: Matric results by social class in WEA schools

Name of school	Class composition	No. of matriculants	No. of passes	No./% matric exempt.	%	No. of failures	No. A's
Westerford	MPB-UPB	134	134	110	83	0	11
SACS	MPB-UPB	119	115	85	71	4	3
Herzlia	MPB-UPB	107	107	94	88	0	7
Wynberg	MPB-UPB	103	103	95	92	0	10
Stellenbosch	MPB-UPB	115	112	90	78	3	7
Rhenish	MPB-UPB	53	53	43	81	0	0
Total		631	624	517	82(ave)	7	38
Fish Hoek*	LPB-MPB	148	143	80	54	5	3
Milnerton	LPB-MPB	110	106	67	61	4	1
Plumstead	LPB-MPB	134	127	62	46	7	1
Cape Town H.	LPB-MPB	100	97	39	39	3	1
Muizenberg	LPB-MPB	26	25	10	38	1	0
Simonstown	LPB-MPB	34	31	12	35	3	0
Total		552	529	270	49(ave)	23	5
Rhodes**	WC-LPB	19	19	0	0	0	0
Queen's	WC-LPB	13	13	3	23	0	0
Park							
Total		32	32	3	9	0	0

There is little doubt that the proportion of middle PB pupils at Fish Hoek and Milnerton will be higher than the proportion at Plumstead, Cape Town High, Muizenberg and Simonstown high schools. Patel (1984:87 & 132) illustrates that in 1980 at least 46% of Fish Hoek's white population versus 21% of Simonstown's white population were middle or upper PB or bourgeois (figures for the other areas were not obtainable). It is interesting how much better the matric results of Fish Hoek and Milnerton High Schools are.

* At Rhodes 11 pupils and at Queen's Park 15 pupils did the practical matric course. These pupils are not included in the statistics.

he percentages with matric exemption for the three groups were ompared using the Kruskal Wallis test (a non-parametric rank est which makes no distributional assumptions) because of the mall sample sizes (Siegel, 1956:184-193). It was found that here were significant differences between the 3 groups (H=12,15 df=2; p<0,01). Pairwise comparisons were then made using the ann-Whitney U test (a non-parametric rank test for comparing two

groups) (Siegel, 1956:116-127). Since there are 3 possible pairwise comparisons we must use a significance level of Ø,Ø17 for each comparison to give an overall level of significance of Ø,Ø5. The MPB-UPB was significantly higher than the WC-LPB (U=Ø, p=Ø,Ø12).

The matric results obtained illustrate that the social class composition of a school has a crucial bearing on the achievements of its pupils. The distinction does not lie in the proportion of pupils who fail (because the numbers are so small) but rather in the proportion who obtain university exemptions. Thus in the six MPB to UPB schools selected approximately 82% of the pupils obtained matric exemption. In the LPB to MPB schools selected, approximately 49% of the pupils obtained matric exemption and in the WC to LPB schools focussed on, approximately 9% of the matrics who did the academic stream obtained matric exemption. The average for all the schools in the Cape in 1981 is worth noting. 92% of the matric candidates passed and 44,58% obtained matric exemption (Cape Times, 24 December 1981). As stated, 82% of the pupils in the MPB to UPB schools in the sample obtained matric exemption. These results once more suggest that the social class origins of pupils are a crucial factor in shaping the pedagogical process within the schools.

Coloured schooling and social class

In coloured schooling the influence of social class on schooling is explicit.[1] There is no doubt that coloured schools vary

1. This variation in the class composition of DIAEA schools and the influence that social class has, was clearly portrayed by the teachers and pupils interviewed. This will be illustrated in chapter three.

considerably in their class composition. Thus, it is generally accepted that a school like Harold Cressy is an 'elite school'. In other words it is dominated numerically by pupils whose origins are petit bourgeois. This is not a new phenomenon.

The first coloured high school, Trafalgar, was established in 1925. We can surmise that this school was dominated by the petit bourgeoisie. At this time most coloured pupils left school before standard IV, as

> in addition to the cost of keeping the children at school, there was the often compelling need to use the children in large families as early as possible to augment the small family income... (Maurice, 1966:239).

It would seem that generally secondary schooling was feasible only for the children of the petit bourgeoisie. Maurice (1966:424) describes Trafalgar school in the following way:

> It was equipped with facilities for the teaching of Domestic Science and Manual Training and laboratories for science, and was thus able to offer a variety of courses and a range of secondary work comparable to the best equipped High School for European pupils.

Moving to the present period certain statistics point to substantial differences among DIAEA schools. These differences are in all probability primarily related to the varying social class composition of respective schools. One important statistical indicator of the pertinence of social class is the schools from which most DIAEA UCT Sociology students come. Thus in the three year period 1980 to 1982, only five out of the approximately 220 DIAEA students who did Sociology at UCT came from schools that are predominantly working class. Harold Cressy was the tenth largest supplier overall of students to UCT. In 1983, of all the students at UCT, 148 had completed their schooling at Harold Cressy and 138 at Livingstone. The

latter is also generally recognised as petit bourgeois. Both these schools had more ex-pupils at UCT than some white schools with roughly equivalent pupil enrolments. Thus in 1983 Bergvliet H.S. had 125 ex-pupils enrolled at UCT, Milnerton 123, Settlers 120, Fish Hoek 112 and Plumstead 81 (University of Cape Town Careers Office, 1983:1). All these schools probably have a similar pupil composition in terms of social class origins. These figures again illustrate the pertinence of social class and graphically display that 'colour',although important, is not by any means the sole determinant of the achievements of pupils or the 'quality' of schooling obtained.

The influence of the social class composition of schools is again illustrated by the very substantial differences in the matric results obtained by different DIAEA schools. It is dramatically clear, as is illustrated in the table below, that DIAEA schools dominated by pupils whose origins are lower to middle PB obtain substantially better matric results than schools dominated by working class to lower PB pupils.

The following table displays the 1983 matric results (the number of pupils who failed was unfortunately not obtainable).

Table 1.2: Matric results by social class in DIAEA schools

Name of school	Class Composition	No. of passes	No./% of matric exempt.		No. of A aggregate pupils
				%	
Harold Cressy	LPB-MPB	102	59	58	3
Livingstone	LPB-MPB	116	57	49	4
South Peninsula	LPB-MPB	82	46	56	1
Belgravia	LPB-MPB	129	39	30	1
Spes Bona	LPB-MPB	90	30	33	1
St Colombus	LPB-MPB	33	12	36	1
Immaculata	LPB-MPB	33	18	55	0
Trafalgar	LPB-MPB	59	22	37	0
Total		644	283	44(ave)	11
Manenberg	WC-LPB	21	5	24	0
John Ramsay	WC-LPB	57	8	14	0
Arcadia	WC-LPB	32	7	22	0
Bonteheuwel	WC-LPB	54	8	15	0
Heideveld	WC-LPB	57	8	14	0
Crestway	WC-LPB	71	14	20	0
Elsies River	WC-LPB	63	13	21	0
Crystal	WC-LPB	40	2	5	0
Mountview	WC-LPB	11	0	0	0
Modderdam	WC-LPB	35	1	3	0
Lavender Hill	WC-LPB	46	8	17	0
Bishop Lavis	WC-LPB	69	7	10	0
Total		475	81	15(ave)	0

The results show that there is a significant difference between the LPB-MPB and WC-LPB school on the basis of the Mann-Whitney U test ($U=0$; $p<0,0001$). 44% of pupils at lower to middle PB DIAEA schools who passed obtained matric exemption versus 15% in working class to lower PB DIAEA schools.

What is very worthy of note is that the results of DIAEA schools sampled composed predominantly of lower to middle PB pupils are similar to the results of WEA schools in the sample composed predominantly of pupils whose origins are also lower to middle PB. No significant difference was found between WEA and DIAEA

schools when LPB-MPB only were compared (U=24; p>Ø,5) on the basis of the Mann-Whitney U test. 44% of pupils at the DIAE lower to middle PB schools listed obtained matric exemption compared to 49% in those WEA schools listed whose pupils are also of lower to middle PB origins. These statistics once more point to the crucial role that social class plays in shaping the academic results of a school.

The relative autonomy of the school and its implications

The underplaying of the pertinence of social class in the analysis of South African schooling is directly related to another common problem of both liberal and materialist analyses in this area. There is an overriding tendency to portray the state as the sole determiner of the pedagogical process and to deny any structural autonomy to the school. As Giroux (1981:22) correctly states, we have "to move beyond the false notion that schools are merely sites that impose dominant hegemonic meanings and values upon relatively passive students and teachers".[1]

This is not to negate the very significant role that the state does play in the shaping of the pedagogical process. I will first outline the role of the state, and will then discuss how its role is necessarily limited.

The state shapes the pedagogical process in various ways. Firstly, it may be argued that the syllabus is the crucial tool used by the state to control the pedagogical process within the

1. Aswill be shown, the in-depth interviews serve to confirm the relative autonomy of the school and how the role of the state is necessarily limited.

schools. Teachers are expected to stick rigidly to the syllabus and to portray it as the bearer of the 'truth' so as to ensure that schools play their part in interpelating their constituents as obedient subjects. There is little doubt that the syllabus content does not facilitate the development of what Mills has called the "sociological imagination". This involves "a quality of mind..." that is able "to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and of what may be happening within themselves" (Mills, 1970:11). In other words it refers to the ability to see beyond the level of appearances and thereby to come to grips with the underlying workings of the social structure.

The syllabus content hampers the development of a sociological imagination in a variety of ways. It does this by excluding relevant information, presenting contentious aspects of social reality as fact, and distorting with varying degrees of severity the past and present social reality. This is probably reflected most graphically in the history syllabus where "...the view of history transmitted is distorted, often to the point of blatant inaccuracy" (Van den Berg and Buckland, 1983:37).

Commenting on the new JMB history syllabuses Buckland and Van den Berg (1983:24) conclude that "they remain overwhelmingly Eurocentric and 'white' orientated". A similar conclusion is reached by Chisholm (1981:37):

> The history that is ... taught the African, Indian or Coloured denies his existence as it is a heroic tale of the rise of the Afrikaner; the heroism of black resistance to their conquest is hardly charted.

However, this Eurocentrism and distortion of reality is not

confined to the history syllabus. Du Preez (1983) studied 53 South African school textbooks in a variety of subjects. She noted twelve "master-symbols" (stereotyped portrayals of reality) that appeared repeatedly. All of them are highly contentious or patently fallacious. The following are some of the master symbols that she isolated:

> Legitimate authority is not questioned; Whites are superior; blacks are inferior; The Afrikaner has a special relationship with God; South Africa rightly belongs to the Afrikaner...The Afrikaner is militarily ingenious and strong. The Afrikaner is threatened... South Africa is the leader in Africa. The Afrikaner has a God-given task in South Africa (Du Preez, 1971:71).

There is little doubt that an internalisation of these symbols would hamper the gaining of "lucid summations of what is going on in the world..." (Mills, 1970:11).

Another crucial failing of the syllabus content that is not focussed on by the writers just noted, is its negation of the existence of social classes or class conflict. The Afrikaners, the English and the blacks are treated as monolithic groupings devoid of class divisions within their ranks. Conflict within society is presented as being due to there being different nations and ethnic groups who have different interests. The virtual absence of any class analysis further mitigates against pupils developing a sociological imagination.

The state, being acutely aware of the ability of teachers to undermine the syllabus, uses various means in an attempt to ensure that the syllabus is adhered to and presented in a certain way.[1] One key method employed is the examination system. The

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1. The state's recognition of the relative autonomy of schools and the potential power of the teacher is indicated by the

stress on examinations encourages many teachers to stick to the textbook so as to ensure that their pupils will pass. This is especially true with regard to the final, externally-set matric exam. However, Van den Berg and Buckland (1983:35) conclude that the externally-set matric exam has what

> might be called a 'backwash effect' on the teaching and learning of a school subject, to such an extent that the influence of these examinations is significant even in school standards which are internally examined.

The state also attempts to maintain control of the pedagogical process through school inspectors, whose task it is to ensure that the syllabus is adhered to and delivered in an acceptable manner. There is little doubt that school insectors do have a substantial inhibiting effect: Van den Berg and Buckland (1983:55) found that

> many teachers indicated that they saw a major constraint on their efforts to teach history as a process in the official authority structure - particularly in the subject inspector whose power and whose demands that teachers 'stick to the syllabus' were frequently feared.

The power of the school inspector is often complemented by the school principal and the senior teachers who will attempt to ensure that teachers under their control adhere to the syllabus.

Another crucial factor in the South African context through which the state maintains control is through the discriminatory allocation of resources and the resultant shortages in most black schools. It is very difficult to be an innovative, creative teacher if there are more than forty pupils in a class, and/or if there are not enough books, and/or an adequate library. As Van

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'purge of many teachers' after 1956 (Maree, 1984:153). The state was aware that despite its total control of the syllabus content and its tight surveillance of the schools, the teacher still had enough space to undermine the state's plans.

den Berg and Buckland (1983:57) note

> one of the most serious limitations on innovative approaches to the teaching of history which many teachers noted was the overcrowded conditions and lack of physical and educational resources available to the history teacher.

Another realm of state control related to the discriminatory allocation of resources revolves around the shortage of 'qualified' teachers. Teachers who are not university trained or have had a very inadequate university training, it could be safely argued, are less likely to be able to employ a pedagogical style that encourages the development of a sociological imagination. Their lack of competence will generally result in a situation "such that 'sticking to the syllabus' and focussing on examination results (becomes) a necessary coping strategy" (Van den Berg and Buckland, 1983:58). The role of the teacher will be elaborated on in due course.

A final mechanism used by the state to ensure that the syllabus is adhered to is overt repression of teachers in the form of dismissals or transfers to remote areas.

Although a very brief sketch of the state's educational policy has been presented, it has been illustrated that it can and certainly does limit the pedagogical process. However, although recognising that the constraints imposed by the state are clearly significant, I will proceed to argue, drawing on my empirical work and teaching experience, that the control by the state on the pedagogical process in the schools, even in the South African social formation, is necessarily limited. As noted, schools do have a degree of relative autonomy. This aspect has generally been neglected in the literature. The degree to which this

relative autonomy is used hinges primarily on the transmitters of the syllabus, the teachers, and secondly on the pupils who comprise the school. The state is not the only determiner of the pedagogical process. The teacher and the pupils are also crucial. Their political ideology and "cultural capital" (this concept is discussed on page 54) are central in shaping the pedagogy that is practised in the classroom. This is neglected in most analyses of South African schooling.

The relative autonomy of the teacher has been recognized in some rare instances. Thus the principal of a school on the Cape Flats expressed his awareness of the relative autonomy of the teacher in the following way. His conceptualization is worth quoting at length:

> The teacher should attempt to deviate from the very rigid state-imposed structures of the syllabus and teaching methods. In our centralised system the curriculum is a book of instructions to teachers and principals - a written prescription of what it is intended should happen in a subject in a school - and teachers are fearful of deviating from these prescriptions. But there is still some scope for innovation in the method of instruction. Teachers should assign to students active roles in the learning situation rather than passive ones. Teachers should allow students to engage in enquiry into ideas and current problems, both personal and social. Pupils very effectively put into practice these concepts in their awareness programmes.[1] Teachers should encourage pupils to examine topics or issues that citizens (or the media) in our society do not normally examine...and perhaps most important, teachers must give students a chance to share in planning, decision-making and the carrying out of plans for teaching. The teacher must therefore be bold enough to grasp greater freedom to experiment, to revise and adapt syllabuses around the existing content (Joubert, 1981:47-48)(my emphasis).

The above portrayal is crucial as it substantiates the argument that even within the South African school there is scope for

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1. He is referring to the alternative teaching programmes that emerged in the course of the 1980 school boycott.

innovative and creative teaching. The structural nature of schools "provides such institutions with the relative autonomy that makes possible the gaps, tensions and modes of resistance that contain a critique of the hegemonic order" (Giroux,1981:24).

The limited ability of the state to impose its desired pedagogics on the school because of the school's relative autonomy is further illustrated by Maree's (1984) study of teaching in a Soweto school:

> The history classes I saw, however far removed from South Africa the subject was, showed again and again the tendency to forge links with the real world, as it was experienced by the teachers and the students (Maree, 1984:153).

Maree's conclusions are worthy of note:

> From the limited scope of my research, I suggest that in the actual content of ideas and attitudes, schooling outcomes are not determined primarily by policy-makers, nor in any simple way by the needs of the South African capitalist economy. The mediation of the black teachers in the classroom and the reality of oppression generally had affected the way students knew both their past and their future (1984:157)(my emphasis).

The preceding statements, one based on years of personal experience and the other based on extensive research, starkly reveal not only the relative autonomy of the school from the state, but also that of the teacher within the school. Furthermore, they indicate that the pedagogical process is certainly not only shaped by the state.[1]

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1. It is worth noting at this point some more peripheral problems (peripheral in terms of this study) that emerge if too much stress is placed on the determining role of the state in schooling and if there is a concomitant failure to recognise the relative autonomy of the school and the crucial role of teachers.

   First of all, the overestimation of the role of the state logically leads to the notion that if the syllabus content had an historical materialist orientation this would result in

As stated earlier, the other generally neglected but key factor that shapes the pedagogical process is the pupils themselves. The way pupils view and relate to the syllabus and what their

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pupils emerging from the schools who have an historical materialist position and/or are endowed with a sociological imagination. What is forgotten is that the teacher still has to transmit the syllabus and if the teacher does not support the content, or the content is transmitted in a manner which does not allow or facilitate questioning and/or creative thinking, then the possibility of pupils emerging with historical materialist positions and/or sociological imaginations is doubtful.

The second major problem with this conceptualization of schooling is that it implies that it is the schooling system which actually steers individuals into jobs. However, as Hussein (1976:419&420) argues, this view is fallacious. His argument is worth quoting at length: "Educational qualifications serve as a basis of selection for occupations; but it is not the educational system which actually channels individuals into occupations. The volume, categories and the terms of employment are determined not inside but outside the educational system... It is a common observation that the lowest paid are also those with the lowest education (normally measured in terms of the number of years of education) and that the well paid are usually also the well educated. From this observation it is deduced, usually implicitly, that educational inequality is one of the main causes of economic inequality. This then leads to the belief that economic inequality can be, at least in part, reduced by widening access to educational insitutions... However well-intentioned and noble the belief may be, it rests on a strange, but unstated, premise that somehow the provision of more education will lead to a disappearance of low paid occupations."

It could be argued that most historical materialists writing on schooling in South Africa implys that a more equitable distribution of educational resources by the state will somehow ameliorate the class structure. However, what it will succeed in doing is facilitating the growth of black petit bourgeoisie. It will not in itself eliminate the working class. A class develops outside, not inside, the schooling system.

A third problem revolves around the notion that schools reproduce "a certain kind of labour, as required by the particular form taken by the accumulation process at a particular time" (Collins and Christie 1982:198). Besides the probability that some teachers will consciously or unconsciously subvert the above aim this notion implies that the needs of capital are clear and secondly that the state and capital are in agreement as to what these needs are. This view is contentious. As Demaine (1981:105) states: "at the level of economic planning practised in capitalist economics there is little... basis for knowledge of the manpower

aspirations and ambitions are, has a crucial bearing on the pedagogical process. The pupils largely determine the extent to which teachers potentially can be innovative and creative. A key point is that the way pupils relate to their schooling is strongly related to their class origins. What is illustrated in chapter three is that primarily because they have different class compositions, schools that are in the same educational authority and have the same syllabus, are not uniform but on the contrary differ markedly. The in-depth interviews reveal that the class composition combined with the colour composition, are the crucial variables differentiating schools. Different types of schools characterized by different pedagogical processes can be identified. Furthermore, a pupil's academic ability will be significantly shaped by the type of school attended. That there are different types of schools within the same educational authority and not just white and black schools has to be recognised and explained if we are to move towards a more adequate understanding of the complex reality of schooling in

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requirements sufficiently in advance of those requirements on which to plan education and training." Demaine's couching of the problem is economistic. What also has to be emphasized is the political aspect. The disjuncture between the state and sections of capital in South Africa as to what educational policy the state should be pursuing indicates graphically that what capital perceives are its needs and what the state perceives are the needs of capital are not necessarily congruent. Sections of capital have constantly urged that the state allocate a far greater amount to black education so as to alleviate the skill shortage. However, probably the primary focus of attack by capital on the state has been the overall educational policy pursued by the state. The racist structuring of education is seen by sections of capital as being a crucial contributory factor to black militancy. Thus "Oppenheimer emphasized that 'Bantu education', as the centrepiece of black resentment of Apartheid, had to be broken with in favour of a national free and compulsory system of education that opened its uppermost levels - the universities, technical institutes and training colleges - to students of all races" (Davis, 1984:358). The state, however, is presently unwilling and/or unable to satisfy Oppenheimer's desire.

South Africa and how schooling differentially prepares pupils for Sociology and for life.[1]

The argument that the pedagogical process does vary and is influenced by both the teacher and the pupils is certainly not unique. Bernstein (1981:50) has developed the concept 'frame' to help in the conceptualizing of the pedagogical process and how it can vary:

> Frame refers to the specific pedagogical relationship of teacher and taught... frame refers to the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted in the pedagogical relationship. Where framing is strong there is a sharp boundary; where framing is weak there is a blurred boundary, between what may and may not be transmitted. Frame refers us to the range of options available to teacher and taught in the control of what is transmitted and received in the context of the pedagogical relationship. Strong framing entails reduced options; weak framing entails a range of options. Thus frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship.

It is clear that in all South African schools "the degree of control over the selection, organisation, and pacing of the knowledge" received is rarely great; however, what chapter three shows is that the degree of control does vary significantly and is a crucial variable distinguishing schools.

The typologizing of schools is also informed by Bourdieu's concepts 'cultural capital', 'cultural code', 'master-patterns' and 'habitus'. Bourdieu (1976:110) argues

> that each family transmits to its children, indirectly rather than directly, a certain cultural capital and a certain ethos.

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1. It is important to note that no school is a perfect representation of a specific type of school. However, the crucial point is that a specific school will have a predominance of characteristics associated with the 'type' of school into which that specific school falls. This is elaborated on in chapter three.

> The latter is a system of implicit and deeply interiorized values which, among other things, helps define attitudes towards the cultural capital and other educational institutions.

Although Bourdieu is not very clear what he means by cultural capital/heritage besides the attitude held towards "other educational institutions" (which I presume means higher education and more specifically university) it includes "mastery over language ('linguistic capital')...style, taste, wit... ideas,... (and) knowledge" (Bourdieu, 1976:113,114,115). This cultural capital or 'cultural heritage' has serious implications for pupils as

> the cultural heritage, which differs from both points of view according to social class, is the cause of the initial inequality of children when faced with examinations and tests, and hence of unequal achievement (Bourdieu, 1976:110).

As can be seen, Bourdieu relates the different cultural heritages transmitted by the family to social class. Thus,

> the attitudes of the members of the various social classes, both parents and children, and in particular their attitudes towards school, the culture of the school and the type of future the various types of studies lead to, are largely an expression of the system of explicit or implied values which they have as a result of belonging to a given social class (Bourdieu, 1976:110).

Bourdieu's conclusion that social class has a crucial influence on how parents and pupils perceive their schooling and on schooling achievement is certainly not unprecedented. A great number of empirical studies have been done which have illustrated the pertinence of social class and culture in the realm of schooling. Thus in their 'classic' study of 88 working class children and 10 middle class children in a Northern England industrial city, Jackson and Marsden (1962:189) found

> that very few working class children stayed in the grammar schools to pass their final examination at 18...on the other

hand the proportion of middle class children who did so was very high.

They explain the success of the middle class children in the following way:

> We saw that they began school with an educational inheritance. It was not just that their parents had often had secondary education... but rather that their families had interpenetrated state education... from its earliest days. It was for families like this that grammar schools were conceived and built; it was by men and women with similar habits of evaluation that they have been directed and staffed. To the middle-class child the prevailing grammar school tone was a natural extension of his home life. (Jackson and Marsden, 1962:189 and 190).

The few working class children who completed grammar school generally came from a home milieu which was not characteristically working class. Thus, the successful working class children

> were usually born into small families. Over one-third were only children. Often they also lived near to a successful primary school where the pace and tone were influenced by middle class parents. Further, over a third of the parents (of the successful working class children in the sample) had connections with the middle class themselves, and shared many of its aspirations - if not its secure knowledge and modes of communication. Most of the remaining two-thirds of the homes also came from the uppermost levels of the working class (Jackson and Marsden, 1962:190).

Another influential study worthy of note and which reaches similar conclusions to those done by Watson (1970), Bourdieu (1976) and Jackson and Marsden (1962) is Willis's (1978) study of English (British) working class "lads" who did not succeed. Willis concludes that a large part of the reasons for the failure of most 'working class kids' is due to their own choice. This choice is formed through their 'class culture':

> ...it is their own culture which most effectively prepares some working class lads for the manual giving of their labour power. We may say that there is an element of self-damnation in the taking on of subordinate roles in Western capitalism (Willis, 1978:3).

Within the school this generally involves "a certain resistance to mental work" (Willis, 1978:103). Willis' explanation for this anti-intellectualism is worthy of note:

> Resistance to mental work becomes resistance to authority as learnt in the school... Mental activity for 'the lads' is not only barred because of their particular experience of the institution of the school, but also because it is regarded as effeminate... Despite their greater achievement and conventional hopes for the future, 'ear 'oles' and their strategies can be ignored because the mode of their success can be discredited as passive, mental and lacking a robust masculinity (Willis, 1978:103, 149 & 150).[1]

All three authors place little emphasis on how these different cultures, shaped by their respective social class origins, affect the schools. The in-depth interviews indicated that the cultural capital transmitted by the family and brought into the schools by the pupils plays a central role in differentiating schools into different types . Pupils with similar cultural heritages will generally go to similar schools. Thus schools that have a preponderance of working class pupils will have a different dominant pedagogical process to schools composed predominantly of the upper PB.

The family and the school also transmit what Bourdieu calls a cultural code. A cultural code refers to the

> sharing of a common sense which is the pre-requisite for communication. Individuals owe to their schooling first and foremost, a whole collection of commonplaces, covering not only common speech and language but also areas of encounter and agreement, common problems and common methods of approaching these common problems (Bourdieu, 1976:193).

Part of this cultural code involves the acquisition of patterns

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1. "Earoles" are the kids who conform and aspire to do well. Again, it is interesting to note how close Willis' conclusions are to those of Watson's in his study of a white South African predominantly working class school (see pages 30 to 32).

of thinking which Bourdieu (1976:193) calls "master-patterns".

> It may be assumed that every individual owes to the type of schooling he has received a set of basic, deeply interiorized master-patterns on the basis of which he acquires other patterns, so that the system of patterns by which his thought is organized owes its specific character not only to the nature of the patterns constituting it but also to the frequencywith which these are used and to the level of consciousness at which they operate, these properties being probably connected with the circumstances in which the most fundamental intellectual patterns were acquired.

These master-patterns in a sense became unconscious and make up what Bourdieu refers to as the "habitus":

> As a 'habit-forming' force the school provides those who have undergone its direct or indirect influence not so much with particular and particularized schemes of thought as with that general disposition which engenders particular schemes, which may then be applied in different domains of thought and action, a disposition that one could call the cultivated habitus (Bourdieu, 1971:184).

Bourdieu is seemingly postulating that through their schooling individuals acquire a deeply embedded framework which they use when approaching problems. The master-patterns and habitus transmitted by the school thus help shape how pupils approach and conceptualize problems.

In line with Bourdieu and with the findings of the in-depth interviews, this study argues that the school does transmit a specific cultural code to its pupils. However, unlike Bourdieu, it is postulated that the cultural codes transmitted by the schools are not uniform. Different types of schools transmit different cultural codes. As stated, they also transmit different cultural capitals. This proposition is examined in chapter three. For the purpose of this thesis the term 'culture' is used to refer to the cultural capital, cultural codes and habitus transmitted. What is also examined in chapter three is whether the culture transmitted by schools varies in its proximity to the 'culture' required by the university and more

specifically Sociology. What is hypothesized is that the possibility of a school transmitting the culture required is related to the social class composition of the school. Thus, it is postulated that a school composed predominantly of the upper PB is more likely to transmit a culture that is in line with that required by the university than a school composed predominantly of the lower PB or working class.

The culture required for Sociology at UCT

The final question that needs to be addressed in this section is what culture the Sociology Department requires in order for a student to cope adequately. This is tricky terrain as the Sociology Department is certainly not an homogeneous entity. There are, however, some common features which can be isolated. It can be safely argued that all the courses require that a student has a reasonably developed culture if he/she is to cope adequately with the respective courses.[1] In order to follow the lectures, comprehend the readings and write an essay the student should have an adequate level of general knowledge and a mastery of the English language. There should be a degree of familiarity with using a library and doing independent research. The student should be able to argue coherently and logically.

Most courses require that students develop a master-pattern which enables them to go beyond the level of appearances, and thus to question what are accepted as 'commonsense facts'. This often involves an undermining of the dominant ideology and, related to this, the students' own culture and way of viewing the world. Another important feature of these courses is their emphasis on

the 'historicity of thought'. There is agreement that in trying to explain social phenomenona, ignoring "the historical context is like trying to understand Anthony's speeches independently of Cleopatra's replies" (Mathews, 1980:94). Linked to this is the notion that social phenomena are related, and as Mills (1970:13) states, if we are to understand the structure of a particular society we have to ask "what are its essential components and how are they related to one another?"

The above approach is probably captured in Mills's term 'the sociological imagination', which enables students to "provide themselves with adequate summations, cohesive assessments, (and) comprehensive orientations" of and to the world (Mills, 1970:14).

The methodology to be used to approach thecentral questions

The question that emerges is what methodology is to be used to answer the central questions which this thesis addresses: What is the relationship between schooling and performance in Sociology, what happens in the schools to produce this relationship, and why does what happens in the school happen? Finally, what is the influence of the home milieu in terms of how it interacts with the school, and secondly in relation to how it influences performance in Sociology?

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1. I would argue that in order just to pass Sociology a student does not have to have a developed culture. Especially in Sociology I a student can pass by merely paraphrasing texts. Thus coping adequately generally means obtaining a lower second or higher. It is precisely because the schooling Sociology students receive usually fails to transmit the required culture that the Sociology Department has to lower its standards. This point is elaborated on in chapters two, three and four.

In order to begin answering these questions it was necessary to employ various methodologies. Thus, the answering of the question - 'What is the relationship between schooling and performance in Sociology?'- required a statistical investigation (see chapter two). This enabled me firstly to investigate whether students who have entered Sociology I from different educational authorities perform differently. Secondly, the relationship between matric results and Sociology results could be assessed. Thirdly, it could be ascertained whether weak first year Sociology students remain permanently disadvantaged because of their personal and/or schooling history or whether they were able to throw off this legacy and improve substantially in second year. Finally, the extent to which the schooling that students had received enabled them to cope with Sociological material, not only in the coursework, when they had the books at hand, but also in the examination, when the student was on his/her own, could be gauged.

This statistical investigation, although it enabled the answering of some questions, was necessarily limited. It did not reveal what actually occurs in the schools, how what occurs influences performance in Sociology and why what happens in the schools happens. It also did not help answer the question of how the home milieu and concomitantly social class interact with the school, and how they shape performance in Sociology.

In-depth interviewing (chapter three) was the primary method used to explore these complex questions. They enabled me to penetrate beyond the descriptive plane and to obtain some picture of the complex processes operating within the school and home milieus

from which Sociology students emerge. The in-depth interviews were supplemented by the survey questionnaire (chapter four). Although the information gained by the survey questionnaire lacked the depth of the material obtained through the in-depth interviews, it represented information from a far greater number of Sociology students. In this way it gave a more comprehensive picture of Sociology students at UCT and allowed for generalization with a greater degree of certainty. The respective methodologies employed will be elaborated on in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

A STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOLING (WEA AND DIAEA) AND PERFORMANCE IN SOCIOLOGY AT UCT

This chapter is divided into five parts. The first part outlines the objectives of the chapter. The second part discusses the data used and the limitations of these data. This is followed by a discussion of the statistical tests used, and how the data are presented. Part four is divided into the presentation of the data, followed by a summary of the results, and then a discussion of the results. This is the lengthiest part of the chapter and is divided into five sections. What these respective sections constitute will be outlined in due course. Finally there is a conclusion which draws the various findings and their implications together.

Objectives of the investigation

This statistical investigation has numerous aims. The first objective (section one of the statistical investigation, figures 1A to 2C) is to obtain a general profile of the performance of General Sociology (GS) I students and Industrial Sociology (IS) I students in the period 1980 to 1982, and concurrently to compare the results obtained in Sociology I by students who entered the Sociology Department via the various WEAs to students who entered via the DIAEA. This general overview of the Sociology I results in this period will firstly, enable us to note any aspect of the results distribution that is of interest and possibly indicate areas of further investigation. Secondly, the comparison of the Sociology results of WEA versus DIAEA students will allow us to

examine the prevalent assumption that students who emerge from the WEA are more prepared by their schooling for Sociology than are DIAEA students. If WEA and DIAEA students obtain similar Sociology results, then the thesis that the schooling of DIAEA students necessarily places them at a greater disadvantage has to be reevaluted. It will transpire that although WEA students generally do better, this is not always the case and, as will be discussed, the issue is more complex than it appears.

Section two (figures 3A to 6E) of this statistical investigation examines the relationship between matric aggregate and Sociology I results obtained. As was noted in chapter one, matric aggregate is often not a reliable indicator of a student's potential ability at university. The finding that the relationship between matric aggregate and Sociology I result is weak and/or inconsistent from year to year, besides indicating that admission criteria are not necessarily reliable, would also point to there being a substantial disjuncture between the culture required to do well at school and the culture required to do well in Sociology. It will be shown that generally a relationship between matric aggregate and Sociology I results does exist but that often this relationship is not strong. The relationship between the matric aggregate of WEA and DIAEA students and Sociology I results is looked at separately so as to see whether there is a similar or a different relationship between matric aggregate and Sociology I results for the respective educational authorities.

Section three (figures 7A to 10E) of the study assesses the relationship between matric English symbol and Sociology I results. This focus rests on the premise that the matric English

symbol is possibly a more accurate predictor of a student's potential performance in Sociology I than matric aggregate (it will transpire that generally this is not the case). The latter is reached by combining the marks of a range of subjects none of which, it can be safely assumed, require the same degree of linguistic and comprehension ability as English.

Section four (figures 11A to 12B) of this investigation looks at the relationship between Sociology I and Sociology II results. An important question is whether weak/mediocre Sociology I students (50-59%) improve in Sociology II and whether successful students (60% or higher) remain successful. If the results illustrate that students remain weak or strong as the case may be, this would, in part, display the power of pre-university experience to permanently shape performance in Sociology.

The final section (figures 13 and 14) of this statistical investigation looks at the marks obtained by Sociology I students during the course of the term versus the marks obtained in the end of term exam, the term average versus the exam average. If the differences are statistically significant (it transpires that the students do signficantly worse in the exam) then it suggests that the schooling of many students is inadequate:[1] it might give them the ability to select information and reassemble it to form a reasonably coherent essay, but does not give them the ability to comprehend and assimilate the sociological material so that

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1. The finding of significant differences might also raise questions as to the validity of the methods of assessment being used and concomitantly whether final Sociology I results obtained are generally an accurate reflection of students' abilities.

they can reproduce it in an exam.

The data used and the limitations of these data

Before proceeding it is essential that the data that this statisticalsection focusses on are assessed. The data used are made up of first-year General and Industrial Sociology results (1980-1982), and the matric aggregate and matric English symbol of most of the above students (1980-1982). The Sociology results were obtained from the Department of Sociology and the matric aggregate and matric English mark from the microfilm of students' records held by the University of Cape Town. The school attended by the respective students was also obtained from the microfilm.

Obtaining the Sociology results of the students was a straight-forward task and all the results of the students who wrote the final Sociology I exam were available. However, for approximately 20% of the students who took Sociology I between 1980 and 1982, the microfilm records were incomplete. The students' matric aggregate and/or matric English mark was not stated. Also some students had taken A levels in Zimbabwe or had attended school overseas and the grades given were often not translatable.

An endeavour was made to assess the potential impact of not having approximately 20% of the students' matric results. This was done by investigating whether the 20% missing have similar Sociology I results to the 80% whose matric results are known. It was found that the differences between the respective groupings were minimal. The missing data were largely of WEA

students. In the three-year period under review the matric results of 12 DIAEA students who did General Sociology (GS) I and 7 DIAEA students who did Industrial Sociology (IS) I were unobtainable. The number of DIAEA students with missing marks was too small to affect the results in any significant way.

The marks themselves are problematic in terms of what they indicate or the limitations they place on the method of analysis. Firstly, all matric marks given, besides those of the Department of National Education, are given in the form of symbols (A, B, C, D, E, etc). The stating of a student's performance in this categorical form as opposed to a numerical form creates problems when doing a statistical analysis as it is not possible to do a regression analysis.

Another crucial aspect is the issue of what the matric symbol represents. The matric aggregate a student obtains is based on six three-hour exams. During this very brief period the school pupil is expected to give an account of what he/she has learnt throughout the year. This can be a very stressful situation with which some students will not cope well.

The range of skills required to do well in the matric exam, it can be argued, is limited. The key skill required to do well is generally the ability to retain material learnt and to reproduce this material in the exam. The matric pupil is generally not expected to question or analyse the material.

Because of the generally strict adherence to the text book there is usually little scope for the innovative and creative pupil. This is probably especially true for the non-science subjects.

There is a possibility that the creative pupil in these subjects will be unmotivated and not work very hard. The matric aggregate obtained might substantially under-represent his/her intellectual capacity especially in relation to sociological imagination type reasoning.

The marking process is also questionable. The matric papers are marked by a range of markers who might vary substantially in their marking. For example, if a marker sticks closely to the memorandum the creative student might be penalised for not sticking to the "required" text. Subjectivity is an integral aspect of the marking process and is certainly not eliminated by a memorandum. This is especially true for the languages. A student's matric English symbol might be influenced considerably by the marker's bias.

A final limitation worthy of note is that mark-wise, all the white educational authorities have been treated equally. A D matric aggregate obtained in the JMB exam has been viewed as equivalent to a D matric aggregate obtained in the Cape exam. This presumes that the standards of the educational departments concerned are equivalent. This is not necessarily true.

Having noted these limitations, the fact remains that matric aggregate is the primary measure that is used for university entry. Matric results are viewed by many as a neutral and safe indicator of a student's potential performance at university and more specifically in Sociology I. A sizeable proportion of the statistical investigation will be devoted to examining whether this is in fact the case for Sociology I at the University of Cape Town.

The Sociology I results also have certain limitations that should be noted. Firstly, although the exact marks are available, the marks have been grouped into different categories. Secondly, the Sociology mark is reached through the mediation of different markers who operate with differing standards and different expectations of what an answer requires. The arbitrary nature of this process is accentuated in Sociology I as in that year essays and tests are assessed by tutors. Often the tutors are inexperienced having never marked a piece of work before. This can lead to serious "mismarking".[1] Although there is moderation by the course lecturers, often it is not possible for this moderation to be comprehensive.

Another aspect that adds to the arbitrary nature of the marking process are the types of assignments given. It could be argued that some of these assignments facilitate plagiarism considerably. Probably plagiarism is often undetected by the tutors, and often a mark may be given that has no relation to the degree to which the student has grasped the topic or to the amount of work that he/she has done.

