A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF HIGH SCHOOL LEARNERS TOWARDS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

by

SUMESHNI GOVENDER B.A. (UNIZUL); HONS. (U.D.W.); H.D.E. (U.D.W.)

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Education in fulfillment or partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education (Educational Psychology) in the Department of Educational Psychology and Special Education at the University of Zululand.

SUPERVISOR:

PROFESSOR P. T. SIBAYA

NOVEMBER 2002

KWA DLANGEZWA

DECLARATION

This is to declare that this dissertation represents my own work, both in conception and in execution. All sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of completed references.

SUMESHIVI GOVENDER

20 03 03 DATE

ABSTRACT

The study consisted of three aims. The first was to determine the general attitude of high school learners towards school desegregation, the second aim focused on the age of the learner and whether or not this played a role in the learners' attitudes towards the process of desegregation and lastly the third aim examined the extent to which the following variables played a role in the attitude of learners towards school desegregation: urban-rural dichotomy, gender, race and the frequency of contact with learners from other race groups.

A questionnaire was designed and administered to high school learners (grades 8 to 12) who attend desegregated schools. Fifty-five percent of learners held positive attitudes towards school desegregation. Race was the only variable that had a direct influence on the results obtained.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to place on record my heartfelt thanks to people who have been a great source of help and inspiration. The order in which their names appear does not reflect the importance or lack there off of the support received.

Professor P. T. Sibaya, my supervisor, for his patience, sound advice and guidance, especially through the dark days when I was unable to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

Rugen Pillay, who so willingly gave off her time to help me with some of the typing of the manuscript.

The staff members of the library at the University of Zululand, especially the ladies at the inter-library loans.

The following schools which helped with the administration of the questionnaires to their pupils:

- (a) Aquadene High
- (b) Empangeni High
- (c) Eshowe High
- (d) John Ross College
- (e) Richards Bay Secondary

A special thank you to all the learners who filled out the questionnaire.

Ms. P. Chonco, from the Department of Education (EMIS), for helping with the statistics of school populations in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Mr. Mthembu, from the University of Zululand (Geography department) who very kindly offered assistance with the difficult task of statistical analysis.

Dr. and Mrs. Palliam who introduced me to the wonderful world of academia and then inspired and encouraged me all through my years of tertiary studies.

I would also like to place on record my thanks to my parents, Harold and Neela Pillay, who have been there for me from day one. None of this would have been possible without them.

I thank God everyday for having blessed me with such wonderful parents.

My husband Collin has been my pillar of strength and literally carried me through the trying times. Without his encouragement I probably would never have completed this study. I am truly lucky to have someone in my life who supports me unconditionally.

To my son Mayur, who is now convinced that studying is a special game that all moms play with their children I would like to say thank you for being so tolerant and accommodating. You are undoubtedly my inspiration for all that I do.

And lastly, but by no means least, to God. I put my hands together and give thanks for the courage, strength and fortitude that have been bestowed upon me during my studies. OM NAMA SHIVAYA

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
2.1	Segregation of African-Americans and Hispanics by state	34
2.2	Segregation of South African High Schools	36
3.1	Distribution of subjects	44
3.2	Distribution of attitude scale statements	46
4.1	Respondent's distribution in the entire sample	52
4.2	Age of respondents and attitudes towards school desegregation	53
4.3	Gender and attitudes towards school desegregation	54
4.4	Race and attitudes towards school desegregation	55
4.5	Urban-rural dichotomy and attitudes towards school desegregation	n 56

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE	
PREFACE			
DECLARATION			
ABS7	ABSTRACT		
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		iii	
LIST OF TABLES		v	
TABI	TABLE OF CONTENTS		
CHAI	PTER ONE		
INTRODUCTION			
1.1	Motivation for the study	i	
1.2	Statement of the problem	6	
1.3	Aims of the study	6	
1.4	Hypotheses	7	
1.5	Definition of terms	7	
1.6	Organization of the study	8	
1.7	Plan of the study	10	
CHAPTER TWO			
LITEI	RATURE REVIEW X		
2.1	Introduction	12	
2.2	Attitude of learners towards school desegregation	16	
	vi		

2.3	Age of the learner	19
2.4	Urban-rural dichotomy	21
2.5	Gender of the learner	23
2.6	Race of the learner	25
2.7	Frequency of contact with learners from other race groups	28
2.8	Conclusion	38
CHA	PTER THREE	
RES	EARCH METHODOLOGY	
3.1	Introduction	40
3.2	Research methodology —	40
3.3	Sampling design	43
3.4	Research instrument	45
3.5	Reliability and validity	46
3.6	Method of scoring and analysis of data	48
3.7	Administration of the questionnaire	49
3.8	Conclusion	49
СНА	PTER FOUR	
PRES	SENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	
4.1	Introduction	50
4.2	Data presentation	50
4.3	Discussion of findings	56
4.4	Conclusion	62

CHAPTER FIVE

		·	
RECOMMENDATIONS.	I INJUTATIONIC ANIIN	AMENITIES SOR STIT	TIDE DECEABLE
KELLIVINENIA III INS	LIVII ALBINA AINI	AVENUES FUR FULL	JJRC RESCARLE

5.1	Recommendations	63
5.2	Avenues for future research	64
5.3	Limitations	66
5.4	Conclusion	68
BIBLI	OGRAPHY	69
ANNEXURE A		81
ANNE	EXURE B	86

CHAPTER ONE

PROPOSAL

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY TO BE UNDERTAKEN

The National Department of Education aimed to quietly and peacefully desegregate all schools in South Africa (Washington Post 29 January 1995). However this process has been neither quiet nor peaceful. Instead it has been plagued by problems, particularly racially based/motivated violence amongst pupils (Financial Mail 19 March 1999:44). These incidents have received much attention from the media (newspaper and magazine clippings from 1987 to 2000) and serve to highlight the fact that there is still a high level of racial/cultural intolerance in our schools and it appears to be getting worse (Daily News 29 September 1999; Daily News 19 November 1999; Daily News 6 January 2000; Educator's Voice March 1999:12-13; Independent on Saturday 26 June 1999: Mercury 18 February 1999: Mercury 23 February 1999: Mercury 19 august 1999: Mercury 30 November 1999; Mercury 7 April 2000; Natal Witness 5 March 1999; Natal Witness 10 March 1999; Natal Witness 17 July 1999; Post 8 March 2000; Sowetan 2 July 1999; Sunday Tribune 21 February 1999; Sunday Tribune 5 March 2000; Sunday Tribune 11 July 1999; Sunday Tribune 22 August 1999; Upbeat Magazine October 1996:4-5). This could function as an indicator to the negative attitude of children in this country. The large number of problems experienced has had a detrimental effect on the education process at many schools, due to unrest, adverse publicity and/or closure of the schools involved (Daily News 28 May 1999; Daily News 7 September 1999; Daily News 9 September 1999; Mercury 28 May 1999; Mercury

27 May 1999; Mercury 23 June 1999; Natal Witness 22 June 1999; Post 2 June 1999; Sunday Tribune 30 May 1999; Sunday Tribune 20 June 1999). This has further exacerbated the already dire situation in education.

A survey of American and British literature (Ascher, 1993; Beswick, 1996; Carlson, 1989; Gill, Mayor and Blair, 1992; Willie & Crenshaw, 1997) reveals that this problem is not unique to South Africa. American schools have been battling to contain the potentially explosive racial discord experienced in their high schools. The desegregation process started in the late 1950's in the United States of America and one would assume that they would have successfully addressed the issue by now, but there are ongoing reports of racial conflict between students of different race groups and many racially motivated attacks on children in high school by their peers. These incidences of racially motivated shootings have received much publicity worldwide and highlights the tension and conflict still experienced in schools which have been desegregated for over thirty years.

South Africans need to try to address this problem before it gets completely out of hand. At the moment the South African Department of Education has been able to contain the problem, but if we are to understand the course of events of a problem such as this using the American Education system as an example then we can use this to understand the dynamics of events which are occurring in South African schools.

Du Toit (1995) quotes authors who support the view that mere desegregation is not adequate

enough to significantly change attitudes of groups to one another. He points out that research has shown that it could in fact lead to heightened tensions and prejudices between groups. Furthermore examining interpersonal skills that are unique to each race/cultural group would enable one to note if there are significant differences between each race/cultural group, and to determine how these different skills impact on each group's ability to interact appropriately under set social conditions with individuals from another race/cultural group. If a specific set of skills could be identified and labeled as most suitable to enhancing social interaction between teenagers from varying race/cultural groups it would serve as a valuable guide to interested individuals working with groups of multiracial/multicultural teenagers. Du Toit (1995) concludes that more realistically, most black students are simply battling with basic issues of racism and discrimination. This could be overcome if mechanisms are put in place to encourage integration now that desegregation is in effect.

The future leaders of South Africa are all still impressionable children. We need to create an environment that will foster an attitude of racial tolerance. Le Roux (1993:178) states that schools are important role players in the process of social reproduction and that schools perpetuate and reproduce the social relationships and attitudes needed to sustain dominant economic and class relations. In South Africa these issues also served as racial barriers. So changes in the structure of schools could possibly have a catalytic effect on society.

There are other extenuating variables, which need to be considered. They may impact on the extent to which young adults interact with one another socially. Variables such as inter-racial

contacts play a big role (Nzimande, 1971). Davidoff and Lazarus (1997) mention that school is one of the most powerful socialising agents, however the level of contact with individuals from all race groups outside school is also important (Nzimande, 1971). If one's social group is racially mixed, then one should cope better when one has to socialise with various race groups at school. Where one resides will also contribute to meaningful interaction (Mathunyane, 1996:88; Nzimande, 1971). If all the pupils at a school lived in the same suburb where the school is situated it will probably result in them having more contact outside school, but travelling long distances to and from school could mean that very little if any socialising will take place. Apartheid has resulted in suburbs being dominated by one specific race group and children from other race groups attending schools in these areas usually travel to school by bus. They too live in neighbourhoods of predominantly one specific race group and this does not allow them to socialise with pupils from other race groups.

One could extend this thought further to include the variable of urban-rural dichotomy. One's geographical location may impact on ones level of socialization with people from other race groups. In South Africa the urban areas are composed of multi-racial suburbs but the majority of black people reside in rural areas, hence children in rural areas are even less likely to socialize with children from all race groups, and meeting only at school in the classroom does not contribute much to meaningful interactions (Mathunyane, 1996:88)

Henderson (Cohen & Manion, 1983:119) states that gender is a far more significant factor than ethnicity when determining friendships at a very young age, but one needs to question whether

this is applicable for adolescents/young adults who have already formed opinions in terms of racial tolerance, understanding and acceptance.

This study will attempt to determine if there is a relationship between inter-racial contacts, rural-urban dichotomy, gender and attitudes towards desegregation of schools and will examine how each of these variables influence the manner in which teenagers socially interact with peers from other race groups.

History has shown that separate education, with varying standards, for each race group served only to alienate and antagonise members of the oppressed groups. This system of education created an imbalance in the labour force and formed a deep chasm between race groups. This had a direct impact on the entire country, in terms of the socio-economic level of the majority of South Africans.

The Job Reservation Act (Act No. 54) resulted in people of colour losing all hope of ever obtaining jobs in certain fields of employment. There was no need to pursue tertiary qualifications because these could never be used optimally. This drove the wedge among races even deeper.

The desegregation of schools attempts to address this problem by creating an arena for equal education, and encouraging interaction between race groups. However, judging from the incidence of racially motivated attacks in South African schools it does not appear to have

achieved this desired outcome in terms of interaction. Mere desegregation is obviously not sufficient. Other variables, which impact on social interaction also, need to be considered.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

- 1.2.1 What is the nature of attitudes of high school learners towards school desegregation?
- 1.2.2 Does high school experience (years of study age) influence the learner's attitude towards desegregation?
- 1.2.3 What is the relationship between attitude and the following characteristics of the respondents: urban-rural dichotomy, gender, race, and frequency of contact with other racial groups?

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to achieve the following:

- 1.3.1 To determine the nature of attitudes of learners towards school desegregation, i.e., whether these attitudes are positive, negative or indifferent.
- 1.3.2 To find out whether the age of the learner influences the learner's attitude towards school desegregation.

- 1.3.3 To determine if there is any relationship between attitude and the following characteristics of the respondents:
 - (a) urban-rural dichotomy
 - (b) gender of the learner
 - (c) race of the learner
 - (d) the frequency of contact between learners from different race groups

1.4 HYPOTHESES

Hypotheses will be formulated and will be based on the above aims of study.