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1. This is illustrated in the following table. The lefthand mark is the mark allocated by the tutor and the righthand mark is the moderated mark. Eleven essays were moderated.

	Tutor	Lecturer	Percentage Differences
(a)	77	77	Ø
(b)	72	68	-4
(c)	72	65	-7
(d)	68	62	-6
(e)	68	48	-2Ø
(f)	65	55	-1Ø
(g)	62	55	-7
(f)	58	55	-3
(i)	55	48	-7
(j)	52	48	-4
(k)	52	52	-Ø

As we can see nine out of eleven essay marks assigned by the tutor were changed. This group of marks was randomly selected from an IS I course given in 1982.

These factors in combination probably lead to many students obtaining a series of class marks which do not reflect their ability and seriously overrate it. Nonetheless the final Sociology result obtained is still useful as it generally gives us some indication of a student's ability.

Presentation of data summaries and statistics

Before proceeding it is necessary to explain the way the data is represented and what tests are used. The data are first presented in the form of bar graphs. The bar graph represents the percentage of students in the respective grades. Thus figure 1A illustrates that 25% of the WEA students failed versus 52% of the DIAEA students. The lines in-between the bar graphs connect common categories. In the example given these categories would be failures.

Secondly, cross tabulations are used. The cross tabulations give the same data in ordinal form, namely they give the absolute number of students in each category.

For this data the chi-square (X^2) test is used. The chi-square test of significance was chosen at it tells us whether the distributionof the observed counts we obtained may be reasonably ascribed to chance alone or to other factors including chance. In other words, it indicates if there is a (statistically) significant difference between observed frequencies and those expected by chance (Underhill, 1981:275). Thus, for example, in the first part of the statistical section, when we look at the Sociology result of WEA students versus DIAEA students, a significant chi-square statistic will indicate a statistically

significant difference between the two sets of results. It amounts to a test of the hypothesis that final Sociology 1 marks are distributed in the categories concerned in the same proportions for both groups. On occasions columns and/or rows had to be combined in order to meet the requirements of the chi-square test. This occurred when the expected frequencies were less than 5.

The critical probability values (p) have been set at Ø,Ø5 or Ø,Ø1. In other words p<Ø,Ø5 means that there is less than a 5% chance of getting the observed distribution by chance alone: p<Ø,Ø1 means that there is a less than a 1% chance of getting an observed distributions under the assumption that there are no differences between educational authorities. When a set of proportions do not differ significantly, the reported statement p>Ø,Ø5 impies that there is a greater than 5% chance of obtaining differences of the same degree or worse in studies like the present one, when the two groups are actually identical in structure.

Since the crucial categories were pass and fail, the data were also analysed as 2x2 contingency tables. The Mantel-Haenszel chi (X) has been used to compute the failure rates. The 'Odds Ratio estimation and testing program' and its handbook (Rothman, J et al, 1982) were used. In addition the cross-product ratio (Rate Ratio, RR) was calculated to estimate the true odds ratio. The 95% confidence intervals (CI) for the true odds ratio were calculated using a normal approximation to the distribution. (If there was no difference between the two groups the odds ratio would be 1, ie equal odds.) In Fig. 1A RR = 3,32; this indicates that WEA students were estimated to have a 3,32 times greater

chance of passing Sociology I in 1980 than DIAEA students. This is based on the odds of WEA students passing being 121:41 against the odds of DIAEA students passing being 22:24. We may say with 95% confidence that the true odds ratio lay between 1,60 and 7,24. Equivalently we may reject any postulated ratio outside that confidence interval, and expect that our probability of error in so rejecting is than 5 times in a 100.

When estimating the correlation (r) between Sociology I versus Sociology II results the BMDP programme P2R was used (BMDP,1981).

An outline of the presentation of the data

The data is first presented in the bar graphs. After the presentation of the bar graphs, there is a summary of the results followed by a discussion thereof. The following table outlines what the respective figures represent.

Figs. 1A to 1C: Portrayal of the 1980, 1981 and 1982 GS I results by educational authority.

Figs. 2A to 2C: Portrayal of the 1980, 1981 and 1982 IS I results by educational authority.

Figs. 3A to 3 D: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and GS I results for WEA students in 1980, 1981 and 1982.

Figs. 4E and 4F: Portrayal of the matric aggregate distribution of GS I students by educational authority in 1980, 1981 and 1982.

Figs. 5A to 5C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and IS I results for WEA students in 1980, 1981 and 1982.

Figs. 6A to 6C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and IS I results for DIAEA students in 1980, 1981 and 1982.

Figs. 6D to 6E: Portrayal of the matric aggregate distribution of IS I students by educational authority.

Figs. 7A to 10E: This section has a similar pattern to the presentation of Figs. 3A to 6E except the matric aggregate is replaced by the matric English symbol.

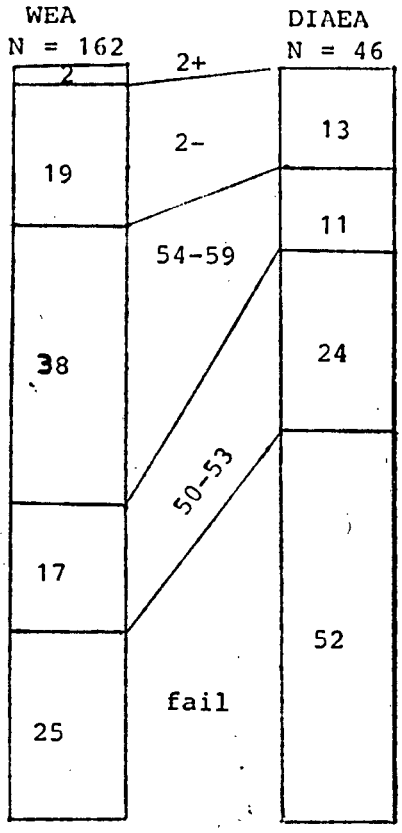
Figs. 11A to 11B: Portrayal of the relationship between the mark obtained in GS I in 1980/1981 and the mark obtained in GS II in 1981/1982.

Figs. 12A to 12B: Portrayal of the relationship between the mark obtained in IS I in 1980/1981 and the mark obtained in IS II in 1981/1982.

Fig. 13: Portrayal of the relationship between Course Work (CW) and results obtained versus end of term examinations and results obtained in GS I in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.

Fig. 14: Portrayal of the relationship between CW and results obtained versus end of term examinations and results obtained in IS I in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.

Figure 1A. Portrayal of the 1980 General Sociology I results by educational authority.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
1			
2+	1		1
2-	30	6	36
54-59	62	5	67
50-53	28	11	39
Fail	41	24	65
	162	46	208

Number of students in the respective grades.

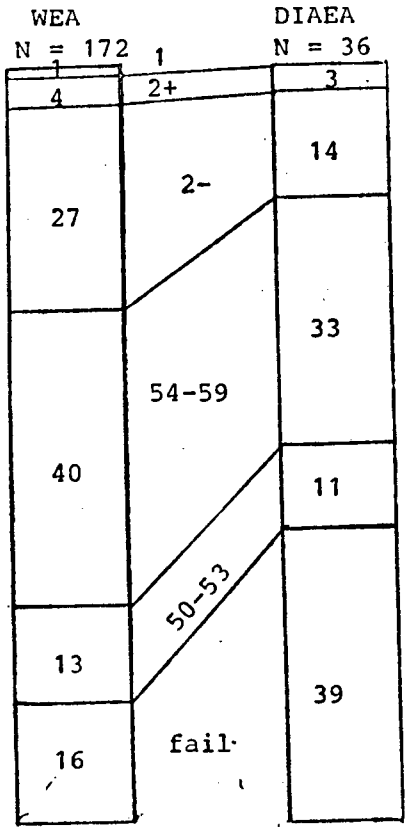
$X^2 = 18,21$
$P < 0,01$
$df = 3$

	WEA	DIAEA	
Pass	121	22	143
Fail	41	24	65
	162	46	208

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 3,46
P < 0,01
RR = 3,32
CI = 1,60 to 7,24

Figure 1B. Portrayal of the 1981 General Sociology I results by educational authority.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
1	1		1
2+	7	1	8
2-	47	5	52
54-59	68	12	80
50-53	22	4	26
fail	27	14	41
	172	36	208

Number of students in the respective grades.

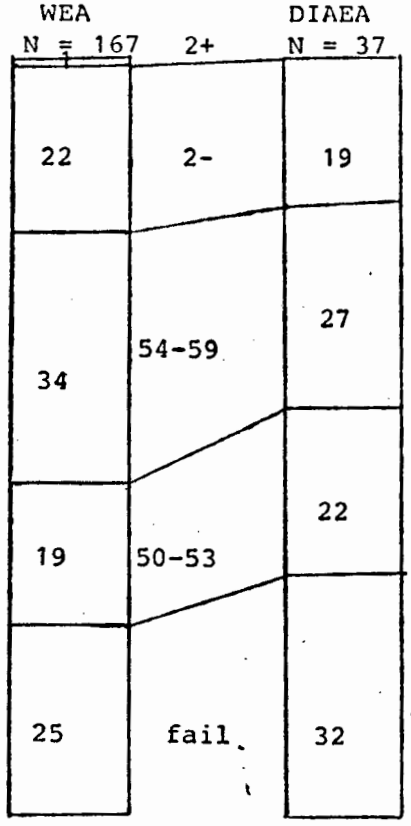
$X^2 = 6,95$
df = 2
P < 0,05

	WEA	DIAEA	
Pass	145	22	167
Fail	27	14	41
	172	36	208

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 3,17
P < 0,01
RR = 3,42
CI = 1,60 to 7,30

Figure 1C. Portrayal of the 1982 General Sociology I results by educational authority.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
1			
2+	1		1
2-	37	7	44
54-59	56	10	66
50-53	31	8	39
Fail	42	12	54
	167	37	204

Number of students in the respective grades.

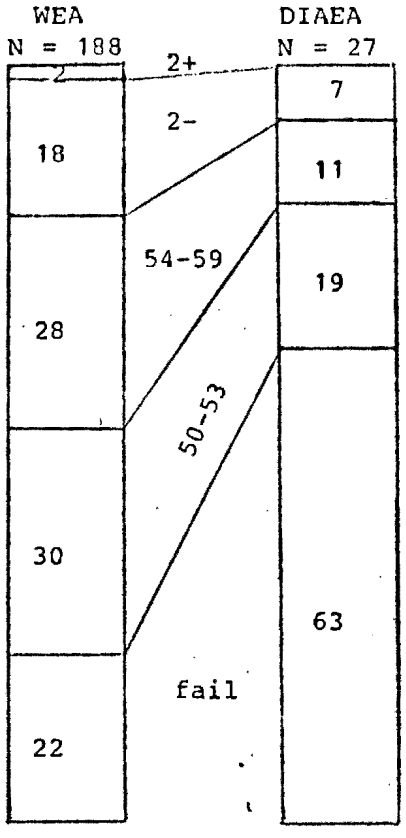
$X^2 = 1,35$
df = 3
$p > 0,05$

	WEA	DIAEA	
Pass	125	25	150
Fail	42	12	54
	167	37	204

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 0,85$
$p > 0,05$

Figure 2A: Portrayal of 1980 Industrial Sociology I results by educational authority.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
1			
2+	3		3
2-	34	2	36
54-59	53	3	56
50-53	56	5	61
fail	42	17	59
	188	27	215

Number of students in respective grades.

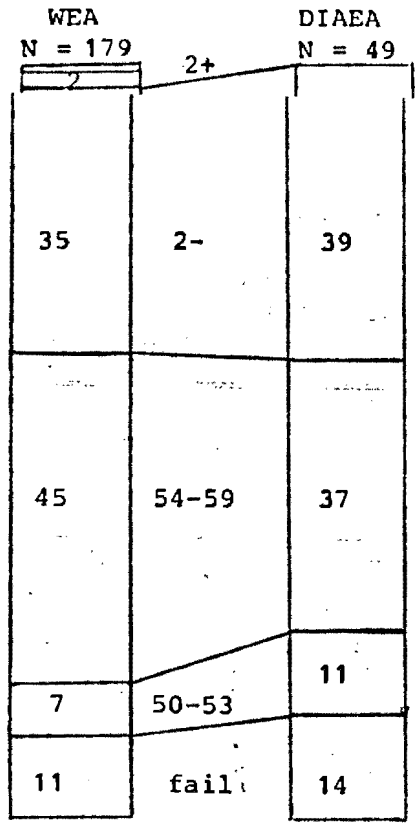
$X^2 = 16,82$
df = 3
P < 0,01

	WEA	DIAEA	
Pass	146	10	156
Fail	42	17	59
	188	27	215

Number of students in respective grades.

X = 4,41
P < 0,01
RR = 5,91
CI = 2,68 to 13,01

Figure 2B: Portrayal of the 1981 Industrial Sociology I results by educational authority.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
1	1		1
2+	3		3
2-	63	19	82
54-59	80	18	98
50-53	12	5	17
fail	20	7	27
	179	49	228

Number of students in the respective grades.

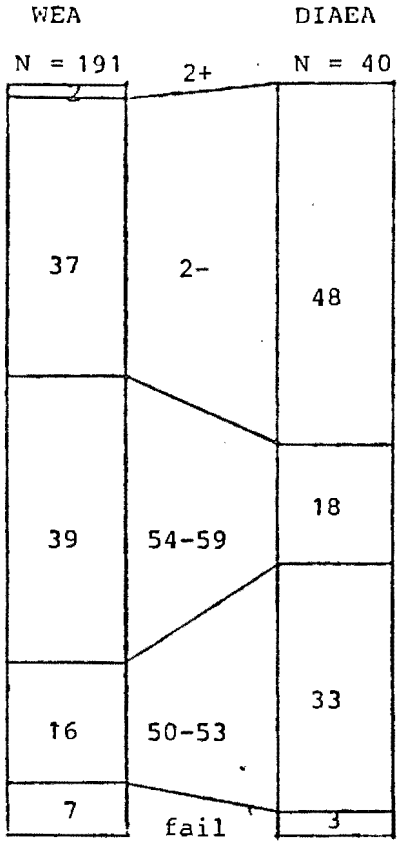
$X^2 = 1,46$
df = 2
P > 0,05

	WEA	DIAEA	
Pass	159	42	201
Fail	20	7	27
	179	49	228

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 0,6
P > 0,05

Figure 2C: Portrayal of the 1982 Industrial Sociology I results by educational authority.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
1			
2+	3		3
2-	71	19	90
54-59	74	7	81
50-53	30	13	43
fail	13	1	14
	191	40	231

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 6,98$
df = 2
P < 0,05

	WEA	DIAEA	
Pass	178	39	217
Fail	13	1	14
	191	40	231

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = -1,03
P > 0,05

1. The Relationship between Educational Authority Attended and Sociology Results Obtained.

Summary of the results

Figures 1A to 1C display the GS I results of WEA versus DIAEA students in the period 1980 to 1982. Similar trends are evident in 1980 and 1981 (Figures 1A and 1B). In both 1980 and 1981 there is a significant difference ($p<0,01$) between the GS I results obtained by WEA students versus those obtained by DIAEA students: The former had over three times greater estimated chance of passing GS I. In 1982 there is a noteworthy shift of fortunes and WEA students do only slightly better than their DIAEA counterparts ($p>0,05$).

In IS I, represented by figures 2A - 2C, the picture varies from year to year. In 1980 WEA students totally outperform their DIAEA counterparts ($p<0,01$). The latter had a 5,9 times greater estimated chance of failing IS I in this year. There is a dramatic change in 1981 and the differences between the respective groupings are not significant ($p>0,05$). In 1982 there is once more a significant difference ($p<0,05$) between WEA and DIAEA results. This is mainly due to the relatively large number of DIAEA students who have borderline passes (between 50% - 53%). However, DIAEA students in this year had a lower failure rate than their WEA counterparts and obtained more lower seconds proportionately. Thus 1980 remains the incongruous year.

Discussion of the results

a) WEA versus DIAEA students' results in GS I

As has been indicated, in GS I WEA students do signficantly better than their DIAEA counterparts in 1980 and 1981, (figures 1A and 1B) but in 1982 (figure 1C) the differences are marginal. There is no apparent reason for this turnabout. If we look at the matric aggregates and matric English symbols for the respective years (see figures 4E and 6D) no shift worthy of note is evident. In each year the matric results of WEA students are significantly superior. What does happen is that in 1980 and 1981 WEA and DIAEA students who entered GS I with the same matric aggregate achieved similar GS I results (see figures 3A, 3B, 4A and 4B). In 1982, however, those DIAEA students who entered GS I with a D matric aggregate out-performed WEA students who also obtained a D matric aggregate. 20% (N=15) of the former failed versus 49% (N=51) of the latter (see figures 3C and 4C). The explanation for this occurring is unclear.[1] One aspect that is evident, however, is that DIAEA students entering GS I with the same matric aggregate as WEA students have a similar or greater ability to cope with GS I. These results indicate that there is no necessary correlation between educational authority attended and level of preparedness for GS I. They call into question the 'conventional wisdom' that students who have emerged from DIAEA schools are necessarily less prepared than students who have emerged from WEA schools.

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1. A tentative explanation is that the 1981 DIAEA matric examination was more stringent than the WEA matric examination and that DIAEA GS I students who obtained D matric aggregates would have done better in the WEA matric examination.

b) **WEA versus DIAEA students' results in IS I**

The finding that DIAEA Sociology students are not necessarily less prepared by their schooling is, in part, confirmed by comparing the results of WEA to DIAEA students in IS I over this three year period (figures 2A to 2C). Only in 1980 (figure 2A) do WEA students do significantly better than their DIAEA counterparts.[1] In 1981 and 1982 there is not a significant difference.

The improvements in the IS I results obtained by DIAEA and WEA students in 1981 and 1982 (figures 2B and 2C) relative to 1980 are so dramatic that they deserve dwelling on. In 1980 22% (N=188) of WEA students failed compared to 11% (N=179) in 1981 and 7% (N=191) in 1982. The changes in the fortunes of DIAEA students over this period are even more dramatic. In 1980 63% (N=27) failed versus 14% (N=27) in 1981 and 3% (N=40) in 1982. These dramatic shifts cannot be explained by the changing composition of the class as measured by the matric aggregates of students entering IS I during this period. The matric aggregates of WEA and DIAEA students remained relatively constant. Rather, there appears to have been a substantial shift in the IS I course requirements after 1980. It seems that the course requirements were far more stringent in 1980. Unfortunately, the pursuit of this question is beyond the scope of this exploratory study.

The more important finding is that in 1981 and 1982 the

---

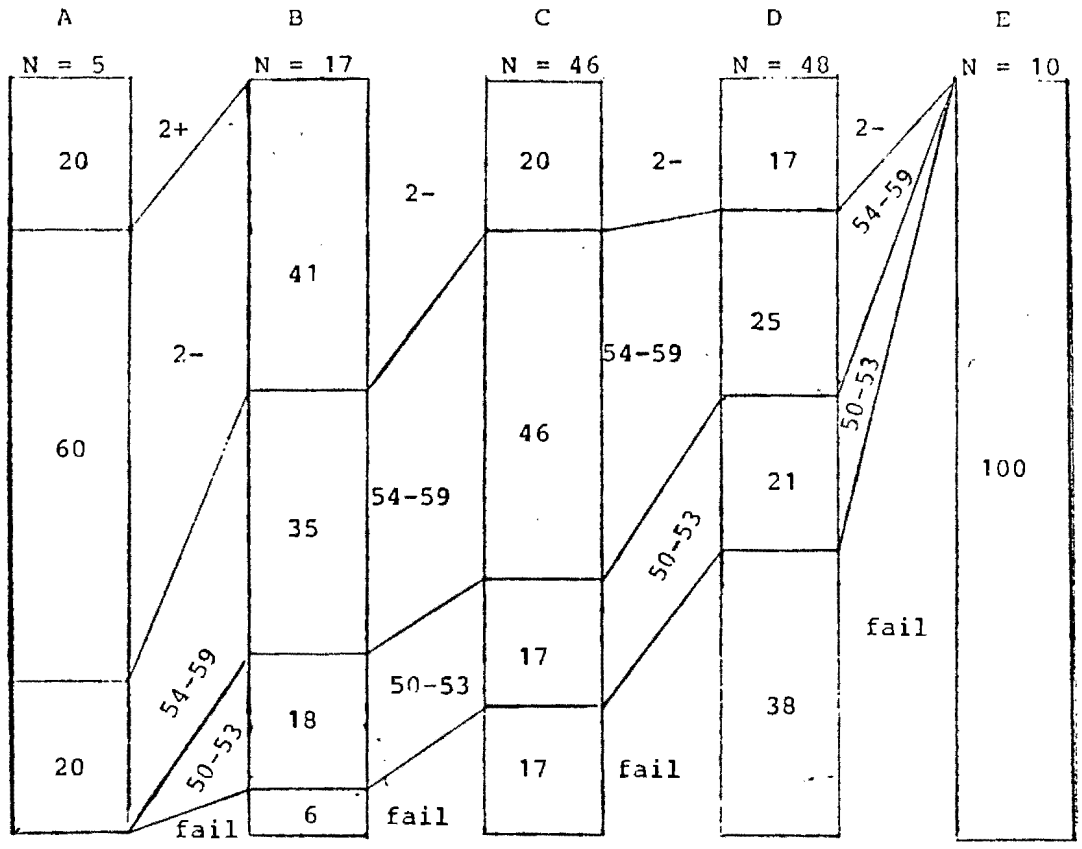
1. The very poor IS I and GS I results of DIAEA students in 1980 are difficult to explain. Possibly the 1979 DIAEA matriculation exam might have been of a low standard resulting in inflated matric aggregates and the 'quality' of DIAEA students doing Sociology in 1980 being lower than those DIAEA students who did Sociology in 1981 and 1982.

difference in the IS I results obtained by WEA and DIAEA students was marginal.[1] This again graphically reveals the dangers of stating that WEA schooling necessarily produces students who are more able academically. The 1981 and 1982 IS I results point to the possibility that many DIAEA students enter Sociology having had an equivalent and, in some cases, a superior schooling to many of their WEA counterparts. This point will be returned to and discussed in some detail in chapter three.

---

1. As indicated, although the chi square revealed a significant difference between WEA and DIAEA IS I results in 1982, this was due primarily to the large proportion (35% (13/40) of DIAEA students who were border-line. Compared to WEA students a smaller proportion of DIAEA students failed (3% (1/40) versus 7% (13/191) of WEA students) and a greater proportion obtained lower seconds: 48% (19/40) versus 38% (74/191).

Figure 3A. Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and General Sociology I result for ex-WEA students in 1980.



(Column figures give percentages of students in respective grades)

	A&B	C	D	E	
1					
2+	1				1
2-	10	9	8		27
54-59	7	21	12		40
50-53	3	8	10		21
Fail	1	8	18	10	37
	22	46	48	10	126

Number of students in the respective grades.

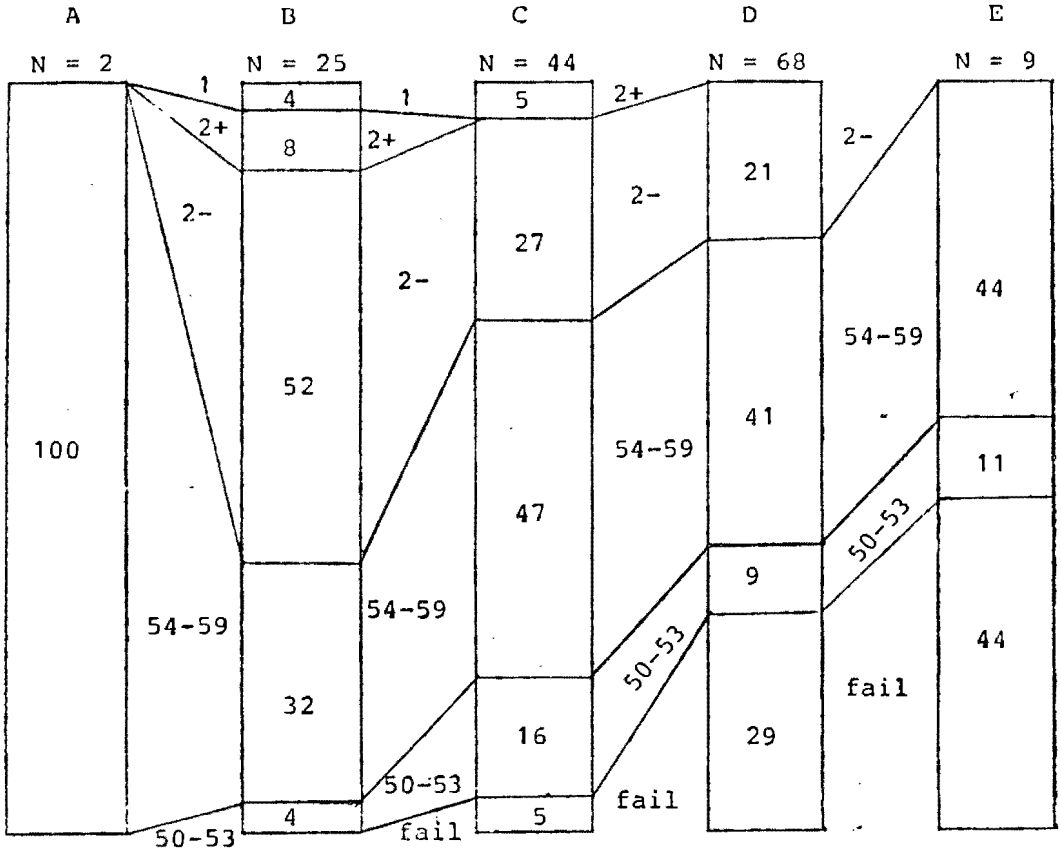
X^2 =16,44
df = 2
P < 0,01

	C+	D&E	
Pass	59	30	89
Fail	9	28	37
	68	58	126

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 4,29
P < 0,01
RR = 6,12
CI = 2,67 to 14,00

igure 3B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and General Sociology I sult for ex-WEA students in 1981.



Column figures give percentages of students in respective grades.)

	A&B	C	D	E	
1	1				1
2+	2	2			4
2-	13	12	14		39
4-59	10	21	28	4	63
0-53	1	7	6	1	15
fail	0	2	20	4	26
	27	44	68	9	148

Number of students in the respective grades.

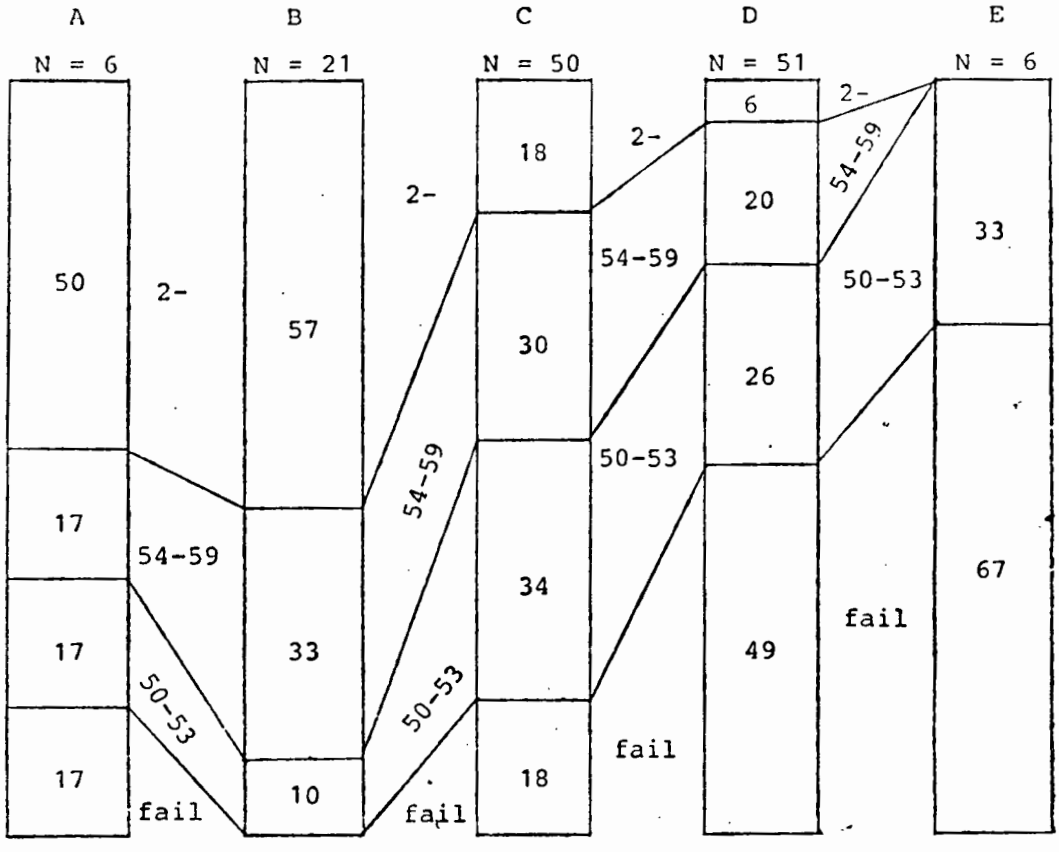
$X^2 = 22,76$
df = 4
P < 0,01

	ABC	D&E	
Pass	69	53	122
Fail	2	24	26
	71	77	148

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 4,51
P < 0,01
RR = 15,60
CI = 4,73 to 51,55

igure 3C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and eneral Sociology result for ex-WEA students in 1982.



(Column figures give percentages of students in respective grades.)

	A&B	C	D	E	
1					
2+					
2-	15	9	3		27
54-59	8	15	10		33
50-53	3	17	13	2	35
fail	1	9	25	4	39
	27	50	51	6	134

Number of students in the respective grades.

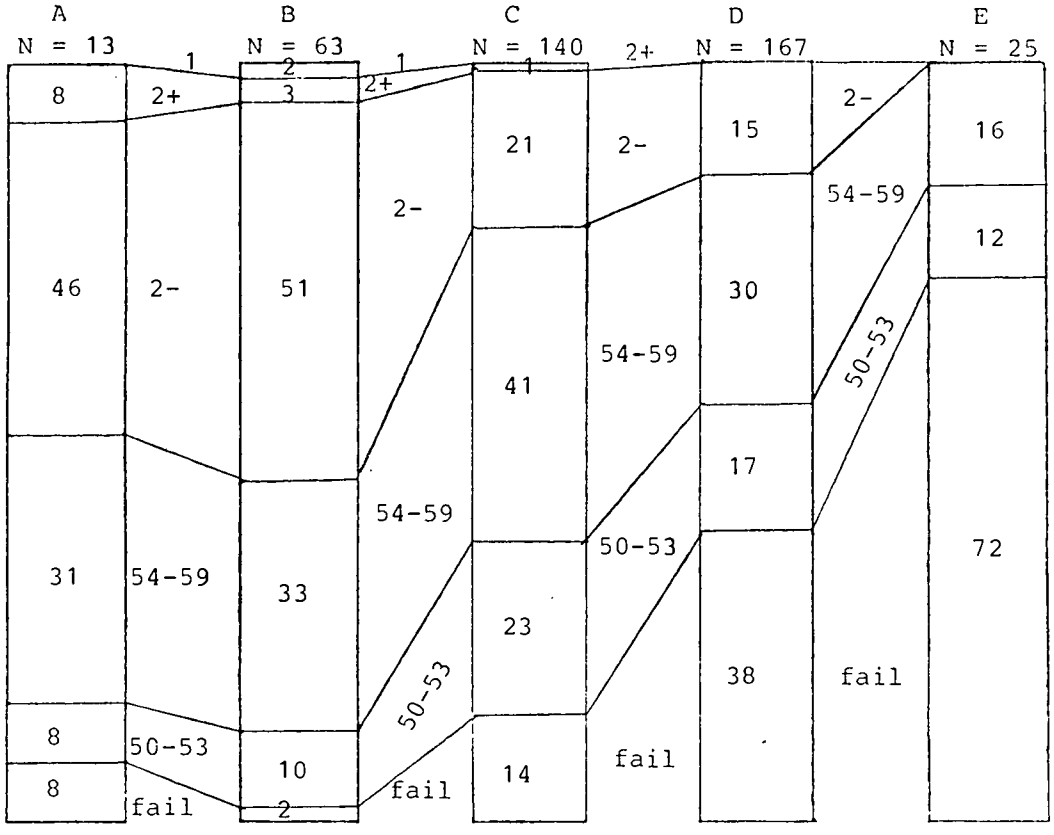
$X^2 = 46,11$
df = 6
P < 0,01

	ABC	D&E	
Pass	67	28	95
Fail	10	29	39
	77	57	134

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 4,76
P < 0,01
RR = 6,94
CI = 3,12 to 15,42

Figure 3D: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and General Sociology I result for 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



(Column figures give percentages of students in respective grades.)

	A	B	C	D	E	
1		1				1
2+	1	2	2			5
2-	6	32	30	25		93
54-59	4	21	57	50	4	136
50-53	1	6	32	29	3	71
fail	1	1	19	63	18	102
	13	63	140	167	25	408

Number of students in the respective grades.

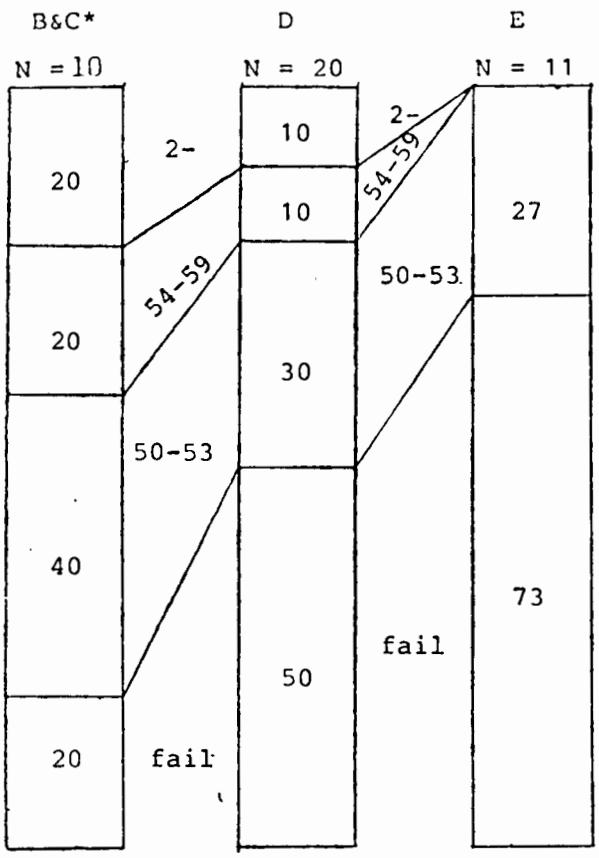
X^2 =94,67
df = 6
P < 0,01

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	195	111	306
Fail	21	81	102
	216	192	408

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 7,54
P < 0,01
RR = 6,78
CI = 4,12 to 11,14

Figure 4A: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and General Sociology I result for DIAEA students in 1980.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	B&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	2	2		4
54-59	2	2		4
50-53	4	6	3	13
fail	2	10	8	20
	10	20	11	41

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 3,45$
df = 1
P > 0,05

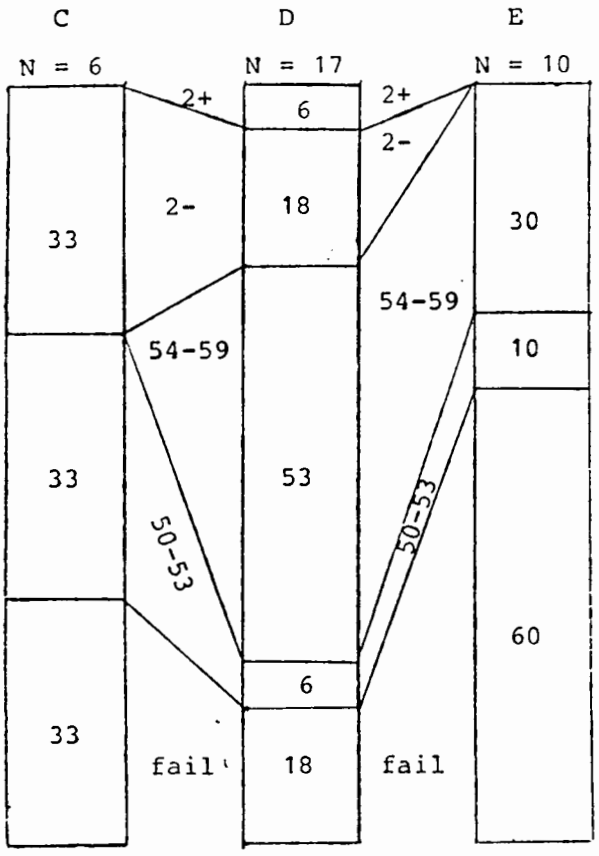
	B&C	D&E	
Pass	8	13	21
Fail	2	18	20
	10	31	41

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 2,07
P < 0,05
RR = 5,54
CI = 1,09 to 28,05

* 4 students obtained B matric aggregates.

Figure 4B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and General Sociology I result for ex-ΔΙΑΕΛ students in 1981.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	C	D	E	
1				
2+		1		1
2-	2	3		5
54-59		9	3	12
50-54	2	1	1	4
fail	2	3	6	11
	6	17	10	33

Number of students in the respective grades.

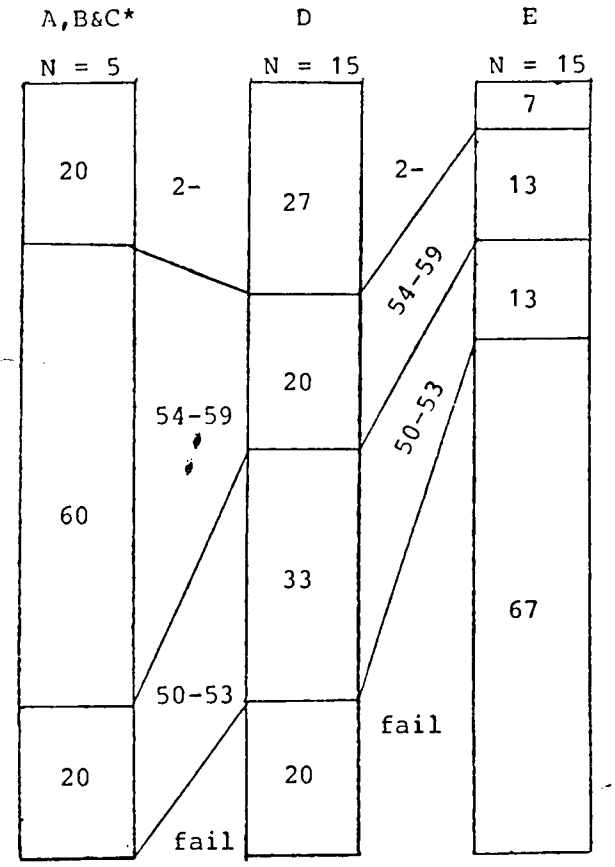
$X^2 = 2,21$
df = 1
$p > 0,05$

	C	D&E	
Pass	4	18	22
Fail	2	9	11
	6	27	33

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 0$
$p > 0,05$

Figure 4C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregates and General Sociology I result of ex-DIAEA students in 1982.



Percentage of pupils in the respective grades.

	AB&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	1	4	1	6
54-59	3	3	.2	8
50-53	1	5	2	8
fail		3	10	13
	5	15	15	35

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 4,38$
df = 1
P > 0,05

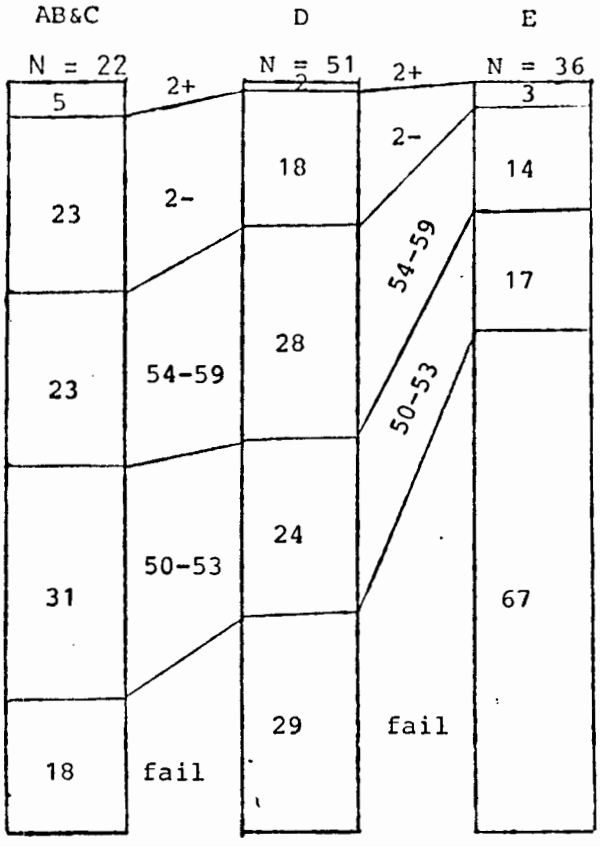
	AB&C*	D&E	
Pass	5	17	22
Fail	0	13	13
	5	30	35

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 1,2
P > 0,10

* One student obtained an A matric aggregate and 2 students obtained Bs.

Figure 4D: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and General Sociology result. for ex-DIAEA students in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	AB&C*	D	E	
1				
2+	1	1		2
2-	5	9	1	15
54-59	5	14	5	24
50-53	7	12	6	25
fail	4	15	24	43
	22	51	36	109

Number of students in the respective grades.

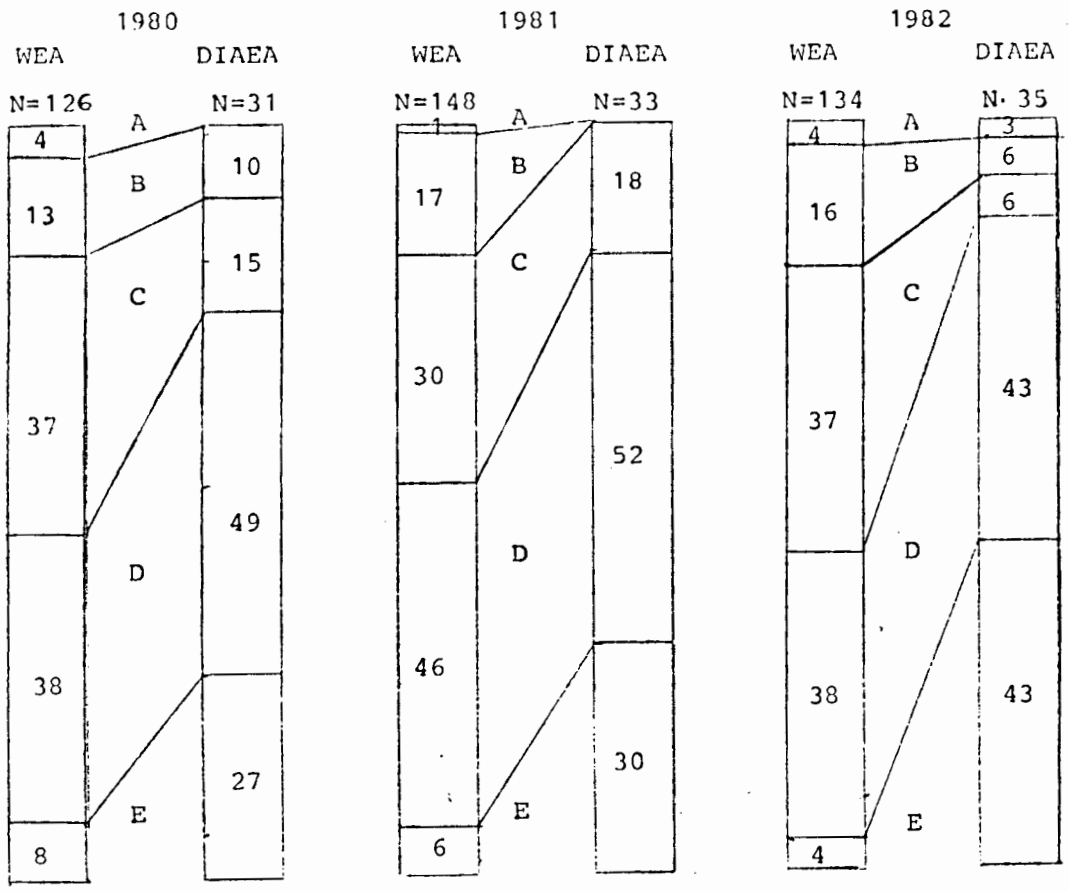
$X^2 = 18,28$
df = 4
P < 0,01

	AB&C*	D&E	
Pass	18	48	66
Fail	4	39	43
	22	87	109

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 2,27
P < 0,01
RR = 3,66
CI = 1,20 to 11,18

Figure 4E: Portrayal of the matric aggregate distribution of General Sociology I students by educational authority in 1980, 1981 and 1982.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades)

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	5		5
B	17	4	21
C	46	6	52
D	48	20	68
E	10	11	21
	126	41	167

$X^2 = 15,58$ df = 3 P < 0,01

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	2	0	2
B	25	0	25
C	44	6	50
D	68	17	85
E	9	10	19
	148	33	181

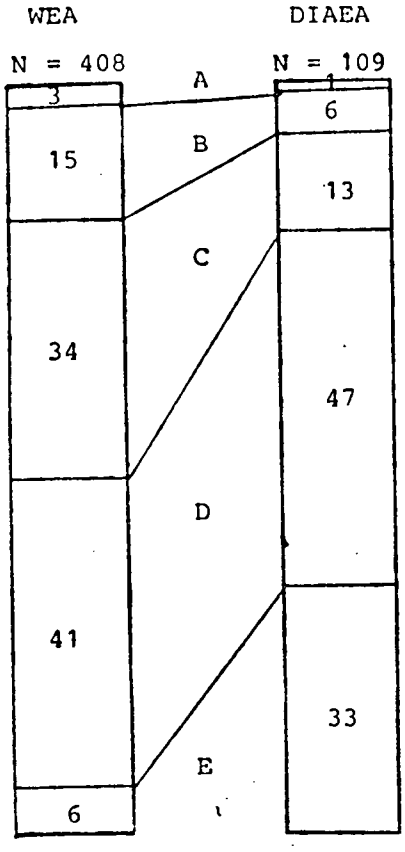
$X^2 = 9,80$ df = 1 P < 0,01

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	6	1	7
B	21	2	23
C	50	2	52
D	51	15	66
E	6	15	21
	134	35	169

$X^2 = 21,15$ df = 2 P < 0,01

Number of students in the respective grades.

Figure 4F: Portrayal of the matric aggregate distribution of General Sociology I students by educational authority, 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



Percentage of students in respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	13	1	14
B	63	6	69
C	140	15	155
D	167	51	218
E	25	36	61
	408	109	517

Number of students in the various grades.

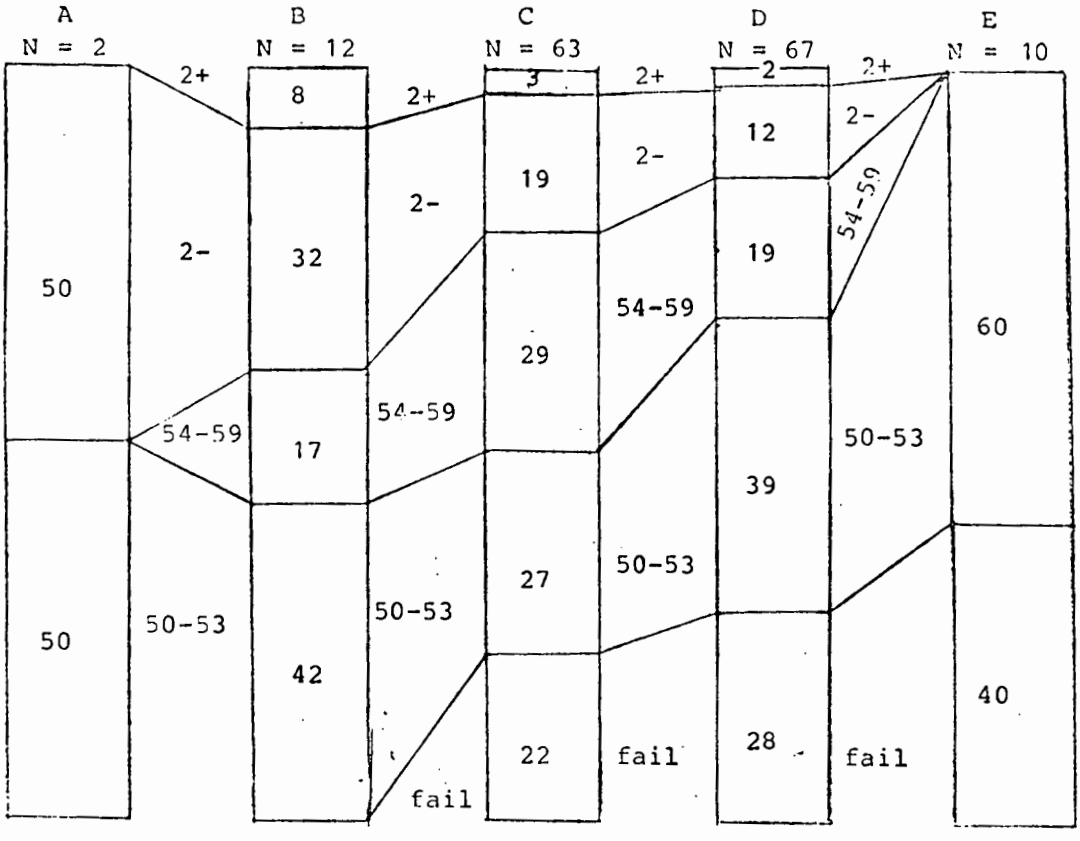
X^2 = 73,56
df = 3
P < 0,01

	WEA	DIAEA	
A B C	216	22	238
D E	192	87	279
	408	109	517

Number of students in the various grades.

X^2 = 3,18
P < 0,01
RR = 2,07
CI = 1,32 to 3,25

Figure 5A: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and Industrial Sociology I result for ex-WEA students in 1980.



(Column figures give percentages of students in respective grades.)

	A&B	C	D	E	
1					
2+		2	1		3
2-	6	12	8		26
54-59	2	18	13		33
50-53	6	17	26	6	55
fail		14	19	4	37
	14	63	67	10	154

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 9,32$
df = 3
$P < 0,05$

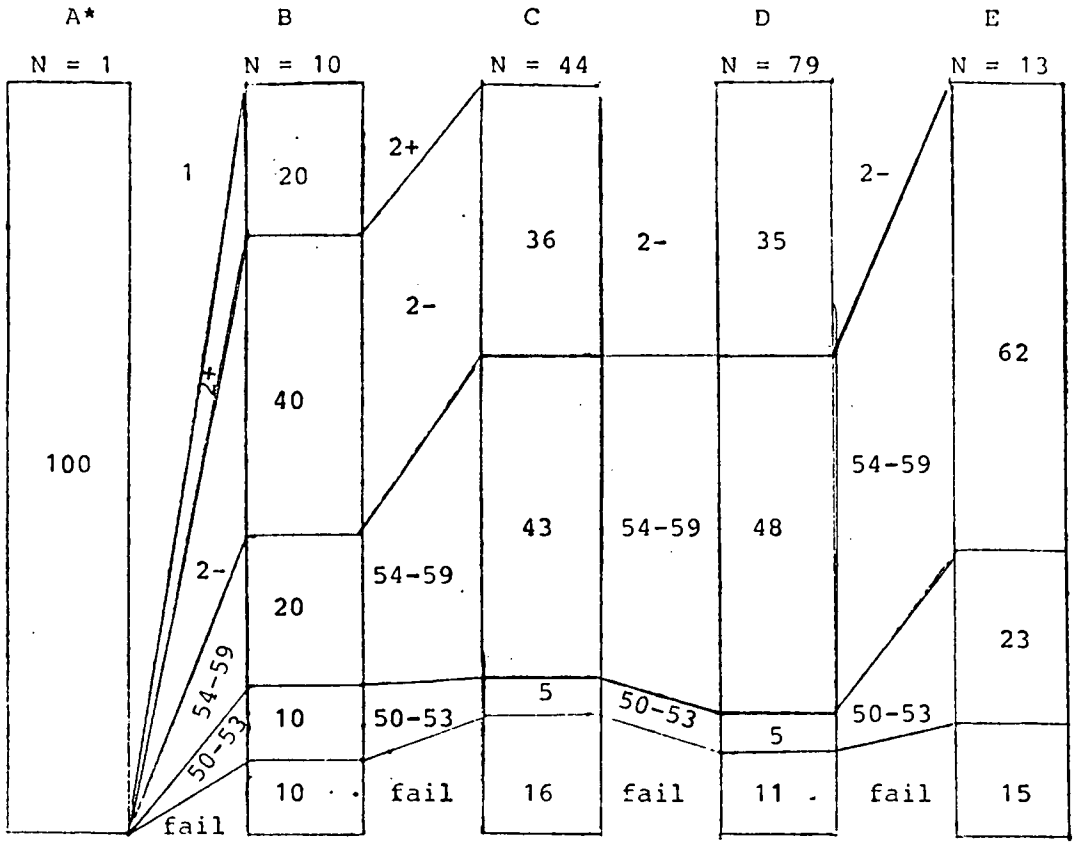
	AB&C	D,E	
Pass	63	54	117
Fail	14	23	37
	77	77	154

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 1,69$
$P > 0,05$

* The two students with A matric aggregates obtained lower seconds.

Figure 5B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and final Industrial Sociology result in 1981.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades.)

	A&B*	C	D	E	
1	1				1
2+	2				2
2-	4	16	28		48
54-59	2	19	38	8	67
50-53	1	2	4	3	10
fail	1	7	9	2	19
	11	44	79	13	147

Number of students in the respective grades.

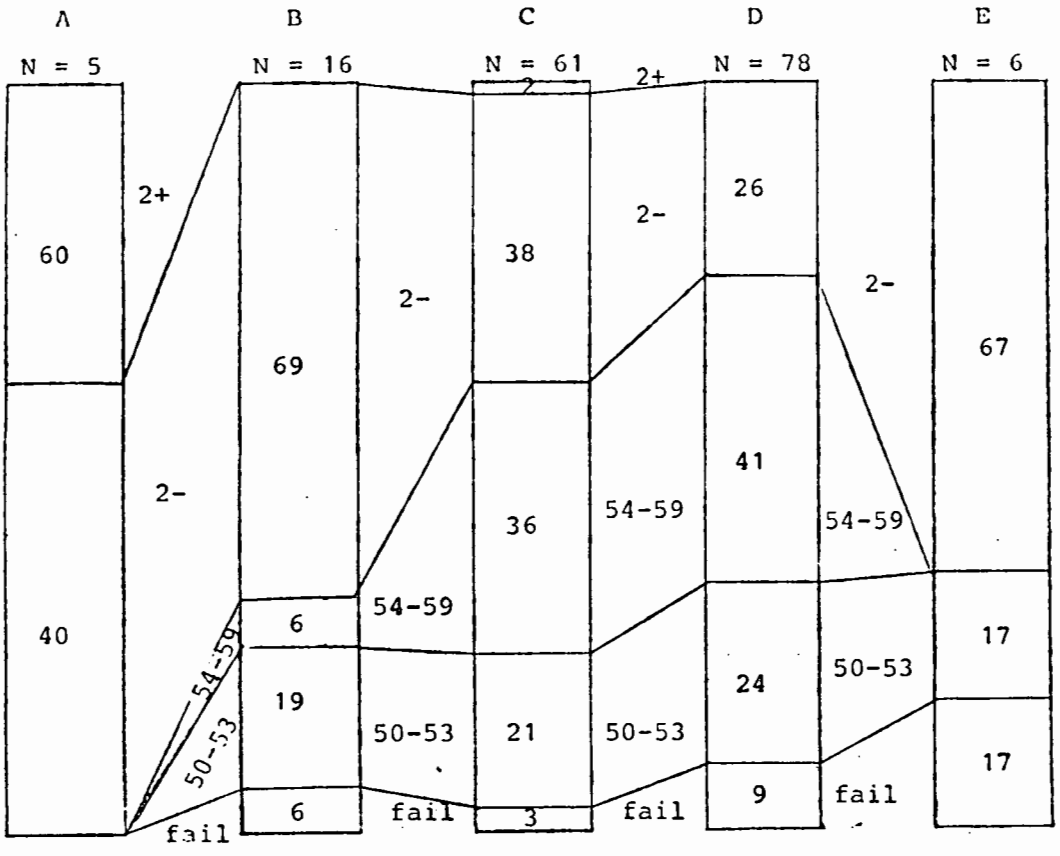
$X^2 = 2,34$
df = 2
$P > 0,05$

	ABC	D&E	
Pass	47	81	128
Fail	8	11	19
	55	92	147

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 0,45$
$P > 0,05$

Figure 5C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and final Industrial Sociology I result for ex-WEA students in 1982.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades.)

	A&B	C	D	E	
1					
2+	2	1			3
2-	14	23	20	4	61
54-59	1	22	32		55
50-53	3	13	19	1	36
fail	1	2	7	1	11
	21	61	78	6	166

Number of students in the respective grades.

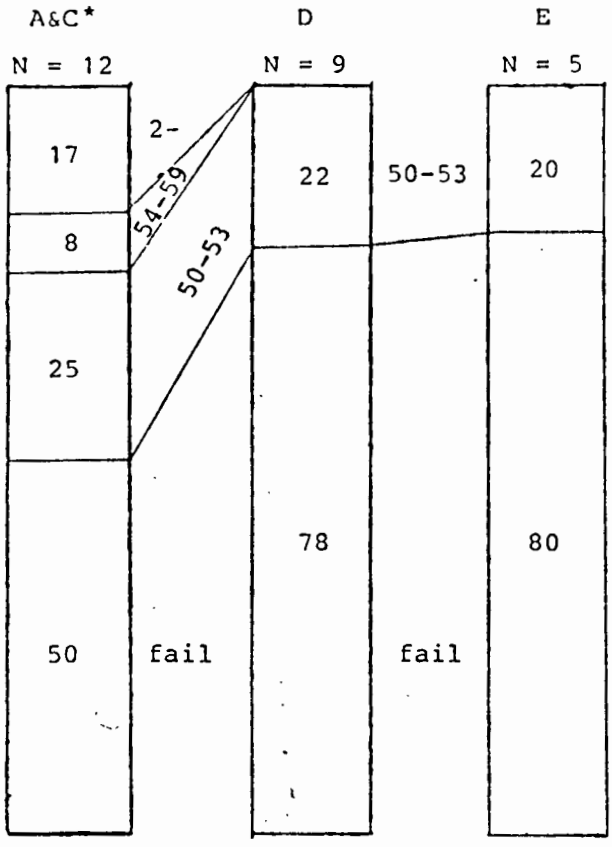
$X^2 = 17,46$
df = 4
$P < 0,01$

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	79	76	155
Fail	3	8	11
	82	84	166

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 1,51$
$P < 0,05$

Figure 6A: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and Industrial Sociology result for ex DIAEA students in 1980.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	A&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	2			2
54-59	1			1
50-53	3	2	1	6
fail	6	7	4	17
	12	9	5	26

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 1,24$
df = 1
P > 0,05

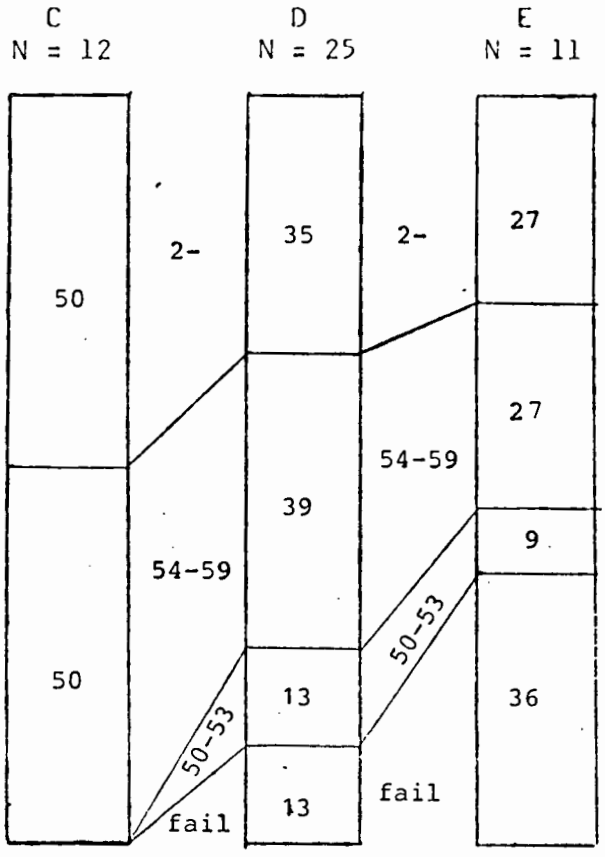
	A&C	D&E	
Pass	6	3	9
Fail	6	11	17
	12	14	26

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 1,5
p > 0,05

* One student obtained an A matric aggregate.

Figure 6B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and Industrial Sociology result for ex DIAEA students in 1981.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	6	8	3	17
54-59	6	9	3	18
50-53		3	1	4
fail		3	4	7
	12	23	11	46

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 0,55$
df = 1
P > 0,05

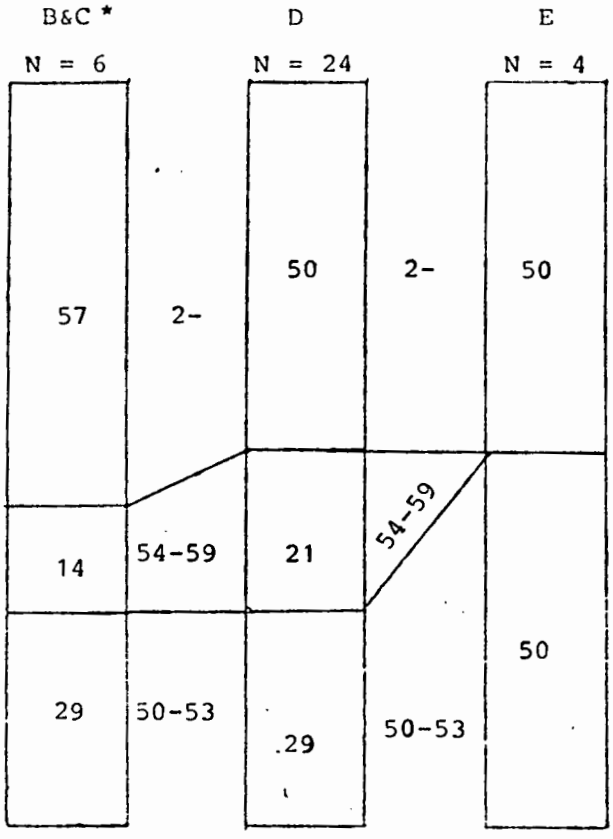
	C	D&E	
Pass	12	17	39
Fail	0	7	7
	12	34	46

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 1,04
p > 0,05

* There were no students with an A or B matric aggregate.

Figure 6C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric aggregate and final Industrial Sociology result for ex-DIAEA students in 1982.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	B&C *	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	4	12	2	18
54-59	1	5		6
50-53	2	7	2	11
fail				
	7	24	4	35

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 0,35$
df = 4
P > 0,05

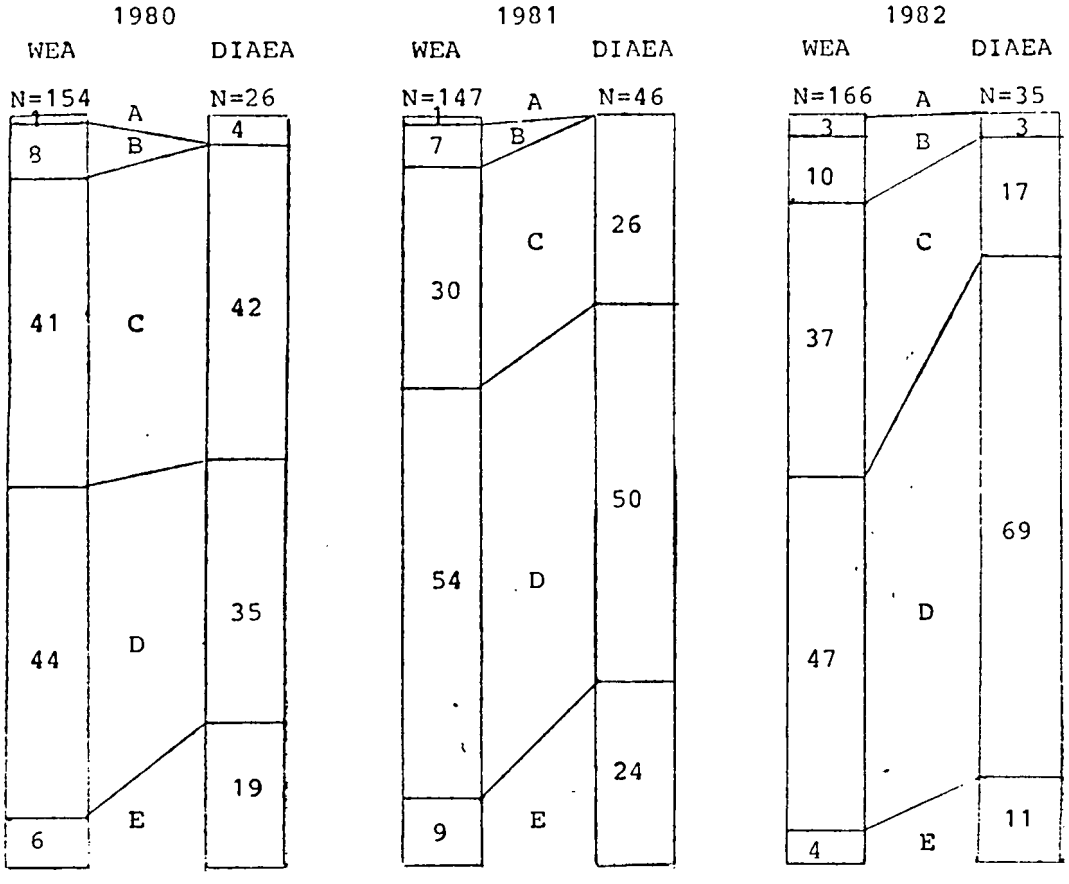
	B&C	D&E	
Pass	5	19	24
Fail	2	9	11
	7	28	35

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 0,17
p > 0,05

* One student obtained a B matric aggregate.

Figure 6D: Portrayal of the matric aggregate distribution of Industrial Sociology I students by educational authority in 1980, 1981 and 1982.



(Column figures represent percentage of students in respective grades)

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	2	1	3
B	12	0	12
C	63	11	74
D	67	9	76
E	10	5	15
	154	26	180

$X^2 = 0,13$ df = 1 P > 0,05

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	1	0	1
B	10	0	10
C	44	12	56
D	79	23	102
E	13	11	24
	147	46	193

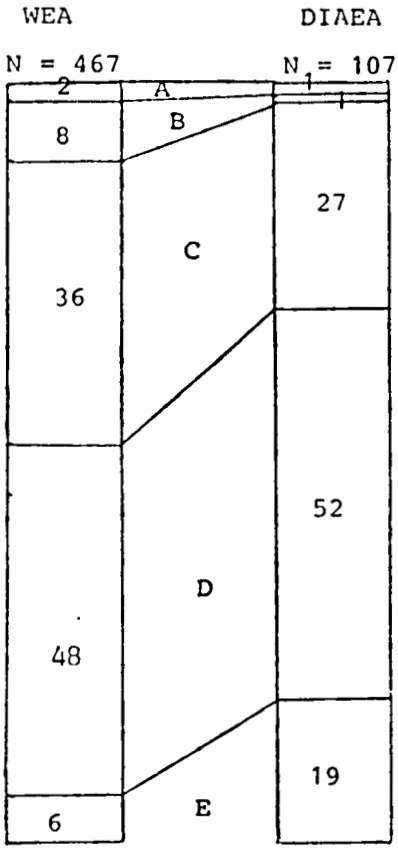
$X^2 = 7,79$ df = 2 P < 0,05

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	5	0	5
B	16	1	17
C	61	6	67
D	78	24	102
E	6	4	10
	166	35	201

$X^2 = 10,12$ df = 1 P < 0,01

Number of students in the respective grades.

Figure 6E: Portrayal of the matric aggregate distribution of Industrial Sociology I students by educational authority, 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	8	1	9
B	38	1	39
C	168	29	197
D	224	56	280
E	29	20	49
	467	107	574

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 24,86$
df = 3
P < 0,01

	WEA	DIAEA	
AB&C	214	31	245
D&E	253	76	329
	467	107	574

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 3,18
P < 0,01
RR = 2,07
CI = 1,32 to 3,25

2.The Relationship between Matric Aggregate and GS I/IS I Results.

Summary of the results

Figures 3A to 3D display that in each of the years under examination there is a significant relationship between matric aggregate and GS I results of WEA students. In each year $p<0,01$. Although a significant relationship does exist it is important to take note of the exceptions. A substantial number of students who obtain a mediocre matric aggregate (D or below) obtain higher marks in GS I than students who enter with A, B or C matric aggregates.

Figures 4A to 4C display that only in 1982 does a significant relationship emerge between matric aggregate and GS I results for DIAEA students. Trends however are evident. Thus in each year a far greater proportion of those DIAEA students entering GS I with an E matric aggregate fail. When we increase the size of the sample by combining the three years in question (see figure 4D) a significant relationship does emerge ($p<0,05$). It is possible that the small sample size in the respective years makes it difficult to reach significant levels.

FIgure 4E illustrates that in each year there is a significant difference ($p<0,01$) between the matric aggregates of WEA versus DIAEA students doing GS I. The implications of these significant differences will be elaborated on.

Figure 4F indicates that when we combine the three years the difference between the matric aggregates of WEA versus DIAEA

students doing GS I in this period is significant at the 0,01 level.

Figures 5A to 5C show that the relationship between matric aggregate and IS I results for WEA students is weaker than the relationship between matric aggregate and GS I results for WEA students. In 1980 the relationship is significant ($p<0,05$). In 1981 a significant relationship does not emerge. In 1982 there is again a significant relationship ($p<0,05$).

The relationship between matric aggregate and IS I results for DIAEA students is displayed in figures 6A to 6C. In each year there is not a significant relationship and even when the years are combined a significant relationship does not emerge. The DIAEA students entering with E matric aggregates do similarly to DIAEA students who enter with C matric aggregates and higher.

Figures 6D and 6E illustrate that the differences between the matric aggregates of WEA versus DIAEA students doing IS I are not as substantial as they are in GS I. In 1980 the difference between the respective educational authorities in terms of matric aggregate is not significant. In 1981 ($p<0,05$) and 1982 ($p<0,01$) significant differences are evident. When we combine the three years in question (1980 to 1982) a significant difference between the matric results of WEA versus DIAEA students doing IS I emerges (see figure 6E).

Discussion of the results

a) WEA students: GS I and matric aggregate

As stated, figures 3A to 3D illustrate that there is a significant relationship between matric aggregate and the GS I results of WEA students in 1980, 1981 and 1982. The A and B matric aggregate groupings were definitely the most competent groupings. In this three year period only 3% (N=76) of WEA students who entered GS I with an A or B matric aggregate failed. 55% obtained lower second or higher. In sharp contrast 72% (N=25) of those WEA students who entered GS I in this period with E matric aggregates failed. Not one of these students managed to obtain a lower second. The D matric aggregate grouping displayed a greater range of abilities. 38% (N=167) of this grouping failed but 15% managed to obtain lower seconds. The C matric aggregate grouping although less adequate than the A and B matric aggregate groupings, overall coped well with the GS I course: over the three year period under review only 14% (N=140) failed the GS I course and 23% (N=140) managed to obtain lower seconds (all the information in this paragraph is drawn from figure 3D).

Worthy of note is that the GS I results of the A, B and C matric aggregate grouping remained fairly constant from 1980 to 1982. However the GS I results of the D and E matric aggregate grouping varied substantially depending largely on the overall failure rate for the GS I course of that particular year. Thus, in 1980 (figure 3A) when a large proportion [25% (N=162)] of the WEA students failed, all of the WEA students who entered GS I with E matric aggregates failed and 38% (N=48) of those who entered with

D matric aggregates failed. However, in 1981 (figure 3B),when the overall failure rate of the WEA students in GS I was substantially lower, 16% (N=172) failed, those WEA students who entered GS I with a D or E matric aggregate fared a lot better then their counterparts did in 1980. In 1981 only 29% (N=68) of the D and 44% (N=9) of the E matric aggregate students failed. In 1982 (figure 3C) the overall failure rate of WEA students was again relatively high: 25% (N=167) failed. Accordingly the performance of the D and E matric aggregate grouping again declined. 67% (N=6) of the E matric aggregate grouping and 49% (N=51) of the D matric aggregate grouping failed. We can conclude that the difficulty of the GS I course appears to vary from year to year and that the more difficult the course the more difficulty WEA students entering GS I with D or E matric aggregates have in passing the course.

That there is a strong relationship between matric aggregate and GS I results is indicated by the relative performance of the D and E matric aggregate groupings in this period. Although they constituted only 45% (N=408) of the WEA students who entered GS I, they accounted for 79% (N=102) of the failures (see figure 3D). On the other side of the spectrum they accounted for only 27% (N=93) of those students who obtained a lower second or higher. However, while acknowledging that the D and E matric aggregate groupings are overall the weakest GS I students, note must be taken of the finding that 62% (N=167) of the WEA students who entered GS I with a D matric aggregate passed and 15% managed to obtain lower seconds. Furthermore, 28% (N=25) of the E matric aggregate students passed. Matric aggregate is thus by no means a definitive predictor of the potential ability of WEA students doing GS I.

b) DIAEA students: GS I and matric aggregate

The relationship between matric aggregate and GS I results is less certain for DIAEA students (figures 4A to 4D). As illustrated only in 1982 (figure 4C) is a significant relationship discernible. In each year, however, patterns are evident. Thus 67% (N=36) of the DIAEA students who entered GS I during these three years with an E matric aggregate failed (see figure 4D). In comparison 29% (N=51) of the DIAEA students who entered with D matric aggregates and only 18% (N=22) of the DIAEA students who entered with C matric aggregates failed.

What is also important to note is the overall weakness of DIAEA students, if we use matric aggregate as a measure. Between 1980 and 1982 33% (N=109) of the DIAEA students entering GS I entered with an E matric aggregate (see figure 4D). Only 20% obtained Cs or higher for matric. Out of this grouping 6 students entered with B matric aggregates and in this three year period only 1 DIAEA student entered GS I with an A for matric. It is of little wonder that WEA students generally outperform DIAEA students and that few DIAEA students excelled in GS I during this three year period. The crucial question that emerges is why are the matriculation results of DIAEA students so much lower. This question has been addressed in chapter one where it was illustrated that the dominant social class composition of a school is a crucial factor influencing matric results (see pages 39 and 43). There is little doubt that most DIAEA students doing GS I attended lower to middle PB schools. It is probable that most WEA students attended middle to upper PB schools (see pages 37and 41). As was illustrated the latter schools obtain

superior matric results. This problem is returned to in chapter three where it is argued that students who enter Sociology having attended middle to upper PB and bourgeois schools are more likely to have to have the culture required to cope adequately in Sociology. This would, in part, explain the superior GS I results of WEA students.

c) WEA students: IS I and matric aggregate

Figures 5A to 5C portray the relationship between the matric aggregate of WEA students and IS I results in 1980, 1981 and 1982. A significant relationship is evident in 1980 (figure 5A) and 1982 (figure 5C) but not in 1981 (figure 5B). However, in all three years a pattern which is evident is the superiority of the A and B matric grouping. Over this three year period only 4% (N=46) of this grouping failed and 63% obtained lower seconds or higher. In contrast 14% (N=168) of the C matric aggregate grouping failed and 32% obtained lower seconds or higher. The D and E matric aggregate groupings (N=253) fared the worst: 17% failed and 23 % obtained lower seconds.

An important aspect is that in 1981 and 1982 almost all WEA students, whatever their matric aggregate, were able to cope with IS I. Only 11% (N=176) of WEA students who entered IS I in 1981 and 1982 with a D or E matric aggregate failed: 30% of this grouping obtained lower seconds. The results suggest that in these two years the course was set at level that made it easy for all WEA students to pass and for many to cope adequately. Matric aggregate was not an important variable determining the chance of a WEA student passing or failing IS I in these two years. This illustrates that matric aggregate only becomes a measure of a WEA

student's ability to pass a university course when the standard is at a particular level. However, it is important to note that in these two years (1981 and 1982) there was a relationship between matric aggregate and whether a WEA student doing IS I in this period obtained a lower second. In 1981 and 1982 51% (N=77) of the A and B matric aggregate students obtained lower seconds or higher versus 35% (N=105) of the Cs and 30% (N=176) of the Ds and Es. These results once more suggest that a student who enters Sociology with an A or B matric aggregate is more likely to have the culture required to cope adequately with Sociology.

d) DIAEA students: IS I and matric aggregate

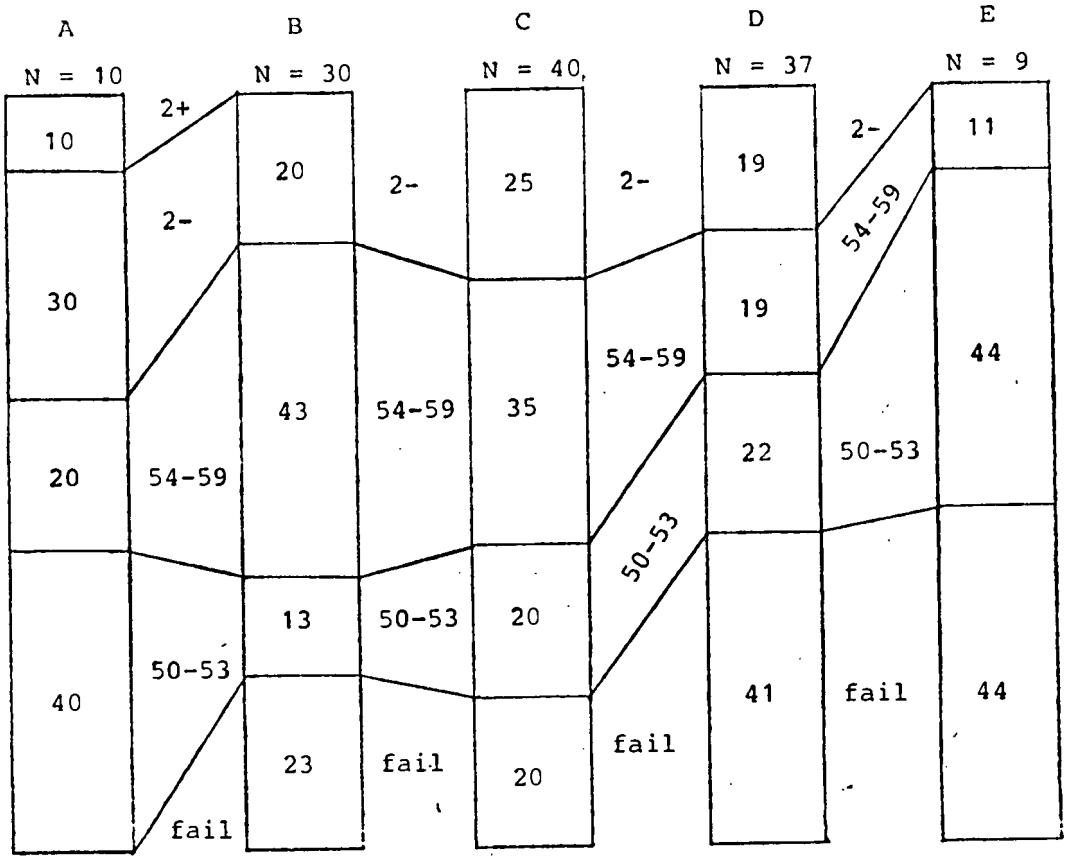
As has been indicated, the relationship between matric aggregates and IS I results of DIAEA students (figures 6A to 6C) is not statistically significant in any of the three years under review. Some aspects, however, are worth noting. In 1980 (figure 6A) 79% (N=14) of DIAEA students who entered IS I with a D or E matric aggregate failed versus 50% (N=12) of the students who entered with a C or higher for matric. In 1981 (figure 6B) none of the DIAEA students who entered with a C matric aggregate failed. 21% (N=34) of the students who entered with a D or E failed. In 1982 (figure 6C) not one of the 28 students who entered IS I with a D or E matric aggregate failed. 50% (N=28) managed to obtain a lower second. This scenario suggests that for DIAEA students (as was the case for WEA students) in 1981 and 1982 matric aggregate was of little consequence in determining whether a student passed or failed. Further, it again illustrates that students who have attended a DIAEA school are not necessarily more disadvantaged than their WEA counterparts.

e) The matric aggregates of Sociology (GS I and IS I) students

The matric aggregates of WEA and DIAEA students entering IS I and GS I during this period are worthy of further illustration and comment. Over the three years under review 51% (N=875) of the WEA students entered Sociology I with a D or less for Matric (see figures 4F and 6E). Only 2% entered with an A matric aggregate and a further 11% entered with B matric aggregates. 35% of WEA students entered with C matric aggregates. It is clear that the calibre of the majority of WEA Sociology students in this period, using matric aggregate as a measure was low.