<u>-</u>.

1.5 **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

1.5.1 Attitudes

The term attitude is used in this study to mean, a settled opinion, or way of thinking, or a feeling directed towards something.

1.5.2 School desegregation

The term school desegregation refers to the process of admitting pupils from all race groups to the school of their choice.

1.5.3 Secondary school learners

This term refers to any and all learners who are studying at secondary institutions, which cater for pupils from grade 8 to grade 12.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

1.6.1 LITERATURE STUDY

An intensive study of literature, around attitudes of secondary school learners towards the desegregation of schools, will be undertaken in an attempt to discover the extent of the research already covered.

1.6.2 FIELD STUDY

The research that is to be conducted will take the form of a field study.

1.6.3 QUESTIONNAIRE

An attitude scale to measure attitudes of the learners will be developed and administered. It will include both open and close-ended questions.

1.6.4 SAMPLE

Cluster sampling design will be used. Any one educational region in Kwa-Zulu Natal has the same characteristics as any other region, so by choosing one region the researcher will be addressing the needs of all schools in the province. The sample chosen reflects the general demographics of the general high school population in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

The study sample will consist of secondary school pupils all currently studying at racially desegregated secondary schools in the Zululand area. Data on biographical variables with respect to the testee will include gender, age, race, grade, home language as well as urban-rural

dichotomy. Only those pupils who volunteer will be included in this study. Not every student has an equal opportunity of being chosen. A total of four hundred (400) learners will be used in the sample.

1.6.5 METHOD OF SCORING

The questionnaire/attitude scale will contain close-ended questions. Since close-ended questions are a part of the questionnaire, the statistical method of data analysis will be used. However, there will also be a need for qualitative analysis of data.

Respondents will have to indicate by means of a cross (X) whether s/he strongly agrees, agrees, is unsure, disagrees or strongly disagrees with each of the statements in the questionnaire. Each choice is assigned the following values respectively: 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1. With negatively worded items the scoring will be reversed. The total score for individuals will be obtained by adding the values of all the individual items. Hence high total scores will indicate a positive attitude towards the desegregation of schools and vice versa.

1.6.6 METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Statistical techniques will be used to analyse data. The nature of these techniques will depend on the level of measurement.

1.7 PLAN OF STUDY

1.7.1 CHAPTER ONE

In chapter one the motivation for investigation will be discussed and the problem stated. The aims of this study as well as a plan for the organization of the entire scientific report are also detailed. Definitions of terms/concepts are also included to facilitate understanding.

1.7.2 CHAPTER TWO

This chapter will focus on the theoretical background to the study. It considers a review of previous work done in this field by examining the literature on attitudes of learners.

1.7.3 CHAPTER THREE

A detailed description of the research design and methodology of the study will be the focus of chapter 3. It will also include a comprehensive discussion on the design and method of investigation.

Chapter three concentrates on the empirical investigation that is; it describes how fieldwork was carried out and the scale administered.

1.7.4 CHAPTER FOUR

Here the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data will be done. The hypotheses, which were formulated in chapter 3, will be tested in this chapter.

1.7.5 CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter five contains the main findings and results. These will be discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

A review of previous work done in the study of attitudes has revealed that it is one of the most widely used terms in the social sciences. (Shaw & Wright, 1967; Fishbein, 1967; Greenwald et al., 1968; Summers, 1971; Taylor, 1984). It has come to mean a variety of things and its meaning tends to be relevant to the researcher using the term. However there is no doubt that it is an integral part of the study of social psychology. It is often used to include a multitude of abstract qualities and related behavior. For the purposes of this study the definition provided in chapter one will be used.

While most researchers agree that attitude is an individuals response to a specific object, it is also viewed as both an external (environment and social) as well as an internal (cognitive and emotional) force. Hence group affiliations are formed. One's attitude needs to be supported by individuals who think and feel as one does. As a result groups are formed where a persons attitudes tend to reflect those of his group (Taylor, 1984: 27). Taylor goes on to quote Katz (1960) who maintains that these attitudes therefore "serve functions in the personality. For instance, racial prejudice may enhance self – regard, be a way of a managing repressed wants, protect the self against threats to self – esteem, etc." The above may be particularly true of teenagers who are highly impressionable and pliable, especially if the pressure experienced is

from one's peers. According to Henerson, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon (1987:13) as a result of this, measuring attitudes of racial prejudice is difficult. "It is often blurred by peer group pressure and the desire to please."

Van Heerden (1999:80) mentions that "perceptions, assumptions and attitudes are cognitive phenomena and are relative." Basically this means that attitudes are neither right nor wrong and it is difficult to prove the contents of one's perceptions, assumptions and attitudes. Milner (1975:31) maintains that prejudice is inevitable in certain instances and " is the result of the socialization of the child within and environment in which prejudiced attitudes are commonly held." It is not merely ones personality alone which determines one's prejudiced attitudes. Attitudes are learned through experience and are not innate (Milner, 1975:35; Mohsin, 1990:2). They come from and are kept alive by one's social surroundings, the home, the street, the school and even the mass media (books, art, comics, television). Whether these teachings are deliberate or accidental is immaterial but it is this basic socialization of racial attitude that children carry with them into childhood (Milner, 1975:60). Mohsin (1990:37) however refers to the parents as "the most potent and the primary source of the child's learning of ethnic prejudice" and once implanted it is very difficult to change.

The agent for attitude formation, be it community, family, friend or school, through the processes of interaction, identification or association influence the individual to such an extent that s/he begins to reflect the attitudes and norms of the society in which s/he lives. Since attitudes are

largely shaped by socio-cultural factors it is relatively safe to imply that they tend to vary cross-culturally (Van Heerden, 1999:80).

Prejudiced attitudes are usually based on prejudgment of a specific group. It is based on incorrect or incomplete details and is often a misjudgment. When people are judged as a member of a group and not as an individual it could lead to misunderstandings. How one views other groups depends on the stereotypes one has received over the years. Complimentary stereotypes will reflect a positive evaluation of a particular race group while derogatory stereotypes will result in a negative evaluation of the very same race group (Mohsin, 1990:30). Hence if a child is bombarded by negative stereotypes which are internalized s/he will carry these into their social interactions, clouding their judgement and altering perceptions.

Mohsin (1990:32) goes on to describe prejudice as "an internal attitude," a latent disposition that one possesses. However Allport (1954:12) believed that when prejudice becomes "a vigorous hostile action: it is referred to as discrimination. Mohsin (1990:12) supports the notion of discrimination being an external behavior. Allport (1954:14) lists the varying degrees of negative action. The first is antilocution. This is when one expresses feelings of antagonism freely and talks about prejudices with like — minded individuals. Very mild degrees of antipathetic action are evident. The second stage is avoidance and is characterized by an individual avoiding members of the disliked group even if this is an inconvenience for him/her. The next level is that of discrimination and it includes behavior which allows for detrimental distinctions of an active sort and exclusion of all members of the disliked group from certain types of employment,

residential areas, political rights, education and recreation opportunities, churches, hospitals and social privileges. It is based on segregation either enforced legally (as was evident during the apartheid era) or by common custom. Following discrimination is the stage of physical attack and this is when one is in a state of heightened emotions and it is characterized by acts of violence or semi- violence e.g., eviction, threats, gang fights. The fifth and final step is extermination. This is the ultimate degree of violent expression e.g., lynching, massacres, and genocide.

Allport (1954:15) explains that activity on one level makes transition to a more intense level easier. So in the school environment learnt behavior of a mild degree e.g., antilocution could manifest itself in more violent degrees of behavior. Once various groups have developed negative attitudes against each other these are kept alive by the stereotyped beliefs. Groups often view each other as obstacles (in their desire to fulfill certain goals) and/or as a threat (to each other's growth, prosperity, safety and security). This leads to feelings of frustrations, which produces tension and the tension is then reduced by acts of aggression (against each other) (Mohsin, 1990:68).

Mohsin (1990:121) discusses ethnic prejudice and intergroup conflict as being social in nature. They may be eradicated if there was a drastic change in the social environment. If one were to examine the social environment of a typically suburban teenage in South Africa much has changed since the 1994 general elections. The social environment of these children has undergone a major upheaval. The scrapping of all apartheid law has resulted in the complete

desegregation of all resources, amenities, etc. e.g., schools, suburbs, hospitals and places of employment. Hence this study examines whether or not this change in the social environment does in fact help with the eradication of ethnic prejudice and inter-group conflict within the school population.

2.2 ATTITUDE OF LEARNERS TOWARDS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Desegregation allows for all pupils, irrespective of race, status or economic standing to be admitted to the same school. Thus schools need to accommodate this diverse socio-cultural mix. However, as pointed out by Vally and Dalamba (1999:20) most schools tend to uphold the values, needs and aspirations of learners from the race group that the school was originally created for (under the apartheid regime). The school tends to reflect the values of the community/suburb it is situated in. Learners bussed in from other communities tend to be expected to merely 'fit in' or assimilate the ethos that exists at the school. Few changes, if any, are made to accommodate the learners from different socio-cultural backgrounds. A certain group of students have a sense of belonging or ownership while others are mere visitors or outsiders.

Children in the study conducted by Vally and Dalamba (1990) indicated that despite desegregation true racial integration on all levels (in and out of the classroom, on the playground, during activities and outside school) is very rare. Most of the integration occurs in the classroom under formal and possibly forced conditions, but even this is nothing to brag about with

percentages of interracial contact in the classroom ranging from 24 to 35. Outside the classroom where relaxed, voluntary social conditions exist there was very little evidence (2 to 9 percent) of racial integration.

This study also revealed that attitudes towards the desegregation of schools were negative, with white pupils very clearly expressing a strong desire for segregated schools. This attitude of "us" and "them" was often justified by the rationalization that the cultures were very different and if they were not kept apart it could lead to serious interracial conflict. The only manner, according to certain students, in which these incidents could be avoided, was if the race groups avoid each other. It should come as no surprise that the black learners at these schools, while welcoming the opportunity to be at a well-resourced institution, tend to spend all their time together (safety in numbers and a sense of familiarity and comfort). Evidence of racism was presented in various aspects of schooling, by learners and teachers, in sport and institutionally. This kind of behavior has become accepted practice in our desegregated schools.

Van Heerden (1999) conducted an ethnographic investigation into the desegregation process at South African High schools. The researcher used individual interviews, observation, questionnaires and group discussions to gather data. There were distinct differences in the responses between the race groups and ideas/views presented were along racial lines. Despite the tensions black parents and learners still flock to former model C schools for admissions. The main reason given for their attendance at a desegregated school is to receive a good education, which is not available at township schools, so if quality education was freely available at

township schools very few schools would have to focus on desegregation issues. The research findings conclude that there are various differences between the pupils, from the race groups included in the study that have the potential to result in conflict. There is a long varying list of differences for example, tone of voice, discipline, behavior in the classroom, religious expression, physical contact, expression of affection, manners (e.g., burping), clothing and nudity, eye contact, body language, language, cultural practices, (e.g., bereavement, ancestral), sharing of possessions, humour, time management, music, sport, derogatory remarks and name-calling.

Van Heerden (1999:79) also rightly points out that it is common for teenagers to disagree or differ in opinion, but in multiracial settings it is very easy for personal disagreements to turn into an incident where racial insults and derogatory statements are exchanged. This episode in the classroom could then spill over beyond the classroom onto the playground and even out into the community. The majority of black learners were dissatisfied with the context within which the schooling is provided and believed that they are not accepted. On the other hand white learners only expressed dissatisfaction towards the black learners and their behavior because they (the white learners) felt that this behavior was destroying the school culture that they were most accustomed to (Van Heerden, 1999:80). All the learners interviewed understood and accepted the benefits of desegregation and could justify their line of thought quoting socially acceptable reasoning and despite this their behaviour and attitude towards one another is extremely contradictory (Van Heerden, 1999:85).

A study conducted in the United States of America (Orfield, 1995:656) revealed that the majority of people believed that desegregation of schools brought about an improvement in educational standards and that the quality of education for both blacks and whites improved. The public also felt that integrated schools prepare learners from a young age to live and work in what is becoming an ever-increasing multicultural society. Students themselves (from all race groups) felt that integrated schools were advantageous, even if it meant busing students in from other areas. Whites were less likely than blacks to see the need for desegregation, but Orfield (1995:657) suggests that this is possibly a result of the belief held by most whites that there is no educational discrimination against African-Americans. If one believes that no injustice has been committed then one would never stop to consider the remedies for the problem.