The matric results of DIAEA Sociology students over this three year period, as has been indicated, are far worse. 26% (N=216) obtained E matric aggregates, 50% Ds, 20% Cs, 3% Bs and 1% As. As has been indicated, students who enter Sociology with a high matric aggregate are more prone to have the culture to cope adequately with Sociology. It appears that Sociology is generally drawing the less successful matriculant. Potentially, this has significant implications for the discipline as it makes it less likely that good scholars will emerge. This point is returned to in the conclusion.

Figure 7A: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General Sociology[1] result for ex-WEA students in 1980.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades.)

	A	B	C	D	E	
1						
2+	1					1
2-	3	6	10	7	1	27
54-59	2	13	14	7		36
50-53	4	4	8	8	4	28
fail		7	8	15	4	34
	10	30	40	37	9	126

Number of students in the respective grades.

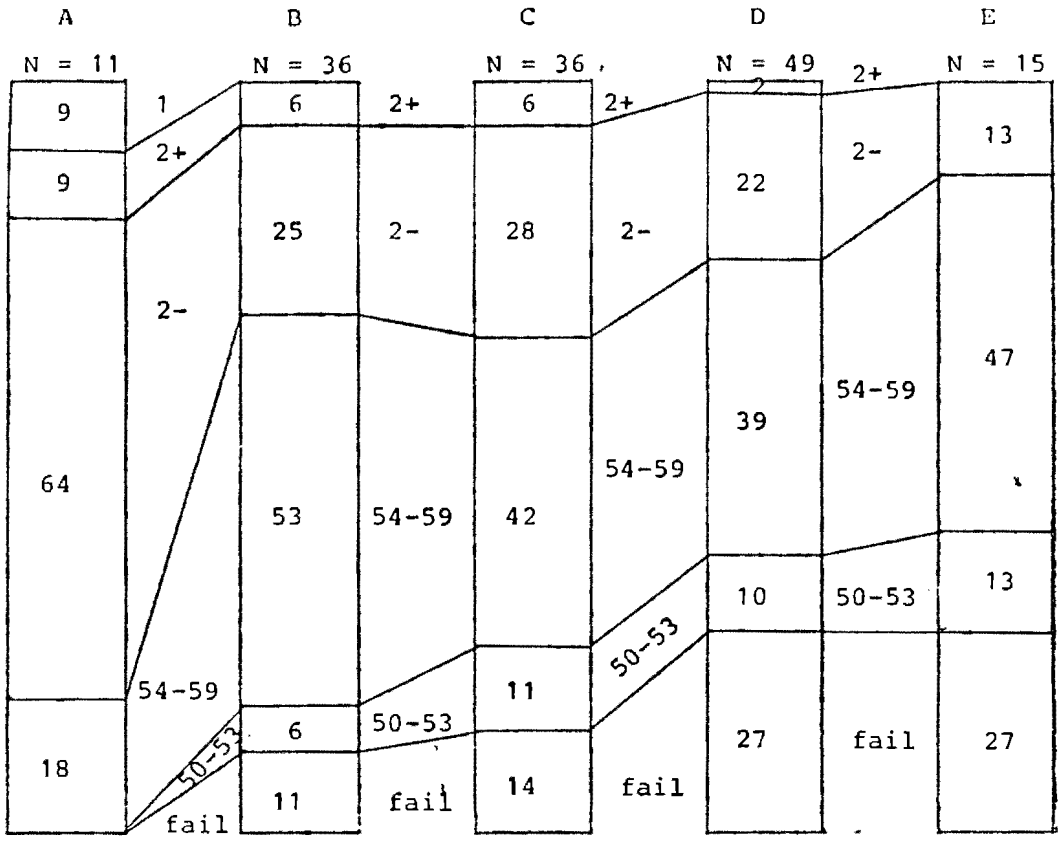
$X^2 = 11,37$
df = 6
P > 0,05

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	65	27	92
Fail	15	19	34
	80	46	126

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 2,74
P < 0,01
RR = 3,05
CI = 1,37 to 6,78

igure 7B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General ociology result for ex-WEA students in 1981.



Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades.)

	A	B	C	D	E	
1	1					1
2+	1	2	2	1		6
2-	7	9	10	11	2	39
54-59	2	19	15	18	7	62
50-53		2	4	5	2	13
fail		4	5	13	4	26
	11	36	36	49	15	147

Number of students in the respective grades.

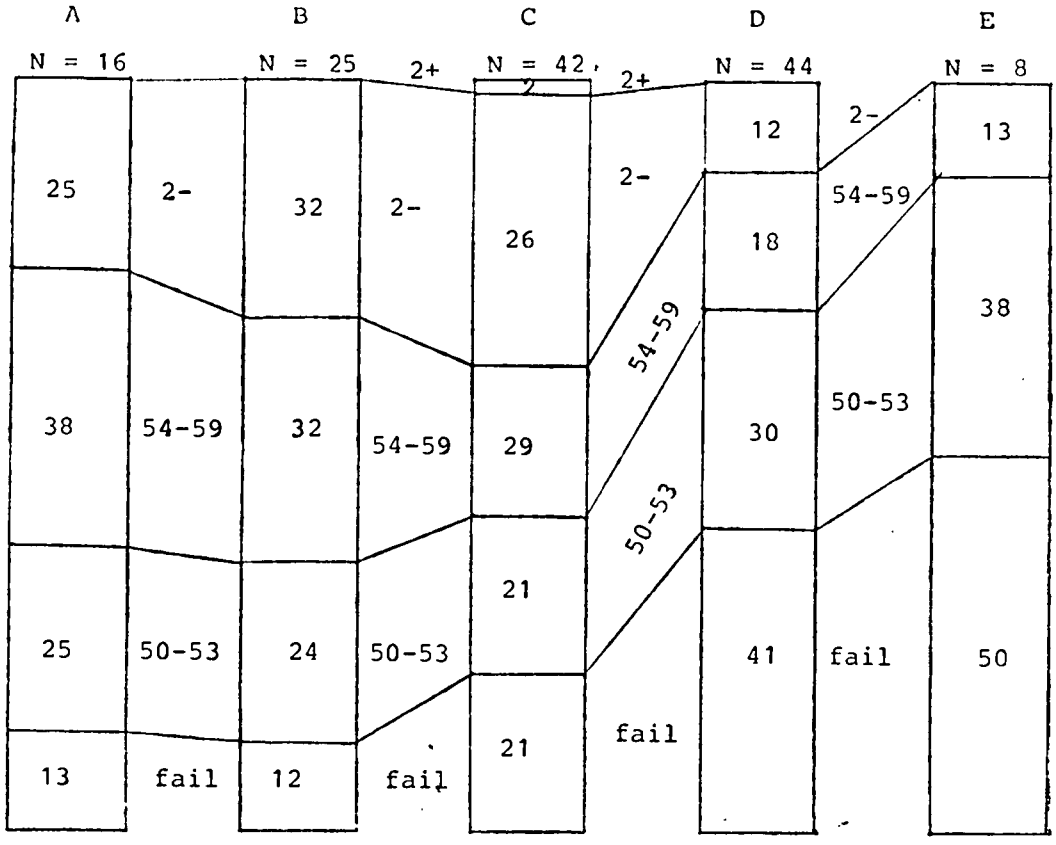
$X^2 = 10,26$
df = 4
P < 0,05

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	74	47	121
Fail	9	17	26
	83	64	147

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 2,47
P < 0,05
RR = 2,97
CI = 1,25 to 7,07

Figure 7C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General Sociology result for ex-WEA students in 1982.



Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades.)

	A	B	C	D	E	
1						
2+			1			1
2-	4	8	11	5		28
54-59	6	8	12	8	1	35
50-53	4	6	9	13	3	35
fail	2	3	9	18	4	36
	16	25	42	44	8	135

Number of students in the respective grades.

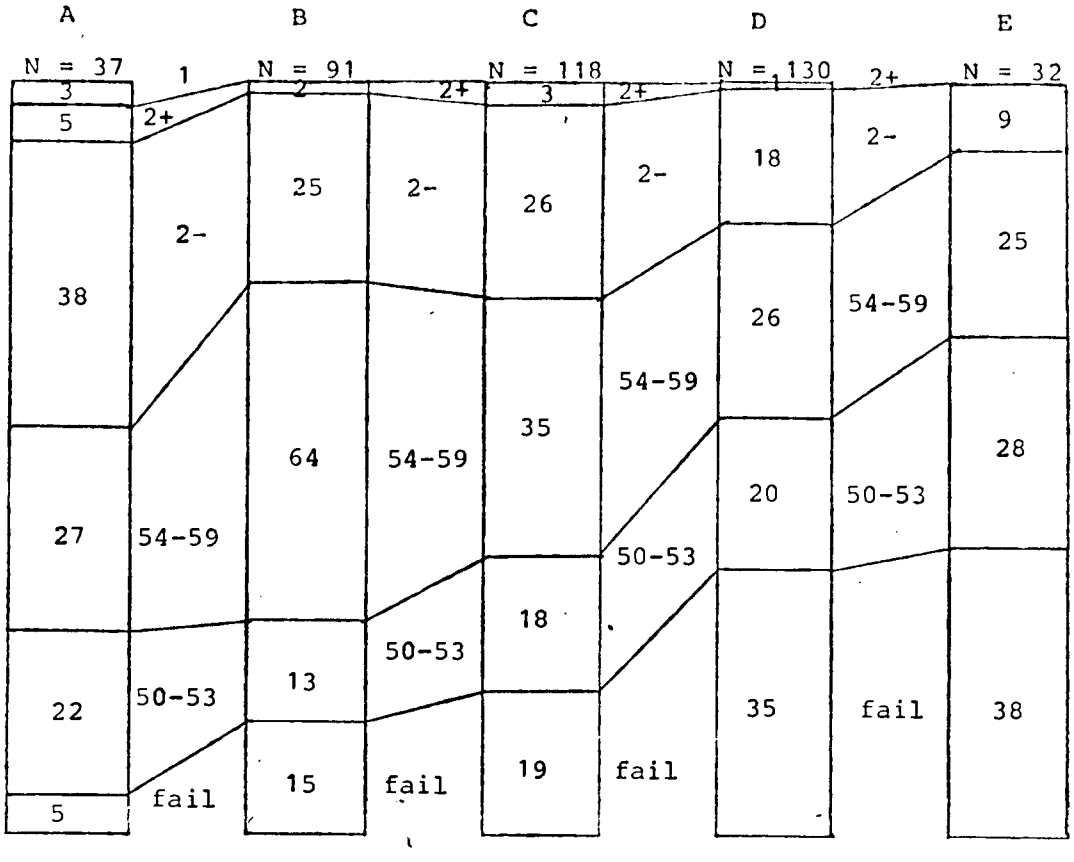
$X^2 = 17,48$
df = 6
$P < 0,01$

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	69	30	99
Fail	14	22	36
	83	52	135

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 3,24
$P < 0,01$
RR = 3,61
CI = 1,66 to 7,86

Figure 7D: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General Sociology I result for ex WEA students in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades.)

	A	B	C	D	E	
1	1					1
2+	2	2	3	1		8
2-	14	23	31	23	3	94
54-59	10	40	41	34	8	133
50-53	8	12	21	26	9	76
fail	2	14	22	46	12	96
	37	91	118	130	32	408

Number of students in the respective grades.

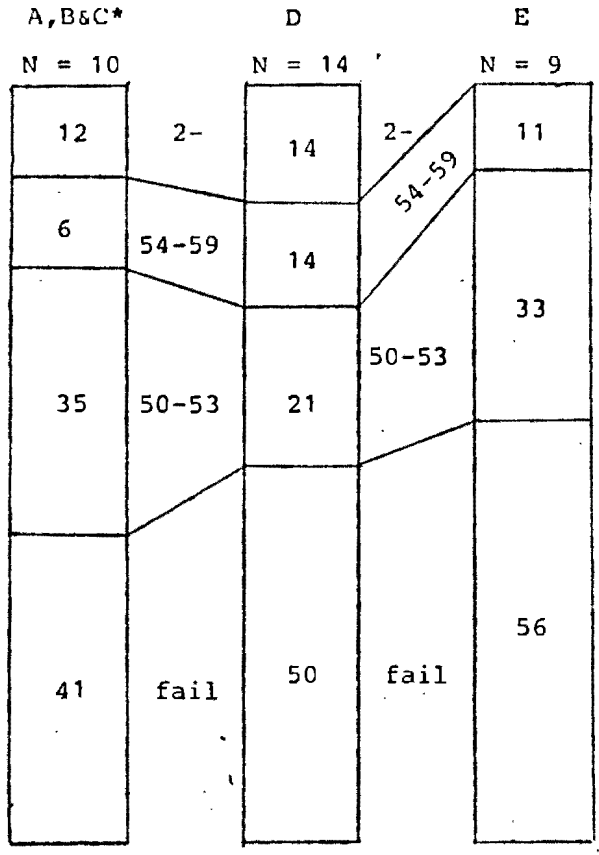
$X^2 = 41,66$
df = 12
P < 0,01

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	208	104	312
Fail	38	58	96
	246	162	408

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 4,74
P < 0,01
RR = 3,05
CI = 1,92 to 4,84

Figure 8A: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General Sociology I result for ex DIAEA students in 1980.



Percentage of students in respective grades.

	AB&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	2	2		4
54-59	1	2	1	4
50-53	6	3	3	12
fail	8	7	5	20
	17	14	9	40

Number of students in respective grades.

$X^2 = 0,10$
df = 2
P > 0,05

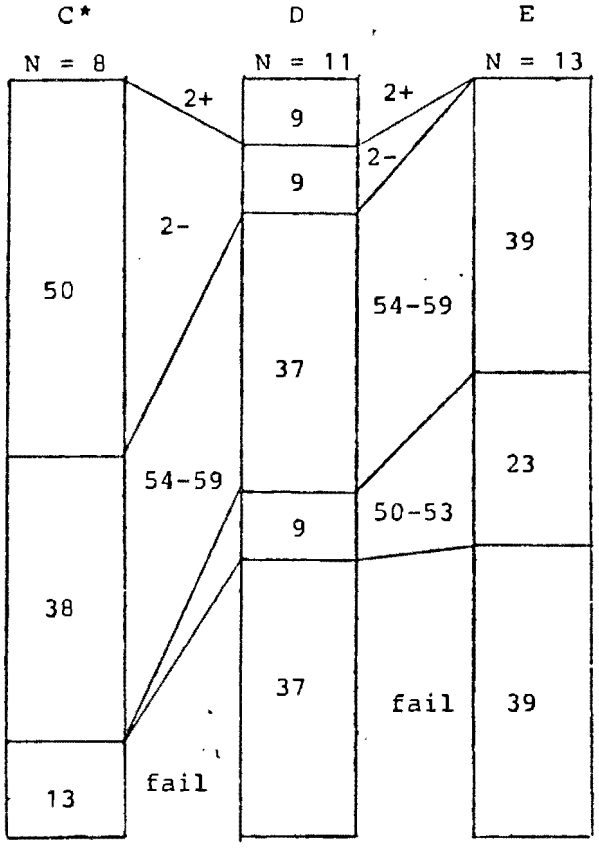
	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	9	11	20
Fail	8	12	20
	17	23	40

Number of students in respective grades.

X = 0,32
P > 0,05

* 2 students obtained As and 5 students obtained Bs for matric English.

Figure 8B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General Sociology I result for ex-DIAEA students in 1981.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	C*	D	E	
1				
2+		1		1
2-	4	1		5
54-59	3	4	5	12
50-53		1	3	4
fail	1	4	5	10
	8	11	13	32

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 2,82$
df = 1
P > 0,05

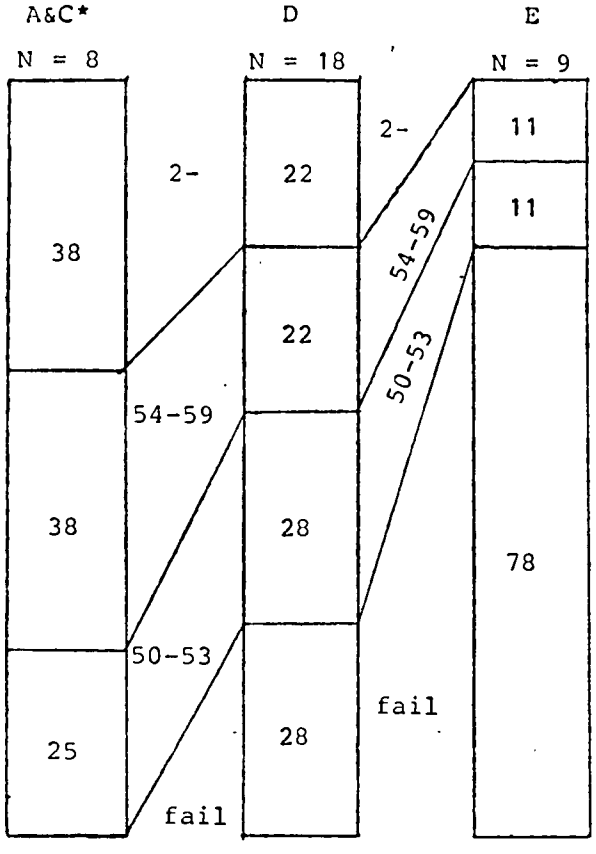
	C	D&E	
Pass	7	15	22
Fail	1	9	10
	8	24	32

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 1,3
p >0,05

* No DIAEA students doing General Sociology I in 1981 obtained more than a C for matric English in 1981.

Figure 8C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General Sociology I result for ex-DIAEA students in 1982.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	A&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	3	4		7
54-59	3	4	1	8
50-54	2	5	1	8
fail		5	7	12
	8	18	9	35

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 3,39$
df = 1
P > 0,05

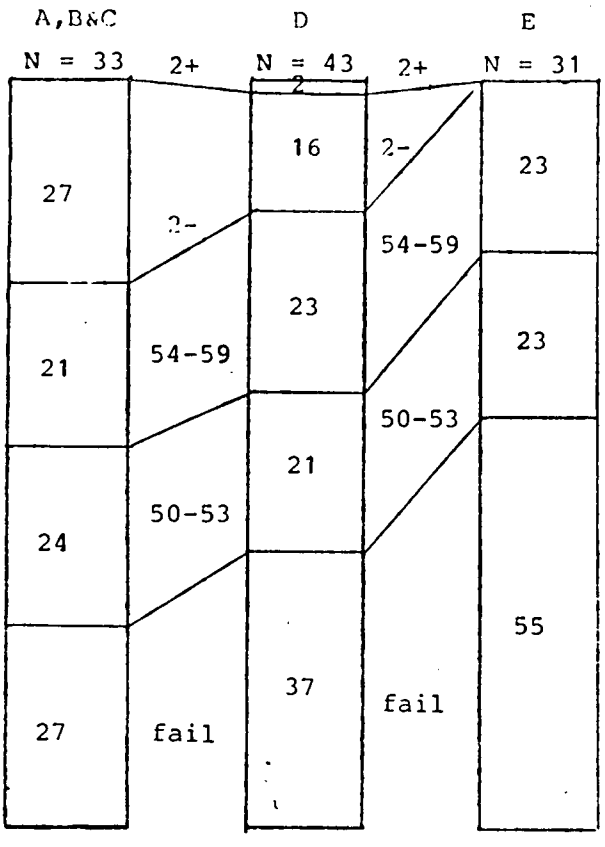
	A&C*	D&E	
Pass	8	15	23
Fail	0	12	12
	8	27	35

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 2,06
P < 0,05
RR = 8,00
CI = 1,10 to 58,09

* 3 students obtained As for matric English.

Figure 8D: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and General Sociology I result for ex-DIAEA students in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	AB&C	D	E	
1				
2+		1		1
2-	9	7		16
54-59	7	10	7	24
50-53	8	9	7	24
fail	9	16	17	42
	33	43	31	107

Number of students in the respective grades.

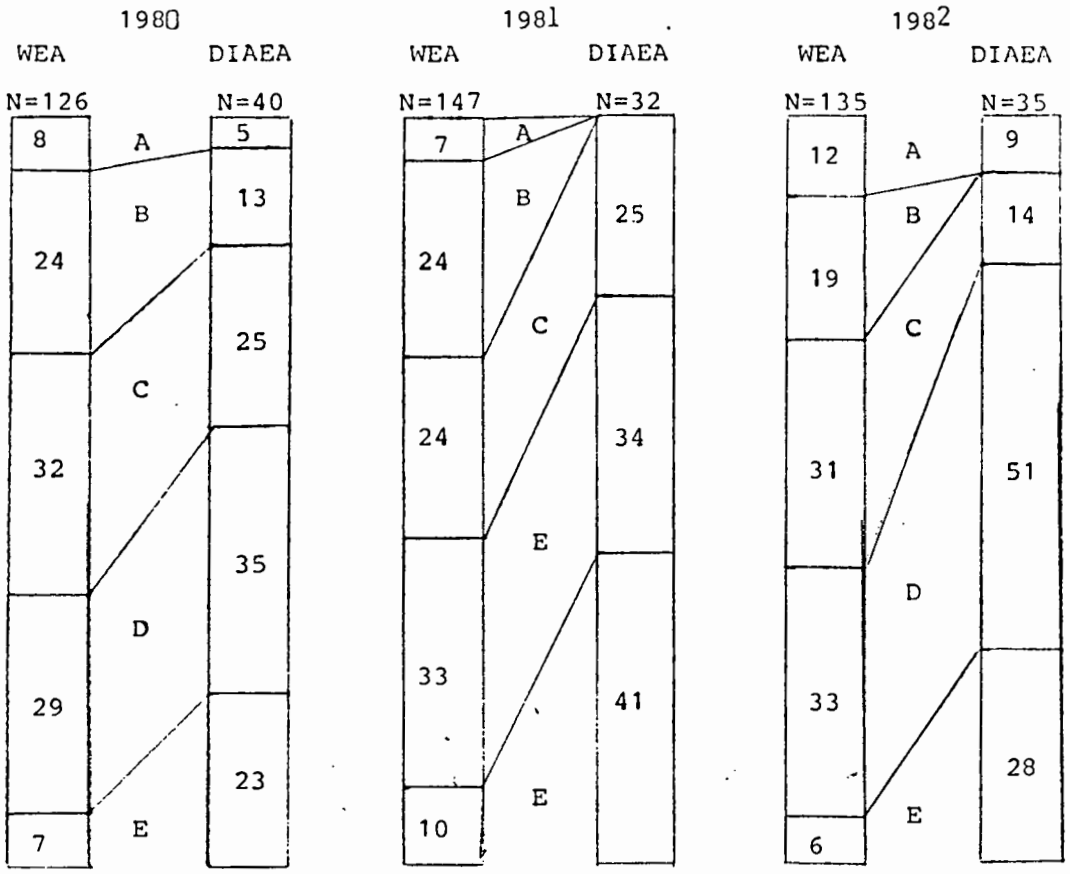
$X^2 = 6,38$
$df = 4$
$P > 0,05$

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	24	41	65
Fail	9	33	42
	33	74	107

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 1,69$
$P > 0,05$

Figure 8E: Portrayal of the English symbol distribution of General Sociology I students by educational authority in 1980, 1981 and 1982.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades)

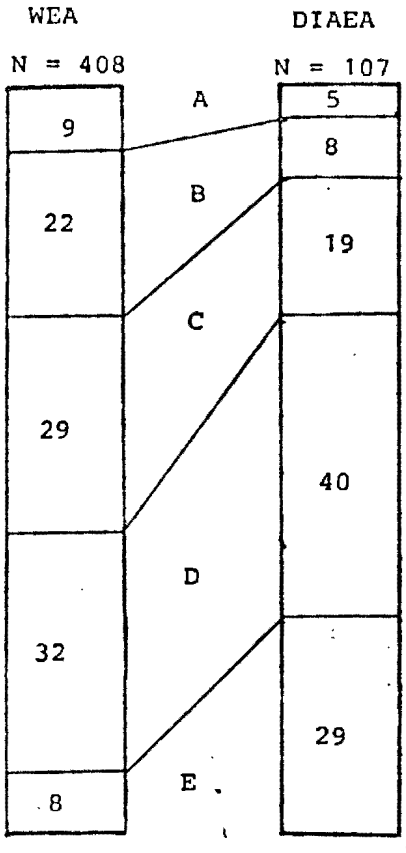
	WEA	DIAEA		
A	10	2	12	
B	30	5	35	$X^2 = 5,85$ df = 2 P > 0,05
C	40	10	50	
D	37	14	51	
E	9	9	18	
	126	40	166	

	WEA	DIAEA		
A	11	0	11	
B	36	0	36	$X^2 = 25,79$ df = 3 P < 0,01
C	36	8	44	
D	49	11	60	
E	15	13	28	
	147	32	179	

	WEA	DIAEA		
A	16	3	19	
B	25	0	25	$X^2 = 16,87$ df = 2 P < 0,01
C	42	5	5	
D	44	18	62	
E	8	9	17	
	135	35	170	

Number of students in the respective grades.

Figure 8F: Portrayal of the matric English symbol distribution of General Sociology I students by educational authority in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	37	5	42
B	92	8	99
C	118	20	138
D	130	43	173
E	32	31	63
	408	107	515

Number of students in the respective grades.

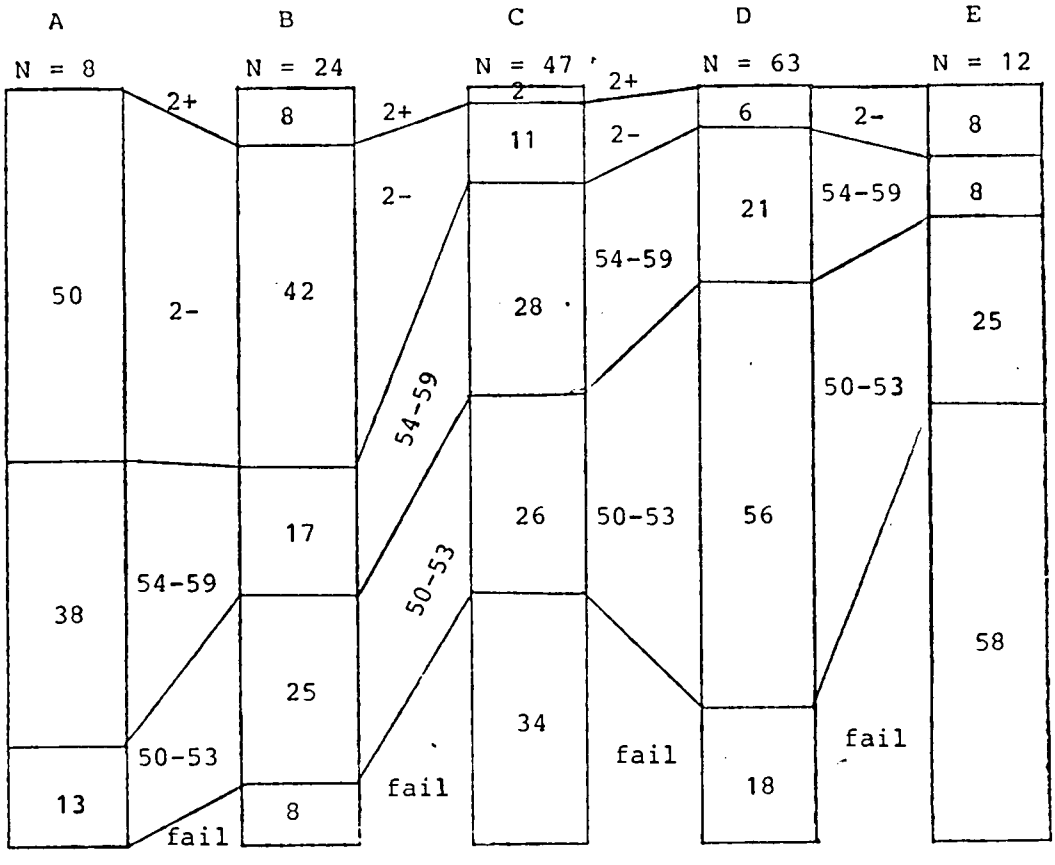
$X^2 = 47,99$
df = 4
P < 0,01

	WEA	DIAEA	
A,B&C	246	33	279
D&E	162	74	236
	408	107	515

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 5,44
P < 0,01
RR = 3,41
CI = 2,19 to 5,30

Figure 9A: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol obtained and Industrial Sociology I result for ex-WEA students in 1980.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades)

	A	B	C	D	E	
1						
2+		2	1			3
2-	4	10	5	4	1	24
54-59	3	4	13	13	1	34
50-53	1	6	12	35	3	57
fail		2	16	11	7	36
	8	24	47	63	12	154

Number of students in the respective grades.

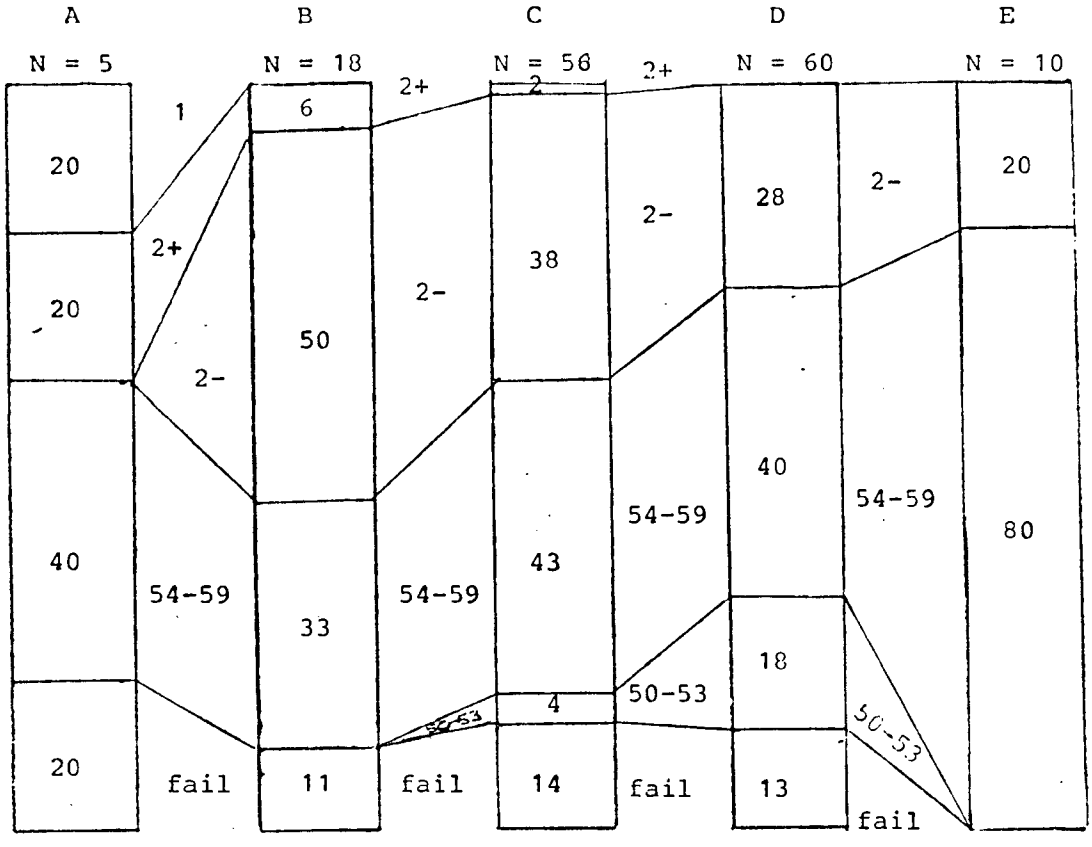
$X^2 = 39,71$
df = 6
$P < 0,01$

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	61	57	118
Fail	18	18	36
	79	75	154

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 0,18$
$P > 0,05$

Figure 9B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and final Industrial Sociology result for ex-WEA students in 1981.



(Column figures give percentage of students in respective grades.)

	A&B	C	D	E	
1	1				1
2+	2	1			3
2-	9	21	17	2	49
54-59	8	24	24	8	64
50-53		2	11		13
fail	3	8	8		19
	23	56	60	10	149

Number of students in the respective grades.

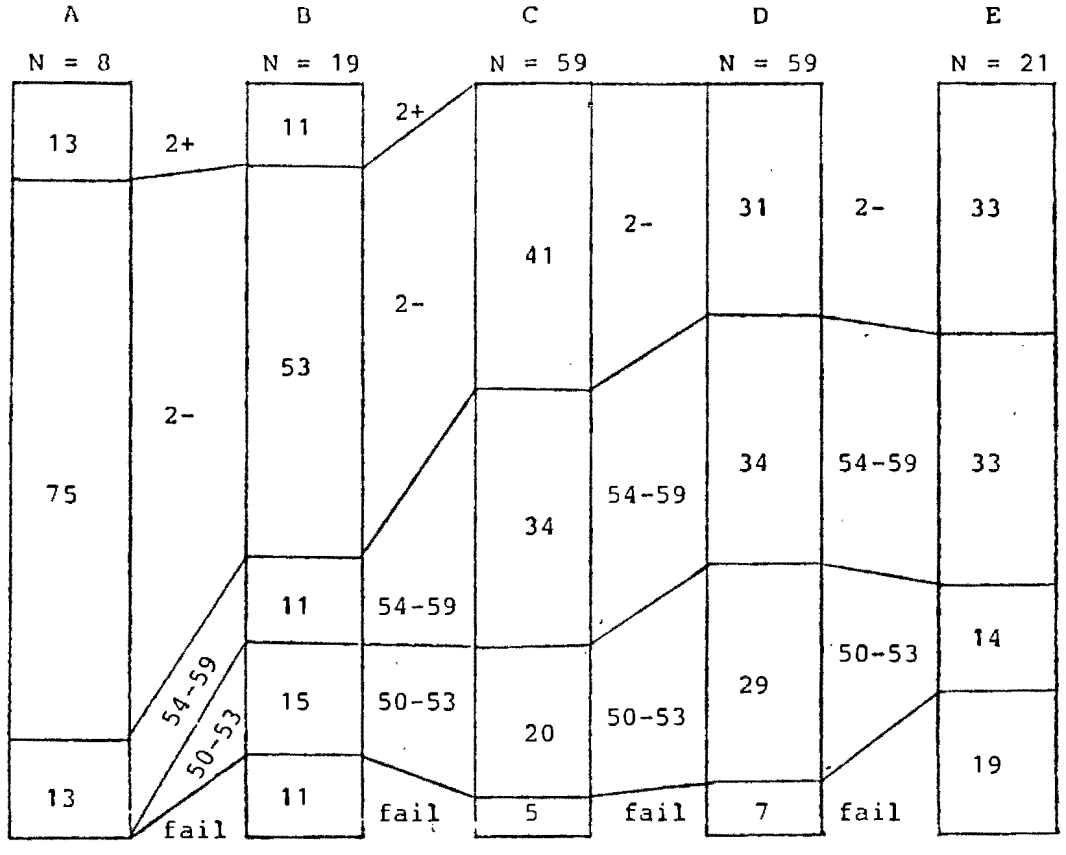
$X^2 = 10,44$
df = 3
P < 0,05

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	68	62	130
Fail	11	8	19
	79	70	149

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 0,45
p 0,05

Figure 9C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol obtained and Industrial Sociology I result for ex-WEA students in 1982.



(Column figures given percentage of students in respective grades)

	A	B	C	D	E	
1						
2+	1	2				3
2-	6	10	24	18	7	65
54-59	1	2	20	20	7	50
50-53			12	17	3	32
fail			3	4	4	11
	8	14	59	59	21	161

Numbers of students in the respective grades.