2.3. AGE OF THE LEARNER

Numerous researchers (Du Toit, 1995; Mouton and Heese, 1991; Ramsey, 1991; Gerard and Miller, 1975; Singh, 1994) have explored the issue of age and race relations. Du Toit (1005:214) comments on the deep seated racial intolerance many pupils possess which he believes is based on the fact that children of all races are taught to hate each other while they are still very young. They carry these feelings into adolescence and then finally adulthood. These faulty perceptions seriously hamper the quality of schools. Mouton and Heese (1991:5) also support the idea that the age of the learner (amongst other factors for example, gender) will play a role in the desegregation process. So careful consideration needs to be given to the age of the child on entering a desegregated institution and allowances need to be made for appropriate age levels.

Ramsey (1991: 29) quotes Katz's (1975) model of racial attitude development and suggests that while children display a cognitive and affective awareness of racial differences these two response may at times develop independently. As the child gets older, however, attitudes become more consistent across all domains (cognitive and effective) and as a result racial responses tend to become more consistent, clear and fixed as one gets older (Ramsey, 1991: 34 citing research by Katz, 1976 and Milner, 1983). The intensity of early awareness of racial differences may in some way be related to one's attitudes later in life (Ramsey, 1991: 29 citing Katz, 1982). Older children tend to make more explicitly racial rejections and this suggests that as they get older they begin to absorb prevailing social attitudes which they then reflect as their own personal attitudes.

Gerard and Miller (1975: 237) are also firm believers that desegregation is more likely to be successful the younger the child is, but the most important determinant of a child's success at school is the prevailing social climate. Various researchers, over a period of four decades (Moreno, 1934; Criswell, 1939; Loomis, 1943; Yarrow, Campbell and Yarrow, 1958; Campbell and Yarrow, 1958; Jansen and Gallagher, 1966; Moorefield, 1967; Shaw, 1971) cited by Gerard and Miller (1975: 212 – 213), applied sociometry to the study of multicultural classroom settings and the general findings revealed social cleavage (a division or splitting) along racial lines. Some of the studies revealed that the older the children the more pronounced or evident the social cleavage making desegregation of older children and adolescents all the more difficult.

Balch and Paulsen (1979) cited by Singh (1994:57) contend that prejudice reduction methods work best on younger children. During the early years children are most malleable and open to suggestion. Singh (1994: 42) goes on to quote Aboud (1988) who disagrees with this notion. Aboud believes that prejudice-reducing strategies can also be effective with children of secondary school age provided they are of an appropriate level of cognitive development. According to Aboud (1988) cited by Singh (1994) it is never too late to start introducing prejudice reducing strategies in the classroom, but it is vital to ensure that the material used in the process is relevant and age appropriate.

2.4. URBAN-RURAL DICHOTOMY

As far back as 1959 Pettigrew and Cramer (p.62) discussed the difference between urban and rural areas in the United States with the urban areas being more prepared to desegregate their schools. Carlson (1989: 27) relates the South African experience with regards to location of the various racial groups' residential areas. He explains that in South Africa the best place to develop integrated education would be in rural or semi – rural areas where black and white children do not live far apart. In the cities the residential areas are far apart from one another making interracial contact difficult. However it is also important to consider the fact that the majority of black people live in the more rural areas while the majority of Whites, Indians, and Coloured live in more urban set ups.

The Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty in 1979 (Hartshorne, 1992:115 quoting Nasson, 1984a: 8) speaks of the 'structural inequalities' in Australian society which are most evident in the school systems. The school systems perpetuate the existing status quo with gross inequalities between rich and poor and urban-rural areas. The inequalities, which arise due to race, class and gender, have placed the poor at a disadvantage because they are unable to gain "unlimited access to educational resources of good quality" (Hartshorne, 1992:115 citing Nasson, 1984). In South Africa the essential problems in education are similar in both urban and rural areas, but vary in degrees of severity because of greater poverty, isolation, feelings of dependency, additional layers of bureaucracy and traditional authoritarianism (Hartshorne, 1992:122). This double bind of race and poverty serves to render families helpless and traps them in a vicious cycle. Schools in rural areas also battle to break free from the vicious cycle of poverty. The school fees are minimal at the best of times and support from the business sector is virtually non-existent.

Lemon (1995: 101) also mentions major geographical constrains which hinder the redistribution of resources (physical as well as human) in South Africa. They are as follows: the location of infrastructures, problems of teacher redeployment and, above all else, urban – rural disparities. Lemon (1995: 106) is quick to point out that residential desegregation is beginning to accelerate since the scrapping of the Group Areas Act no. 77 of 1957. Despite this there is a privileged set of schools within an overtly non- – racial system, but class distinctions have replaced those of race (Lemon, 1995: 111). It will take decades before the "heritage of apartheid urban planning will be eradicated" (Lemon 1995: 112) and while much of our attention is focused on racial

inequalities we also need to stop and take the time to consider the profound differences between urban and rural provisioning.

A large number of South African schools are still racially homogenous due to the geographical layout of residential areas. These children have very little, if any, interaction with their peers from different race groups. Ramsey (1991: 29) explains that children in racially homogenous environments may assume that their peers who look different also act in very different ways. Ramsey (1991: 29) quotes research (George and Hoppe, 1979; Jarrett, 1981) which showed that white children living in a segregated environment were found to be more biased that white children living in fully integrated communities. As a result in the United States of America President Clinton bowed to public pressure and sign on executive order in January 1994 setting in motion a country wide process armed at increasing housed desegregation. This should lead to fully integrated communities with schools which accurately reflect the diverse racial mix of the society around it (Orfield, 1995: 666).

2.5 GENDER OF THE LEARNER.

Le Roux (1994:140) quotes Arthur (1992:247) as indicating the importance of gender in the cultural being of any individual. One's culture will determine one's role in society and as a result culture will also determine one's gender roles in society. So one needs to investigate not only the race of an individual to grasp an adequate understanding of their socialization but one also needs to determine how one's gender affects the socialization process. Hence gender is

another relevant variable and Ramsey (1991: 33) points out that with positive choices the sex of the learner was a very strong factor and more significant than race in the learners' potential friendship choices in multiracial settings. (Ramsey & Meyers, 1990; Singleton & Asher, 1977, 1979 cited in Ramsey 1991: 33). The reason sex/gender could have featured more strongly is because these friendships could have been based on the types of activities one enjoyed and as a result tend to gather together with peers of the same sex. Haw (1991:17) very aptly points out that racism experienced in schools may disillusion learners, but the sexism experienced tends to go by unnoticed despite the fact that it is one of the important factors which play a role in the desegregation process. Black females are by and large the most disadvantaged, being discriminated against on two separate but fundamentally linked aspects of their being. The fact that very little has been done in the schooling system to address this specific issue means that this double disadvantage will be perpetuated. Vally and Dalamba (1999:53) explain that often racial and sexual insults are used conjointly showing a co-existence of these practices. So it is not possible to dismiss the role that gender plays in our learning institutions.

Kistner, Metzler, Gatlin and Risi (1993: 446) explain that the types of play that boys and girls engage in during the later elementary school years makes cross-race interactions more difficult for girls than for boys. Boys tend to get involved in large – group activities and hence are more likely to interact with many of their male classmates, irrespective of race, but girls on the other hand tend to form small, exclusive friendship groups and as a result tend to interact with very few classmates, Kistner et al. (1993: 446) quotes other researchers (Hallinan & Smith, 1985;

Sagar et al, 1983) as also reporting a "greater tendency for racial 'ingrouping' among girls than among boys suggesting that the role of race in peer relations differs for boys and girls".

2.6 RACE OF THE LEARNER.

Apartheid, according to Mncwabe (1990:61), did not only affect black learners adversely. Historically there is no denying that black learners were placed at a serious disadvantage, but their white counterparts were also placed at a slight disadvantage. They were not only unable to interact with other race groups and deprived of the opportunity to learn, work, understand and live with all South Africans, irrespective of race, but there were divisions amongst the whites themselves, especially with the creation of high schools based on language preference. This created tremendous conflict between the English and Afrikaans speaking whites. As a result these learners were poorly prepared for interaction of any kind with anyone other than someone from his/her own cultural group. This put whites at a disadvantage as they lacked the skills to communicate effectively in the global village.

Research by Du Toit (1995:213) revealed that the most important problems experienced, by black pupils in multicultural school, with teachers as well as other pupils were all related to racism. They indicated that the superior attitude adopted by white peers as well as overt racist behavior towards them was what they disliked most. The black pupils listed, difference in background, ignorance, faulty perceptions and the fact that both groups have been taught from a very early age to hate one another as the main reasons for the white pupils adopting such a

negative attitude towards them. These black pupils had no white "friends" (this terms was use to include casual acquaintances as well as superficial, casual interaction). Du Toit (1995:214) reports that "this lack of friendship could intensify the severe feelings of rejection and isolation of black pupils experienced and could have a negative effect on both their self – image and their academic achievement." While racism was the most important problem for black pupils only a small percentage of non – black pupils mentioned racism as a problem and most teachers were unaware of the problems encountered by the black students (Du Toit, 1995: 214).

Faulkner's (1990: 115) research "strongly suggests that it is very possible for white children attending a multi — cultural school to do as well if not better than their peers who attend predominantly white establishments." White pupils benefit from the multi — cultural environment, but Faulkner is quick to point out that the study conducted was a small one and that sex differences was a far more significant factor that race in producing differences in responses.

Race, according to Davidoff and Lazarus (1997: 6) is one variable that should be carefully guided in schools so that qualities such as tolerance, openness, confidence and, trustworthiness can be developed during the desegregation. The dominant values of our society whether positive or negative reflect themselves in ours schools for example, issues around race (Davidoff and Lazarus, 1997: 19) so we need to closely monitor race related issues ensuring that we address the needs of all students, irrespective of race. It is important to note that we need to stop equating equality with uniformity. Curriculum content should not be identical for all race groups. In a country like South Africa the heterogeneous cultural and social values need to be

catered for. The 'color-blind syndrome' is viewed as a covert, albeit unintentional, form of racism because individual learners are being denied the presence of their unique cultures (Le Roux, 1994:163). Our unique life experiences which make up the foundation of our very essence needs to be taken into account as we interact with individuals from other race, gender and class groups (Nava, 1995:36).

Research by Hallinan and Kubitschek (1990:517) around friendships indicates that black students are friendlier than their white counterparts and are also more likely to change from intransitive friendships to transitive ones. Although the black students are quick to form friendships they are also more prone to dissolving friendships. The white pupils' reluctance to form friendships quickly could be viewed negatively, but could be based on status and sex homogeneity and not necessarily race. However black pupils could view this type of behavior as rejection. However, Singh (1991: 169) found that in classrooms where pupils were divided into co-operative learning teams, students made more cross-race friendships. Once again the issue of quality of contact comes to the forefront. The fact that competition between races has been eliminated and a need to work towards a common goal has been introduced reduces racial tensions.

Kistner et al. (1993:446) discuss studies conducted by Sagar, Schofield & Synder, 1983; Schofield, 1982; Schofield & Whitley, 1983; Singleton & Asher, 1977, 1979 that have shown that social interaction between children in racially integrated peer groups have consistently been based on greater preference for peers of the same race. With regards to rejection of peers as

friends Ramsey (1991:33) discovered that the majority of learners based their rejections on race.

Learners tend to avoid interaction with peers who are unlike themselves.

Klein (1993: 115) quotes pupils at Quinton Kynaston Comprehensive in London, who participated in a video made by ALTRAF in 1984, as saying that they were much more comfortable in a school where racism, as a reality, was out in the open and freely debated than they would be in schools where racism was a taboo topic. One cannot escape racism as it already exists in our society and schools and while confronting it may be difficult it is definitely more dangerous to ignore of deny its presence (Klein, 1993:116).

2.7 THE FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH OTHER RACE GROUPS

Cheryl Carolus was quoted as saying "school desegregation is going to be wonderful for South Africa. It's the way we're finally gong to break down apartheid and racism, just by physical interaction of the kids" (Washington Post 29 January 1995), but the author of the article goes on to indicate that most Americans can vouch for the fact that "desegregation doesn't always mean that blacks and whites live happily ever after." Singh (1991:157) explains that "in most classroom settings, interaction between different ethnic groups is usually of a superficial nature." He goes on to elaborate and states that the traditional instructional setting, where pupils sit next to one another in rows, does not allow for genuine contact between pupils. In South Africa this traditional classroom seating arrangement has been implemented for years. There have been recent attempts to break away, especially since the introduction of outcomes based education, but

the large numbers in the small classrooms make it extremely difficult for the teacher to try and experiment with the various styles of seating arrangements. Singh also argues that "mere contact between pupils of different ethnic background is not sufficient to reduce prejudice based on ethnicity." (1991:157).