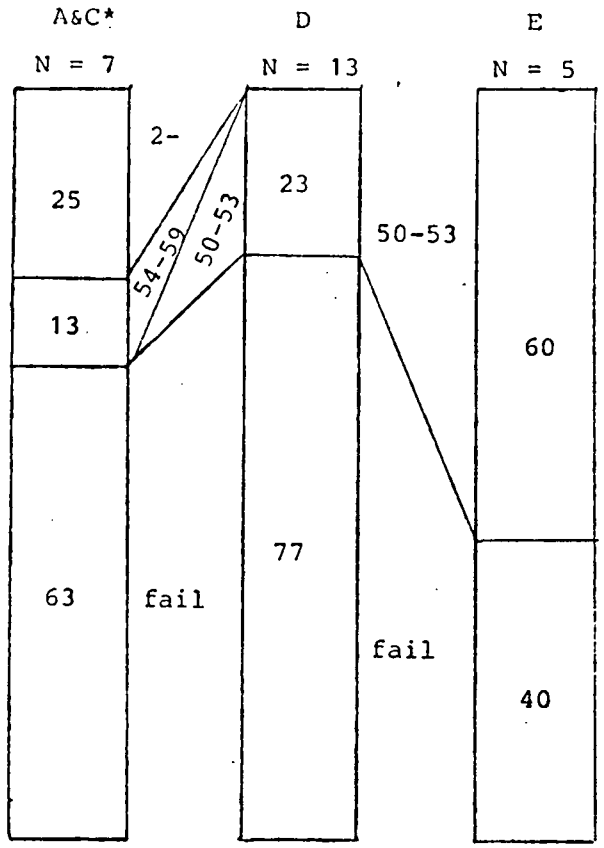
$X^2 = 22,99$
df = 6
P < 0,01

	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	78	72	150
Fail	3	8	11
	81	80	161

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 1,00
P < 0,05

Figure 10A: Portrayal of the relationship between the matric English symbol obtained and Industrial Sociology result for ex-DIAEA students in 1980.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	A&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	2			2
54-59	1			1
50-53		3	3	6
fail	5	10	2	17
	8	13	5	26

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 0.06.$
df = 1
P > 0,05

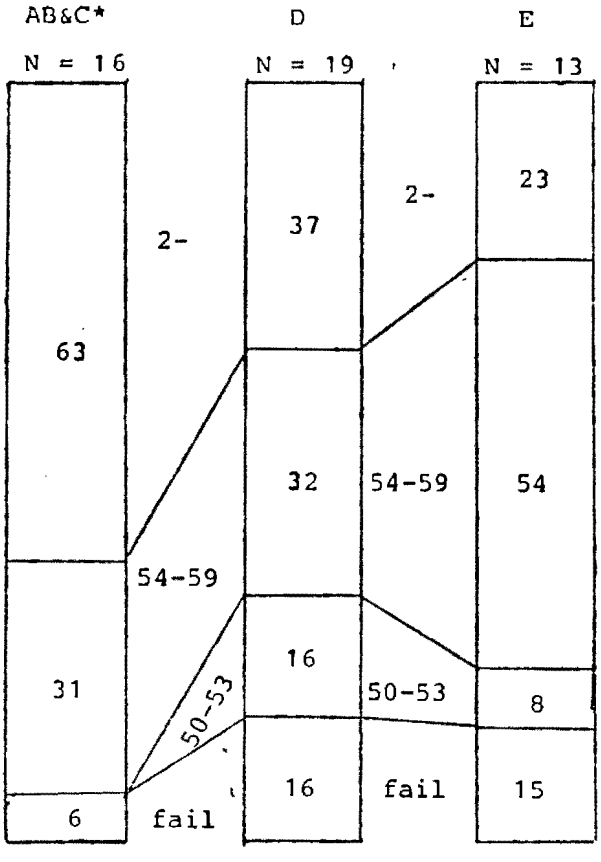
	A&C	D&E	
Pass	3	6	9
Fail	5	12	17
	8	18	26

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 0,2
P > 0,05

* One student obtained an A for matric English.

Figure 10B: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and Industrial Sociology result for ex DIAEA students in 1981.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	AB&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	10	7	3	20
54-59	5	6	7	18
50-53		3	1	4
fail	1	3	2	6
	16	19	13	48

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 4,89$
df = 2
P > 0,05

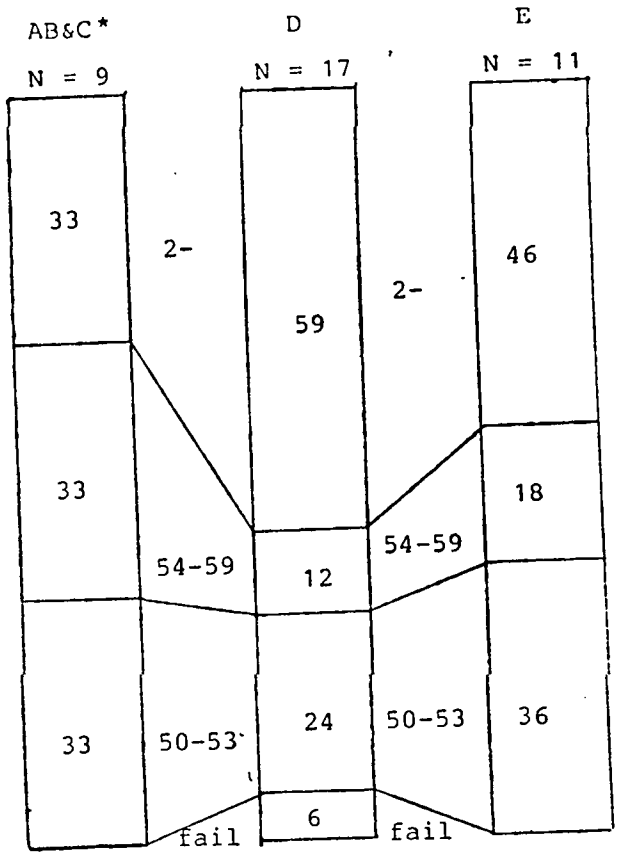
	AB&C*	D&E	
Pass	15	27	42
Fail	1	5	6
	16	32	48

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 0,92
P > 0,01

* One student obtained an A and two students obtained Bs for matric English.

Figure 10C: Portrayal of the relationship between matric English symbol and Industrial Sociology I result for ex DIAEA students in 1982.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	AB&C*	D	E	
1				
2+				
2-	3	10	5	18
54-59	3	2	2	7
50-53	3	4	4	11
fail		1		1
	9	17	11	37

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 0.64$
df = 1
$P > 0,05$

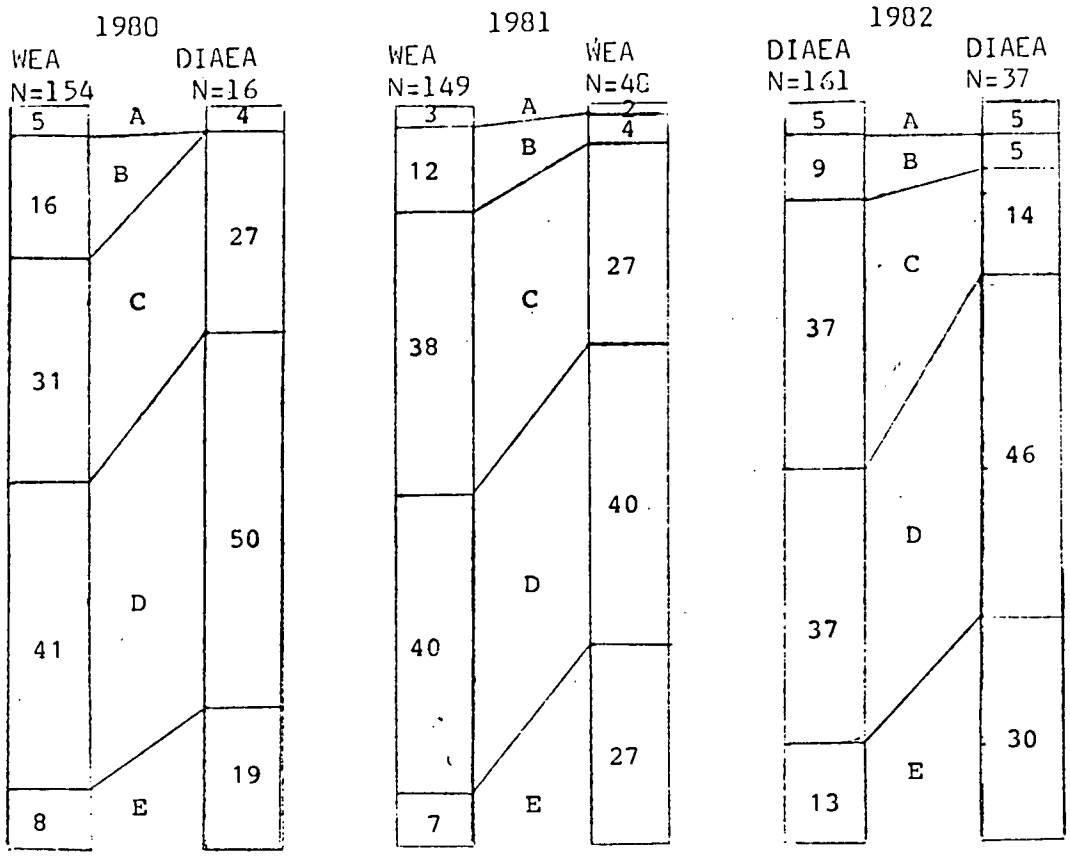
	AB&C	D&E	
Pass	9	27	36
Fail	0	1	1
	9	28	37

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 0,77$
$p > 0,05$

* Two students obtained As and two students obtained Bs for matric English.

Figure 10: Portrayal of the matric English symbol distribution of Industrial Sociology I students by educational authority in 1980, 1981 and 1982.



(Column figures represent percentage of students in respective grades)

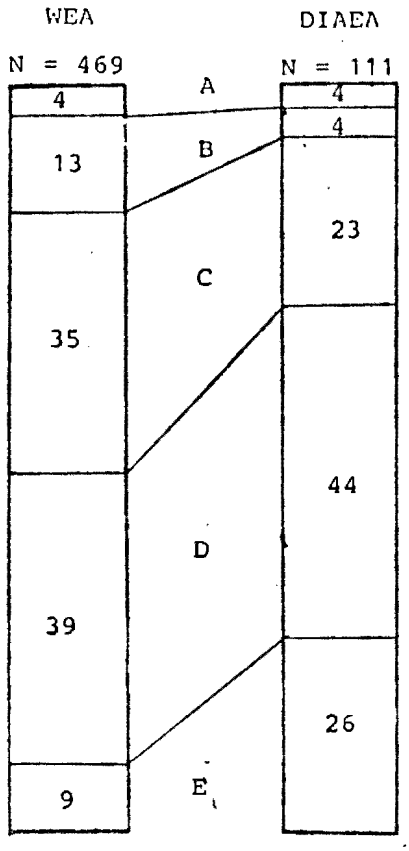
	WEA	DIAEA		
A	8	1	9	
B	24	0	24	$X^2 = 3,75$
C	47	7	54	df = 1
D	63	13	76	P > 0,05
E	12	5	17	
	154	26	180	

	WEA	DIAEA		
A	5	1	6	
B	18	2	20	$X^2 = 16,37$
C	56	13	69	df = 3
D	60	19	79	P < 0,01
E	10	13	23	
	149	48	197	

	WEA	DIAEA		
A	8	2	10	
B	14	2	16	$X^2 = 10,33$
C	59	5	64	df = 2
D	59	17	76	P < 0,01
E	21	11	32	
	161	37	198	

(Number of students in the respective grades)

Figure 10f: Portrayal of the matric English symbol distribution of Industrial Sociology I students by educational authority in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



Percentage of students in the respective grades.

	WEA	DIAEA	
A	21	4	25
B	61	4	65
C	162	25	187
D	182	49	231
E	43	29	72
	469	111	580

Number of students in the respective grades.

$x = 31,56$
$df = 3$
$p < 0,01$

	WEA	DIAEA	
A,B&C	244	33	277
D&E	225	78	303
	469	111	580

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X = 4,23$
$p < 0,01$
$RR = 2,56$
$CI = 1,66$ to $3,97$

3.The Relationship between Matric English Symbol and GS I Results

Summary of the results

Figures 7B and 7C illustrate that in 1981 ($p<0,05$) and 1982 ($p<0,01$) there is a significant relationship between matric English symbol and GS I result for WEA students. In 1980, (figure 7A) although a definite pattern is evident, the chi square is not significant.

Figures 8A to 8D illustrate that over the period under review no significant relationship between matric English mark and GS I mark for DIAEA students emerged. Even when the three years were combined no significant relationship emerged (see figure 8D).

Figure 8E illustrates that in each year there are sizeable differences in the overall matric English symbols of WEA versus DIAEA students doing GS I. In 1980 the differences are significant at the 0,05 level and in 1981 and 1982 the differences are significant at the 0,01 level.

Figure 8F shows that when we combine the three years (1980 to 1982) there is a significant difference between the overall matric English symbols of WEA versus DIAEA students doing GS I ($p<0,01$). The relationship between matric English symbol and IS I results for WEA students (figures 9A to 9C) is significant in 1980, 1981 and 1982.

Figures 10A to 10C display the relationship between the matric English symbol and IS I results for DIAEA students in the period 1980 to 1982. In all three years no significant relationship

emerged. Only in 1981 (figure 10B) do DIAEA students with a C or higher for matric English obtain substantially better IS I results than their counterparts who entered IS I with a D or E for matric English.

Figure 10D illustrates that in 1980 there was not a significant difference between the English matric results obtained by WEA versus DIAEA students doing IS I. However in both 1981 and 1982 a significant difference ($p<0,01$) is evident.

Figure 10E shows that if we combine the three years (1980 to 1982) a significant difference between the matric English results of WEA students versus DIAEA students doing IS I is evident at the 0,01 level.

Discussion of the results

a) WEA students: GS I and matric English symbol

As indicated a significant relationship is evident between matric English symbol and GS I results for WEA students in 1981 (figure 7B) and 1982 (figure 7C). In 1980 (figure 7A) the relationship is not significant. However, it is important to note that in 1980 those students who entered with an A,B or C for matric English had a 2,74 times greater estimated chance of passing GS I than those students who entered with a D or E.

An important question is whether, in the case of WEA students, the relationship between matric aggregate and GS I results is stronger than the relationship between matric English symbol and

GS I results? It is evident that the relationship between matric aggregate and GS I results is stronger: matric aggregate was a more powerful indicator of performance in GS I for WEA students. Thus over the three year period (1980 to 1982) 72% (N=25) of the WEA students who entered with an E matric aggregate failed versus 38% (N=32) who entered with an E for matric English. Only 3% (N=76) of those students who entered with an A or B matric aggregate failed and 55% obtained lower seconds or higher. In contrast 13% (N=128) of those students who entered with an A or B for matric English failed and 33% obtained lower seconds or higher.

b) DIAEA students: GS I and matric English symbol

A similar pattern emerges when we examine the relationship between matric English results and the GS I results of DIAEA students in this period. Matric aggregate is a more powerful indicator of potential performance in GS I. Even when we combine those DIAEA students who entered GS I over this three year period with an A, B or C for matric English and compare their chances of passing or failing GS I to those who entered with a D or E a significant difference does not emerge. In contrast DIAEA students who entered GS I over this three year period with an A, B or C matric aggregate had a 2,27 times greater estimated chance of passing GS I than their counterparts who entered with a D or E (see figure 4D).

c) WEA students: IS I and matric English symbol

Figures 9A to 9C portray the relationship between matric English symbol and IS I results for WEA students. As stated, in all

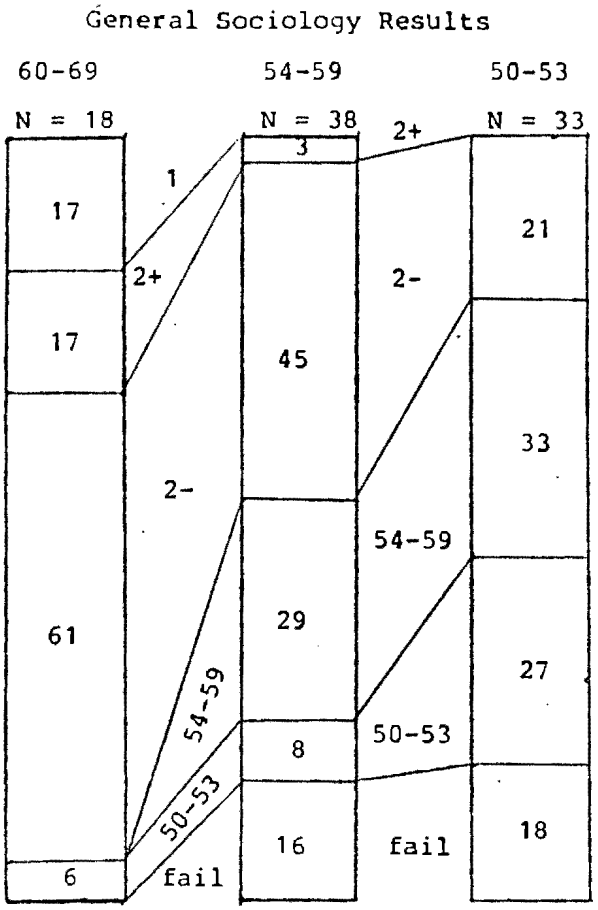
three years the matric English symbol is a marginally more powerful predictor of the potential performance of WEA IS I students than is matric aggregate. It is not at all clear why the pattern in IS I for WEA students is different to the pattern that emerged for WEA students in GS I. It does, however, indicate that the English matric symbol can be as important as the matric aggregate in predicting potential performance in IS I.

d) DIAEA students: IS I and matric English symbol

As regards the relationship between matric English symbol and IS I results for DIAEA students (figures 10A to 10C) the pattern is very similar to the relationship between matric aggregate and IS I results for DIAEA students(figures 6A to 6C). In both cases no significant relationship emerged. As regards the relationship between matric English symbol and IS I results of DIAEA students only in 1982 is there an evident trend: 63% (N=16) of the DIAEA students who entered ISI with an A, B or C for matric English obtained lower seconds versus 23% (N=13) of those students who entered IS I with an E for matric English. We can conclude that for DIAEA students, doing IS I in the period in question, the matric English symbol was not a good indicator of potential performance in IS I.

Overall, the results illustrate that the English matric symbol is not a stronger predictor than matric aggregate of performance in Sociology. Thus the hypothesis that a student's matric English symbol is possibly a more accurate predictor of his/her ability in Sociology has to be discarded.

Figure 11A: Portrayal of the relationship between the mark obtained in General Sociology I in 1980 and the mark obtained in General Sociology II in 1981.



Column figures represent the the percentage of students in the respective grades in General Sociology II in 1981.

	60-69	54-59	50-53	
1	3			3
2+	3	1		4
2-	11	17	7	35
54-59		11	11	22
50-53	1	3	9	13
fail		6	6	12
	18	38	33	89

Number of students in the respective grades.

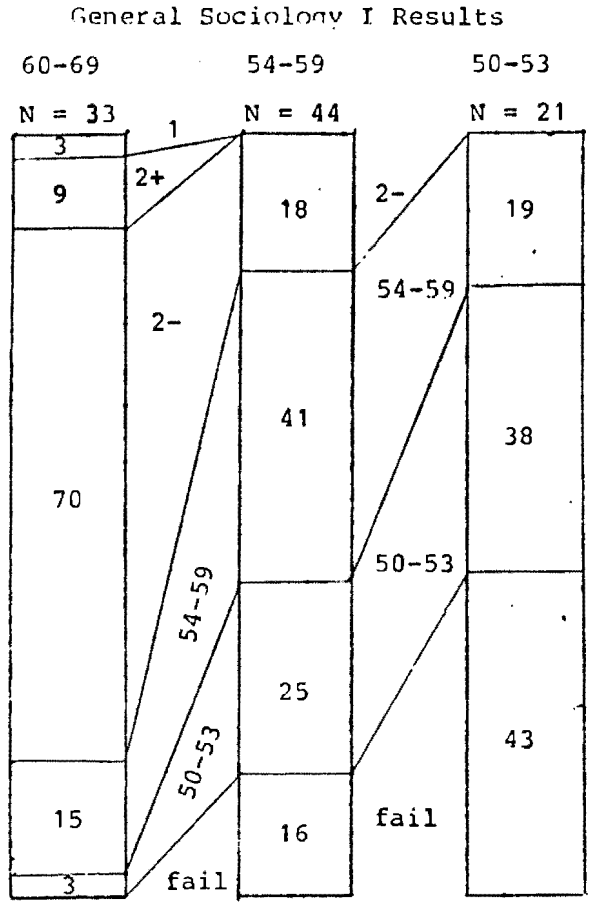
$X^2 = 14,70$
df = 2
P < 0,01

	60-69	50-59	
Pass	18	59	77
Fail	0	12	12
	18	71	89

Number of students in the respective grades

$X^2 = 1,27$
$p > 0,05$

Figure 11B: Portrayal of the relationship between the mark obtained in General Sociology I in 1981 and the mark obtained in General Sociology II in 1982.



Column figures represent the percentage of students in the respective grades in General Sociology II in 1982.

General Sociology I

General Sociology II	60-69	54-59	50-53	
1	1			1
2+	3			3
2-	23	8		31
54-59	5	18	4	27
50-53	1	11	8	20
fail	0	7	9	16
	33	44	21	98

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 57,76.$
df = 4
P < 0,01

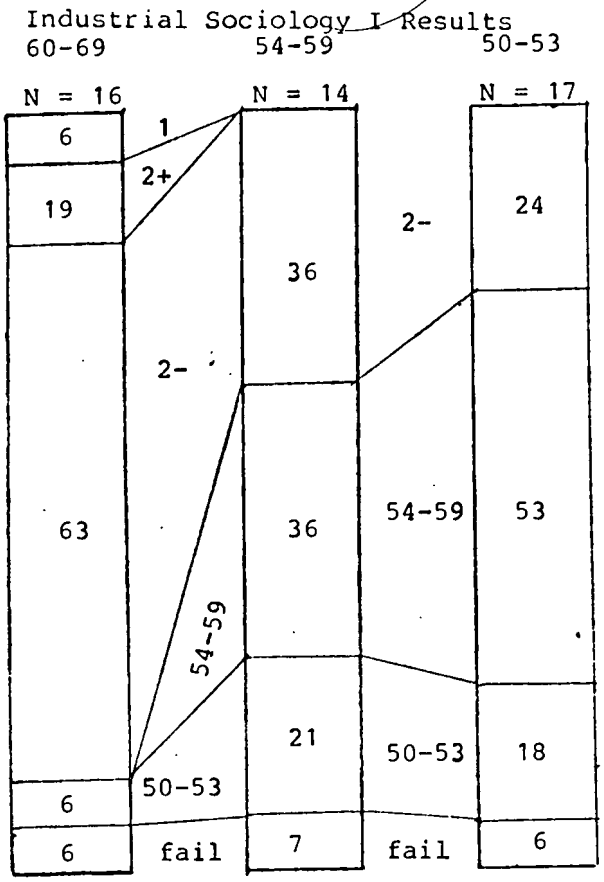
General Sociology I

General Sociology II	60-69	50-59	
Pass	33	49	82
Fail	0	16	16
	33	65	98

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 4,91
P < 0,05
RR = 37,3
CI = 8,79 to 158,54

Figure 12 A: Portrayal of the relationship between the mark obtained in Industrial Sociology I in 1980 and the mark obtained in Industrial Sociology II in 1981.



Column figures represent the percentage of students in the respective grades in Industrial Sociology II in 1981.

Industrial Sociology I

Industrial Sociology II	60-69	54-59	50-53	
1	1			1
2+	3			3
2-	10	5	4	19
54-59		5	9	14
50-53	1	3	3	7
fail	1	1	1	3
	16	14	17	47

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 14,89$
df = 2
$P < 0,01$

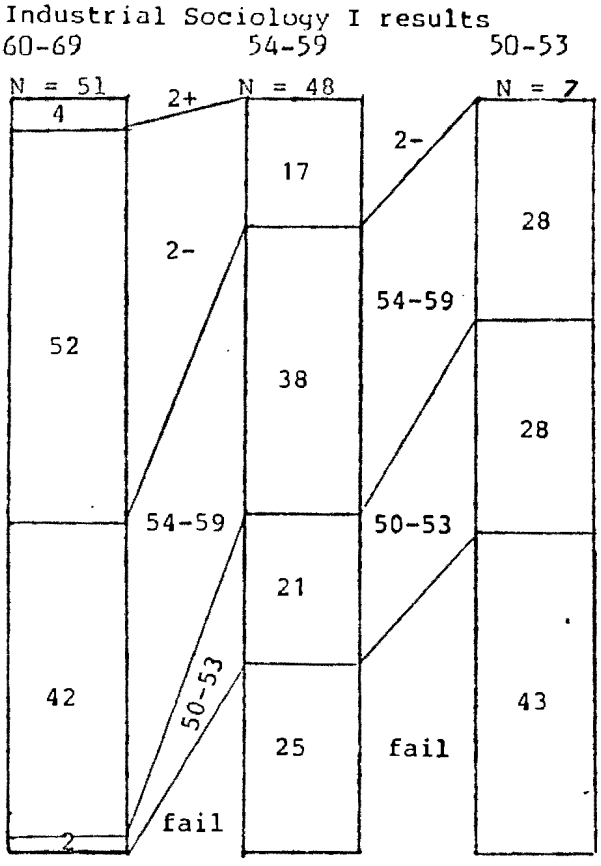
Industrial Sociology I

Industrial Sociology II	60-69	50-59	
Pass	15	29	44
Fail	1	2	3
	16	31	47

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 0,03$
$P > 0,05$

Figure 12B: Portrayal of the relationship between the mark obtained in Industrial Sociology I in 1981 and the mark obtained in Industrial Sociology II in 1982.



Column figures represent the percentage of students in the respective grades in Industrial Sociology in 1982.

Industrial Sociology I

Industrial Sociology II	60-69	54-59	50-53	
1				
2+	2			2
2-	27	8		35
54-59	22	18	2	42
50-53	1	10	2	13
fail		12	3	15
	52	48	7	107

Number of students in the respective grades.

$X^2 = 36,27$
df = 3
P < 0,01

Industrial Sociology I

Industrial Sociology II	60-69	50-59	
Pass	52	40	92
Fail	0	15	15
	52	55	107

Number of students in the respective grades.

X = 3,70
P < 0,01
RR = 19,50
CI = 4,03 to 94,25

4. The Relationship Between the Marks Obtained in GS I/IS I and the Marks Obtained in GS II/IS II

Summary of the results

Figures 11A and 11B display that there is a significant relationship between the marks obtained in GS I and marks obtained in GS II. Correlation coefficients of 0,60 and 0,69 were obtained. These results apply to all GS I and GS II students: WEA and DIAEA students were not differentiated.

Figures 12A and 12B illustrate that a similar relationship is evident for IS I and IS II marks (correlation coefficients of 0,68 and 0,69 were obtained). Students who performed well in first year (a lower second or higher) performed significantly better in IS II than those students who performed weakly or mediocrely (50-59%) in first year.

Discussion of the results

a) The relationship between GS I results and GS II results

As indicated figures in 11A and 11B show that there is a significant relationship between the marks students obtain in GS I and the marks obtained in GS II. Thus, not only did all of those students who obtained a lower second for GS I in 1980 pass GS II in 1981 (figure 11A), but 94% (N=18) managed to obtain a lower second or higher in GS II.

A similar scenario was evident with regards to students who did GS I in 1981 and GS II in 1982 (figure 11B). Not one student who

entered GS II with a lower second failed. 82% (N=33) obtained a lower second or higher in GS II. We can safely conclude that a good first year student (a student who obtains a lower second or higher) will be a good second year student.

The results suggest that the chances of a student who does mediocrely (50% to 59%) in GS I improving in GS II increases if the overall failure rate in the year that he/she did GS I was high. In 1980 when a sizeable proportion, 31% (N=208), of the GS I class failed only 17% (N=71) of the students who obtained thirds in GS I in 1980 failed GS II in 1981. 51% improved on their mark (35% managed to obtain lower seconds in GS II).

In 1981 when a relatively small proportion, 20% (N=208), of the GS I class failed, 25% (N=61) of those students who obtained thirds in GS I in 1981, failed GS II in 1982. More noteworthy is that only 18% (12/65) improved on their GS I mark. These results indicate that it is important that the GS I course requirements are sufficiently high so as to ensure that the students passing the first year course are able to cope with the GS II course material. More importantly, they, in part, indicate the power of pre-university experience. Successful first year students invariably remain successful students. In contrast, the greater proportion of weak/mediocre students remain weak/mediocre.

b) The relationship between IS I results and IS II results

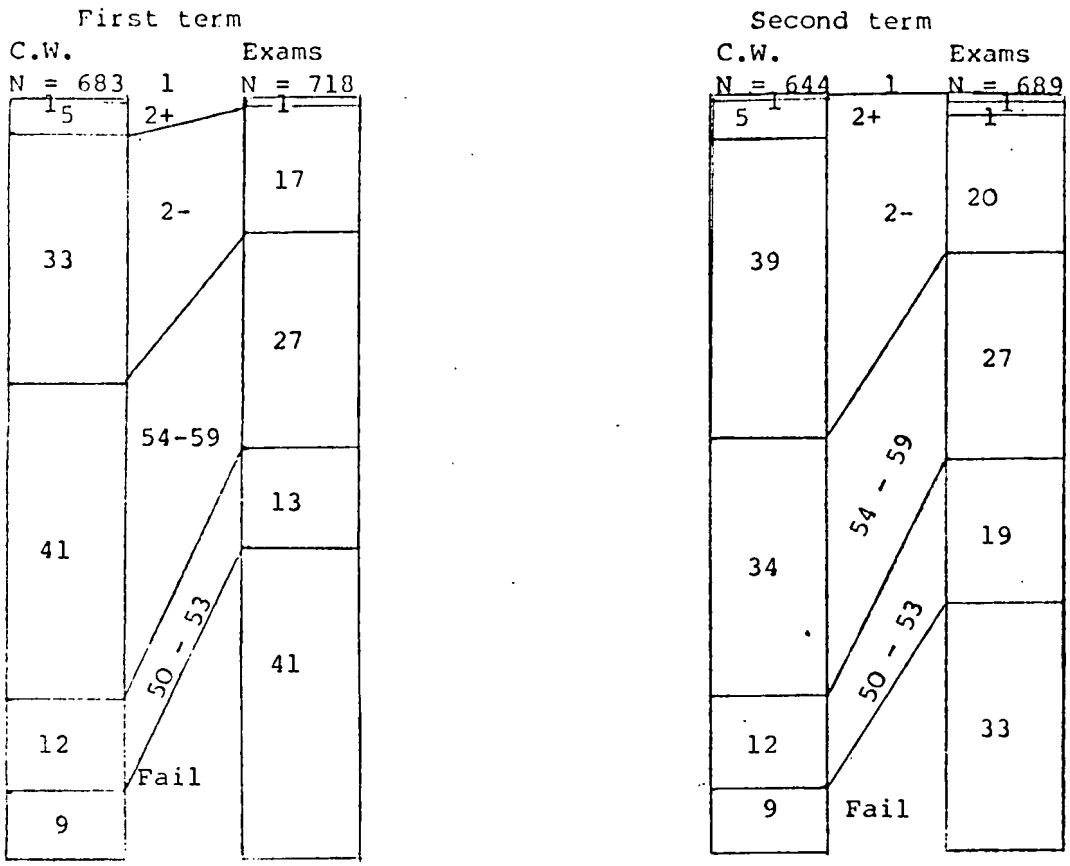
A similar scenario occured in IS. Students who did well (a lower second or higher) in IS I in 1980, did well in IS II in 1981: 88% (N=16) obtained a lower second or higher. Students who

obtained thirds in IS I in 1980 generally coped with IS II in 1981: Only 6% (N=31) failed and 58% improved on their first year mark (29% obtained lower seconds). As indicated the failure rate [27%(N=215)] in IS I in 1980 was relatively high.

In sharp contrast the failure rate in IS I in 1981 was only 12% (N=228) and as such the relationship between IS I and IS II results is somewhat different for students who did IS II in 1982. 44% (N=52) of the students who obtained lower seconds in IS I in 1981 obtained thirds in IS II. 27% (N=55) of the students who obtained thirds in IS I failed IS II. Only 18% of these students improved on their first year mark.

The above results again suggest that the higher the pass rate in first year Sociology, the higher the proportion of the students coming into the second year course who will not be able to cope with the second year Sociology course. The results again show that the performance of many Sociology students is consistent. Students who perform well in IS I usually do well in IS II and students who obtain thirds in IS I generally obtain thirds in IS II. As was the case in GS, although there are numerous exceptions, overall these results point to the persistent influence of a student's home milieu and schooling in the shaping of his/her results.

Figure 13 : Portrayal of the relationship between course work (C.W.) and results obtained versus end of term exams. and results obtained in General Sociology I in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.



(Column figures give percentage of students in the respective grades)

	C.W.	Exams
1	1	1
2+	34	9
2-	226	125
54-59	277	196
50-53	82	94
Fail	63	293
	683	718

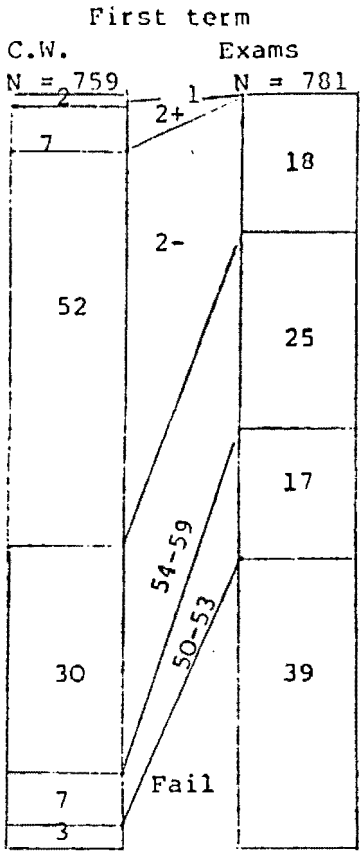
$X^2 = 205,49$
df = 4
P < 0,01

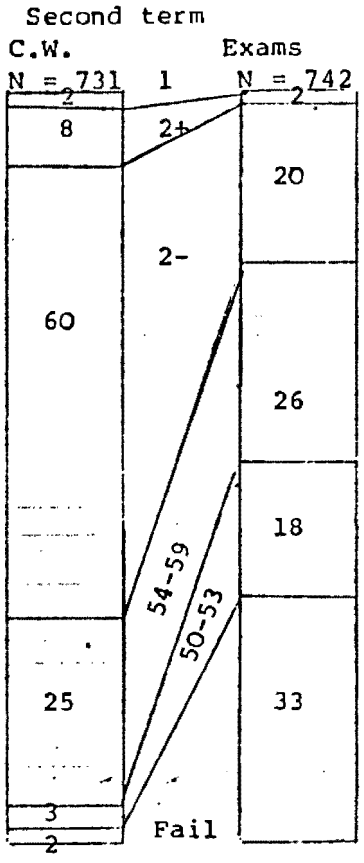
	C.W.	Exams
1	4	1
2+	34	10
2-	251	136
54-59	222	185
50-53	77	130
Fail	56	227
	644	689

$X^2 = 167,98$
df = 4
P < 0,01

(Number of students in the respective grades)

Sociology I in 1980, 1981 and 1982 combined.





(Column figures give percentage of students in the respective grades)

	C.W.	Exams
1	12	1
2+	56	9
2-	391	143
54-59	227	193
50-53	54	130
fail	19	305
	759	781

$X^2 = 444,85$
df = 5
P < 0,01

	C.W.	Exams
1	15	4
2+	59	18
2-	437	152
54-59	180	195
50-53	24	132
fail	16	246
	731	742

$X^2 = 443,26$
df = 5
P < 0,01

(Number of students in the respective grades)

5. The Marks Obtained in Course-work Versus the Marks Obtained in End of Term Examinations.

Summary of the results

Figures 13 and 14 display that students did significantly better in GS I during the course of the term than they did in the end of term exams ($p<0,01$).

Discussion of the results

The high failure rate in the exam suggests that a sizeable proportion of the students who passed GS I/IS I overall (course-work plus exam mark) in this period had not comprehended or assimilated much of the material dealt with in the GS I/IS I course: their course-work marks pushed them through. It can be safely argued that generally if a student has assimilated and comprehended the course-work he/she should have no difficulty in the exam situation.

The discrepancy between course-work results and exam results is disturbing in both GS I and IS I. It is especially bad in IS I. In the period 1980 to 1982 in the first term only 3% (N=759) of the IS I students failed their course-work. 60% obtained lower seconds or higher. In the second term only 2% (N=731) failed course-work and a massive 69% obtained a lower second or higher. In the first term exam 39% (N=781) failed and only 20% obtained lower seconds or higher. In the second term 33% (N=742) of the IS I students failed the exam and 23% (N=742) obtained lower seconds or higher. It is evident that the course-work marks are

an unrealistic account of students' abilities and that the present modes of assessment need to be scrutinized. The disturbing question that emerges is why are so many students not able to cope adequately in the exams? Possibly the exam results illustrate that most students receive a schooling that does not transmit the culture to cope adequately with Sociology. This point is explored in detail in chapters three and four when the nature of the schooling most Sociology students obtain is examined.

Conclusions

The first important finding of this statistical investigation is that DIAEA students often do as well in GS/IS I as their WEA counterparts. When DIAEA students have the same matric aggregate they almost always do similarly and sometimes outperform WEA students. This was the case with the D matric aggregate grouping in GS I in 1981 and 1982. In IS I, in 1981 and 1982, the difference in the overall results obtained by WEA and DIAEA students was minimal. This is an important finding as it indicates that DIAEA students are not necessarily less prepared than WEA students. It serves to further substantiate the argument expressed in chapter one, where it was argued that the racial structuring of the educational system is not necessarily the crucial factor shaping the pedagogical process. This point will be returned to and discussed in detail in chapter three where the influence of other factors, most notably social class, will be looked at.

The second important finding is that generally there is a relationship between matric aggregate and GS/IS I results. Overall, those students who entered Sociology with A and B matric aggregates obtained the best results followed respectively by the C, D and E matric aggregate groupings. The D and E groupings were definitely far weaker than the A,B and C groupings. Far example in GS I WEA students who entered the Department with an A,B or C matric aggregate combined had a 6,78 times greater estimated chance of passing GS I than the D and E matric aggregate grouping (see figure 3D). In line with the finding of Steyn and Erens (see pages 7-11) this investigation showed, however, that a

substantial proportion of those students who entered the GS/IS I course with a D or E aggregate passed and some of these students performed more adequately than students who entered Sociology with a higher matric aggregate. Thus what emerged quite clearly was that the matric aggregate a student obtains is not a definitive indicator of his or her ability. The results also indicated that when the overall failure rate in a course is low the possibility of the Ds and Es performing as adequately as other matriculants is increased substantially (see figures 5B and 5C). This suggests that if a course is pitched at a certain level then all students, no matter how poorly they did in matric, have a good chance of passing Sociology.

Another important finding is that few students with an A or B matric aggregate enter Sociology. Over the three year period only 12% (N=1081) of all Sociology I students obtained As or Bs in matric. 33% obtained Cs and 56% obtained D or E matric aggregates. In order to understand this phenomenon we have to locate Sociology within the broader social structure. It appears that better matric students purposely avoid Sociology and do courses which will make them more 'marketable' and ensure a sizeable income. Thus students with A or B matric aggregates will be drawn to courses that ensure a high income and status. As stated, this has serious implications for Sociology. The discipline is generally left with those students who are least likely to have or develop a sociological imagination. Furthermore in our pedagogy we will always have to cater for a sizeable proportion of weak students.

The investigation also showed that overall the matric aggregates of DIAEA students are lower than WEA students and that this, in

part, explains why overall the latter generally obtain better GS/IS I results. The important question that emerges is why do the DIAEA students have weaker matric results? This question is partially answered by the argument in chapter one, that DIAEA schools supplying UCT are composed of lower PB to middle PB pupils whereas many of the white schools supplying UCT are composed of middle and upper PB and bourgeois pupils. As indicated, the class composition of a school's pupils has a crucial influence on the matric results obtained. This is investigated further in chapter three where the pertinence of the social class origins of pupils to help explain this phenomenon is elaborated on.

The investigation also found that there is a relationship between the matric English mark and GS/IS I results. Generally, however the matric aggregate was a more powerful indicator of the potential ability of a student.