Singh (1991:158) cites research by Allport, from as far back as 1954, which clearly indicates that superficial contact between race groups could be detrimental to race relations. Other researchers (Stephen, 1978; Johnson et al., 1981:444) cited by Singh (1991:167) have shown that simply placing students from varying ethnic/racial groups in the same classroom is no guarantee that "they will interact in constructive ways and develop positive attitudes towards each other." Emphasis is placed on the fact that simple proximity alone does not encourage positive or constructive interracial interaction.

Tubowitz (1962:vii) also reveals that inter-racial contact alone has failed to induce a positive attitude change. It is quite clear that the mere presence of members of different races in a common situation is simply not enough to create any kind of positive change of attitudes. Certain conditions need to prevail during interracial contact and they are as follows: (a) compulsory contact between participants, (b) participants are able to focus on concrete tasks that require some from of common effort, (c) ample opportunity for individuals to interact on a personal basis, (d) all individuals are placed in positions of social equity and (e) the creation of a social norm of friendly inter-racial relations. Hence for there to be a suitable climate for effective desegregation the above mention conditions need to prevail. This leads us to the

desegregation - integration debate. While we cannot argue the status of desegregation in South African schools at great length since it is now firmly entrenched in our law books, the nature of integration leaves a lot to be desired.

Vally and Dalamba (1999:22) quote from research by Rist, 1979 and Smith et al., 1973 who explored the difference between integration and desegregation. Desegregation is viewed as a "mechanical process". It is merely enhancing physical proximity of members of various race groups without delving into the quality of this contact. The superficiality of these relationships is being questioned. Integration on the other hand requires "fundamental changes not only in the personal attitudes of learners and educators but also in the institutional arrangements, policies and ethos of the school" (Vally and Dalamba, 1999:24). Gerard and Miller (1975:237) found that pupils interacted on the playground only and only to a very small degree but other than this there was little or not real integration despite long-term contact between pupils. This position is also supported by Singh (1991:157) who found positive inter-group interaction between race groups was limited, with the one major exception of sport. Sport allows male pupils from all race groups to interact positively.

Another author who supports the view that mere desegregation does not lead to genuine interaction among children in mixed schools is Van Heerden (1999: 86). Pupils who came from a desegregated primary school where they did not experience any racist behaviour became aware of racist behaviour at high school and pointed out that there was very little meaningful interaction between black and white pupils. Van Heerden (1990: 86) goes on to quote Donaldson

(1996: 21) who cites research by Ramsey (1987) where he points out that in early childhood studies youngsters are generally accepting of their cultures but as they get older and are made more aware of and are influenced by their surroundings, they become more reluctant to choose friends unlike themselves. The need to identify with peers who are like-minded is an overwhelming desire for adolescents and they are often prepared to sacrifice friendships to do so.

Vally and Dalamba (1995:5) quotes local researchers (Christie, 1990; Carrim, 1992; Naidoo, 1996; Akhurst, 1997; Zinn, 1997; Carrim, 1998; Duncan, 1998; Soudien, 1998; Zafar, 1998; Carrim & Soudien, 1999) who have all conducted studies on the controversial topic of integration in South African schools. They all concluded that while schools may be desegregated, racism is still prevalent. So the question begs: Are pupils to be desegregated and then left to their own devices? OR will interracial integration on all levels become a priority?

As a build up to the issue of interaction Singh (1991:157) elaborates further by discussing pupils behavior and interaction patterns after school. He believes that "most of these pupils go their own way, to their different neighbourhoods." Here they participate and attend very different social events and/or activities. Hence there is very limited opportunity for positive interracial interaction in or out of school. Very little, if any, form of socialization takes place between members of different race groups. Carlson (1989:27) indicates that "the structure of the residential areas make it difficult for children of different races to find anything in common if, outside the school environment, they are going to continue to live separate lives."

The issue of frequency of contact is also discussed by Gerard & Miller (1975:238) who mention that "children who are bussed into a school do not get an opportunity to interact with classmates after school or on weekends and may therefore find difficulty in establishing themselves socially in the classroom or as schoolwork partners." This lack of interaction puts these pupils at a social and academic disadvantage. They are never truly comfortable and often feel like intruders. Du Toit (1995: 214) explains that teachers and pupils in general are "not aware of the feelings of rejection, alienation and non – acceptance experienced by black pupils." These negative experiences could lead to destructive conflict situations that could result in the serious disruption of schools (Du Toit, 1995: 214).

Vally and Dalamba (1999:19) discuss the effects of the Group Areas Act and explain that as a result of residential segregation the majority of black parents are unable to place their children in the former white schools. The cost of transportation or lack thereof is also a contributing factor. While many black parents try desperately to enroll their children into formerly White, Indian or Coloured schools the township schools remain racially exclusive. The desegregation process is only happening at a small percentage of schools in South Africa (Vally and Dalamba, 1999:17). Lemon (1994:215) cites McGurk who explains that no changes are made to the general school environment if only a few black learners are admitted. The learners are the ones who will have to do all the changing through a process of assimilation and eventually class replaces race as a distinguishing feature of these schools and this will continue if the majority of South Africans are unable to access these institutions.

Another point to consider as mentioned by Coutts (1990:5) is that, unlike the United States of America and Britain, in South Africa we have a unique situation where "we encounter an indigenous majority not an immigrant minority" that is discriminated against and who "have historically stood outside the mainstream, Western, industrial culture upon which the country's schooling, economy and technological advancements largely depends." It is therefore evident that the black pupils entering ex – Model C schools will in fact be treated as the inferior minority, while out in the community they are in actual fact the racial majority. This allows for conflicting social messages.

School desegregation will only touch the lives of a tiny percentage of black students as a result of housing patterns, transportation costs and political resistance. The lives of the majority of black pupils will go on as before. (Washington Post, 29 January 1995). Ramsey (1991:28) explains that there are many children who grow up in racially homogenous areas. They have no opportunity to interact with children from other race groups and as a result are unable to from and test their racial perceptions/preferences. This is irrespective of the type of environment the child grows up in (heterogeneous or homogenous) and it is not necessarily the contact between races that matters the most but rather the quality of this contact that is most important. Researchers (George & Hoppe, 1979; Jarrett, 1981; Radke & Sutherland, 1949) have discovered that children, despite not having direct contact with other race groups, still develop attitudes about these race groups. (Ramsey, 1991:28). So whether one has contact with a specific race group or not, one will inevitably develop attitudes (positive or negative depending on the socio-

cultural cues received) towards other race groups. Quality contact will allow for negative attitudes, perceptions and assumptions to be challenged/tested.

Gerard and Miller (1975: 238) conducted research which revealed that as a result of the desegregation process the "minority" children experienced a loss of friendship and school status. They observed that this loss could possibly have been a result of them coming from remote areas and being strangers to their new school, while their peers from other race peers all live in the school's surrounding neighbourhood.

In the United States of America legal desegregation of schools systems are complete and school districts are no longer being monitored by the courts, but racial segregation is on the increase in certain areas. The table below clearly indicates that a large number of school districts have high levels of segregation (Spring, 1994:117).

Table 2-1 Segregation of African-American and Hispanics by State. (Percentage attending schools with 50 to 100 percent minority population.)

African-Americans		Hispanics		
Illinois	88.8 %	New York	86.1	
New York	85.7	Illinois	85.0	
Michigan	84.6	Texas	84.3	
New Jersey	79.6	New Jersey	84.1	

California	78.7	California	79.1
Maryland	. 76.1	Rhode Island	77.8
Wisconsin	75.3	New Mexico	74.4
Texas	67.9	Connecticut	72.4
Pennsylvania	67.5	Pennsylvania	66.9
Connecticut	65.9	Arizona	56.9

Source: This table was adapted from Kern DeWitt, "The Nation's Schools Learn a 4th R: Resegregation," New York Times (19 January 1992): ES

Spring (1994:17) refers to this dilemma as 'second-generation segregation.' This is a form of racial segregation that is a direct result of certain school practices for example tracking, ability grouping and the misplacement of learners in special education and vocational classes. Nava (1995:39) also condemns the practice of tracking in public American schools. He believes that it adversely affects the lives of the poor students and students of colour and lists researchers (Rist, 1970; Howe & Edelman, 1985; Oakes, 1985; Persell, 1977) who support this notion. Epstein (1985) cited by Nava (1995) observed that this practice only served to resegregate school and clearly highlighted the social class and racial segregation that is so prevalent in American society at large.

Table 2-2 Segregation of South African High Schools (Percentage of Kwa-Zulu Natal High schools with only one race group of learners attending).

RACE GROUP	NO. OF SCHOOLS	PERCENTAGE	
BLACKS	4775	99.71	
COLOUREDS	1	0.02	
INDIANS	4	0.08	
WHITES	7	0.15	
TOTAL	÷ · · 2	0.04	

Source: This table was drawn up with information supplied by the Department of Education and Culture (EMIS – Empangeni Region – 2001).

As is evident from the table above 99.71 percentage of high schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal have only black learners at the school, making them racially homogenous. Most of these schools are situated in rural areas or former black townships. These schools have been historically disadvantaged and parents are not keen on admitting their children to these schools, so the poor and socially disadvantaged are the ones who eventually attend these schools. They are never exposed to a multicultural learning environment, which places them at a social disadvantage. In South Africa distinctions in race and class are also very visible.

In South Africa with the system of parallel medium education, where a school offers all subjects to two separate language groups simultaneously, you will find all the Afrikaans speaking pupils (usually white learners) in one class and English speaking pupils (usually the black learners) in

another class. As a result the school is 'segregated' despite evidence to the contrary (black learners being admitted to the school). Pupils have no opportunity to integrate and no situations are created for genuine interracial integration. Another example would be that of academic tracking. All the English first language speakers are placed in one class since they have a stronger grasp of the language. These learners tend to cope better and are perceived as bright and having the potential to attend university. Those learners who are English second language speakers are placed in another class. They have a poorer grasp of the language and as a result battle with other subjects as well (all of which are taught in English). Not surprisingly these learners are thought of as academically weak and as technical or vocation candidates. This type of deliberate or consciously planned social engineering only serves to create deeper rifts among the races. Pupils, despite attending the same school, are alienated from one another, start comparing performances and eventually compete with each other. This leads to conflicts in and out of the classroom.

Singh (1991: 157) offers co-operative learning as a possible solution for the classroom. This method involves pupils from different racial/ethnic groups working in groups where they each enjoy equal status contact in an atmosphere in interdependence. The contact alone is not sufficient to reduce prejudice that is based on race and competitive contact could lead to racial conflict, but if members of the group, irrespective of race all worked towards a common goal and in the process got opportunities to get to know on another as individuals they are bound to develop friendships and should no longer continue to hold prejudices against one another. Singh (1991: 158 –159) goes on to discuss Allport's (1954) theory of intergroup which he felt should

result in more positive behavior and attitudes towards members of other social categories, but he also believed that this was only possible under certain conditions and they are as follows: a) the members of both social groups should enjoy equal status, b) the attributes of the disliked group members must disconfirm the prevailing stereotyped beliefs about them, c) there should be cooperation between members in the achievement of joint goal, d) members should be highly acquainted — the members of the disliked group should be viewed as individuals and finally e) the socials norms of the contact situation must favor group equality.

Slabbert (1992:441) supports Singh's findings when he quotes Spencer Kagan in Brandt (1990:10) who noted that there was a tremendous improvement in racial relations between students as a result of co-operative learning. It allowed for true integration. Classmates became friends when truly heterogeneous groups were formed. Other researchers (Slaving, 1981:658; Soldier, 1989:162; Seagull and Erdos, 1990:339; Dees, 1990:175; Conrad, 1988:286) are quoted by Slabbert (1992:441) as having tested the effects of co-operative learning with extremely positive results.

2.8 CONCLUSION

The literature review indicates that racism is still very prevalent in society and since schools merely reflect the society we live in it is no wonder that racism never fails to rear its ugly head on a daily basis. Previous studies (Vally & Dalamba, 1999; Van Heerden, 1999; Orfield, 1995) revealed that pupils attitudes towards desegregation are generally negative and that the older the child/adolescent the more firm his/her convictions (Du Toit, 1995; Mouton & Heese, 1991;

Ramsey, 1991; Gerard & Miller, 1975; Singh, 1994). It is usually easier to work desegregation programmes with younger children (Gerard & Miller, 1975; Singh, 1994).

Other findings that also need to be taken into consideration is that far more desegregation occurs in urban areas (Hartshorne, 1992; Lemon, 1995), gender is a strong determinant of friendship in younger children but as they get older children tend to gravitate towards individuals who are similar to themselves in as many respects as possible (including race) and girls seem to find it more difficult to cultivate cross-race friendships (Ramsey, 1991; Haw, 1991; Kistener et al., 1993), all pupils (irrespective of race) have criticism to level towards each other and the desegregation process (Vally & Dalamba, 1999) and that the quality, and not frequency, of contact is important (Singh, 1991; Tubowitz, 1962; Vally & Dalamba, 1999, Gerard & Miller, 1975; Van Heerden, 1999; Coutts, 1990; Spring, 1994; Nava, 1995).

Gillborn (1995:11) quoted by Deegan (1996:29) points out that "race remains a vitally important part of contemporary life and politics, but it is neither separate from other factors (class, gender, sexuality, disability) nor is it always the most important (essential) characteristic in human experience and action." Gillborn (1995) goes on to say that as a result the issue of racism needs to be investigated constantly. It is an ongoing process due to the fact that it is never static.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the research and sampling design, the research instrument, method of scoring and the proposed method of data analysis. This study seeks to determine the nature of attitudes of high school learners with regard to the desegregation of high schools and to determine the extent to which the following variables: age, race, gender, urban-rural dichotomy and frequency of contact influence the learners' attitudes towards the desegregation process. The researcher will describe the reasoning behind the methodology and how she conducted the research.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The researcher, in this study, hopes to describe a social phenomenon (desegregation in high schools and learner's attitudes towards this process). Since descriptive research will be employed, the study will focus on "how" and "who" and not "why" According to Neuman (2000:22) much of social research is descriptive in nature and Dane (1990:6) explains that it involves "examining a phenomenon to more fully define it or to differentiate it from other phenomena." The descriptive researchers use most date-gathering techniques e.g., surveys, field research, content analysis and historical - comparative research. This study will use a

questionnaire, which according to Vadum and Rankin (1998:1) is "a method of systematically collecting data from people about their behaviors, attitudes and beliefs." Questionnaires allow one to obtain information directly from the group of individuals participating in the research project and hence are most appropriate for description (Dane, 1990:120).

This tool is best suited for my research purposes, as it will allow for the gathering of information from a large group of individuals in a short space of time. Over the years this technique of data collection has been employed by various researchers (Shaw & Wright, 1967; Mohsin, 1976; Vally & Dalamba, 1999; Van Heerden, 1999) in the measurement of attitudes towards race groups. Shaw and Wright (p. 165) as long ago as 1967 used a questionnaire to determine the attitude of learners in the United States of America towards school integration. Unfortunately this questionnaire is not applicable to the South African context as the questionnaire was designed to determine how people felt prior to integration. In South Africa we have fully integrated schools and very little, if any, investigations were carried out regarding the learners attitudes' towards the process of desegregation. Overnight learners were placed into desegregated classrooms and only afterwards were investigations carried out to try and determine their feelings and attitudes on the process.

In a study commissioned by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) Vally and Dalamba (1999) used two questionnaires in their study on racism, racial integration and desegregation in South African Public Secondary Schools. One for educators and another for learners. These questionnaires were supplemented by random interviews with learners and

educators. While these researchers did not administer the questionnaires themselves, they discovered that observations during the procedure also revealed data regarding the race relations at the schools (between learners themselves as well as between educators and learners). This study was a long-term, intensive one which allowed for more detailed discussions. This researcher, however, has neither the time nor the necessary resources to conduct as thorough a report as Vally and Dalamba (1999).

Van Heerden (1999) in her study titled 'My school, your school, our school? Issues of attitude, behavior and identity among black and white pupils in desegregated South African high schools" used interviews (educators), observation (in and around the school in various settings), a questionnaire and held group discussions with pupils (group and individual). The questionnaire used was based on themes and focus areas that were picked up during the conversations with educators and learners. The questionnaire used in this study consisted of open-ended questions. Van Heerden pointed out that since learners were allowed to structure their responses freely it led to many inappropriate answers. To avoid this problem, once again due to time constraints, this researcher has chosen to use close-ended statements limiting the time learners spend on the questionnaire as well as irrelevant responses. With regard to interviews Van Heerden (1999:71) found that the group discussions, while revealing some valuable information, were often rowdy and sometimes led to verbal attacks. The individual interviews were long, sometimes irrelevant and the learners interviewed were not "key informants."

As a result this researcher has chosen to use close-ended questions on a questionnaire. Hopefully this will help eliminate irrelevant responses (allowing learners to focus on the most important issue at hand) and to save time.

3.3 SAMPLING DESIGN.

Since the researcher hopes to keep the choice of subjects as unbiased as possible stratified non-proportional sampling design, where the population is divided into sub-populations (strata) on the basis of sampling frames (Neuman, 2000:208) was used in the selection of schools and learners. The sub-populations or strata include age, gender, race and urban – rural setting. Once each stratum was identified a random sample ("each member of the population has an equal probability of being included") (Vadum & Rankin, 1998:251) was drawn from each of these strata. This ensures that all relevant variables receive representation. Stratified non-proportional sampling design was used because one does not know the proportion of occurrence of strata in the general population.

The sample consists of 400 learners from five different high schools. 400 questionnaires were handed out and all 400 were returned completed. From all the desegregated schools approached the following schools were the first to willingly agree to participate in the study: Empangeni High School, John Ross College, Eshowe High (all ex-model C schools), Richards Bay Secondary (ex-House of Delegates) and Aquadene High (ex-House of Representatives). As explained earlier it is very rare to find an ex-Department of education and Training school that is

desegregated, simply because the majority of these schools are in the Black townships or in the rural areas. Also learners of all races are flocking to the better-resourced schools and this does not include schools from the former Department of Education and Training. The table below illustrates the distribution of subjects in the sample.

TABLE 3.1 – Distribution of subjects

AGE	AND BELOW	14	2 15	16	17	18	19	20 PLUS
	30	77	81	99	63	36	11	3
GRADE	8		9	1	0	11		12
	91	1	92	9)4	87		36
GENDER	MALE			FEMALE				
		184	1			2	16	
LOCALITY	URBAN				RU	RAL	·	
		364	1				34 -	
RACE	BLACK	CO	LOURE		NDIAN	WHIT	EC	THER
	166		55		87	90		2
LANGUAGE	AFRIKA	NS	ENGL	ISH	ZUI	U	01	HER
	24		211		15	5		10

3.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Various specialized techniques of data collection are employed in descriptive research. These include observation, interviews (face-face, telephone), tests and questionnaires/surveys (mail and self-administered). For the purpose of this study a questionnaire was selected since it is suitable for gathering information from a wide range of individuals. These include: factual information as well as information about beliefs, attitudes, values, expectations, reasons or explanations and even information about social relations (Caplovitz, 1983:101). It will allow for quick collection of data from a large sample. Behr (1988:156) explains that if the questionnaire is properly constructed and administered, it still "continues to be the best available instrument for obtaining information from widely spread sources." The learners interviewed are from different schools/ areas and hence the questionnaire is the best tool to implement under these conditions. It is also efficient and relatively easy to administer. Greater anonymity (Mason & Bramble, 1989:308) for respondents is another advantage to consider, especially if the data being sought is controversial or of a sensitive nature.

The questionnaire used consists of two sections. The first section asks for the respondent's biographical details. This information gives the researcher an indication as to the characteristics of each respondent. The second section consists of statements that are intended to gauge the respondent's attitudes towards school desegregation. There are no correct or incorrect answers to these statements. The respondent has to merely indicate his/her feelings towards each of the given statements. All respondents in the chosen sample are to fill in a series of answers to

questions. The information received creates quantitative data, which is then organized for statistical analysis (Neuman, 2000:251).

A number of authors (Rosenberg, Hovland, Mcguire, Abelson and Brehn, 1960; Summers, 1971; Mohsin, 1990) discuss the process involved in attitude formation and how individuals react or respond to evoking stimuli. The three major categories of response mentioned are 1) cognitive, 2) affective and 3) behavioral. Following this line of thought the statements used in the questionnaire are divided among the three components of attitude: 1) belief, 2) feeling and 3) action-tendency.

TABLE 3.2 - Distribution of attitude scale statements

COMPONENT	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	TOTAL
BELIEF	5	5	10
FEELING	5	5_	10
ACTION TENDENCY	5	5	10
TOTAL	15	15	30

3.5 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

As Neuman (2000:164) clearly indicates "all social researchers want their measures to be reliable and valid." These are important in order to establish truthfulness, creditability or believability in the researcher's findings.

Reliability refers to "the consistency of scores obtained by the same person when re-examined with the same test on different occasions" (Vadum & Rankin, 1998:16 quoting Anastasi, 1998:109). Hence one can conclude that reliability is determined over a certain length of time.

Validity on the other hand is concerned with "what the test measures and how well it does so. It tells us what can be inferred from test scores" (Vadum & Rankin, 1998:16 quoting Anastasi, 1998:139) Neuman (2000:167) goes on to point out that validity is "part of a dynamic process that grows by accumulating evidence over time."

As the researcher has indicated both reliability and validity of an instrument can only be determined over a long period of time and since the researcher has a limited time frame, extensive work into the validity and reliability of the tool is not possible. The instrument used was given to experts in the field of study, "people whose opinions matter," (Dane, 1990:257) and they helped in the process of face/expert validity. The following suggestions were made to the researcher in an attempt to fine-tune the instrument to be used.

Certain statements for example, "it is not right to force children from different race, language, cultural and religious backgrounds to attend the same school" included more than one idea (race, language, culture and religion) and could have created some confusion. Hence the researcher decided to use the term "race." Other statements like "Learners from different race groups do not understand each others behaviour and practices, and are quick to tease, comment or criticise

each other" were ambiguous and had to be omitted or rephrased. Other comments, corrections and/or suggestion offered were irrelevance of statements, double barrel statements, use of concepts learners may not understand and poor sentence construction. All the statements, which proved problematic, were either removed or reworked and the questionnaire was once again presented and then accepted.

3.6 METHOD OF SCORING AND ANALYSIS OF DATA.

The questionnaire/attitude scale will contain close-ended questions. Since close-ended questions are a part of the questionnaire, the statistical method of data analysis will be used. However, there will also be a need for qualitative analysis of data.

The second section of the questionnaire uses a 5-point Likert-type scale for scoring (Behr, 1988:158). Respondents will have to indicate by means of a cross (X) whether s/he strongly agrees, agrees, is unsure, disagrees or strongly disagrees with each of the statements in the questionnaire. Each choice is assigned the following values respectively: 5, 4, 3, and 1. With negatively worded items the scoring will be reversed. The total score for individuals will be obtained by adding the values of all the individual items. Hence high total scores will indicate a positive attitude towards the desegregation of schools and vice versa.

The highest possible score for each respondent is 150 points and the lowest possible score is 30 points. Learners who score above the average score of 75 points will be regarded as having

positive attitudes towards school desegregation and those learners who fall below the said average will be regarded as having negative attitudes towards school desegregation.

3.7 ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

The principal of schools included in the sample gave consent, permitting their students to participate in the research project. Verbal permission was given. Students were briefed regarding the conditions surrounding their participation, which is completely anonymous and voluntary. The purpose of the study was explained and the need for complete honesty reinforced. The questionnaires were administered to small groups of learners who were discouraged from communicating with each other during the process. The researcher thoroughly briefed those individuals who administered the questionnaires to the learners to ensure that the correct administrative procedures were carried out.

3.8 CONCLUSION.

This chapter deals with the planning of the research procedure used to determine the attitude of learners towards school desegregation. Listed are the methods of sampling, the research instrument, data collection and scoring procedures. Explanations are given as to the procedures followed.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to measure learner's attitudes towards school desegregation. The presentation, analysis and interpretation of data will be discussed below. The data presented will help test the hypotheses, which are also listed in this chapter. The composition of the sample, reliability and validity were discussed, in chapter 3.

The scoring procedure for the scale used was also mentioned in chapter 3 and the general mean score for the questionnaire as well as each statement was derived by adding the scores of all the respondents and then dividing the sum by the total number of responses. The mean score serves as a guide to the average response. A score higher than the mean would indicate a positive attitude while a score lower than the mean would indicate a negative response. The scores reveal each respondent's attitude towards school desegregation allowing the researcher to determine if the variables of age, sex, race and urban-rural dichotomy play a role in these learners' attitudes.