An interesting finding is that students who do well (a lower second or higher) in GS/IS I generally do well in GS/IS II, and that students who do poorly (a third) in GS/IS I generally do poorly in GS/IS II. This suggests that the culture with which a student enters GS/IS I is not so easily thrown off and that a student's pre-university history is a crucial shaper of his/her perfomance in GS/IS I. The way the pre-university history of a student influences his/her performance in GS/IS I could not be answered by this statistical investigation and as such is examined through in-depth interviewing (chapters three) and a survey questionnaire (chapter four).

A final important finding is that the difference between the marks students obtain in their course-work and the marks students obtain in their end of term exam is statistically very significant. This could mean that exams are bad tests and do not accurately reflect a student's ability. It is more likely, however, (inferring from the in-depth interviews with students and discussions with lecturers) that it indicates that students are not comprehending and thereby assimilating the material. Many are seemingly not able to answer the questions set unless they have the relevant books in front of them. As stated this suggests that students are emerging from the schools unable to use the sociological imagination. The important question that emerges is why are some students able and others not able to apply the sociological imagination? In order to answer this crucial question the home and schooling experiences of Sociology students have to be explored. This is done in chapters three and four. In these chapters it is argued that the home and schooling experience of many students does not facilitate them developing a sociological imagination.

Chapter two has highlighted important relationships. However, in a similar vein to the statistical investigations reviewed in chapter one, this investigation has indicated what the relationships are, but not why these relationships are occurring. This necessitates that we move beyond the plane of statistics and enter the world of the agents who make up these statistics.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS UNRAVELLED AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO PERFORMANCE IN SOCIOLOGY

This chapter follows on from chapter two in that it endeavours to examine three crucial aspects which were thrown up in the course of the statistical investigation but which the latter was unable to pursue. Firstly, through the use of in-depth interviews and drawing on the theoretical perspectives outlined in chapter one, this chapter explores what actually happens in the schools from which UCT Sociology students emerge; Concomitantly, it presents an approach to the understanding of schooling and the pedagogical process in WEA and DIAEA schooling. Secondly, it examines how the schooling process potentially influences the performance of Sociology students at UCT. Thirdly, it explores how the cultural capital transmitted by the home milieu shapes the person intellectually, and how this cultural capital interacts with the school and the university. Throughout, while the importance of the racial structuring of the educational system is recognised, social class is viewed as a key variable that has to be taken into account if we are to understand the nature of South African schooling. Also, the relative autonomy of the school is seen as central, and finally the role of pupils in shaping the school is recognised as a crucial component in the development of different 'types' of schools.

Before proceeding, the point must be made that this analysis is a first, exploratory attempt to unravel a very complex reality. However, despite its exploratory nature and the resulting tentativeness of the conclusions, my empirical work suggested

that what is being argued is crucial to understanding the way schooling operates in South Africa.

The different types of schools

Six types of schools have been isolated. Four types of schools in the WEA and two types of schools in the DIAEA are portrayed. They have been given the following labels and acronyms: liberal English white middle to upper PB and bourgeois (LEWMUPB) schools; syllabus rigid English white middle to upper PB and bourgeois (SREWMUPB) schools; white English lower to middle PB (WELMOPB) schools; white English working class to lower PB (WEWCLOPB) schools; coloured working class to lower PB (COWCLOPB) schools; and finally coloured lower to middle PB (CLOMPB) schools.

The different types were arrived at through exploring a range of different methods. As indicated the class composition of the parents of the pupils attending a school is regarded as a crucial aspect in the determination of any school type. I have used the definitionof class as outlined in chapter one, pages 28-29. Utilising Wright's approach to class as a framework I divide the petit bourgeoisie into three groupings, the lower, middle and upper PB. This is done on the basis of place/control in production (see Appendix 1, pages 226-227). On a similar basis the bourgeoisie and working class are defined. The schools are divided into three very broad class categories: working class to lower PB, lower PB to middle PB and finally middle PB to upper PB and bourgeoisie. Because these categories are so broad the typologising of the various schools was greatly facilitated.

Patel's class classification of the Cape Town area as was discussed on page 33, was one crucial indicator of a school's class composition. Patel gives a class breakdown and the average income of the economically active population of respective Cape Town areas. Patel gives the percentage of production workers, farm workers, service workers, sales persons, clerical workers, managerial/supervisory staff, teachers, professional and technical staff in each area. Furthermore, he gives a breakdown of the educational levels of the economically active population in the area. These indicators certainly contributed towards the obtaining of a class profile of the areas Patel examines. They are similar to the indicators I have used to define class (see pages 28-29). As stated income is an important indicator of class location as it broadly correlates with place/control in production. The level of education attained broadly correlates with skill/control level and thus place in production.

Thus in an area such as Bonteheuwel where the per capita income of coloured males in 1980 was R175,50 (R54,37 below the average) and 57 percent of the economically active males were classified as production workers and only 3 percent as professional and technical staff and where only 2,2 percent of the population had a matric certificate or higher qualification, the possibility of a school being anything other than the broad category working class to lower PB in composition is very small (Patel, 1984:74). This school will draw the vast majority of its students from the surrounding area. In a white group area such as Simonstown where the average white male income in 1980 was R606,07 per month and where 64 percent of the economically active population are

production or service workers and where only 5 percent of the economically active population havea university degree, the likelihood of there being a school in the area constituted by pupils of middle to upper petit bourgeois and bourgeois origins is minimal. Again most of the school's pupils would come from the surrounding area. On the other hand in an area like Rondebosch where in 1980 the average white male income was R1164,93 (this was R356,60 above the average white male income) and where only 4 percent of the economically active population were production workers, and where 68 percent of the population in the area had obtained at least a matric it could be fairly safely surmised that the possibility of any school in the area being working class to lower PB in composition is slim (Patel, 1984:114). Due to their class composition schools in this area would draw a substantial proportion of their pupils from other areas. It is likely that most of these pupils would be middle to upper PB and bourgeois in origin for reasons mentioned on pages 36-37.

Although Patel's statisical survey provides a very important guide to the class composition of various Cape Town areas there are limitations which must be noted. Firstly, certain white group areas in Cape Town are not covered. For example Newlands and Wynberg are not included in Patel's survey. Secondly, his data are based on the 1980 census and as Patel (1985:62) himself states "we ...must question the nature of state statistics". This is obviouly a limitation but Patel (1985:61) is optimistic that "because of the large size of the sample, it is likely that broad trends (of the Cape Town sample) are correct". A further limitation is the occupational structure used by Patel. This does not merge exactly with the class categories I have sketched.

However, it is safe to argue that given my broad categories ultimately it is very similar to the one I have used. Thus productive and farm workers are equivalent to what I have called the working class. Service, sales and clerical employees are equivalent to what I have termed the lower PB. Teachers fall into what I have defined as the middle PB. Professional and technical staff fall into either the middle or upper PB (one broad category in my typology). The managerial and supervisory category are equivalent to either the lower or middle PB.

Patel's statistical analysis of Cape Town certainly contributed substantially to the typologising of the respective schools. However, it must be clearly stated that the 60 in-depth interviews I conducted made a further crucial contribution to the typologization. The interviewees generally gave explicit portrayals of the class composition of the parents of the pupils at the schools they attended. They did this by outlining what the occupations of parents are and by sketching the life-style of the parents: where and how they live and by giving small details, for example what cars parents drive. An idea of the approximate income of a typical parent at the school could thus be gauged. Income taken together with the typical occupations followed gave me a good insght into which class category a school falls.

The in-depth interviews also illustrated that the class composition of a school is not the only factor that shapes a school. As will be elaborated on, this became very stark in the case of the middle to upper PB and bourgeois schools. These schools can have either a liberal or syllabus-rigid pedagogical process. Another crucial factor differentiating schools is its racial composition. This is illustrated in the course of this

chapter when we compare WEA schools to DIAEA schools.

Another important influence in my reaching the typologies outlined is my three years of teaching in DIAEA schools. It gave me a good insight into the way class shapes schooling and indicated how within the same educational authority different types of schools can emerge. My long residence in Cape Town during which time I have had extensive discussions on this topic, also certainly gave me some sense of the class composition of the schools under review. The significant discrepancies in matric results obtained by the various schools reviewed (see pages 40 and 44) gave a further indication of the class composition of respective schools since as argued, class composition correlates with average matric results. Finally the number of pupils schools send to UCT was a further indication of the class composition of the schools in question (see pages 38 and 42). As is the case with matric results the number of pupils a school sends to UCT generally correlates with its class composition.

In sum the typologies began to emerge: derived theoretically from my class categories and the argument that schools have a degree of relative autonomy (see pages 45-59) and empirically from Patel's analysis of the Cape Town area, the in-depth interviews, my own teaching experience and residence in Cape Town and from the discrepancies amongst the various schools in terms of their matric results and the number of pupils they send to UCT.

It will be argued that each type will be dominated by a specific pedagogical process. It will also be <u>tentatively</u> argued that each type generally prepares its pupils differentially for

Sociology at UCT. However, there is certainly no deterministic relationship between attending a specific type of school and being prepared for Sociology. Rather it is argued that there is a general trend: a student who has attended one type of school, for example a liberal English white middle to upper PB and bourgeois school, is statistically more likely to be prepared for Sociology I at UCT than a student who has attended another type.

It is important to note that the characteristics that are linked to each type of school are dominant characteristics. No school is homogeneous and every school will have teachers and pupils who do not adhere to the dominant pedagogical process at the school. However, at almost all schools a dominant class composition and a dominant pedagogical process is evident, making it possible to typologize the school concerned. It is probable that the type into which a school falls becomes more clearly defined over time as the principal (who, it can be safely argued, is the pivotal figure in any school) establishes his/her hegemony. He does this by appointing teachers that he feels have an acceptable pedagogical approach. Over time the school then tends to draw pupils whose parents have similar 'weltanschungs' to the principal and teachers.

Empirical Methodology in Detail

Given the above discussion, it is important to go into detail on the exact form of in-depth interviewing which shaped the final typologies and arguments to be discussed in this chapter. In-depth interviews were done as they allowed me to probe into crucial realms of the schooling experience that the statistical investigation was unable to capture - for example, how teachers

relate to pupils, why they relate to pupils in a specific way, how they teach the syllabus, and how a student's home milieu and schooling experience influences his/her performance in Sociology.

This chapter is based on data collected from 68 interviews: 50 UCT Sociology students, 4 school principals and 14 teachers were interviewed. The number of interviews conducted was influenced by the fact that this study is an exploratory study that does not purport to be exhaustive. The amount of interviewing done could have been extended and there is little doubt that this would have enriched the material collected. However, a substantial amount of information was gleaned from the 68 interviews conducted and I am confident that the conclusions reached broadly reflect the social structure of the respective school types. In most cases interviewing was halted only when clear trends started emerging. The two exceptions were the WEA and DIAEA working class to lower PB school. Unfortunately, I could not find enough interviewees due to there being so few UCT Sociology students from schools with this class composition.

When a school type was identified, an endeavour was successfully made to interview at least one teacher or principal who taught in a school representing this type. The limited number of teachers and principals interviewed is related to the exploratory nature of this study and the in-depth nature of the interviews conducted with this grouping. The interviews conducted with teachers and principals were generally more extensive than those conducted with students. On average they lasted for two hours. 2 of the 4 principals and 5 of the 14 teachers interviewed were at DIAEA schools. 8 of the 14 teachers had taught in more than

one type of school.

The selection of teachers and principals was not random, rather it was purposive. As stated, there was a deliberate attempt to interview teachers and principals who represented the different types of schools. I first approached teachers and principals that I know: I am personally acquainted with 2 of the principals and 7 of the teachers interviewed. Alternatively, contact was made through somebody I knew. This introduced bias into the sample in that the person was not chosen randomly. However, the fact that I knew the individual concerned or alternatively, if I did not know him/her, that he/she was acquainted with my intermediary usually engendered a more intimate interviewing situation. The teachers and principals interviewed were very forthcoming and it could be argued that this would not have been the case if they were randomly chosen and totally unknown to me. Generally, the better I knew the interviewee the richer was the material gleaned. More information on the way interviews with teachers and principals were conducted and the specific questions asked appears in Appendix II.

The students interviewed were initially selected on the basis of their performance in Sociology. They were drawn from four performance categories: (a) those who had failed Sociology, (b) those who had struggled to cope with Sociology but passed (thirds) (c) those who had managed quite easily (lower seconds), and (d) those who had done very well (an upper second or first). The sampling technique was again neither random or haphazard. I first chose those students whom I knew and then moved on to a list of names I had compiled from the Sociology Department's student records. A second criterion for selection which emerged

after approximately 20 interviews had been done, was school attended, categorised in terms of social class and colour composition (this aspect will be elaborated on later). An endeavour was made to obtain interviewees from a range of the various social class type schools in both the WEA and DIAEA. Again, with the introduction of this second criterion the sampling technique was purposive i.e non-random. There was an active attempt to find Sociology students who had attended certain types of schools. Once more I focussed initially on students I was acquainted with. As was the case with the teachers and principals interviewed, there is little doubt that knowing many of the students interviewed was a positive rather than negative feature. Generally, those students interviewed whom I did not know tended to be more circumspect when responding to questions. This was especially true in the case of the more intimate questions (see Appendix II) regarding the influence of the home milieu.

As stated, the central aims of the interviews were to establish what type of schooling students doing Sociology had received and to examine how schooling influences performance in Sociology. A secondary aim of the interviews was to examine the influence of the family milieu on a student's performance at school and in Sociology. The interviews with students generally lasted an hour. Although there were guide questions, the interviews were open-ended. The specific questions students were asked and an elaboration of the interviewing technique appear in Appendix II.

There are limitations to this analysis related to its exploratory and hence bounded nature, which should be noted. Firstly, many of the conclusions reached are based mainly on the material

obtained from the students, teachers and principals interviewed. Unfortunately, due to the limited scope of this study it was not possible to augment the accounts given by the interviewees by going into the homes and interviewing parents and siblings and/or by going into the homes/schools and doing participant observation. There is no doubt that both activities would have made a substantial contribution to the body of knowledge collected and would have given a wider and more in-depth picture. However, as noted, this study is a first exploratory attempt which will, I hope, lay the foundation for more extensive studies in the future.

Secondly, the class categorisation of the different types of schools is not based on exact statistical data of the occupations of pupils' parents in different schools, since these are not available. However, this limitation was dissipated significantly by the various class indicators recently discussed.

Finally, it was beyond the scope of this study to analyse Afrikaans and, more importantly, DET schooling. This is certainly a major gap which I hope will be rectified in future studies.

In the next part of this chapter the dominant characteristics of each type of school are outlined and explained using the material gathered from the interviews. The potential implications that attending a particular type of school have for performance in Sociology are also examined. The final section highlights the possible implications of this study for research on schooling and pedagogy (both within the school and within the university), and for political practice within the schools.

The liberal English white middle to upper PB and bourgeois (LEWMUPB) school [1]

Schools falling within this type are characterized by an implicit or explicit liberal approach to schooling, in that a central aim of these schools is to develop

> the rounded man, the man with flair in the widest sense, the man who combines the best of the work-hard, play-hard ethos of the twentieth century with the imagination, the intellectual curiosity and the aesthetic appreciation of the eighteenth... (Peake, 1984:8).

This underlying approach has a very substantial influence on the way the syllabus is conceived and transmitted, the approach to knowledge that is encouraged, the social relations existing between teachers and pupils, and the overall culture that pervades the school. The in-depth interviews illustrated that the culture of the LEWMUPB school is the closest to that of the UCT Sociology Department in terms of the sociological imagination defined earlier, and that a student who has emerged from a LEWMUPB school is more likely to have the culture required to do well in Sociology.

Here is a fragment of an interview with a top Sociology student who attended a very expensive, boys only, private LEWMUPB school(the language used is his own).

> There is no doubt that we received a superbly liberal education. There was a great emphasis on variety. A great deal of the time the syllabus was ignored and teachers taught whatever interested them... It was never stressed that there is a body of knowledge you have to have. We were taught from the beginning of our high school to have a relativistic notion of knowledge, and that knowledge is historically linked... Why we think like we do think was a very important question at

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1. 10 pupils, 4 teachers and 2 principals from LEWMUPB schools were interviewed. I stopped interviewing teachers, principals, and ex-LEWMUPB pupils when the responses to the exploratory questions started to reveal certain trends.

> A... An independence of mind was promoted and we were taught to think for ourselves..

This quote virtually sums up the ideal LEWMUPB school. The student himself is very aware of the liberal nature of his schooling and what this liberalism constitutes.

What is immediately apparent is the weakness of the frame operating. To a sizeable extent teachers were able to choose how and when they were going to teach the syllabus. The syllabus did not dictate the pedagogical process within the school. The syllabus was also conceptualized in a very specific way. It was presented neither as absolute knowledge nor necessarily as an important source of knowledge. Knowledge was generally treated relativistically, in line with the classic liberal tradition whereby the pupil is not measured "into a suit of ready-made truths but helped to form himself an intellect fitted to seek truth for itself and to find it" (Mills, in Garforth, 1979:21). There is little doubt that this student had a schooling that encouraged aspects of the sociological imagination as defined earlier and that transmitted the culture required for performing well in Sociology.

We must be careful, however, not to ignore the limitations of the dominance of this liberal approach. There is little doubt that generally the classroom discourse is within the bounds of bourgeois ideology. Although this particular student stated that there were teachers who introduced pupils to the ideas of Marx and socialism, the in-depth interviews suggested that within the LEWMUPB school the structures of liberal capitalist social formations are generally not questioned and that there is little class analysis of the social structure.

Liberal schooling is not confined to boys-only, expensive, private schools. The following quote is an extract from an interview with a top Sociology student who attended a girls-only, state LEWMUPB school in Johannesburg:

> The teaching methods used were dynamic... A lot of extra stimulus material was provided...the school was permissive in that we were strongly encouraged to engage in debate. There was a very high level of participation. We were taught to analyse... There was a lot of free speech, and political discussion... The school was trying to produce people who could make choices in life... The school was not regimented and there was a lot of freedom, therefore you were prepared for university.[1]

The quote illustrates a number of aspects of the LEWMUPB school. Again, what is evident is that the frame is not strong. Pupils have the power to question, and do question the syllabus. Furthermore, there is a good deal of discussion outside of the syllabus. The rigidity of the official syllabus is further undermined by the provision of extra material to pupils. The quote suggests that a sociological imagination is actively encouraged by LEWMUPB schools. Pupils are not expected uncritically to assimilate the syllabus or the ideas of the teachers. The relaxed social relations within the LEWMUPB school allow the pupils to question the teachers and enter into debate. Independent thinking is encouraged, and generally the teacher does not present him/herself,nor is he/she viewed, as the bearer

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1. For women, being at an all-girls LEWMUPB school islikely to increase the possibility of acquiring a culture which predisposes pupils at these schools to go to university and embark on a career. This is illustrated by the following quote: "In my entire high school career I did not have one male teacher. I did not get any contradictory messages as regards the importance of achievement. We were told that achieving has a purpose. The purpose was definitely to prepare us for university and a career..." The gender composition of the staff plays a crucial role in all girls schools. As Matthews (1980:6) has stated, "Girls who see all senior positions in a school filled by males do pick up a message about a woman's place in the world."

of the 'absolute truth'.

The possibility of the LEWMUPB school transmitting the culture required for Sociology at UCT is increased substantially by the emphasis these schools put on familiarizing pupils with the use of the library and related to this the principles of independent research: As an ex-LEWMUPB school pupil stated,

> I was used to working on my own. At school we were encouraged to work by ourselves. We did a lot of projects. For example I did a project on African Nationalism and I spent a lot of time on this... When I came to university I was able to put the Sociology material into a perspective and know what the general direction of the discipline is... We also had to do a lot of literature essays. In history we went outside the syllabus a lot. When we were given essays, we were recommended other readings. In History of Music we had a lot of extra readings.

When this student entered Sociology, besides having the academic techniques (she could write an essay, she could read critically, and she could use a library) she also had a body of knowledge which enabled her to cope very adequately with the material. Even though she was not familiar with the material covered, she had a sense of the issues and debates because of her previously acquired culture. Not surprisingly, with seemingly little effort she was one of the top Sociology students in her year.

Because they have generally acquired the culture required for university, ex-LEWMUPB school pupils often enter the university with a great deal of confidence in their academic ability. "I had read far more than most first year students. I had an intellectual confidence which really helped. I came to university not being in awe of lecturers..."

This academic confidence is also linked to the strong emphasis

placed on university education by LEWMUPB schools. The in-depth interviews indicated that university is rarely viewed as a mysterious entity. Rather, it is viewed as a natural progression. Teachers strongly encourage pupils to go to university and familiarize pupils with the university: "University was strongly encouraged by our teachers, who told us what Sociology is, what Social Anthropology is..." University is clearly a central component of the culture of the LEWMUPB school.

Another key feature of the LEWMUPB school which contributes towards the development of the culture required for Sociology at UCT is the extra-mural activities that are available and strongly encouraged. The student quoted earlier from the girls-only state school in Johannesburg placed a sizeable amount of the credit for her advanced academic culture on her involvement in extra-mural activities: "I edited the school magazine, I entered the Rand Daily Mail quiz competition and won that... I directed school plays and also acted." She was clearly exceptional in the scope of her involvement and it is clear that the average pupil will not have participated to the same extent. The crucial point, however, is that these activities were available. The interested individual was given the opportunity to take part in a range of cultural activities that would almost certainly contribute to the culture of the individual concerned.

While recognising its qualities we must be careful not to over-romanticize the LEWMUPB school. Although the LEWMUPB school has a relatively weak frame, the weakness thereof is seriously dissipated by the intense drive to obtain good results. The

aspirations of the social classes that these schools serve virtually ensure that this is the case. A cultural capital which places a great deal of stress on academic achievement is generally transmitted by both the LEWMUPB pupil's family and the LEWMUPB school.

> You were told you had to do well...the traditions of the school reinforced this. In the hall, for example,the cups, pictures of businessmen, springbok rugby players, etc. created this climate of expectations. We had a mania for doing well. The school had hundreds of competitions...(ex-LEWMUPB pupil)

This drive to achieve good results, and at the same time to have a liberal pedagogical practice, is to some extent resolved by the degree of control LEWMUPB schools have over the exams that are set in the years prior to matric. In matric the frame becomes a lot stronger as pupils are geared very directly for the matric examination: "In matric the syllabus is stuck to a lot more and there is far less time for discussion and debate."(ex-LEWMUPB school pupil)

Up until now the impression has been given that a LEWMUPB school necessarily instils within pupils the culture required to do well in Sociology. However, the interviews clearly revealed that this is <u>not</u> the case. There is no automatic correlation between attending a LEWMUPB school and having the required culture or even receiving a schooling that encourages the development of the required culture. This appears to be primarily due to the culture which is transmitted by the family milieu and which the pupil brings into the school. The following statements by two interviewees who attended the same LEWMUPB school illustrate this very starkly. The first student quoted did very well in Sociology and gave her schooling a great deal of credit for

equipping her with the required culture:

> At school we had to write a lot of essays. We also had to do a lot of independent research. I went into the library and selected books. We had to do a massive art history project. When I came to university I wasn't intimidated... I didn't find university a big jump.

In sharp contrast the second student, who struggled and just managed to pass Sociology, gave this portrayal of her schooling:

> School didn't prepare me for university. When they give you essays you just do it parrot fashion. They don't really show you how to go about doing things... Although we were lectured to a bit they didn't really prepare us. They treated us as kids. It was a very superficial approach. There was not much discussion in the class. It was generally very exam orientated and very spoonfeedish.

These contrasting portrayals of schooling at the same LEWMUPB school appear to undermine the portrayal of the LEWMUPB school. It is essential that I endeavour to explain these contrasting accounts. The first point that must be made is that although the LEWMUPB school provides a structure that facilitates the development of the culture for Sociology, the pupil at the LEWMUPB school can choose how he/she wants to interact with the structure. The way the pupil interacts with this structure will generally determine what type of schooling the pupil receives. Thus, within the LEWMUPB school it is possible and likely that a range of pedagogical processes operate around the LEWMUPB 'mean'. This mean is a relatively weak frame which transmits the required culture. But at the far end of the scale is another pedagogical process in the same school which is far more syllabus-bound and is characterised by a relatively strong frame. A crucial point revealed by the in-depth interviews is that the pedagogical process is not only formulated by the school and teachers but is also shaped, as was argued in chapter one, by the pupils

themselves.

The pupils bring a culture into the school which significantly influences how they respond to the pedagogical process. This culture plays a major role in the shaping of the pedagogical process. The cultural capital transmitted to the pupil by his/her family interacts with the culture of the school. If the gap between the culture of the pupils and the culture of the school is too large then the school has to adapt to the culture of the pupils, especially if there are a sizeable number of pupils in a similar position. If there are only a few pupils within a LEWMUPB school whose cultural capital is very discrepant, then these few pupils will have to adapt or leave. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977:43) have expressed a similar view to the one sketched above:

> The successof school education, and more generally of all secondary pedagogic work, depends fundamentally on the education previously accomplished in the earliest years of life...the habitus acquired within the family forms the basis of the reception and assimilation of the classroom message...

Bourdieu, as was discussed in chapter one, links the kind of cultural capital transmitted by the family to the class location of the family. He argues that working class and lower PB families would transmit a cultural capital that is likely to result in the acquisition of a habitus that would make it difficult to cope with the culture of the school. Conversely the children of the middle to upper PB and bourgeoisie (the dominant classes) would acquire a habitus that is in line with that of the school.

My analysis differs from Bourdieu's in two vital respects. Firstly, Bourdieu appears to see the pedagogical process within

schools as uniform. What the in-depth interviews illustrated is that the pedagogical process is not uniform, neither within nor between schools: the divergent habituses and cultural heritages of the pupils and also the teachers lead to divergent pedagogical processes. Secondly, Bourdieu has a very deterministic notion of the culture transmitted by a specific social class. I agree with his assessment that the culture transmitted by the working class and lower PB will generally be different (he uses the term unequal rather than different) to the culture transmitted by the middle to upper PB and bourgeois family. However there is no necessary correlation, as he appears to argue, between middle to upper PB and bourgeois class location and receiving the culture to cope adequately with school, especially with the pedagogical process generally associated with the LEWMUPB school- that is, a pedagogy that expects student participation, independent thinking and debate. Within the ranks of the middle to upper PB and bourgeoisie (and the lower PB and working class) different families can transmit very different (unequal) cultures resulting in very different attitudes and performances in school and ultimately at university.[1] The two students (from the same school) recently quoted illustrate this very explicitly. The successful pupil/student described her home milieu in the following way:

> There were always a lot of books at home. My mother introduced me to the library when I was young. I was always encouraged to go and look things up that I didn't

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1. There is no doubt that a myriad of variables operate in the socialisationprocess, all of which contribute to the cultural capital of the individual. Thus within the same family different siblings, for a range of complex pschological reasons, might have different cultural capitals. However this does not negate the fact that the cultural capital of the parents is a very crucial variable shaping the cultural capital of the child.

> understand... My parents would encourage me. They took a lot of interest in my progress. University was always encouraged... I read a lot when I was younger. I was able to understand what people are trying to get at. Reading was important for developing my ability to comprehend the material and write clearly.

The weak student portrayed her home milieu very differently:

> My parents never really encouraged me to go university. Although there were books in the house I didn't read very much. My parents didn't push me...

It is clear that the cultural capital transmitted by the respective families is very different. The successful student was geared for university from an early age. She was strongly encouraged to develop her intellectual prowess through reading and asking questions and seeking answers to them. When she arrived at the LEWMUPB school in question, she was enthusiastic and was able to take full advantage of the LEWMUPB school. In sharp contrast, the second student was left on her own. There was no active attempt by her family to steer her towards and prepare her for university. When she entered the LEWMUPB school she felt 'inadequate' and did not enjoy her schooling.[1]

The different cultural capitals of pupils entering the LEWMUPB school are to some extent accommodated by streaming. Streaming is a crucial reinforcer of the initial differences in cultural capital as pupils in the different streams generally have a different pedagogy. The upper streams generally do academic subjects and their teachers generally endeavour to transmit an

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1. Although being female might have been a significant contributory factor in the non-encouragement of intellectual pursuit, the interviews showed that not all male students from middle to upper PB and bourgeois families were encouraged to develop the cultural capital generally expected of these social classes.

academic culture. The frame in the upper streams will be relatively weak. In the lower streams the frame will be strong in that there will be little movement outside of the syllabus and there will not be much pupil participation in the pedagogical process. The unsuccessful student in question did typing and perceived that her class was treated differently and also related differently to school: "We were generally bored at school and didn't take school very seriously... The teachers treated us like kids... they just spoonfed us." In sharp contrast the good student, who was in a 'top class', enjoyed school. There was a clear attempt to transmit an academic culture to this class:

> The history teacher taught us to write an essay. She taught us to think... She was very exacting in what she required. You had to justify your statements. She made us aware that things don't just happen. You had to state why things happen... Our class was very ambitious and academic performance was not at all frowned upon... Education was seen as an important way of attaining your ambition.

The differences in the cultures transmitted are explicit and can be understood by relating them to the different cultural capital with which pupils enter the LEWMUPB school. As a result of these differences teachers within the LEWMUPB schools feel forced to give up a significant part of their liberal pedagogical approach and to transmit a different culture when teaching classes in the lower streams.

The Syllabus Rigid White English Middle to Upper PB (SREWMUPB) Schools[1]

The interviews suggested that the LEWMUPB school is not common and that most schools composed of pupils of white, English middle to upper PB and bourgeois origins are what I have termed syllabus rigid.[2] The dominant frame in these schools is far stronger than that operating in the LEWMUPB school in that there is rarely any pedagogy outside of the syllabus, and the syllabus content is generally presented in an unquestioning fashion. The interviews indicated that within the SREWMUPB school there are generally some teachers who attempt to operate with a weaker frame. They can have an influence and transmit a sociological imagination to some pupils. However, it appears that generally the pedagogy of these few teachers does not make a large impact because of the dominance of the strong frame.

In line with the social class composition of these schools there is a strong emphasis on university. A cultural capital that endeavours to instil a drive to succeed in all realms is transmitted very actively. However, the strong frame that operates in the SREWMUPB schools makes it less likely, that an ex-SREWMUPB school pupil, relative to an ex-LEWMUPB student, will

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1. 18 ex-SREWMUPB pupils and 2 SREWMUPB teachers were interviewed. I stopped interviewing once clear trends started emerging.

2. There is a possibility that a greater proportion of the parents of pupils of SREWMUPB schools are entrepreneurs, small capitalists and, if professionals, more science than arts oriented, than is the case with the parents of pupils at LEWMUPB schools. It is probable that a sizeable proportion of the parents of LEWMUPB school pupils are involved in the liberal professions and arts. However, this proposition remains very tentative and is based on personal observations, particularly observations made while teaching in the ASP programme.

have the culture required to cope adequately with Sociology at UCT.

The SREWMUPB school and its potential influence on sociological ability is vividly captured in the following fragment of an interview with an ex-SREWMUPB school pupil:

> The school was very conservative, nothing controversial was allowed to be discussed... The teachers were generally conservative, they just stuck to the syllabus. The school was very academically inclined and very competitive. University was very strongly encouraged. My schooling did not really prepare me for Sociology... It didn't teach me to think, criticize and challenge. My critical faculties were undeveloped. We were taught to regurgitate and plagiarize. I learnt things by rote, no understanding was required... I battled when I did Sociology.

What is evident in this portrayal is how syllabus bound and uncritical the pedagogical process was. There was no attempt to instil a sociological imagination. The overriding concern was to ensure that the syllabus content was internalised so that good results were attained. The presentation of the syllabus as fact works directly against the development of a sociological imagination. As Young (1976:185) has stated, the presentation of the syllabus as fact,

> is mystifying in the way it presents the curriculum as having a life of its own, and obscures the human relations in which it, as any conception of knowledge, is embedded, leaving education as neither understandable nor controllable by man.

The class composition of the SREWMUPB school is a crucial factor in trying to explain the intense focus on the achievement of good results. The fact that the vast majority of pupils come from middle to upper PB and bourgeois homes virtually ensures that the large majority of pupils will be very university oriented so that they can retain their class position with the minimum amount of

effort.[1]

> Almost all the pupils are intent on going to university. A lot of pupils want to be doctors. Business degrees and law are next in line... Money and cars are seen as very important. A university degree is seen in purely utilitarian terms as a means of making money...(a teacher at a SREWMUPB school)

The in-depth interviews suggested that the cultural capital of SREWMUPB school pupils is a crucial factor accounting for the rigidity of the pedagogical process within the SREWMUPB school as they are not interested in any pedagogy that is not directly geared towards their obtaining good results. Even if a teacher within a SREWMUPB school wants to weaken the frame and question the syllabus he/she will find it very difficult:

> I find it very difficult to get discussion going in class. The pupils resist discussion if it is not very directly tied to their school work. They'll ask what's the point of this... They are very result oriented and this has a very serious impact. If you do anything they will ask 'Sir, is this for marks?' If something is not for marks then it is not seen as important. (a teacher at a SREWMUPB school)

As indicated it appears that the predominant cultural capital of the pupilsat LEWMUPB schools is different. Pupils at these schools are more open to discussion and creative, innovative work. One SREWMUPB school teacher, who through discussion with colleagues has some knowledge of LEWMUPB schools, felt that many pupils at LEWMUPB schools

> have a social conscience, they are a lot more aware politically. At S... (a SREWMUPB school) most of the pupils have no social conscience, creative teaching is very difficult. They have a strong class consciousness and

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1. The patriachal nature of our society fosters a milieu that puts more pressure on men to succeed in the economic realm. This appears to lead to males in SREWMUPB schools being more prone to having this cultural capital. Interestingly, it would appear that relative to LEWMUPB schools, far more SREWMUPB schools are single sex schools. It can tentatively be argued that it is probably easier to be a SREWMUPB school in a single sex context.

prejudice. All they are really concerned with is making money.

It would seem that there is an interplay between the middle to upper PB and bourgeois school and its pupils. These schools develop a particular tradition or reputation, in this case liberal or syllabus rigid, and parents will generally send their children to the type of school which is more in line with their own particular politics and general world view, thereby reinforcing the school's initial reputation.

As stated, SREWMUPB schools like LEWMUPB schools, place considerable emphasis on academic success. Part of this endeavour to ensure academic success involves really driving the pupils by setting large amounts of work and concomitantly instilling a strong, internalised work ethic.

> Kids are taught to cope with large quantities of work. A lot of homework is given, plus/minus three hours a day. There is a strict homework timetable and homework books are inspected. Generally, we have very little problem with homework as pupils want to do it. (a SREWMUPB school teacher)

This very strong, internalised drive to succeed is also inspired by intense competition amongst pupils which is further encouraged by the school:

> The school definitely encourages competition. Reports with precise marks are sent out, at assembly results and achievements are read out, there is prize-giving... kids suffer a lot of stress because of not achieving, the school psychologist is kept very busy...(a SREWMUPB school teacher)

The interviews indicated that pupils at SREWMUPB schools are likely to be even more competitive than pupils at LEWMUPB schools because of the former's intense focus on results and achievement. At most LEWMUPB schools this intense competition will probably be dissipated to some extent because of a greater awareness of how

negative intense competition can be and also because of a realisation that academic achievement is not the 'be all and end all'. An ex-LEWMUPB student expressed this in the following way: "Extra-mural activity is given a very strong emphasis and academic achievement is not emphasised at the expense of cultural activities." The intense competitiveness that generally prevails at SREWMUPB schools is illustrated by this statement by a SREWMUPB teacher:

> The pupils don't like group work nor the idea of sharing marks. They are too competitive and individualistic... A very high status is attached to academic performance...

This is linked to the cultural capital of the family and the SREWMUPB school whereby

> pupils are early socialised into this concept of knowledge as private property. They are encouraged to work as isolated individuals with their arms around their work. (Bernstein, 1981:56)

It appears that ultimately, the SREWMUPB school prepares most of its pupils for the university courses they are likely to take but generally not for Sociology at UCT. Because of most pupils' (and parents') intense utilitarianism, whereby a degree is primarily a means to ensure retention of one's class location and possibly upward mobility and prestige within the ranks of the dominant classes, few pupils from SREWMUPB schools will voluntarily choose to do university courses requiring a sociological imagination.[1]

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1. In line with this orientation is a tendency to view the more 'scientific' subjects like Maths and Science far more seriously than the subjects in the arts like English or History. "Pupils prefer maths and science. They are given higher status. English is virtually disregarded"(a SREWMUPB teacher). This is especially true in the all-male SREWMUBP schools where the drive to obtain a degree which ensures high financial rewards would be intense. It is also likely that the subjects in the arts would be discredited as being 'effeminate' in the all-boys SREWMUPB school. The interviews suggested that a 'macho' ideology is prevalent within these schools.

Those who do so voluntarily are generally out of the ordinary and would possibly have acquired some of the required culture through their own efforts. Their schooling certainly does not prepare them:

> School didn't prepare me. It didn't teach me to think for myself. They give you everything you require for the exam and that's that. You never went out of the syllabus... A lot of notes were given out. You never had to select knowledge... I found it difficult to select the central argument... When I entered Sociology I had no idea how to write an essay... I just put down points.

Another student who attended a SREWMUPB school expressed this lack of preparation for Sociology in the following way:

> They didn't put anything into your mind... They didn't question the system at all... In Sociology your mind has to be open. It is a broad subject, a lot of things fall into it.

An ex-SREWMUPB school pupil interviewee who had chosen to do General Sociology was clearly an exception. He entered Sociology with a culture that enabled him to cope very adequately with Sociology and he obtained an upper second.

> I read and wrote a lot when I was young... I was very involved in the school magazine and generally wrote a lot... When I came here I had no problem understanding the material or writing an essay.

However, he gave his SREWMUPB school little credit for his ability in Sociology: "The syllabus was well presented but it rarely strayed outside of the syllabus... The teachers were terrified to handle political issues. Nothing was questioned..."

An important aspect of the SREWMUPB school,however, is that although these schools do not prepare pupils for Sociology per se, they do provide them with some vital aspects of the culture required to be successful at university. A crucial aspect is that they help develop an internalised discipline within their

pupils. Ex-SREWMUPB school pupils interviewed usually had no difficulty working by themselves and generally coping with the university milieu. A university degree and a high status career are perceived as their rightful destiny and the SREWMUPB school (together with the family) attempts to ensure that they have the basic skills, drive, and confidence to achieve the destiny that has been mapped out for them:

> The school was always telling us how fortunate we were to be here and that your future, if you worked hard, was virtually assured because you were at R... The school was outstanding in the sense that it gave me a tremendous sense of self-importance... I knew that I was going to have a profession (an ex-SREWMUPB pupil).

Overall, the academic confidence of pupils of middle to upper PB and bourgeois origins at both LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB schools, when compared to that of pupils from WELMPB and CLOMPB schools is truly remarkable.

A final point that should be made in this brief sketch is that the in-depth interviews indicated that gender composition plays a sizeable role in the shaping of the SREWMUPB school. Up until now those aspects of the SREWMUPB school emphasized have been those that generally characterize all-boys SREWMUPB schools. A distinction between all-girls and all-boys SREWMUPB schools has not been made. There is little doubt, however, that there are substantial differences. The crucial difference will usually revolve around the cultural capital transmitted. In the girls-only SREWMUPB school there is generally less emphasis on university education and an intense drive to succeed academically would not be instilled. The primary emphasis would be on turning out respectable, well-groomed, eligible young 'ladies'. To an extent this portrayal is captured in the following fragment of an interview with a student who attended a girls only SREWMUPB

school:

> It was a very bourgeois school, there was not much emphasis on university. A great deal of attention was paid to dress... I couldn't cope with university because I didn't really know what I was doing here. I found it very difficult to work by myself...