4.2 DATA PRESENTATION

4.2.1 HYPOTHESES

From the aims mentioned in chapter 1, the following hypotheses were formulated:

- 1. High school learners hold negative attitudes towards school desegregation.
- 2. There will be no relationship between the variable of age and the learner's attitudes towards school desegregation.
- 3. There will be no relationship between the attitude of the learner and the variables listed below:
- 3.1 gender of the learner
- 3.2 race of the learner
- 3.3 urban rural dichotomy
- 3.4 frequency of contact between learners from different race groups

4.2.2 ANALYSIS OF HYPOTHESES

Each hypothesis will be discussed separately in this chapter using the chi-square procedure. According to Neuman (200:339) "the scientific community has informally agreed to use .05 as a rule of thumb for most purposes. Being 95 percent confident of results is the accepted standard for explaining the social world." Hence this researcher has chosen to use .05 level of significance. Heiman (1996:456) outlines the basic assumptions of the chi-square test as follows: "we are categorizing subjects along one variable having two or more categories, counting the frequency (the number) of subjects belonging to each category; each subject is measured once and can be in one and only category; category membership is independent: the fact that a particular subject falls in one category does not influence the probability of any other

subject's falling into any category, and the computations are based on the responses of all subjects in the study and the expected frequency in any category should equal at least 5."

HYPOTHESIS 1

High school learners hold negative attitudes towards school desegregation.

Table 4.1 – Respondent's distribution in the entire sample (N = 400)

	ATTITUDES	
NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL
180	220	400
$\chi^2 = 4$	<i>df</i> = 1	p<0.05

The calculated chi-square value of 4 is greater than the tabled critical value of 3.841, therefore hypothesis one which states, high school learners hold negative attitudes towards school desegregation has been rejected. The statistical results are significant. The difference between 220 and 180 learners could not have occurred by charge.

HYPOTHESIS 2 The age of the respondent will not influence his/her attitude towards school desegregation.

TABLE 4.2 - Age of respondent and attitudes towards school desegregation (N=400)

	<u>ATTITU</u>	<u>ATTITUDES</u>			
AGE IN YEARS	NEGATIVE _	POSITIVE	TOTAL		
13-	11 .	19	30		
14	35	42	77		
15	32	49	81		
16	54	45	99		
17	26	37	63		
18	13	23	36		
19	6	5	11		
20+	3	_0	3		

The calculated chi-square value of 11.06 is less than the tabled critical value of 14.067, therefore hypothesis two which states, the age of the respondent will not influence his/her attitude towards school desegregation has been confirmed. The null hypothesis is upheld. The statistical results are not significant.

HYPOTHESIS 3

The gender of the respondent will not influence the attitude of the respondent towards school desegregation.

Table 4.3 – Gender and attitudes towards school desegregation (N = 400)

	ATTITU	-	
GENDER	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL
FEMALE	88	128	216
MALE	92	92	184
$\chi^2 = 3.39$	df = 1		p > 0.05

The calculated chi-square value of 3.39 is not significant at 5% level of significance. The tabled critical value is 3.841 and is greater than the calculated value. Hence hypothesis three which states, the gender of the respondent will not influence the attitude of the respondent towards school desegregation has been confirmed. Our null hypothesis is upheld.

HYPOTHESIS 4

The race of the respondent has no effect on the attitude of the respondent toward school desegregation

Table 4.4 - Race and attitudes towards school desegregation

	* <u>*</u> *	ATTITUDES	
RACE	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL
INDIAN	36	51	87
BLACK	60	106	166
COLOURED	26	29	55
WHITE	58	32	90
OTHER	00		2
$\chi^2 = 21.75$	df = 4	•	p < 0.05

The calculated chi-square value of 21.75 is greater than the tabled critical value of 9.488, there fore hypothesis four which states, the race of the respondent has no effect on the attitude of the respondent towards school desegregation has been rejected. The statistical results are significant indicating that the race of the respondent has an effect on his/her attitude towards school desegregation.

HYPOTHESIS 5

Urban - rural dichotomy will not influence the respondent's attitudes towards school desegregation.

Table 4.5 – Urban–rural dichotomy and attitudes towards desegregation (N = 398)

	<i>y</i> .	ATTITUDES	-
PLACE	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL
URBAN	167	197	364
RURAL	13	21	34
$\chi^2 = 0.73$	df = 1		p > 0.05

The calculated chi-square value of 0.73 is less than the tabled critical value of 3.841. The decision then is to uphold hypothesis five which states, urban-rural dichotomy will not influence the respondent's attitudes towards school desegregation. The statistical results are not significant and the place where the learner resides does not influence his/her attitude towards school desegregation.

4.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The aims of this study as stipulated in chapter 1 were to determine the nature of learners attitudes towards school desegregation and to determine if a relationship exists between respondents

attitudes and the following variables: age of the learner, gender of the learner, race of the learner, the aspect of urban-rural dichotomy and the frequency of contact with other race groups.

4.3.1 THE NATURE OF ATTITUDES OF LEARNERS TOWARDS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

This study focuses on the entire study sample and respondents showed a positive attitude towards school desegregation. This finding is contrary to findings by other researchers in the past. Vally and Dalamba (1999:3) noted that 62% of learners interviewed indicated that there had been 'racial incidents' at their schools and that there were racial tensions and divisions at their schools. These researchers also indicated that the number of responses would have been much higher if it were not for interference during the interviewing process. Research conducted by Van Heerden (1999:86) revealed that there were strong racial feelings among and statements by pupils. All of these were of a negative nature. Hence the potential for conflict was quite great. Du Toit (1995:215) discussed research findings of CEDUS where black learners experienced numerous problems in multiracial schools, including alienation, rejection and lack of acceptance. He goes on to indicate that the repressed negative experiences have the definite potential to lead to destructive conflicts.

Overall this study does not reveal any negative feelings towards school desegregation and there appears to be big difference in attitudes towards school desegregation over the years. As Du Toit (1995) rightly pointed out "it would be necessary to repeat this survey in future to gauge possible

progress made." This researcher believes that this study is evidence of "possible progress" being made at integrated high schools. The findings may be attributed to various factors, such as increased social interaction which allows for individuals to get to know, understand and accept each other as well as positive social cues from the media and significant adults.

It is true the media still reports incidents of racially-motivated violence at schools, but one needs to question whether these incidents are based on racial issues or were they teenage disputes between members from different races-groups. It is possible that the run-of-the-mill teenage disagreement over petty grievances is being interpreted as racially based and hence aggravated.

4.3.2 AGE AND THE LEARNER'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

This study attempts to determine whether or not the age and concurrently the length of time at school will influence the learner's attitude towards the desegregation process. This researcher found that the age of the high school learner did not have an effect on the learner's attitude towards the desegregation of schools. However more learners in the following age groups held negative attitudes: 16 years old – 55% of learners, 19 years old –55% of learners and 20 years old – 100% of learner. The older children may still be battling to come to terms with the change from mono-cultural classrooms to multicultural classrooms while the younger children have never had the experience of mono-cultural educational setups.

Researchers (Mathunyane, 1996; Deegan, 1996) who have conducted research in cross-cultural friendships have discovered that racial and cultural differences do not play a role in the selection of friends or formation of peer groups at a younger age, while other researchers (Ramsey, 1991 citing research by Katz, 1976 and Milner, 1983) found that racial responses become more clear as one gets older. These friendships once formed are carried on as one gets older. However if one has been restricted in ones choice of friends due to say legal and social constraints, it would be difficult to change such negative attitudes once these children are older.

Van Heerden (1999:84) found that high school learners claimed to be unable to develop cross-cultural relationships beyond the level of acquaintance due to very different taste (for example, in sport and music). Van Heerden (1999:86) also quotes research by Donaldson (1996:21) who points out that Ramsey (1987) conducted early childhood studies which revealed that younger children are more accepting of other cultures but as they get older and are more influenced by their surroundings they do not want to choose friends unlike themselves.

4.3.3 OTHER CHARACTERISTICS AND THE LEARNER'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Aim three sought to find out if the following characteristics have a bearing on the learner's attitudes towards school desegregation: gender, race, urban-rural dichotomy and frequency of contact with other race groups.

The findings of this study revealed that the gender of the learner will not influence his/her attitude towards school desegregation. Van Heerden (1999:72) also supports this stance when she found that there was "no marked differences in the responses of boys and girls regarding their perceptions" and she goes on to quote research by Lebakeng (1992) who also supports this finding. However this finding is contrary to research by Kistner et al (1993:446), Le Roux (1994:140), Ramsey (1991:33) and Vally and Dalamba (1999:53) who all indicated that cross race interactions are more difficult for females. Closer examination of this research's findings show that in fact more females (59%) were positive about the desegregation process indicating that there is a change in attitudes.

The findings on attitudes towards school desegregation and race support findings by Du Toit (1995:213) who explained that black learners biggest problem at school is the racist behavior towards them. The findings of this study divulge that 64% of white learners have a negative attitude towards school desegregation while the majority of learners from other race groups (Indian, black, Coloured, other) have positive attitudes towards school desegregation with percentage distributions of positive attitudes as follows: 64% Black learners, 53% Coloured learners, 59% Indian learners and 100% of learners falling into the 'other' category.

White learners are still battling to cope with the changes at school despite the fact that desegregation has been implemented since 1994. This resistance to change could result in tension and conflict in the classroom and on the playground. The researcher found that at one high school learners were placed in different language classrooms, which resulted in a racial

divide. English speakers (a small percentage of white learners and the majority, if not all, of the Indian and Black learners) were in one class and Afrikaans speakers (all white learners) in another class. This in the researcher's opinion serves to strengthen the racial divide, making cross-cultural interaction difficult and the formation of cross-cultural friendships almost impossible.

Urban-rural dichotomy will not influence the learner's attitude towards school desegregation. This study's findings show that learners living in both urban and rural areas have positive attitudes towards school desegregation with 54% of learners in urban areas displaying positive attitudes and 62% of learners living in rural areas are positive about school desegregation. However this researcher is unhappy about these results and does not believe that they are very conclusive as only a handful of learners living in a rural area and attending multicultural schools were a part of this research project. Further research in this area needs to be conducted but it may prove difficult, as there appears to be no schools in the deep rural areas that have a truly well balanced multi-cultural population.

Closer examination of each of the 30 statements allows one to gauge the learners contact with each other. In statement 12, which reads: "Some of my closest (best) friends are members of a different race group than myself." 62% of learners responded positively indicating that they have close social contact. While various researchers (Singh, 1991:157; Tubowitz, 1962:vii; Gerard and Miller, 1975:237; Van Heerden, 1999:86 and Vally and Dalamba, 1999:5) hold that contact alone is insufficient to create positive attitude change, these close friendships may serve

as a catalyst to tolerance and understanding with emphasis being placed on the quality of these relationships. They are not of a superficial nature.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The main focus of this study was to find out the nature of attitudes of high school learners towards school desegregation. Learners in this study displayed positive attitudes towards school desegregation. It would appear that learner's attitudes have changed somewhat over the years. This is a truly heartwarming sign and gives one hope for society at large. Also while there was a slight discrepancy in responses from learners in different age groups it was not significant. With regard to other variables, race was the only variable that proved significant, with the majority of white learners exhibiting a negative attitude towards school desegregation.

CHAPTER FIVE

RECOMMENDATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND

AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

The research revealed that despite the fact that 55% of learners hold positive attitudes towards school desegregation there are a few issues that need to be addressed, so the researcher recommends the following:

- (a) multicultural awareness programmes be implemented in all schools in order to empower and sensitize learners, educators and the greater community
- (b) educators should receive some form of in-service training so that are able to handle racerelated issues with confidence and serve as role models for the learners
- (c) parents need to get involved in the school community, displaying positive multi-racial interaction, hence successfully modeling appropriate race-relations for their children
- (d) forums for open discussions need to be created allowing learners to air their views in a safe, well-informed environment so that misconceptions can be laid to rest

- (e) opportunities be created for learners to interact with each other in formal settings other than school, for example places of worship
- (f) learners should be encourage to socialize with each other outside of school, for example visit each other's homes
- (g) Since the instrument was not adequately validated this needs to be done for future studies that are to be conducted in this area.

5.2 AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has opened the following avenues for future research:

- (a) There is a definite need for further research in this field as it is often taken for granted that physical proximity of race groups will lead to acceptance, tolerance and understanding
- (b) A national study of all schools with multiracial populations should be undertaken to gauge attitudes within schools as learners in specific situations react to their specific circumstances
- (c) Relationships outside the formal school setup need to be examined to determine if the contact learners have now is forced or willing

- (d) A closer look at the implementation of race relation programmes in all schools in South

 Africa is necessary so as to give all learners a platform to address race related issues

 which they may be struggling with.
- (e) A more open-ended approach to this topic may also reveal more valuable information regarding the specifics of these learners' attitudes towards the desegregation process.
- (f) A study of educator's attitudes may also prove useful so as to gauge the climate of high school classrooms.
- (g) Another aspect that needs some attention is the attitude of learners who attend schools that are not multicultural. Due to extenuating circumstances for example, located in a rural area with only a single race group residing in that area or due to the language of instruction at the school there are many schools that do not have a multicultural learner population.
- (h) Also the impact of multicultural schooling on learners who have had to assimilate the values of another culture/race group and how this has impacted on their lives in their communities

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

While this research study has been able to address most of it's concerns and has achieved most of it's objectives, a number of limitations were noted by the researcher, for example issues around the sample of the study and the instrument used.

- (a) The researcher believes that the sample chosen for this study was too small and although all the respondents attended a multi-cultural school the researcher made no attempt to determine the length of time spent by each respondent at the multicultural school as this is likely to influence one's attitude.
- (b) Also the researcher did not administer the questionnaire to learners who attend a monocultural school. This opens up another avenue for research as well and could have influenced the final research result.
- (c) The researcher, had the instrument used examined by experts in this field of study, but still experienced some problems. In retrospect the questionnaire failed to adequately examine cross-cultural relationships outside the formal schooling environment.

Also while the reliability and validity were established, the instrument only has a moderate reliability, which could change if a more representative population is used.

A section in the questionnaire which allowed for open-ended responses should have been included, as it would have allowed for a more in-depth examination of learners attitudes. The close-ended questions could have only revealed superficial attitudes towards a rather complex and complicated situation.

- (d) Due to extenuating circumstances the researcher was unable to administer the questionnaire herself and hence the administration of this instrument may not have been conducted, as the researcher would have liked. If pupils were allowed to discuss the contents of the questionnaire prior to responding to the questions they would have been able to influence each other (peer influence).
- (e) The frequency of contact variable was not well researched and further work in this area needs to be done.
- dichotomy as it was difficult locating learners who lived in rural areas and attended a school with a truly multi-cultural population. Most schools in rural areas tend to have a mono-cultural population. Hence the results for this variable may not be as conclusive as other variables in this study.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Despite the various limitations mentioned above the researcher feels that the main aims of this study have been achieved and that the study is highly applicable. The topic is researchable and the variables discussed lent themselves to measurement, analysis and interpretation. This research study also opens up new avenues for further research in this area. A more comprehensive study (national) resulting in a nation wide race relation programme being implemented at all schools would be most beneficial to learners and educators.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allport, G. W. (1954). The Nature of Prejudice. U.S.A.: Addison - Wesley Publishing Co., Inc.

Ascher, C. (1993) The Changing Face of Isolation and Desegregation in Urban Schools. New York: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education

Behr, A. L. (1988). Empirical Research Methods for the Human Sciences. South Africa: Butterworth Publishers (PTY) LTD.

Beswick, R. (1990) Racism in America's Schools. U.S.A.: ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education

Caplovitz, D. (1983). The stages of Social Research. Canada: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Carlson, B. (1989) American Education - A South African Perspective on the Process of Desegregation. Education Journal. 99(1), 25-29

Cohen, L. & Manion, L. (19830 Multicultural Classrooms: Perspectives for Teachers. London: Groom Helm

Coutts, A. (1990). The Multicultural School. MENTOR, 72 (4), 5-10.

Coutts, A. (1992). Multi-cultural Education. MENTOR, 74(1), 8-11.

Daily News. 1999. Disappointment. 19 November. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. Probe Into School Racism Allegations. 20 September. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. Pupil Charged For Attack. 19 February. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. Pupil Friend of Africans Attacked. 07 September. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. Pupils Charged Over Scissors Incident. 17 February. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. Pupils Run Amok after Teacher's 'Racist' Remark. 28 May. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. School Racism 'Rife'. 30 November. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. School Solves Its Problems. 23 August. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. School's Acting Principal Demoted. 09 September. Durban.

Daily News. 1999. Schoolboy's Stories Differ. 18 August. Durban.

Daily News. 2000. Schools Accused of Excluding Black Pupils. 06 January. Durban.

Daily News. 2000. Workshop Talks Anti-Racism Stand. 01 February. Durban.

Dane, F. C. (1990). Research Methods. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Davidoff, S. and Lazarus, S. (1997) The Learning School. An Organizational Developmental Approach. Cape Town: Juta & Co., Ltd.

Deegan, J. G. (1996). Children's Friendships in Culturally Diverse Classrooms. London: Falmer Press

Du Toit, P.T. (1995) Interpersonal Relationships of Black Pupils in Multicultural Schools. South African Journal of Education. 15(4), 212-217

Faulkner, J. (1990). White Children in a Multi - cultural school setting: a valid cause for concern? Educational Studies, 16(2), 109-116.

Financial Mail. 1999. The Painful Process of Desegregation. 19 March. Johannesburg.

Fishbein, M. (Ed) (1967). Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement. U.S.A.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Fredrickse, J. (1992). All Schools for All Children. Lessons for South Africa from Zimbabwe's Open Schools. U.K.: Oxford University Press

Gerard, H. B. and Miller, N. (1975). School Desegregation: A Long Term Study. New York: Plenium Press.

Gill, D.; Mayor, B. and Blair, M. (1992) Racism and Education. Structures and Strategies.

London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Greenwald, A. G.; Brock, T. C. and Ostrom, T. M. (1968). Psychological Foundations of Attitudes. New York: Academic Press.

Hallinan, M. T. and Kubitschek, W. N. (1990). The Formation of Intransitive Friendships. Social Forces, 69(2), 505-519.

Hartshorne, K. (1992). Crisis and Challenge. Black Education 1990 - 1992. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Haw, K. F. (1991). Interactions of Gender and Race - a Problem for Teacher: A Review of the Emerging Literature. Educational Research Volume, 33(1), 12-20.

Heiman, G. W. (1996). Basic Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences. U.S.A.: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Henerson, M. E., Morris, L. L. And Fitz-Gibbon, C. T. (1987). How to Measure Attitudes. California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Holmes, R. M. (1995) How Young People Perceive Race. Volume 12. California: Sage Publications

Independent on Saturday. 1999. Children Follow Your Example. 26 June, Durban.

Independent on Saturday. 1999. Racism Stoked In Schools. 26 June. Durban.

Independent on Saturday. 1999. School Stabbing. 13 March. Durban.

Kistner, J.; Metzler, A.; Gatlin, D. and Risi, S. (1993). Classroom Racial Proportions and Children's Peer Perceptions, Race and Gender Effects. Journal of Educational Psychology, 85(3), 446-452.

Klein, G. (1993). Education Towards Race Equality. London: Cassell (Dotesios Ltd.).

Le Roux, J. (1994). The Black Child in Crisis. A Socio-educational Perspective. (vol. 2). Pretoria: J. L. Schaik Publishers.

Lemon, A. (1994). Desegregation and Privatisation in White South African Schools: 1990 - 1992. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 12(2), 200-221.

Lemon, A. (1995). Education in Post-apartheid South Africa. Some Lessons From Zimbabwe. Comparative Education, 31 (1), 101-114.

Linn, L. S. (1965). Verbal Attitude and Overt Behaviour: A Study of Racial Discrimination. Social Forces, 44, 353-364.

Mason, E. J. and Bramble, W. J. (1989). Understanding and Conducting Research.

Applications in Education and the Behavioral Sciences. Singapore: McGraw - Hill Book, Inc.

Mathunyane, L. H. (1996) Relationship Formation in Multicultural Primary School
Classrooms. Doctoral Dissertation. Pretória: University of South Africa

Mercury. 1999. Diversity at School 'Must Be Dealt With'. 19 August. Durban.

Mercury. 1999. Pupil Charged With Assault. 19 February. Durban.

Mercury. 1999. Pupil Found Guilty. 06 October. Durban.

Mercury, 1999. Pupils Run Amok After Racist Remark, 28 May. Durban.

Mercury. 1999. Richness In Diversity. 20 August. Durban.

Mercury, 1999. School Closed After 'Race Row'. 27 May. Durban.

Mercury. 1999. School Incident Under Control. 23 June. Durban.

Mercury. 1999. Schoolboy Stabbed In Neck During Quarrel. 18 February. Durban.

Mercury. 1999. Stabbed Pupil Returns To School. 23 February. Durban.

Mercury. 1999. Racism In Schools Probed. 30 November. Durban.

Mercury. 2000. School Racism Big Issue. 07 April. Durban.

Milner, D. (1975). Children and Race. England: Penguin Books Ltd.

Mncwabe, M. P. (1990). Separate and Equal Education. South Africa's Education at the Crossroads. Durban: Butterworths.

Mohsin, S. M. (1990). Attitude Concept Formation and Change. India: Wiley Eastern Limited.

Mouton, J.H.C. and Heese, C. P. (1991) Evaluering van Desegregasie. Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwyser Unie. 88(1), 5-8

Natal Witness. 1987. New Non-racial Natal School. 10 June. Durban.

Natal Witness. 1987. Pupils At Non-racial School Assaulted. 15 September. Durban.

Natal Witness. 1999. 'Our Teachers Still Uphold Apartheid.' 17 June. Durban.

Natal Witness. 1999. F.F. Leaders Criticise Report On Racism In Schools. 08 March. Durban.

Natal Witness. 1999. Head Denies Racial Tensions Led To Clashes. 22 June. Durban.

Natal Witness. 1999. Racism Is 'Alive And Well' In S.A. Schools. 05 March. Durban.

Natal Witness, 1999. Rooting Out Racism In Schools. 10 March. Durban.

Natal Witness. 2000. Not Just Saris, Samoosas And Tribal Dancing. 31 March. Durban.

Nava, A. (1995). Educating Americans in a Multiethnic Society. U.S.A.: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.

Nene, L. M (1969). The Attitude of Bantu College Students Towards University Education.

M.A. Dissertation, UNISA.

Neuman, W. L. (2000). Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. U. S. A.: Allyn and Bacon.

Nzimande, A. M. (1971). A Study of the Attitudes of Two Groups of the Zulu Tribe Towards the Indians. D. Lit. et. Phil. Thesis. UNISA.

Orfield, G. (1995). Public Opinion and School Desegregation. Teacher College Record, 96(4), 654-668.

Pettigrew, T. F. and Cramer, M. R. (1959). The Demography of Desegregation. Journal of Social Issues, 61 - 71.

Post. 1999. Stabbing Pupil May Be Charged. 08 March. Durban.

Post. 1999. Tribunal Drops School Race Row Hearing. 02 June. Durban.

Ramsey, P. G. (1991). The Salience of Race in Young Children Growing up in an All - White Community. Journal Education Psychology, 83(1), 28-34.

Rosenberg, M. J.; Hovland, C. I.; Mcguire, W. J.; Abelson, R. p. and Brehn, J. W. (1960).

Attitude Organization and Change. An Analysis of Consistency Among Attitude

Components. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shaw, M. E. and Wright, J. M. (1967). Scales for the Measure of Attitudes. U.S.A.: McGraw - Hill, Inc.

Sibaya, P. T. (1984). A Study of Black University Student's Perceptions of the Handicapped Person in the Community. M. Ed. Dissertation, University of Natal (Pmb.)

Singh, B. R. (1991). Teaching Methods for Reducing Prejudice and Enhancing Academic Achievement for All Children. Educational Studies, 17(2), 157-169.

Singh, B. R. (Ed.) (1994). Improving Gender and Ethnic Relations Strategies for Schools and Further Education. Great Britain: Redwood Books.

Slabbert, J. A. (1992). Improving Learning Quality in Multicultural Education. South African
Journal of Education, 12(4), 439-442.*

Sowetan. 1999. MEC's Investigate Violence At Schools. 02 July. Johannesburg.

Spring, J. (1994) American Education. U.S.A.: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.

Summers, G. F. (1971). Attitude Measurement. U.S.A.: Rand McNally & Co.