Not all all-girls SREWMUPB schools are like the one just described. In line with the increasing acceptance of the 'career woman' by the dominant classes, some all-girls SREWMUPB schools are very similar to their all-boys counterpart. The emphasis is on academic achievement and marriage rather than just marriage. Once more we can see how the cultural capital transmitted by the family helps shape the culture of the school.[1]

White English Lower to Middle PB (WELMOPB) Schools [2]

From the interviews it became clear that in some respects the WELMOPB school is similar to the SREWMUPB school. The pedagogical process within the WELMOPB school is characterised by a strong frame in that it is very syllabus bound, the syllabus content is generally not questioned, rarely is a relativistic

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1. A good example of an all-girls SREWMUPB school that emphasizes academic achievement, university training and a career is Rustenberg. This assertion is substantiated by its matriculation results (see page 37) and the number of ex-Rustenberg pupils enrolled at UCT. In 1983, 221 ex-Rustenberg pupils were at UCT. Rustenberg was the sixth largest supplier of students to UCT, after Bishops (the fifth largest). The latter had 257 ex-pupils at UCT in 1983. In contrast to Rustenberg another all-girls SREWMUPB school, St Cyprians had only 64 ex-pupils enrolled at UCT in 1983 (University of Cape Town Careers Office, 1983). This suggests that St Cyprians concentrates on turning out elegant young ladies rather then aspirant academic achievers.

2. 7 ex-WELMOPB pupils and 2 former WELMOPB teachers were interviewed. There was certainly scope for more interviews with individuals linked to WELMOPB schools. However, very rich information was obtained from the 9 interviews conducted and certain trends became apparent.

conception of knowledge transmitted, and pupils are geared almost solely towards uncritical internalising of the syllabus for exam purposes.

Although WELMOPB schools and SREWMUPB schools have some similar characteristics there are also important differences. The in-depth interviews suggested that the primary factor responsible for these differences is their differing class compositions. The cultural capital with which WELMOPB school pupils enter the school is generally different to the cultural capital that pupils bring into the SREWMUPB school. This crucial difference can be related, in line with Bourdieu's thesis, to the social class origins of the pupils at WELMOPB schools. It appears that the large majority of lower PB pupils have no desire, nor are they expected by their families, to go to university. The middle PB families and the middle PB pupils attending WELMOPB schools generally have higher expectations than lower PB parents and pupils. However, the class composition of the WELMOPB school generally ensures that, compared to LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB schools, university and the achievement of good school results are desires that are less intense for the majority of middle PB and the few upper PB pupils at WELMOPB schools. Students interviewed who were ex-WELMOPB pupils had a clear perception of this: "Most pupils were not university oriented... schoolwork was not taken very seriously... not many pupils went to university."

As stated, this difference in attitudes can be related to the class composition of WELMOPB schools and the dominant cultural capital that is shaped by this class composition. The class origins of WELMOPB school pupils lead to the predominance of a

cultural capital which can be labelled as relatively anti-intellectual. A teacher from a WELMOPB school expressed this in the following way:

> University is not really stressed... the school is not academically inclined. There is resistance to people doing well. There is a lot of peer-group pressure. You must not ask questions... There is definitely an anti-intellectualism operating in the school. It affects the aspirations of the pupils... Very few of the pupils go to university...

This anti-intellectualism is manifested in various ways. A student who attended a WELMOPB school stated that

> A-stream students were seen as the boffins... We were made to feel different and were not very well liked by our fellow pupils... The A-class did not really mix with the other classes as a result.[1]

The teacher recently quoted possessed the following note from a successful WELMOPB school pupil:

> I have decided to dissociate myself from anything academic and I am not going to try and get high marks any more. I am just trying to be normal and to get rid of nicknames like 'brainy'.

It would seem that the A- stream in WELMOPB schools is characterised by a pedagogical process that is similar to the one that prevails in SREWMUPB schools.

The anti-intellectualism which pervades the WELMOPB school has important effects. As a WELMOPB teacher stated

> Academic achievement and aspirations are generally not given much value or status by pupils. Achieving in sport is given far more worth by the pupils than achieving academically.

The lack of emphasis on academic achievement has, in turn a significant influence on the pedagogical process. School and schoolwork are generally not taken seriously. A WELMOPB teacher expressed this in the following way:

> The atmosphere is reasonably relaxed as there is not intense

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1. From the interviews it appeared that the A-stream class in the WELMOPB school is usually dominated numerically by pupils whose class origins are middle rather than lower PB.

> pressure on them to perform. Some homework would be given but one wouldn't expect it to be done... The kids don't take things seriously... There is not a strong internalised drive to succeed.

The anti-intellectualism that predominates makes the possibility of serious discussion outside of the syllabus even more remote than in SREWMUPB schools. Even in the A- stream, although teachers would expect more from these classes, the 'frame' remains strong.

> We just stuck to the syllabus... most of the class couldn't cope when the teacher went outside of the syllabus. The teacher was under a lot of pressure to stick to the syllabus... In class I would be the only one speaking when there was discussion. (an ex-WELMOPB school pupil)

It would seem that the cultural capital of most pupils in WELMOPB schools would severely constrain even the most liberal teachers.

The in-depth interviews indicated that those students who attended WELMOPB schools have more chance of lacking the culture required for Sociology at UCT than students who attended LEWMUPB or SREWMUPB schools. A teacher at a WELMOPB school expressed the problems of ex-WELMOPB pupils at university in the following way: "A lot come to university and a lot drop out. Besides finding it difficult to cope academically they cannot handle the freedom." It would seem that ex-WELMOPB school students are also less likely to have the internalised drive and discipline of students who have emerged from LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB schools.

An ex-WELMOPB school pupil graphically expressed her lack of preparation for Sociology: "In Sociology it was as if you were using another part of you brain."

Another student, who was head-girl at her WELMOPB school, stated that

> In Sociology you have to get to the crux of the matter. You have to be analytical. You have to use different thought processes. At school we never really had to think for ourselves...

Although this student did very well at school and came to university "brimming with confidence" she failed Sociology I. Besides not having the required culture, she had little internalised discipline and found it very difficult to work independently. She expressed this in the following way: "I didn't feel the pressure to work. At 'res' nobody works, so I felt why should I? Also there was nobody to push me."

A final point in this regard is that for most pupils from WELMOPB schools the university environment has a remoteness that is far greater than that experienced by LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB pupils. This intensifies the difficulties ex-WELMOPB pupils often face when they arrive at university. This is rectified to some extent by the fact that university-aspiring WELMOPB school pupils are usually in the A-class, where they will receive some inkling of the university environment as well as encouragement from their teachers and fellow A-stream pupils. At home their parents will generally encourage them. They will almost certainly not receive much encouragement from most of their fellow pupils outside of the A-classes who, reminiscent of 'the lads' in Willis's study, generally view intellectual pursuits with disdain. This is an interesting finding as it indicates that the anti-intellectualism which Willis shows is so strong amongst working class pupils in England is often also a feature of the white South African lower PB and some members of the white middle PB. Relative to the working class, however, it will generally not be as intense, and

in addition a greater proportion of lower and middle PB pupils will have intellectual aspirations. It can be tentatively surmised that the greater the proportion of middle PB pupils in a school, the greater is the possibility that a sizeable proportion of the lower PB pupils in the school will be academically inclined. This also works in the opposite direction: the greater the proportion of lower PB pupils in a school, the greater the proportion of middle PB pupils who will not be interested in intellectual pursuits.

The White English Working Class to Lower PB (WEWCLOPB) Schools

Very little space will be devoted to this type of school, for two related reasons. Firstly, very few Sociology students at UCT are from WEWCLOPB schools, and linked to this, none could be found to interview. Secondly, an endeavour was made to make up for the paucity of interview material by devoting a substantial amount of space to discussing a WEWCLOPB school in chapter one (see pages 28 to 34). The fact that no ex-WEWCLOPB school pupils could be found to interview serves to substantiate further the findings of chapter one (see page 38) where it was shown that UCT is dominated by the offspring of the petit bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. The point that a miniscule proportion of pupils from WEWCLOPB schools come to UCT is again illustrated in chapter four. A few points about WEWCLOPB schools will be made, based on a very extensive, in-depth interview with a teacher who teaches at a WEWCLOPB school. The interview served to substantiate further the findings of the two studies (Watson, 1970; Gilmour, 1981) discussed in chapter one.

A crucial aspect that emerged from the interview is that the

cultural capital of WEWCLOPB pupils and their families does not predispose them to university education.

> The pupils are locked into expectations about what kind of work they should do. They are limited by their expectations and by their families' expectations of where they should get to, and by economics... long term gains are not seen as relevant. The university is a mystical place... 1 in 30 matriculants go to university every year.

The syllabus content and school in general are viewed by the pupils with disdain. The teacher interviewed expressed the reasons for this, and the effects in the following way:

> The curriculum gives very little acknowledgement to their own culture. To expect a (WEWCLOPB) pupil to get anything out of Shakespeare is a bit naive. The pupils are clearly alienated from the syllabus. Not only the syllabus, but school in general is viewed negatively. There is high absenteeism. The kids lack confidence, they don't believe in themselves... They have to try and assert themselves in an almost jungle-type way.

The cultural (and economic) capital of the pupils has a direct effect on the pedagogical process:

> It acutely affects the way you teach. The kids just want the bare minimum required for the exam. There is no question that you are teaching for tertiary education. Standard ten is the goal... Only in the A class do you get some kids who start viewing the pursuit of knowledge as good.

What is illustrated very starkly by this brief sketch is that the possibility of a WEWCLOPB school pupil reaching university is very remote, and even if he/she does, the possibility of his/her having the required culture to cope with the university environment, and more specifically Sociology at UCT, is even more remote. This will be elaborated on in the following section where we deal with the DIA working class to lower PB school. What also emerges quite graphically is that the culture that predominates in and is transmitted by the WEWCLOPB school is very different to the culture that predominates in and is transmitted by schools catering for the middle to upper PB and bourgeois

parent and child. These differing dominant cultures have profound implications for the academic achievements of the respective classes both within the school and within the university. Firstly, as was shown in chapter one, the white working class to lower PB schools produce relatively poor school results. Secondly, only a small proportion of their pupils (as chapter four will clearly show) come to university. The university will, as a result, continue to be dominated by the bourgeoisie and middle and upper PB. Finally, we can surmise that of all white UCT Sociology students those emanating from WEWCLOPB schools are most likely not to have the required cultural capital to cope adequately.

A final, more general point is that the preceding typologizing of WEA schools has served to substantiate what was argued in chapter one. It has illustrated that the social class origins of pupils play a central role in shaping the pedagogical process and general ambience of the school and that this in turn has a crucial bearing on the educational attainments of pupils/students.

Department of Internal Affairs (Coloured) Working Class to Lower PB (COWCLOPB) Schools

COWCLOPB schools, like WEWCLOPB schools, send very few pupils to UCT. However, two Sociology students who had attended a COWCLOPB school were found and interviewed. A principal and four teachers working in COWCLOPB schools were also interviewed.[1] My own

1. Although the in-depth interviews provided a sizeable amount of information, the limited number of interviews conducted certainly increases the tentativeness of the sketch of this type.

teaching experience at a COWCLOPB school helped considerably in understanding the pedagogical processes operating at these schools.

The prevailing mode of viewing DIAEA schooling is to present it as being very different to WEA schooling. What the in-depth interviews revealed, however, is that the similar class composition of COWCLOPB and WEWCLOPB schools ensures that they have similar aspects. However, before I elaborate on these class related similarities, cognizance must be taken of the significant effects of the discriminatory allocation of resources to the educational authorities in question and the racist nature of the social structure. The in-depth interviews suggested, as did my teaching experience, that the COWCLOPB school pupils' disdain for schooling and intellectual pursuits is greater than that prevailing at WEWCLOPB schools. The latter have halls and better sporting facilities. Almost all the teachers have university degrees, all the pupils have books and the classrooms are in a reasonable state of repair.[1] The in-depth interviews suggested that the inadequate facilities and lack of adequately trained teachers generally lead to COWCLOPB school pupils being even more contemptuous of their schooling than WEWCLOPB school pupils. The other aspect that tends to make the COWCLOPB school even less academically inclined than the WEWCLOPB school is that the proportion of lower PB pupils in the latter is generally greater. Also, the pupils of working class origins in WEWCLOPB schools generally come from a more stable and affluent sector of the working class. There is little doubt that white workers

1. This is not to imply that teachers in WEWCLOPB schools are adequately trained: rather they are generally more adequately trained than teachers in COWCLOPB schools.

generally earn more than coloured workers. The racist structuring of the South African social formation results in coloured working class school pupils being more aware of their family's class location and of the fact that they have little chance of escaping it. This further accentuates their cynicism. This is then further compounded by their feeling that 'coloured schooling' is inferior to 'white schooling'.

This disdain for schooling is manifested in various ways. One important example is truancy: "Bunking has reached startling proportions. Often there are up to ten kids missing from class after second break. The kids are often contemptuous of authority" (a teacher at a COWCLOPB school).

What the in-depth interviews and my own personal observations as a teacher in a COWCLOPB school showed, however, is that despite these substantial differences the cultural capital that predominates in the COWCLOPB school is similar to that predominating in the WEWCLOPB school. This is illustrated in the following statement by an ex-COWCLOPB school pupil.

> M.H.S. kids unlike B.H.S. are far more focussed on the present... University is a total mystery.[1] It is not part of working class culture. There are incredible illusions about the university. People think that to go there you have to be the most intelligent person in the world.[2]

This is very similar to the portrayal of pupils' perception of university at WEWCLOPB schools.

The dominant cultural capital and its effects were described by a

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1. M.H.S. is a COWCLOPB school. B.H.S. is a lower to middle PB(CLOMPB) school. The student quoted was at M.H.S.

2. 32 out of the 120 pupils in his matric class passed. Two went to university and two went to Hewat training college.

COWCLOPB school principal in the following way. The dominant cultural capital is clearly very similar to that of the WEWCLOPB school.

> Very few working class kids make it to matric or university. The whole culture of the working class doesn't encourage kids. An anti-intellectualism operates... The attitude towards intellectual pursuit, discipline, towards teachers and towards school is different. Middle-class kids will do their work. The parents will help. Working class kids do not do the work, the parents also can't help... Most teachers being middle class can't understand this...The working class kids are totally removed from the school...

This is very similar to Bourdieu's (1976:111) view that

> in comparison with working class children, who are doubly disadvantaged as regards facilities for assimilating culture and the propensity to acquire it, middle-class children receive from their parents not only encouragement and exhortation with regard to their schoolwork, but also an ethos of 'getting on' in society...

The reasons given by an ex-COWCLOPB school pupil for coming to UCT are worth noting:

> In 1979 there was an exhibition at UCT. I was very fascinated by the buildings and the place generally. I decided to give university a try. My father is <u>working here</u> so I was given a rebate... Neither my teachers or parents encouraged me to go to university...

The reasons he gave for coming to UCT are different to all the others that were obtained when interviewing. Almost all the students interviewed, when asked why they came to university, would talk about career aspirations and teacher and parental encouragement. This student was not encouraged by his teachers or his parents. His father's being just able to afford the fees, because of the staff rebate to which he was entitled, was one reason for this ex-COWCLOPB student coming to UCT. However, the main reason appeared to be located in the university's intense remoteness from his world, so that when he encountered it for the first time it had a mysterious and almost magical appeal.

A brief account of this student's university experience will show how desperately lacking he was in the required culture. His schooling experience, combined with his own social class origins, left him floundering hopelessly:

> My attitude to the place was negative. I had no confidence in myself. I felt I couldn't express myself on paper. In the first few months I felt quite lost. I couldn't cope. I wasn't working hard enough. I took a long time to do things. I couldn't finish things off in time. In Sociology we had Haralambos.[1] I didn't understand it. I also didn't have a copy of Haralambos. I couldn't afford it...I couldn't write an essay, I couldn't articulate things logically. Eventually the pressure became too great. I felt I wasn't coping. I withdrew and stayed away from university for almost two months.

The student was then asked what the main differences were between school and university:

> There is a big gap. At school you could always rely on your friends. You were part of a group. You didn't feel out of place. At university I felt very isolated in my first year. I didn't have any real friends. I found this very disturbing...Then the whole approach is different. At university it is very self-oriented. You are completely independent. At school you're pushed. At school the teacher is always right. You can challenge ideas at university. You have to argue your points. At school everything is very uniform...you just have to study facts.

Three aspects emerge from this portrayal. Firstly, the class origins of this student virtually ensured that he was intensely isolated when he came to UCT. He lacked the support group that most students of middle to upper PB and bourgeois origins have (it is likely that a white student coming to UCT from a WEWCLOPB school would have a similar experience). Secondly, his schooling had failed to instil within him a key aspect of the required culture: he found it very difficult to work independently. He lacked the internalised discipline so characteristic of students from LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB schools. Finally, the quote suggests

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1. Haralambos is the author of the textbook that was prescribed for General Sociology I in 1981.

that a very strong frame operates at COWCLOPB schools. This is linked to the cultural capital with which pupils enter the COWCLOPB school and the cultural capital of most teachers teaching in COWCLOPB schools. A teacher in a COWCLOPB school expressed this in the following way:

> The teachers want good results, therefore they spoonfeed... The way they teach is a legacy of their teacher training courses. They get spoonfed and they transfer their training onto the kids... Also the teacher is expected to play the classic authoritarian teacher role otherwise the kids don't listen. If you don't behave in this way then they don't respect you... They often don't take material outside the syllabus seriously.

The strong frame that exists makes it highly unlikely that a student emerging from a COWCLOPB school will be endowed with a sociological imagination. It can be concluded, that like their white counterparts, pupils from COWCLOPB schools will continue to be a rare phenomenon at UCT and that those who do make it to the university are likely to lack the required culture to cope with Sociology.[1]

The Department of Internal Affairs (Coloured) Lower PB to middle PB (CLOMPB) School[2]

The interviews revealed that the CLOMPB school is different to the COWCLOPB school and is also distinct from the WELMOPB school. In the case of the COWCLOPB and the CLOMPB school it is the social class composition of the respective types that primarily

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1. Both of the ex-COWCLOPB pupils I interviewed had battled considerably with Sociology. One failed Sociology I and then failed Sociology III. The other interviewee failed Sociology I three times and then left UCT.

2. 8 ex-CLOMPB school pupils and 3 teachers and a principal were interviewed. The 12 in-depth interviews gave a reasonably comprehensive portrayal of the CLOMPB school. My attempt to capture the dominant characteristics of this school type was facilitated considerably by my having taught in a CLOMPB school.

accounts for the different dominant cultures. The different colour composition, it is argued, is the crucial factor accounting for the CLOMPB school having a different predominant cultural capital to that of its white counterpart, the WELMOPB school.

The CLOMPB school is characterized by the dominant cultural capital of parents, pupils and teachers being one that strongly encourages university education and, related to this, good school results. "If you went to C.., it was taken for granted that you would go to university or Hewat (teachers training college)" (an ex-CLOMPB school pupil). This very strong emphasis on academic achievement and university distinguishes the CLOMPB school very sharply from the COWCLOPB school and to a lesser extent from the WELMOPB school. In the case of the WELMOPB school it has been shown that although these schools send a proportion of their pupils to university, this type of school generally has a dominant cultural capital that does not strongly stress university education or academic achievement. As regards pupils at the WELMOPB school, the lack of university aspirations is seemingly strongest amongst WELMOPB school pupils of lower PB origins.

The question that arises is why CLOMPB schools are so university orientated, especially when compared to the WELMOPB school. The in-depth interviews suggested two tentative answers. Firstly, a lower PB coloured parent who has university aspirations for his/her child will generally send his/her child to a CLOMPB school. On the other hand a lower PB white parent who wants his/her child to go to university will probably send his/her child to a middle to upper PB school. At this stage it can be

safely contended that a middle to upper PB coloured school does not exist. Secondly, the in-depth interviews suggested that the aspiration towards university education within the coloured lower PB will generally be greater than within the lower PB classified white. This is a complex and uncharted terrain but it would seem that for a large part of the coloured lower PB, university education has become a central part of the culture since obtaining a degree is a definite way of facilitating class mobility.[1] The racist nature of the social structure would result in university education being less sought-after by the white lower PB as the racist structure historically has facilitated the upward mobility of the white lower PB to a far greater extent . This is most evident in the realm of state employment where the racist structure has ensured that the state bureaucracy is dominated by whites (see Davies, 1979).

The kind of culture referred to is captured in the following statement:

> My parents strongly encouraged me. They felt that university is the best thing that can happen to you. They viewed it as a means of social mobility...A degree would in a sense ensure my class (his father is a computer operator).

This portrayal of the coloured lower PB is in line with Bourdieu's (1976:110) view that

> it is understandable that the lower middle class - a transitionalclass - lays more emphasis on educational values (than the working class) as the school offers them reasonable chances of achieving all they want by mixing the values of social success and cultural prestige.

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1. Thiscontention is to some extent substantiated by the ever-increasing enrolment at the University of the Western Cape. In 1964 there were 389 students (Survey of Race Relations, 1964:291). In 1971 there were 934 students (Survey of Race Relations, 1971:289). In 1984 there were 6068 full and part-time students (Hansard, col 1 question 10, 5 July 1984).

I would tentatively argue that the racist structure historically has in itself given the white lower PB the "social success and cultural prestige" required without their having to go to university. The same cannot be said for the coloured lower PB.

The CLOMPB schools have thus historically developed as schools whose primary task has been to facilitate the "social success and cultural prestige" of the coloured petit bourgeoisie. For many members of the coloured petit bourgeoisie university education is seen as the primary means of attaining this 'social success and cultural prestige'. A university education, besides facilitating social mobility, proves the adequacy of the coloured petit bourgeoisie within a racist structure that has interpellated them as second class. The CLOMPB schools thus strongly encourage university education: "The kids are continually told that they'll starve if they don't get degrees" (a CLOMPB school teacher).

This emphasis on university education in CLOMPB schools is also a result of the strong position that the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) has historically held within most CLOMPB schools. University education has always been very emphatically stressed by the TLSA as it is viewed as a means of attaining the intellectual skills required to contribute towards the liberation struggle.

The very active propagation of university leads to an intense emphasis on obtaining good school results. This in turn has a significant influence on the pedagogical process within CLOMPB schools. What emerged quite explicitly from the interviews is that a strong frame operates in CLOMPB schools. The syllabus is

generally rigidly adhered to and for the most part is not questioned. Social relations between teachers and pupils are usually rigid. Not much initiative is given to pupils:

> In class everything is very prescribed, you must do the work that is given otherwise you are punished. The teachers were generally very authoritarian...not much thinking was done, everythingwas bounded... There was a lot of spoonfeeding at the school... (an ex-CLOMPB school pupil)

A principal of a CLOMPB school stated that

> the kids are very spoonfed and very regimented. The teachers are highly conscious of the fact that we have to get kids through the exam. The exam is everything, alternatives are not really possible...

He placed part of the blame for the 'spoonfeeding' on the lack of facilities in CLOMPB schools:

> The teacher is generally sitting with a mixed group, higher grade and standard grade in one class. The teacher has to cater for both. We cannot split the classes as there are not enough facilities. The teacher has to pander to the weak group. The strong group is not really encouraged to think innovatively. Most teachers are not capable of catering to both groups and will rather just stick to the syllabus.

Another factor which contributes to the strong frame operating in CLOMPB schools is that a sizeable proportion of the parents have little or no history of intellectual training. It appears that many never completed high school.[1] A result of this is that a large proportion of the pupils who enter the CLOMPB school do not have a history of intellectual stimulation. They do not have the culture required to alter the pedagogical process and thereby weaken the frame operating. A teacher at a CLOMPB school expressed and explained this in the following way:

> The family context is an important variable... the parents

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1. It must be noted that the spread of mass high school education to people classified coloured is a recent phenomenon. In 1945 84 coloured pupils passed the matric exam. In 1962 there were only 1137 coloured matriculants, of whom 546 passed. In 1962 only 34 coloured students in South Africa obtained degrees. (van der Linde, 1964:Appendix C)

> give a lot of encouragement and put a lot of pressure on the kids. However, they don't provide books. The writing and reading ability of many of the pupils is appalling...this is accentuated by the poor primary schooling that most of the kids have, where everything is learnt by rote.

The above scenario ties in with Bourdieu's conclusion that

> children from the lower middle classes, as they receive nothing from their family of any use to them in their academic activities except a sort of undefined enthusiasm to acquire culture, are obliged to expect and receive everything from school, even if it means accepting the school's criticism of them as 'plodders'. (Bourdieu, 1976:114)

It seems that it is only in the A-stream classes that there is seemingly potential for a significant loosening of the frame. However, the interviews indicated that even in these classes the intense concern with obtaining good results leads to the majority of the teachers' adhering rigidly to the syllabus and generally operating with a strong frame.

> The kids are given a lot of homework and they get beaten if they don't do it... Kids often complain about the intense pressure put on them. E... (the top pupil) got an ulcer because he was constantly 'hassled'. He was made to feel a failure because he obtained a C for maths in June.... (a CLOMPB school teacher)

The intense concern with obtaining good results leads to competition being very strongly encouraged amongst the pupils:

> Clever boys are constantly mentioned at assembly... There is an obsession with marks, the value of each child is measured by his academic achievement... Marks are displayed publicly. (a CLOMPB school teacher)

Ironically, the evidence suggests that the CLOMPB schools, the schools which probably have the highest proportion of teachers on the 'broad left', are characterised by a frame which is as strong as, if not stronger than, the frame operating in WELMOPB and SREWMUPB schools. Pupils appear to be as 'spoonfed', they are

given as little room for discussion and the social relations between teachers and pupils appear to be as authoritarian.

The strong frame operating makes it unlikely that CLOMPB pupils will acquire a culture that equips them to cope adequately with Sociology. This was expressed in the interviews in various ways:

> I found it difficult to cope with the freedom at university. You have to organize your own time which is difficult. Generally I found it difficult... School involves giving back exactly what is required. I battled to cope with all the readings. I couldn't write the essays (an ex-CLOMPB school pupil)

From this account it is clear that this student's schooling failed to instil within him an internalised discipline and related to this, an ability to work independently. It also illustrates that his cultural code was not developed by the school; he could not adequately comprehend the readings or write essays.

This is how another ex-CLOMPB pupil expressed the way her schooling had contributed to her difficulties in Sociology:

> I had never heard of capitalism before. The syllabus was never really questioned. We knew that there was something wrong but never knew what was wrong...I found university a big jump. All of a sudden I had to work by myself. I had to get things in on time. I found the work-load very big... I found it difficult to think analytically. I spent a lot of time preparingfor Sociology. I worked hard. (an ex-CLOMPB school pupil)

Six of the eight ex-CLOMPB school pupils interviewed felt that the strong frame which operates in these schools had contributed significantly to their having great difficulty in applying the sociological imagination.

A final question that arises concerns the highly politicized

teachers within the CLOMPB schools: do they not attempt to transmit a sociological imagination? It is clear as has been shown, that there are significant constraints on teachers attempting to loosen the strong frame that exists. However, it appears that the majority of teachers in CLOMPB schools make little or no attempt to use the limited space that does exist to practise a liberatory pedagogy.[1] From the interviews it would appear that generally there is a substantial disjuncture between the political ideology of politically progressive teachers and their pedagogical practice. Usually they stick closely to the syllabus and make little effort to alter the authoritarian social relations which generally characterise teacher-pupil relations.

Not only do almost all pupils emerge without a sociological imagination but also it would seem that only a few pupils emerge from CLOMPB schools with a knowledge of even the rudimentary features of the capitalist mode of production.

A final question that emerges, but which will not be dwelt on, is whether the intellectual training which these teachers receive makes it possible for them to actually approach teaching a liberatory pedagogy. The in-depth interviews suggested that very few have a conception of what a liberatory pedagogy implies.

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1. A liberatory pedagogy is a pedagogy that endeavours to transmit a sociological imagination, thereby facilitating pupils' abilities to make a "lucid summation of the world". This in turn would involve the questioning of the present way in which society is organised and illustrating to pupils how the prevailing forms of societal organisation are ultimately responsible for exploitation, oppression and poverty in contemporary society. It also involves operating through a weak frame that allows pupils to question and enter into dialogue. Finally, it requiresthat the authoritarian social relations that generally characterise pupil-teacher relations be challenged.

This bleak picture of CLOMPB schools must, however, not be over-emphasised. Inside and outside the classroom there is likely to be more discussion of social issues than there is in WELMOPB or SREWMUPB schools. The oppressed position of the coloured petit bourgeoisie has ensured a more pervasive (but still limited) politicisation of pupils at CLOMPB schools. However, it is outside rather than inside the classroom where most generating of a sociological imagination occurs. Some of the activity generating this will take place under the auspices of the school ie. debating societies. The interviews suggested, however, (as has my own personal observation while teaching) that most generating of a sociological imagination and / or critique of capitalism within CLOMPB schools will take place informally. Certain teachers will hold discussions with a select group of students. A few 'select' pupils will be instilled with a sociological imagination and anti-capitalist ideology by their teachers. The interviews indicated that some of the ex-CLOMPB pupils who do Sociology (especially IS I, as it is viewed as the more politically relevant course) will have been part of this select few.

Some Concluding Remarks

In the realm of theory the preceding analysis has implications for the way schooling is generally viewed in the South African context. Crucial aspects of schooling that are generally not recognised have been incorporated into this analysis. The analysis has highlighted what was argued in chapter one, namely that if an understanding of schooling in South Africa is to be obtained, we have to recognise and incorporate aspects such as

relative autonomy of schools, the class composition of schools, the cultural capital of the family and the pupils entering the schools, and the way the syllabus is conceived and transmitted within the schools. I hope this chapter has shown the weaknesses that arise if these aspects are neglected and concomitantly how cognisance of these aspects increases our ability to understand the complex reality of schooling in South Africa and, more specifically, how schooling shapes performance in Sociology.

This chapter has shown, in line with what was argued in chapter one, that although state policy is crucial, it does not necessarily determine the pedagogical process. The relative autonomy of the school creates the spaces which allow for the syllabus to be conceived and transmitted in different ways.

The in-depth interviews also revealed that there is an interplay between the pupils who compose a school and the pedagogical process within it. The cultural capital with which pupils enter a school has a significant influence on the pedagogy which can be practised. However, related to this, it has been shown (although not enough attention was given to this aspect) that in most types of schools teachers generally make little effort to penetrate the constraints imposed by pupils. They do not endeavour to develop a pedagogics that contributes to the development of a sociological imagination in spite of these constraints.

The role of the teacher in perpetuating a strong frame is very important and, as was stated in chapter one, has generally been left out of analyses dealing with South African schooling. The syllabus is transmitted by teachers who have some relative autonomy. The political ideology and the cultural capital of

teachers are thus crucial variables in the shaping of the pedagogical process.

The above points have important political and pedagogical implications. We can conclude that changing the syllabus content is only one aspect of creating a truly liberatory pedagogical process.[1] Just as crucial is the way in which this syllabus is conceived and transmitted. The pedagogy practised must encourage pupil participation, initiative, questioning and creativity. However, what this chapter also points to is that as long as the present class structure persists, the cultural capital which most pupils bring into the school will make the development of a liberatory pedagogy very difficult.

In recent struggles some pupils have been aware that the focus of attack should not only be on the discriminatory and inadequate provision of facilities by the state and the contents of the syllabus, but should also be directed against the transmitters of this syllabus. At some schools teachers have been pressurised by pupils to abandon their authoritarian teaching style and/or

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1. This analysis calls into question earlier tactics developed by the dominated classes to fight 'Bantu education'. For example, the boycott of government controlled schools in 1955 was called in protest against the National Party's plans to use 'Bantu education' to "condition the next generation to a permanent acceptance of its inferior status" (Troup, 1977:22). Implicit in this strategy is the notion that the syllabus content determines the pedagogical process. What is not understood is that this content has to be transmitted by teachers and that the schools have some relative autonomy. Possibly, a better strategy would have been to hold intensive workshops for teachers so as to show them that even within the context of the 'Bantu education' syllabus a progressive pedagogy was difficult, but still possible. This would have involved stressing the relative autonomy of the schools and that syllabus content does not necessarily determine the pedagogical process. The question that arises is how responsive teachers would have been, given their class location and cultural capital.

political conservatism. However, this focus on the transmitters of the syllabus does not appear to be very common. It would seem that both in political practice and in the literature, the teacher and the pedagogical process within the school are usually left out of the picture.

Returning to the realm of theory, what this chapter has endeavoured to do is concretely to illustrate the pertinence of class in any analysis of schooling. Generally, as has been discussed in chapter one, historical materialist analyses of schooling in South Africa have ultimately conflated race and class. This has led to the portrayal of schooling in terms of monolithic racial units. This chapter has shown that both WEA and DIAEA schooling are characterised by class divisions that have a profound influence on the pedagogical process. The class divisions within educational authorities should be noted and not swept under the carpet. By incorporating class into analyses of schooling, a more comprehensive and illuminating understanding of schooling in South Africa will be obtained.

As regards performance in Sociology, the in-depth interviews suggested that if a student has emerged from a working class to lower PB school, the possibility of the school's having transmitted to him/her the culture required to cope adequately with Sociology is remote. The chances of having the culture required are certainly improved by attending a lower to middle PB school where there is some respect for intellectual pursuit. The racial structuring of the South African social formation leads to the quest for academic achievement generally being greater in DIAEA lower to middle PB schools than it is in their

WEA counterparts. The middle to upper PB and bourgeois schools are certainly the types of schools most likely to prepare their pupils for Sociology at UCT. This is especially true of the LEWMUPB school. The analysis has shown that middle to upper PB and bourgeois school pupils will continue to be the dominant classes at UCT as long as the present class structure endures. Their numerical dominance will be clearly shown in chapter four. Their home milieu combined with their schooling often gives them the cultural capital required to be successful at school. It also instils within them the desire to go to university and achieve academically. However, an important finding is that this class background does not necessarily give them the culture required to cope adequately with Sociology. The sociological imagination that is required by a student to cope adequately with Sociology at UCT is transmitted by only a few schools with this class composition. Furthermore, even if a student has attended a LEWMUPB school there is no guarantee that he/she has developed a sociological imagination. His/her home milieu might be such that he/she would be unable to take advantage of the LEWMUPB school. There is little doubt, however, that a student who has attended a LEWMUPB school has a greater possibility of having the culture to cope adequately with Sociology at UCT than a student who has not.

A final point that needs to be made is that the in-depth interviews suggested that usually not enough cognisance is taken of the substantial difference between the culture that is generally required by the school and the culture that is required by the Sociology department in order for a student to do adequately. This substantial difference suggests that very careful thought should be given to the first year programme so as to ensure that the culture required for Sociology is properly

transmitted. Only then will there be an improvement in the quality of work done by students and only then can it be hoped that students who have done Sociology at UCT will leave with a developed sociological imagination.

CHAPTER 4

FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS, SCHOOLING AND GS/IS RESULTS

The objectives of the questionnaire survey

The primary objectives of this chapter are to supplement the information obtained in the statistical investigation and the in-depth interviews and to attempt to develop further some of the arguments noted in chapters one and three. A brief discussion of the pilot study, the exact questions posed, the number of respondents from each General and Industrial Sociology course, a discussion of the handing out the questionnaire and the question of bias appear in Appendix III.

The in-depth interviews provided a large quantity of rich material that enabled me to sketch broadly what is happening in the schools and to a lesser extent, the homes of students doing Sociology. There are however, gaps in chapter three related, as stated, to the exploratory nature of this study and to the limited number of Sociology students in-depth interviewing could reach. Through the use of a questionnaire it was possible to reach a far larger number (N=343) of Sociology students than was feasible through in-depth interviewing. The large number of respondents made it possible to calculate a number of cross correlations so as to explore statistically specific issues discussed in chapter three. For example, it could be tested whether the cultural capital of the students' parents as measured by the level of their post-school education has a statistically significant effect on performance in Sociology. Another advantage of the survey questionnaire was that it provided a

profile of UCT Sociology students. For example, the relatively small number of in-depth interviews could not reveal the proportion of students who thought that their school education was good and / or prepared them for Sociology. Also, the in-depth interviews could not give a broad picture of the class structure of the Sociology class and illustrate whether this class struture has a bearing on the distribution of Sociology marks. These gaps are explored in this chapter.

The survey questionnaire also augments chapter two in that it goes beyond only showing the relationship between matric aggregate/ English matric symbol and final Sociology mark. For example, it shows the relationship between respondent's perceived level of preparedness for Sociology by schooling and their Sociology results. It also shows the relationship between class origins and Sociology results. Furthermore, the questionnaire survey enabled me to assess how students perceived their school results, i.e. whether they felt that their school results were an accurate reflection of their ability and secondly, whether they perceived that there is a relationship between how they performed at school and how they performed in Sociology.

The chapter is approached by first investigating how students perceived their schooling.[1] The picture of the home milieu of students elicited by the questionnaire is then examined.

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1. Before moving to the discussion of the results it is necessary to say something about how the results were analysed. A sizeable proportion of the responses to questions required studentsto evaluate on a scale of 1 to 7. 1 was generally the negative pole and 7 the positive pole. In analysing the data the Mantel-Haenszel test was often used (see page 70 for a description of this test). When this test was used, answers in the range, 1 to 3 were grouped together

How Students Perceived Their Schooling

Most students perceived that school was not a good test of their ability.[1] Thus in response to the question 'do you think the marks you obtained at school were an accurate reflection of your ability?', 60% (N=340) answered that they were not and only 23% were convinced that the marks they obtained at school were an accurate reflection of their ability. This could indicate that students feel that school tests a limited number of intellectual skills.

Surprisingly, despite this largely negative response to the question of whether school tested their ability, only a small proportion, 29% (N=343) of the respondents, thought that 'the education' that they received at school was definitely poor, 23% gave a neutral response (a '4' rating) and 48% were sure

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and answers in the 5 to 7 range were grouped together. A ranking of 1 to 3 was seen as representing a definite view, as was a ranking of 5 to 7. A rating of 4 was viewed as representing an ambivalent and/or neutral perception and was omitted when using the Mantel-Haenszel test (approximately 19% of the responses were a 4 ranking).

1. It is not unexpected that those students in the sample who did poorly in matric (an E or D matric aggregate) had a significantly different response to the question of whether school tested their ability to those students who entered Sociology with an A, B or C matric aggregate. The latter had a 4,60 greater chance of stating that school was a test of their ability than those students who entered with a D or E matric aggregate (X=6,20; p<0,01; RR=4,60; CI=2,83 to 7,47). 80% (120/150) of those students who obtained a D or E in matric stated that school was not a test of their ability versus 47% (80/172) of those students who obtained a C matric aggregate or higher.

   There was no significant difference in the response to this question by students who emerged from the WEA versus the DIAEA (X=1,43). 59% (146/249) of the former and 70% (43/62) of the latter thought that school was not a test of their ability. Unless stated otherwise WEA refers to the Cape, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, Department of National Education, and JMB educational authorities.

that 'the education they received at school was good.' The response to this question suggests that many students attended schools that dealt competently with the syllabus.

The response to the question of whether students thought the education they received at school was good, was related to the educational authority from which students emerged. There was a statistically significant difference in the responses of those students who had attended WEA schools versus those who had attended DIAEA schools. 52% (N=252) of WEA students answered that the education they received at school was good versus 24% (N=62) of DIAEA students.[1] This difference is clearly illustrated in table 4:1.

Table 4:1. Perception of education received at school by educational authority

	WEA	DIAEA		
good (5-7)	131	15	146	X = 3,24
				p < Ø,Ø1
poor (1-3)	67	24	91	RR= 3,13
				CI= 1,57 to 6,23
	198	39	237	

Table 4:1 illustrates that DIAEA students had a 3,13 times greater chance than WEA students of stating that the education they received at school was poor.

It is unclear whether the response of DIAEA students to this question is largely due to these students having a greater awareness of what a good education at school entails, or whether the education they receive at school was patently inferior. Surmising from the in-depth interviews, it was probably due to a combination of both the above-mentioned factors. The fact that most DIAEA students perceived that the education they received at

school was poor to an extent substantiates the portrayal of CLOMPB schooling outlined in chapter three. The in-depth interviews indicated that education in these schools is generally poor as teachers make little or no attempt to move outside of the syllabus and / or transmit a sociological imagination.

Interestingly, students who attended JMB schools had overall the most positive view of their schooling. Thus there was a significant difference between JMB versus other WEA students in terms of how the former viewed the education they received at school. 79% (N=48) of JMB students felt that the education they received at school was good versus 45% (N=204) of other WEA students. Table 4:2 illustrates that JMB students had a 6,44 greater chance than other WEA students of stating that the education they received at school was good.

Table 4:2. Perception of education received at school by educational authority

	JMB	Rest of WEA		
good (5-7)	38	93	131	X= 3,74
				p< Ø,Ø1
poor (1-3)	4	63	67	RR= 6,44
				CI= 2,43 to 17,Ø6
	42	156	198	

This significant difference possibly indicates that students who attended JMB schools received a better school education. We can safely surmise that many JMB schools are private and that they are composed of pupils whose origins are generally middle or upper PB, or bourgeois.[1] Thus almost all JMB schools will be either LEWMUPB or SREWMUPB schools. As is illustrated in

1. In this sample the class origins of the 48 JMB students substantiate this assertion. Thus 15 were of bourgeois origins, 19 were of upper PB origins, 1Ø of middle PB origins and 1 was of lower PB origin. The class origins of 3 could not be established.

chapters one and three, LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB schools generally transmit the syllabus very effectively and obtain substantially better matric results then WELMPB or WEWCLOMPB schools.

Interestingly, JMB students in the sample did not obtain significantly better Sociology results. There was also no relationship between passing or failing in Sociology and respondents' perception of their schooling. Students who stated that they received a good education at school had a marginally lower (but not statistically significant) failure rate in Sociology than those students who claimed that they did not receive a good education at school. This is illustrated in table 4:3.

Table 4:3. Sociology result by perception of school education.

	PASS	FAIL	
good (5-7)	127	35	162
poor (1-3)	74	24	98
	201	59	260

X= 0,54

What this result suggests is that the proposition expressed in chapter three, that a school that covers the school syllabus competently will not necessarily prepare its pupils for Sociology, is correct.

The argument that very few schools transmit a culture required for Sociology was confirmed very strongly by the response to the question 'did your schooling prepare you for Sociology'. Very few of the respondents answered this question affirmatively. Only 20% (N=38) of JMB students who answered that 'the education...(they) received at school was good' felt that their schooling prepared them for Sociology. Overall, only 9% (N=343)

of the respondents felt that their schooling prepared them for GS/IS. A massive proportion, 80%, were certain that their schooling did not prepare them for Sociology. 48% of the sample gave a 1 rating to this question (1 is equivalent to 'not at all').

The small number of respondents who stated that they were well prepared by their schooling for Sociology overall obtained better Sociology results then those who did not. Only 13% (N=31) of those students who stated that were prepared by their schooling failed Sociology versus 25% (N=271) of those students who stated that they were definitely not prepared. The difference however is not significant (X=1,54) (this could be due to the small size of the sample).

The response by students from the various educational authorities to the question of whether school prepared them for Sociology is worth noting. It is portrayed in Table 4:4.

Table 4:4. Preparation for Sociology by educational authority.

	Educational authority										
Did schooling prepare you for Sociology?	DET	Cape	JMB	DIA	TVL	DNE	Natal	Z	OFS	Other	TOTAL
Not at all											
1	7	81	16	34	10	8	5	3	0	0	164
2	0	30	11	8	6	4	0	3	2	0	64
3	0	16	7	11	4	2	1	3	0	0	44
4	0	14	7	6	4	0	1	1	0	4	37
5	0	9	7	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	22
6	0	3	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	9
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Very much so											
TOTAL	7	153	48	62	27	14	8	13	2	7	341

The table illustrates that all 7 students who attended DET

schools gave a '1' rating. Only 8% (N=153) of students who wrote the Cape Senior Certificate, 15% (N=48) of JMB students, only 5% (N=62) of DIAEA students, 11% (N=27) of Transvaal senior certificate students, not one Department of National Education (DNE) student (N=14), 13% (N=8) of Natal senior certificate students, and 23% (N=13) of Zimbabwean students felt sure that their schooling prepared them for Sociology. Interestingly, none of those students (N=7) who did their schooling outside of Southern Africa felt that they definitely were not prepared by their schooling for Sociology. Four gave a neutral response and 3 answered that their schooling definitely prepared them. What is clear is that no matter what educational authority in Southern Africa a student emerged from, it is highly unlikely that he/she would perceive that his/her schooling prepared him/her for Sociology at UCT. The small number of students who stated that their schooling prepared them for Sociology also suggests that few students doing Sociology went to LEWMUPB schools. Possibly a large proportion of those that did attend LEWMUPB schools obtained a syllabus rigid education as they were weak pupils. This is, to an extent, substantiated by the overall matric aggregates of students who entered Sociology at UCT in the three year period 1980 to 1982 (see chapter two, bar graphs 4F and 6F). As shown, between 1980 and 1982 more then half the UCT Sociology students entered the Department with a D aggregate or less.

The questionnaire survey also gives some notion of the cultural capital of the schools Sociology students attended. This can be inferred from the degree to which teachers encouraged respondents to go to university. Only 17% (N=342) of the respondents stated that they were not encouraged to go to university by their

teachers (it is probable that a sizeable proportion of this group were not encouraged because it was taken for granted that they would go to university).[1] The fact that most respondents were strongly encouraged to go to university by their teachers concurs with what is contended in chapters one and three. It is argued that the university is dominated by middle and upper PB and bourgeois students for whom university is generally a presumed progression, strongly encouraged by teachers, peers and parents. There are no significant differences (X=0,29; p>0,05) between the WEA versus the DIAEA as regards levels of teacher encouragement. 73% (N=62) of DIAEA students were strongly encouraged by their teachers to go to university as were 64% (N=280) of WEA students. This is in line with the conclusion reached in chapter three where it is shown that the CLOMPB school strongly encourages university education.

The Home Milieu of the Respondents and its Relationship to Schooling and Performance in Sociology

An endeavour was made to obtain a profile of the class composition of the sample, so as to ascertain (1) what the class composition of the Sociology class at UCT is, (2) whether social class origins play a role in shaping how students perceive their schooling, and (3) to assess whether there is a relationship

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1. An important factor influencing the degree to which teachers encouraged a student to go to university was the matric aggregate obtained. The higher the matric aggregate, the more likely it was that the student would be encouraged to go to university. Thus only 11% (N=173) of those students who obtained an A, B, or C matric aggregate were not encouraged versus 25% (N=161) of those students who obtained a D or E aggregate. The difference in teacher encouragement for the respective groupings is significant at the 0,01 level (X=3,31; RR=2,68; CI=1,50 to 4,80).

between social class origins and performance in Sociology.

Five social class categories are used. The categories were influenced by Wright's conception of social class (see pages 27 and 28 and Appendix I). They are the bourgeoisie, the upper PB, the middle PB, the lower PB and the working class. Appendix I notes which occupations fall into the respective class categories.

There is little doubt that these class divisions are somewhat arbitrary and that the categorisation was not necessarily always correct. In all those cases (approximately 10% of the sample) where there was doubt as to a parent's class location, the individual was placed in the lower class category. Thus if it was uncertain as to whether the occupation described was an upper PB or middle PB occupation, the middle PB class category was decided on.

Despite this rule, only 3% (N=303) of the students in the sample came from working class families and another 10% were of lower PB origins. 35% were of middle PB origins, 28% were of upper PB origins and 25% were from bourgeois homes.[1] 88% of the respondents came from middle PB, upper PB or bourgeois families. These results graphically illustrate that the vast majority of Sociology students at UCT have middle or upper PB or bourgeois origins. These findings concur with Stern's (1984) findings as regards the social class composition of the UCT Medical School.

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1. Unfortunately another category unrelated to class, 'retired/other'(N=34), had to be created as these respondents stated that their father had passed away or had retired. The retired/other category has been left out in working out the above percentages.

Stern (1984:5) found that 91% (N=127) of the first year medical class "were from social classes I and II". 76% (N=97) were from class I. Although Stern's class categories are not very clear it would appear that class I is roughly equivalent to the bourgeoisie and upper PB and class II to the middle PB.

The findings of the two studies are very significant. They show that the possibility of a student of working class origins coming to UCT is negligible. The children of the lower PB are also unlikely to find themselves at UCT. These results, in part, confirm the arguments expressed in chapter one and repeated in chapter three. It is argued that a child who is of working class or lower PB origins is likely to attend a working class to lower PB school and that the cultural capital of the school combined with his/her own cultural and economic capital will make even conceptualising going to university very unlikely. The results of the questionnaire survey and Stern's (1984) study further illustrate that going to UCT remains for the bourgeoisie and sections of the petit bourgeoisie a natural progression. For the working class and for most members of the lower PB it is usually inconceivable.

The class composition of the DIAEA students in the sample also serves to confirm partially certain findings of the in-depth interviews as regards the CLOMPB school. It was shown that the CLOMPB school strongly encourages university and that a pupil of lower PB origins at one of these schools is likely to have strong aspirations to attend university. Thus, although DIAEA students constituted only 16% (N=303) of those respondents whose class origins could be ascertained, 52% (N=29) of the lower PB

respondents and 75% (N=8) of the working class respondents came from DIAEA schools.[1] 12% of DIAEA respondents (N=49) were of working class and 31% of lower PB origins. 36% were of middle PB, 12% were of upper PB and 10% were of bourgeois origins. In sharp contrast, not one of the classifiable WEA respondents (N=244) were of working class origins and only 5% were of lower PB origins. 35% were of middle PB, 32% of upper PB and 27% were of bourgeois origins.

These statistics on the respective class origins of WEA and DIAEA Sociology students could, in part, help explain why overall the matric results of WEA Sociology students are substantially better than DIAEA Sociology students (see chapter two). The in-depth interviews suggested that most WEA students attended schools that are in keeping with their class origins and thus attended LEWMUPB or SREWMUP schools (for the actual number of pupils respective LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB schools send to UCT see page 37). Almost all DIAEA students would have attended lower PB to middle PB schools. As has been illustrated, (see pages 39 and 43) middle to upper PB schools obtain far better matric results than lower to middle PB schools. In this sample there is a significant difference between bourgeois (B), upper PB and middle PB students versus lower PB and working class (WC) students in terms of matric aggregate. A student from the former class categories was 2,44 times less likely to have obtained a D or E for matric. This is illustrated in Table 4:5.

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1. This proportion could be higher as 23% (N=14) of DIAEA respondents did not provide adequate details of what their fathers do or did and had to be classified 'other'.

Table 4:5 Matric aggregate by social class

	B;upper PB; middle PB.	lower PB and WC		
A, B and C	143	12	155	
				X = 2,44
D and E	117	24	141	p < 0,01
				RR= 2,24
	260	36	296	CI= 1,19 to 5,02

Another noteworthy relationship is between social class and perception of schooling. 52% (N=266) of students of bourgeois, upper PB and middle PB origins stated that the education they received at school was good, compared to 32% (N=37) of lower PB and working class students (X=2,17; p<0,05; RR=2,21; CI=1,08 to 4,53). As stated however, most lower PB and working class students are DIAEA students so this result is probably not merely a product of social class. It is likely that the racial structuring of schooling increases the probability that students from DIAEA schools would perceive that the education they received at school is poor. In all other realms related to the perception of schooling, the responses of students of lower PB and working class origins was similar to the responses of students of bourgeois, upper PB and middle PB origins. They found school as easy, they were as unprepared, and most felt that school was not a test of their ability.

Another interesting finding is that 57% (N=92) of students of bourgeois and upper PB origins stated that the education they received at school was good, compared to 42% (N=45) of students of middle PB origins. This significant difference (X=2,27; p<0,05; RR=1,78; CI=1,08 to 2,92) is possibly related to most students of bourgeois and upper PB parents having attended LEWMUPB or SREWMUPB schools, whereas most middle PB students

would have attended WELMPB or CLOMPB schools. As argued earlier, the former appear to cover the syllabus more competently. In addition, as will be shown, a greater proportion of the bourgeois and upper PB parents have a degree and this could contribute to these classes being more aware of what constitutes a good schooling.

Interestingly, the differences in the Sociology results obtained by the respective class grouping are not statistically significant (X^2=3,84; df=6; p>0,05). Although tests revealed no significant difference at the 5% level of significance, table 4:6 does suggest possible trends.

Table 4:6: Sociology results by social class

CLASS	MARK					
	First	2 Plus	2 Minus	Third	Fail	TOTAL
	% (No)	% (No)	% (No)	% (No)	% (No)	
Bourg	1 (1)	Ø (Ø)	31(23)	44(33)	24(18)	1ØØ
upper PB	Ø (Ø)	7 (6)	29(24)	48(4Ø)	17(14)	1ØØ
middle PB	3 (3)	3 (3)	29(3Ø)	44(46)	21(22)	1ØØ
lower PB	Ø (Ø)	Ø (Ø)	24 (7)	48(14)	28 (8)	1ØØ
WC	Ø (Ø)	Ø (Ø)	13 (1)	63 (5)	25 (2)	1ØØ
Other	Ø (Ø)	2 (1)	25 (9)	39(14)	33(12)	1ØØ
Total	1	3	28	45	23	1ØØ

PERCENTS OF COLUMN TOTALS

The table suggests that students of bourgeois, upper PB and middle PB origins (group A) combined have better Sociology results than their lower PB and working class counterparts (group B). The difference is, however,not significant: X=1,53 when group A is compared to group B on the basis of lower seconds and higher versus thirds and below and Ø,93 when compared on the basis of pass versus fail. 34% (N=263) of group A obtained lower seconds or higher and 21% failed. In contrast only 22% (N=37) of group B obtained a lower second and 27% failed. Group A students

clearly do better than group B students and it is possible that if there was a larger number of working class and lower PB students in the sample a significant difference might have emerged between the respective class groupings.

Another potentially important factor influencing results is the degreed status of the parents of students. In chapters one and three it is argued that the educational level of the parents is potentially a crucial variable shaping the culture of the child. It can thus be hypothesized that those students who come from homes where the mother and/or father have/has a degree will generally have a more developed culture and can be expected to do better in Sociology. The data from the questionnaire illustrates that the parent/s having a degree does have an influence on performance in Sociology.[1] This is illustrated in the 2x2 table below:

Table 4:7 Sociology result by parents' degreed status

	Parent/s Degreed		
	YES	NO	
Pass	119	144	263
Fail	21	55	76
	140	199	339

X = 2,74
p < 0,01
RR= 2,16
CI= 1,24 to 3,76

Table 4:7 shows that students doing Sociology whose parents do not have a degree had a 2,16 greater chance of failing Sociology than a student who has at least one degreed parent.[2] This

1. The difference in the matric results obtained was not significant (X=1,58; p>0,05). 43% (N=59) of those students who had at least one degreed parent entered Sociology with a D or E versus 52% (101/196) of those students neither of whose parents are degreed.

2. This result concurs with Erens (1977) finding that a student whose mother was degreed was more likely to be successful (see page 11).

result, in part, confirms the argument expressed in chapters one and three where it was stated that the intellectual milieu of the home environment can often be a crucial factor in instilling the culture required to cope adequately at university. Interestingly, only 13% (N=38) of those students who came from homes where both parents are degreed failed, whereas 28% (N=199) of those students who came from homes where neither parent is degreed, failed (X=1,88; p>Ø,Ø5).

The percentage of degreed fathers/mothers from the respective class categories is illuminating. They are portrayed in the following table.

Table 4:8 Degreed status by social class

Class origins	Fathers Degreed	Mothers Degreed	Number in sample (N=3Ø3)
	% (No)	% (No)	
Bourgeoisie	36 (27)	13 (1Ø)	75
Upper PB	91 (78)	27 (23)	86
Middle PB	19 (2Ø)	12 (13)	1Ø5
Lower PB	7 (2)	2 (7)	29
WC	Ø (Ø)	Ø (Ø)	8
Total	42 (127)	17 (53)	3Ø3

Table 4:8 shows that a massive percentage of the fathers of the upper PB students are degreed. This is because the vast majority of this class are skilled, university trained professionals. The table shows that many members of the bourgeoisie are not degreed: this is probably due to most of them being company directors rather than professionals. Worthy of note is how few parents of working class and lower PB students are degreed. This is significant as it means that compared to the other classes, especially the upper PB, it is far less likely that these students will receive the culture required for Sociology from

their home milieu.

One final aspect of the home milieu worth noting is that the overall level of parental encouragement to go to university was high. 48% (N=343) of the students gave this question a 7 rating and only 3% gave it a 1 rating. 84% of the respondents reported that they were strongly encouraged by their parents to go to university. Only 8% (N=343) stated that they were not encouraged to go to university. These results indicate that for the vast majority of students doing Sociology a crucial facet of their cultural capital was that university education was good, necessary and accessible. This was instilled by their teachers and even more strongly by their parents. The responses to this question were similar for all social classes. This suggests that students of lower PB and working class origins who come to UCT have a home milieu which is not in line with most of their class. Chapters one and three, illustrated that in contrast to the middle and upper PB and bourgeoisie, the vast majority of lower PB and working class children are not encouraged by their parents, peers or teachers to go to university.

Conclusions

Numerous important findings emerged from the questionnaire survey.[1] Fortunately some served to confirm, in part, the

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1. A point that should be made is that although the questionnaire illustrated that it is possible to isolate some of the key variables that contribute towards shaping the performance of students in Sociology, it is impossible to make definitive predictions. It is clear that there are a myriad of variables operating and interacting with one another that this exploratory questionnaire has not been able to examine, for example, stress, personality differences, motivational problems, levels of intrinsic intellectual ability, sibling position, etc.

findings and conclusions reached in chapters one and three.

The first important finding was that the large majority of Sociology students felt that they were not prepared by their schooling for Sociology. This finding reinforces the conclusion reached in Chapter three where it was argued that the vast majority of schools had a syllabus rigid approach, that the pedagogical process was dominated by a strong frame, and that these aspects worked against many students entering Sociology at UCT with the culture required to cope adequately.

The questionnaire survey also found that most DIAEA students felt that the education they received at school was poor. This serves to again highlight the limitations of CLOMPB schools noted in chapter three.

There was also a relationship between social class and the way schooling was perceived. Bourgeois and upper PB students perceived the schooling they received significantly differently to middle and lower PB and working class students. The latter viewed their schooling far less favourably. As stated, this points to the superiority of LEWMUPB and SREWMUPB schooling in transmitting the syllabus. Furthermore, it again points to the pertinence of social class in the shaping of the pedagogical process.

The strong teacher encouragement of university education possibly suggests that most respondents came from schools where university for the school's pupils is viewed as a natural progression.

Another important contribution of the questionnaire survey was the profile it gave of the class origins of Sociology students at UCT. It showed that certainly the UCT Sociology Department and probably UCT as a whole remains dominated numerically by the offspring of the bourgeoisie, upper PB and middle PB. As argued in chapters one and three, this is not surprising as these classes have the economic, political and cultural capital to ensure their dominance. The questionnaire also showed that respondents of bourgeois, and upper and middle PB class origins obtained substantially better Sociology results then those respondents whose origins are lower PB and working class.

In terms of the cultural capital transmitted by the home milieu, the questionnaire survey showed that the vast majority of students in the sample were strongly encouraged by their parents to go to university; university education is clearly made to appear both accessible and desirable. This is not surprising in view of the class composition of the respondents.

Finally, the questionnaire survey also illustrated that many of the parents themselves are degreed and that the educational training of the students' parents overall does have an influence on performance in Sociology. The questionnaire revealed that those students in the sample who have a degreed parent or parents are more likely to cope adequately with Sociology than those students neither of whose parents have a university degree. Interestingly only 5% (N=37) of the working class and lower PB students had a father who had a degree whereas 91% (N=78) of the upper bourgeois students' fathers had degrees.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In the realm of theory this study, drawing on my empirical research, has endeavoured to make two important contributions. Firstly, it has attempted to show that social class as a factor distinct from race should be taken cognisance of if an adequate understanding of South African schooling is to be obtained. Thus, although the study recognises the importance of the racial structuring of schooling, it has hopefully shown that the social class origins of pupils are extremely important in shaping the pedagogical process. Chapters one, three and four illuminate concretely how the social class and colour composition of schools shape the pedagogical process.

A second key theoretical point that this study has endeavoured to argue is that schools have some degree of relative autonomy. I hope that I have succeeded in illustrating that it is essential to take cognisance of this relative autonomy if an adequate understanding of schooling is to be obtained. The thesis showed that almost all South African studies on schooling ignore the relative autonomy of the school. This invariably leads to the over-emphasis of the role of the state in the determination of the pedagogical process.

These two theoretical insights formed the basis for understanding and explaining the findings of my research. A very important conclusion of the study is the illustration that because the role that the state plays in shaping the pedagogical process is

necessarily limited, different types of schools with different dominant pedagogical processes are able to emerge. The dominant pedagogical process of a type is shaped largely by the class and/or colour composition of the pupils in the schools falling under this type. Pupils bring a culture into the school which helps shape the pedagogical process. This culture is related to the social class origins of pupils.

The in-depth interviews suggested that the possibility of a student entering Sociology with the culture required to cope adequately is often related to the type of school he/she attended. Thus a student who attended a LEWMUPB or SREWMUPB school is more likely to have the culture required than a student who attended a WELMOPB or CLOMPB school. In turn students emerging from the latter types are more likely to be prepared by their schooling for Sociology than students who have emerged from WEWCLOPB or COWCLOPB schools. The study found, however, that the only type of school which actively transmits a sociological imagination to many of its pupils are LEWMUPB schools. Students from these schools would thus have the greatest chance of having the culture required to cope adequately with Sociology at UCT.

However, the in-depth interviews also highlighted that having the culture required to do well in Sociology is not only dependent on the school, but also on the home milieu. Children of the dominant classes often come from home milieus that are not intellectually stimulating. The culture transmitted by the home milieu can result in a person going to a LEWMUPB school and not obtaining or even being exposed to the culture required to cope adequately in Sociology. There is not a necessary relationship

between social class origins and having the culture required to do well in Sociology. What the study did illustrate, however, is that a student whose origins are bourgeois or upper or middle PB is more likely to have a parent who is degreed and to be intellectually stimulated by his/her parents, to go to a LEWMUPB or SREWMUPB school and ultimately to have the culture required for Sociology than a student whose parents are lower PB or working class.

The statistical investigation illustrated that generally there is a relationship between matric aggregate and Sociology I results. The A and B matric aggregate groupings overall obtained the best Sociology results followed respectively by the Cs,Ds and Es. The statistical investigation showed that those students who enter with an A or B matric aggregate are very likely to have the culture required to cope adequately with Sociology at UCT. From 1980 to 1982 only 4% (N=122) of WEA students who entered Sociology I with an A or B matric aggregate failed and 58% obtained lower seconds or higher. Unfortunately for the discipline only 12% (N=1091) of all first year students between 1980 and 1982 entered Sociology I with an A or B matric aggregate. A point worth making is that we can surmise that most of the students who enter the Sociology Department with an A or B matric aggregate attended a LEWMUPB or SREWMUPB school. Chapter one illustrated that the middle to upper PB and bourgeois schools obtain the best matric results. An illuminating finding of the statistical investigation is that a substantial proportion of students who obtain D matric aggregates obtain similar Sociology results to students who obtain A, B and C matric aggregates. The predictability of Sociology I results on the basis of the matric aggregate is thus limited.

The statistical investigation also revealed that although WEA Sociology I students overall usually obtain significantly better Sociology results than DIAEA students, this is not always the case. In IS I and GS I in 1982 the Sociology results of WEA and DIAEA students are similar. This is an important finding as it indicates that DIAEA students are not necessarily any less prepared for Sociology then WEA students. Often they can be more prepared. It suggests that the racial structuring of the educational system does not necessarily ensure that WEA students have a better school education than DIAEA students. This finding pointed to other factors, notably social class, playing as crucial, if not a greater role, in shaping the pedagogy practised.

It was also illustrated that DIAEA students generally enter Sociology I with significantly lower overall matric aggregates than WEA students. This is not surprising, and is line with what is argued in chapter one and again in chapters three and four. Most DIAEA students come from lower to middle PB schools and, as is illustrated in chapter one, these schools obtain worse matric results than middle to upper PB and bourgeois schools from which most WEA students emerge. However, DIAEA and WEA students who entered the Sociology Department with equivalent matric aggregates obtained similar Sociology I results. This again suggests that the schooling DIAEA students doing Sociology at UCT receive is not very different to the schooling of many of their WEA counterparts.

The statistical investigation also showed that those students who did well (60% and above) in Sociology I generally did well in

Sociology II and inversely, students who did poorly (50 to 54%) in Sociology I generally did poorly in Sociology II. This finding suggests that the pre-university experience of students is very influential in shaping performance in Sociology: most weak/mediocre first year students do not find it easy to overcome the legacy of their pre-university experience.

The questionnaire survey (chapter four), reaffirmed the conclusion that the majority of WEA and DIAEA schools do not transmit the culture required to perform adequately in Sociology. The vast majority of students in the sample felt that their schooling did not prepare them for Sociology. Worthy of note is that the educational authority from which students emerged made little difference to the responses to this question. Most respondents, however, were prepared in the sense that they were strongly encouraged by their teachers and parents to go to university. This, in part, confirms what is argued in chapters one and three, i.e. most UCT students receive the required cultural capital from their parents and the school they attended. This ties in with another important aspect which the questionnaire survey highlighted: the social class origins of Sociology students are overwhelmingly bourgeois and upper and middle PB. It strongly suggests that UCT is the domain of the dominant classes. The study points to this being a permanent scenario so long as the present class structure exists. Besides financial constraints, the culture operating in working class to lower PB schools and homes virtually ensures that these pupils do not escape their class origins through coming to UCT.

As stated earlier, my own research has only been able to focus on

a limited terrain. Thus, I did not go into the homes and schools of the interviewees. Participant observation and more in-depth interviewing is crucial if we are to augment the interview material and thereby move beyond the realms of the exploratory and establish with more certainty how the homes and school milieus shape their constituents and ultimately performance at UCT. Another sizeable lacuna in this study is its failure to explore DET schooling. This is obviously a crucial area for further research. A key question is whether class plays as crucial a role in the homes and schools of DET pupils as it does in the homes and schools of their WEA and DIAEA counterparts. Possibly social class is not as powerful an influence in DET schooling (I would hypothesize that it is). In the statistical investigation there are also sizeable gaps. The exploratory nature of the study ensured that I only examined the relationship between matric aggregate/matric English symbol and Sociology results. It would be interesting to assess what the relationship is between Physics/Mathematics and Sociology results. Possibly the latter are better predictors. In chapter two all the WEAs are combined. If the respective WEAs are compared individually interesting trends might be evident. For example, possibly students from schools falling under the JMB might perform better in Sociology.

It is evident that this exploratory study has examined only a small section of a sizeable terrain. However,despite this, it has contributed towards laying a foundation for further extensive research in the realm of schooling and its relationship to performance at university. I hope that future research conducted in this area will take note of the contributions of

this study and thereby take cognisance of the relative autonomy of the school, the pertinence of social class, the cultural capital of parents, pupils and teachers and the fact that there are substantial variations in the pedagogical process.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Social class and occupation

The following brief sketches give examples of what occupations could fall into the class categories used in this study: This allocation has been substantially influenced by Wright's (1983) derived categories (see pages 27 and 28 for a full discussion of Wright's categories and my adaptations).

The bourgeoisie

This class generally owns and controls sizeable amounts of capital. It includes traditional capitalists (factory owners), very large store owners, top corporate executives and directors of companies.

The upper petit bourgeoisie

All these occupations are characterised by a high level of autonomy and decision-making. Incomes are generally high.

It is constituted by high-earning degreed professionals: for example lawyers, accountants, doctors, engineers, dentists, architects, geologists, town planners, senior lecturers and professors. Top managers, large traders and senior civil servants also fall into this category.

The middle petit bourgeoisie

This category includes professionals whose incomes are relatively low in relation to the upper petit bourgeoisie. They are less likely to be self-employed and their autonomy is generally less. This class category would include teachers, university lecturers, researchers, physiotherapists, priests, journalists, librarians, social workers, and pharmacists.

It also includes small traders, personnel officers, company secretaries, estate agents, commercial travellers, production managers (middle level), factory managers (middle level) and civil servants in middle management positions.

The lower petit bourgeoisie

This category earns lower salaries and generally has less autonomy in and control over the labour process than the middle PB. Examples of occupations in this category are foremen, supervisers, self-employed artisans, technicians, nursing sisters, managers of small shops, clerks, salesmen, computer programmers, photographers and taxi-drivers.

The working class

These employees usually earn less than the lower PB. Their level of control over the labour process is generally minimal. They are predominantly engaged in manual labour. Those employed in mental labour are usually rigorously controlled.

Examples of occupations in this class category are domestics, packers, tellers, labourers, drivers and factory workers.

Appendix II

The In-Depth Interviews

The conducting of the interviews and the questions asked.

In chapter three, the data from the in-depth interviews was discussed. This appendix gives further detailed information as to how the interviews were conducted and indicates the specific questions asked.

The interviews with the students.

The interviews with the students were divided into three parts. The first part was structured and sought basic factual information. The second part was more open-ended and covered the schooling of the interviewee. In this part, although there was a set list of questions, I would often add in points and elaborate certain issues as they arose. There was far more discussion in this part of the interview. The third part covered the home milieu of students and was similar in form to the second part.

The interviews with the students varied considerably in length as some interviewees were far more forthcoming than others. This was due primarily to three factors. Firstly, usually the better I knew the interviewee the more forthcoming he/she was. Secondly, some interviewees are generally reserved and found it difficult to be forthcoming in the interview situation. Finally, some interviewees had far more varied pre-university experiences than others. They had more to say in response to particular

questions. The following is a list of questions asked:

Part I: Basic census data

School attended; parents' occupations and educational qualifications; number, ages, occupations and educational qualifications of siblings.

Part II: Schooling of students

Syllabus: Was the syllabus strictly adhered to? Was it questioned and discussed in class? Was other material, other than textbooks, used? What kind of material was used?

Teachers: Were the teachers strict? How did they enforce discipline? How did they relate to the pupils? Did they encourage university as the next step? What were their political views?

The actual teaching: Were you made to work very hard? Was the teaching innovative and imaginative? Did you find school boring or interesting? Did any of the teachers have a significant influence on you? In what way?

The pupils at the school: What were the class origins of the pupils? (I approached this question by asking what the parents did, whether they were generally affluent and where most of the pupils live. As stated earlier, from the interviews a reasonably clear indication of a school's class composition could be gleaned.) Did the pupils have a strongly internalised discipline

or were they forced to work hard? Were the pupils aspirant? What proportion went to university? Did the large majority enjoy school?

School and preparation for Sociology: Did school prepare you for Sociology? (prepare in the sense that it taught the pupils to write essays, read and critically, do independent research, etc.). Why/why not? Why did you do poorly/mediocrely/well in Sociology as the case may be? Did you find the readings easy/difficult? Did you find writing an essay easy? How did you go about writing an essay?

Part III: The home milieu of students

Did your parents/siblings encourage you to go to university? Did they stimulate you intellectually? If so, in what ways? Did you read a lot while at school? Were there many books in the house? Did intellectual activity outside of school prepare you for university?

The interviewing of teachers and principals

Teachers and principals were generally interviewed at their school. An attempt was made to interview a teacher and/or principal from each type of school isolated. This endeavour was successful. Interviews with teachers and principals generally tended to be more extensive than those conducted with students. The former generally had more information to impart. Interviews varied in length: The extensiveness of an interview depended on the amount of time an interviewee had available and how

responsive an interviewee was. The mean was approximately two hours. The questions that teachers and principals were asked were similar to those I asked ex-pupils. The first part of the interview was structured and sought factual information about the school. Teachers and principals were generally able to answer these factual questions. The second part of the interview was more open-ended. In this part I endeavoured to obtain a picture of the pedagogical process and the forces shaping this process. The role of the state, pupils and teachers in shaping the pedagogical process was thus examined. The following is a list of questions asked:

Part I: Basic census data

How many pupils are there in the schools? How many pupils are in matric? What proportion of the matrics pass, what proportion obtain university exemptions? What do the parents of the pupils do?

Part II: The schooling of pupils

The syllabus: How do teachers generally teach the syllabus? Is there an avid attempt to introduce material outside of the prescribed textbook? Is the syllabus actively questioned? Is a lot of homework given?

The pupils: How do the pupils relate to their schooling? Is there much discussion and questioning in the class? Is this actively encouraged by teachers? What do the pupils think of the syllabus? Why do some pupils do well and other mediocrely at

school? What role do the parents play in shaping pupils' performance and attitude? Do the pupils do their homework under duress or voluntarily? Are they ambitious academically and otherwise? Are they competitive? Why are some more ambitious and competitive than others? Do most pupils go to university? Do the boys have different attitudes to the girls?

Social relations: Are the teachers strict? How do they relate to the pupils? How is discipline enforced? Is there a prefect system and what role does it play?

Schooling and performance in Sociology: Do you think the school prepares its pupils for university and more specifically for a subject like Sociology? What type of person is the school trying to produce?

Appendix III

The Questionnaire Survey

The Handing Out of the Questionnaire and the Question of Bias

Before handing out the final questionnaire, I undertook a small pilot study. The pilot questionnaire was shown to and filled in by six students. It was also scrutinised by colleagues. On the basis of the students' responses and the comments of my colleagues numerous adjustments were made before the final format was decided on.

The questionnaire was handed out in a variety of ways. GS I students were given the questionnaire in a lecture and asked to fill it in under my supervision during the lecture period (the questionnaire generally took twenty minutes to fill in). This ensured collection. IS I students were given the questionnaire in their tutorials and were given time to answer. All the tutorial groups were covered. The GS/IS II and III students were given the questionnaire in seminars. Some lecturers gave students time in their seminar to fill in the questionnaire, others did not. The return rate of those who were not given time was generally lower. A total of 343 Sociology students out of a possible 861 handed in the questionnaire.[1] The randomness of the

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1. Table A:1 gives a breakdown of the number of respondents course by course.

Table A:1	enrolments	number/% of respondents	
		NO.	%
GS I	202	107	53
GS II	134	36	27
GS III	29	17	57
IS I	295	101	34
IS II	144	58	40
IS III	57	24	42
Total	861	343	40

questionnaire can be questioned on the basis that the only possible respondents were those students who attended their lecture or tutorial or seminar on the day the questionnaire was handed out. It is likely that this introduced bias into the sample. Although students attend or miss lectures /tutorials/seminars for a myriad of reasons, we can tentatively surmise that it is likely that it is generally the worst students and the better students who miss their lectures /tutorials/seminars: the former because they are not comprehending the material and perceive that it will not make any difference attending and the latter because they feel that they do not need to attend because they will not suffer unduly if they miss a lecture, tutorial or seminar.

A more random method could have been chosen: Questionnaires could have been sent to every Sociology student. However the disadvantage of this method was the lack of any certainty as regards the percentage return. It is probable that the percentage return would have been low. This is substantiated by the low return rate of students who were given the questionnaire, but were not given any time to fill it in. By giving students time within a Sociology slot to fill in the questionnaire a reasonably high return rate was ensured.

Some measure of the representativeness of the sample was gauged by comparing the matric aggregates of GS/IS I students in the sample to GS/IS I students over the three year period 1980 to 1982. The chi square test showed that the differences are not significant for GS I (X^2= 5,25; df=2: p>Ø,Ø5) and for IS I (X^2=1,76; df=2; p>Ø,Ø5). Overall the matric results of students

in the sample are marginally better. This is primarily due to there being far fewer E matric aggregate students in the sample. This is to be expected, as the entrance requirements were raised in 1983 eliminating most students who obtained E matric aggregates. The marginal differences between the matric aggregates of students in the sample and the matric results of GS/IS I students over the period 1980 to 1982 suggest that the sample is representative.

There is little doubt that the accuracy of the responses to the questions asked is contentious as a sizeable proportion of the questions required that students evaluate how they perceived an aspect of their schooling or home milieu. However, although it is difficult to give a rating as to how you perceive something, it appeared that respondents had few problems filling in the questionnaire. They generally answered all the questions. There is no reason to believe that there was any attempt at deception. The questionnaires were anonymous, so respondents could be as honest as they desired. All the questionnaires included in the sample appear to have been answered seriously. The few questionnaires that were clearly filled in without any commitment were not included in the sample.

The following is an exact replica of the questionnaire.

QUESTIONNAIRE TO ASSESS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS, SCHOOLING AND SOCIOLOGY/INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY RESULTS

This questionnaire will be used by the Sociology Department to evaluate its methods of assessment and the workings of the Academic Support Programme in the Department. **PLEASE RETURN** the questionnaire. Place in the Sociology I essay box.

Year registered? _____

Degree you are registered for?

Presently doing (tick appropriate block):

Sociology I	☐	Sociology II	☐	Sociology III	☐
Indus Sociology I	☐	Indus Sociology II	☐	Indus Sociology III	☐

Mark obtained at the end of the year for: (F(fail); 3; 2-; 2+; 1)
(June Semester) →

Sociology I	☐	Sociology II	☐	Sociology III	☐
Indus Sociology I	☐	Indus Sociology II	☐	Indus Sociology III	☐

School attented? _____

Matric aggregate/symbol? _____

Matric English symbol? _____

Did you find school easy?

Very easy 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Difficult

Comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

Do you think the education you received at school was good?

Very good 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Very poor

Why was the standard of your education good, mediocre, poor, as the case may be?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Did your schooling prepare you for General/Industrial Sociology?

Very much so 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

Why was this? _____

_____

_____

_____

Do you think that the marks you obtained at school were an accurate reflection of your ability?

Definitely 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

Comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

Do you think that there is any relationship between how you did at school and how you are doing in General/Industrial Sociology?

Very much so 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

Comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

Did your teachers encourage you to go to University?

Very much so 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

Why was this? _____

_____

_____

_____

What does your father do? (Be specific) _____

_____

What does your mother do? (Be specific) _____

_____

Do any of your family have a University degree? (tick the appropriate square)

Father ☐ Mother ☐ Brother/s ☐ Sisters ☐

(tick the appropriate square/s)

Did your parents encourage you to go to University?

Very much so 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Did you read a lot during your schooling?

A great deal 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

Comment: _____

_____

_____

What type of material did you generally read?

Specify: _____

_____

Do you find General/Industrial Sociology easy?

Very easy 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

Comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

Why do you think students doing General/Industrial Sociology generally do mediocrely to poorly? (Thirds are by far the most prevalent result.)

_____

_____

_____

Why do you think you did poorly/mediocrely/well in General/Industrial Sociology as the case may be?

_____

_____

_____

PS. Any additional comments turn overleaf.

290983 AM/rb

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