Sunday Times. 2000. Asmal Plans A Lesson For The Rainbow Classroom. 09 January. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1997. Dangerous Minds: The War In School Playgrounds. 16 November. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1999. Educator's Provide Hope By Tackling School Race Problems. 22

August. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1999. Looking For New Ways To Teach. 22 August. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1999. Mother Alleges School Racism. 21 February. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1999. Ongoing Feud Forces School To Close. 20 June. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1999. Probe Into School Racism. 30 May. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1999. Violence Again Explodes At School. 20 June. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 2000. Creating A Generation Of Peacemakers. 06 February. Durban.

Sunday Tribune. 1999. Action Urged To Prevent Racialism At Schools. 11July. Durban.

Taylor, T. R. (1984). Attitude Measurement and Behavior Prediction 1: Literature Survey. South Africa: National Institute for Personnel Research.

The Educator's Voice. 1999. Department Must Combat Racism. April. 3(4). Johannesburg.

The Educator's Voice. 1999. Racism Rears It's Ugly Head At Schools. March. 3(3). Johannesburg.

Troyna, B. (1993) Racism and Education Research Perspectives. Philadelphia: Open University

Trubowitz, J. (1962). Changing the Racial Attitudes of Children. U.S.A.: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.

Upbeat. 1996. Playground Politics. October. Johannesburg.

Vadum, A. C. and Rankin, N. O. (1998) Psychological Research: Methods for Discovery and Validation. U.S.A.: Mcgraw - Hill Companies, Inc.

Vally, S. and Dalamba, Y. (1999). Racism, Racial Integration and Desegregation in South African Public Schools. A Report on a study by the South African Human Rights Commission. (SAHRC)

Van Heerden, M. E. (1999). My School, your school? Issues of attitude, behavior and identity among black and white pupils in desegregated South Africa high schools. Ethnology, 67-89.

Washington Post. 1995. South Africa Quietly Integrates Schools. 29 January. Washington.

Watson, P. (Ed.) (1973) Psychology and Race. U.S.A.: Aldine Publishing Co.

Willie, C. and Crenshaw, K. (1997) The Cultural and Legal Meaning of Desegregation: Has It Been Achieved? Can It Be Achieved? [Online] Available: http://www.artsci.wastl.edu/~afas/vis/winter97/9deseg.htm

ANNEXURE A: The final scale.

A QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL LEARNERS.

A Study on the Attitudes Towards Desegregation.

This questionnaire consists of two parts. The first part, section A, asks for your personal particulars and the second part, section B deals with your views on desegregation in your school. There is no need for you to write your name on the questionnaire. This will help ensure a high level of confidentiality.

Read each statement given carefully and then complete each item by marking the appropriate box with a cross (x). Please answer all the statements. There are no right or wrong answers.

Explanation of symbols used:

SYMBOL	· · · MEANING
SA	Strongly agree with this statement
A	Agree with this statement
U	Uncertain about this statement
D	Disagree with this statement
SD	Strongly disagree with this statement

SECTION A

PERSONAL PARTICULARS

Please use a cross(x) in the correct box to indicate your details or fill in the necessary information in the spaces provided.

			G]	ENDI	ER		•	
	FE	MAL	E		\mathbf{M}	ALE		
			AGE	IN Y	EARS			
	AND ELOW	14	15	16	17	18	19	20 +
<u> </u>			G	RAD	E			
	8	9		10		11	12	

RACE									
INDIAN	BLACK	COLORED	WHITE	OTHER SPECIFY					
	•								

HOME LANGUAGE

4	AFRIKAANS ENGL		SH ZU		лlu	OTHER - SPECIFY
		WHERE	E DO Y	OU LIVE?		
	1	RBAN		RURAL		
	<u> </u>	REA		AREA	<u> </u>	1
		<u>SI</u>	ECTIO	N B		
In ti	his section vou are	to make a cross	(x) in t	he box of v	our choice o	nce you have read
each	statement careful	ly. The cross (x	c) will r	eflect how	you feel abo	ut each statement
mad	e. You are remind	ed that there are	e no rig	ht and wro	ng answers.	
1.	I feel that desegr	egated schools he	lp learn	ers cope bet	tter with life a	fter school.
	SA	A		U	D	SD
2.	Learners from al	race groups cont	ribute e	qually to cl	ass lessons.	
	SA	A		U	D	SD
3.	Learners at my se	chool, regardless	of race,	all get on v	ery well toget	her.
	SA	A		U	D	SD
4.	I feel that I have	a lot to learn fron	n my pe	ers from otl	ner race group	os.
	SA	A		U	D	SD
5.		pite the desegre in the past ten (1			as produced	consistently good
	SA	A		U	D	SD
6.	I do not mind be	ng in a school wi	th learn	ers from oth	ner race group	S.
	SA	A		U	D	SD
7.	It is sad to have t	o force children f	rom dif	ferent race	groups to atter	nd the same school.
	SA	A		U	D	SD
8.	At my school lea	arners from differ	rent rac	e groups ar	e uncomfortal	ble socializing with
	SA	A		U	D	SD
9.	I have no prob		g next	to and wor	king with m	y classmates from
		ſ	1			

Α

SA

U

D

SD

10.	I enjoy learning race groups.	more about the c	ultural practices	of my classmates	s from different
	SA	A	U	D	SD
11.	I believe that dati	ng across racial li	nes is likely to lea	d to a serious pro	blem.
	SA	A	U	D	SD
12.	Some of my close	st (best) friends a	re members of a	lifferent race grou	p than myself.
	SA	A	U	D	SD
13.	I am concerned to between learners		-	ion in order to in	nprove relations
	SA	Α	U	D	SD
14.	I think that learned we can avoid raci		race groups shou	ld attend separate	schools so that
	SA	A	U	D	SD
15.	Most learners ter situation.	id to take sides v	vith same race p	eers whenever the	ere is a conflict
	SA	A	U	D	SD
16.	Mixing with learn socialize later in l		t race groups is n	ot going to impro	ve my ability to
	SA	A	U	D	SD
17.	Class lessons are groups.	often disrupted b	y the unruly beha	aviour of learners	from other race
	SA	Α	U	Ď	SD
18.	At my school disrespectfully.	learners from d	ifferent race gr	oups tend to tr	eat each other
	SA	A .	υ	D	SD
19.	I am happy to kr with learners from			ould gain through	my association
	SA	A	U	D	ŞD
20.	I believe that since has deteriorated.	e the desegregation	on of schools the	quality of educati	on at my school
	SA	Α	U	D	SD
21.	Learners from dispecifically for the		ups should all a	ttend separate sc	hools that cater
	SA	A	U	D	SD

It is encouraging	to watch learners	from different rac	e groups mix free	ly at school.
SA	A	ប	D	SD
It is heartwarming	g to see my peers	at school date acr	oss race lines.	
SA	A	U	D	SD
I enjoy working v	vith learners who	are the same race	as myself.	
SA	A	U	D	SD
Having to learn displeasing.	about the cultu	re of my classn	nates from other	race groups is
SA	Ā.	Ū	D	SD
At my school it times.	is easy for all lea	rners, irrespectiv	e of race, to inte	ract freely at all
SA	A	U	D	SD
I am reluctant to myself.	make friends w	ith my classmate	es who are not the	ne same race as
SA	A	U	D	SD
I am glad that v between learners.	very little needs	to be done at m	y school to bette	er race relations
SA	A	ប	D	SD
I accept that the schools across So	-	inbow nation is	aptly reflected in	the multiracial
SA	A	U	D .	SD
At my school con	flict situations do	not turn into raci	ally based argum	ents.
SA	A	U	D	SD

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY. YOUR TIME AND EFFORT IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

ANNEXURE B: Particulars of the respondents.

RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	2 1 1 2 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	6 1 2 2 1 1 2 3 1 2 2 2 2 1 1 1 2 2 2 1	411111111111111111111111111111111111111	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

	SPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
	23	1	4	2	2	3	1
	24	1	3	2	2	3	1
	25	1	2	2	2	3	<u>i</u>
	26	2	6	2	2	'r 3	2
	27	1	3	2	٠ -	, 3	
	28	1	4	2	2	3	1
	29	2	2	2		2	<u>i</u>
	30	1	2	2	i	2	i
	31	Ì	2	2	i	2	i
	32	i	2	2	1	2	· i
	33	1	2	2	1	2	1
	34	1	2	2	i	2	i
	35	1	2	2	i	2	<u>.</u>
	36	ż	2	2	3	2	1
	37	<u>-</u>	2	2	3	2	<u>i</u>
	38	ż	2 '	2	. 3	2	i
	39	2	4	2	3	2	<u> </u>
l	40	1	3	2	3	2	1
	41	1	2	2	3	2	1
	42	2	4	2	3	2	
	43	1	7 1	3	1	2	1
	43 44	1	3	3	1	· 2 2	1
	44	+	J	J	ı	į.	ı

RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MAI.E	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
45	1	4	3	1	2	1
46	1	3	3	i	2	1
. 47	i	3	3	1	2	i
48	i	3	3	1	<u>.</u> 2	i
49	1	4	3	1 •	2 2	1
50	2	5	3	3 ` **	2	1
51	1	3	3	3	2	1
52	1	3	3	3	1	1
53	2	7	3	2	3	2
54	2	5	3	2 .	2	1
55	2	4	3		3	1
56	2	3	3	2	3	1
57	1	4	3	2	3	1.
58	1	4	3	2	3	1
59	2	7	3	2	3	1
60	2	6 <i>'</i>	3	2	3	1
61	1	5	4	2	3	1
62	1	6	4	2	3	1
63	1	5	4	2	3	1
64	1	7	4	2	3	1
65	1	4	4	2 2	3 3	1
66	1	7	4	2	3	1

RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85	2 1 1 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2 1	65467844445455566555	4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 5 5 5	2 2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 3 3 3 1 1	3 3 3 3 3 3 3 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
86 87 88	1 2 1	6 5 6	5 5 5	1 1 1	2 2 2	1 1 1

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
	89	1	6	5	1	2	1
	90	1	6	5	2	3	4
	. 91	1	7	5	2	3	2
	92	1	6	5	2	, 3	1
	93	2	8	5	2 ،	y 3 2	i
	94	1	5	5 5	2 1 //	3	i
	95	1	6	5	3	2	<u>i</u>
	96	2	6	5	3	3	2
ı	97	2	5	5 5	3	2	<u>1</u>
	98	2	6	5	3	2	1
	99	2	2	2	3	2	2
	100	2	3	2	4	2	2
	101	2	3	2	3	2	2
	102	2	2	2	4	2	2
	103	1	3	2	3	2	2
	104	1	2 '	3	4	2	2
	105	1	2	2	1	2	1
	106	1	2	2	3	2	1
	107	2	3	2	1	2	1
	108	1	4	2	2	3	2
	109	1	3 3	2 2	-	, 2 2	1
	110	2	3	2	4	2	1

RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119	1 1 2 2 2 1 2 1 1	3 2 3 3 2 1 2 1 2	2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1	1; // 1 // 2 4 2	2 2 2 2 3 2 2 3 2 3	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2
121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132	1 2 2 2 2 1 2 1 1 2	1 1 2 2 3 3 1 2 2 2 2 2	1 1 1 1 1 1 1	3 3 5 2 1 3 3 2 2 2 2 2	2 2 4 2 2 2 2 3 3 3 3	1 2 1 1 1 1 1 2

RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDEN 1 = URBA 2 = RURA
• 134	1	2	1	2	3	1
135	1	ž	1	5	4	i
136	ż	4	3	š	2	i
. 137	2	3	3	1	5	1
138	1	4	3	4	ı, 2	1
139	2	4	3	3∙	7 2	i
140	1	ġ	3	2, "	4	'n
141	<u>i</u>	4	3	4	ż	1
142	1	3	3	i	$\bar{\tilde{z}}$	ż
143	1	5	3	Ž	3	1
144	1	5	3	2	3	0
145	1	3	3	3	2	1
146	1	5	3	2	3	1
147	2	4	3	4	2	1
148	2	4	3	3	2	1
149	2	4	3	2	3	1
150	1	4 '	3	2	3	1
151	1	3	3	3	2	1
152	1	3	3	3	2	1
153	1	3	3	1	2	1
154	1	4	3	2	3	·2
155	1	5	3	2	3	2
156	1	5	4	3	1	1
			93		t	

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL	
	- 157	1	5	4	4	2 .	1	
-	158	2	4	4	1	2	1	
	159	1	5	4	1	2	1	
-	. 160	1	5	4	1	2	1	
	161	2	4	4	1	ւլ 2	1	
ļ	162	1	5	· 4	2	3	1	
	163	2	6	4	2 7 8	2	1	
1	164	1	5	4	2	3	2	
İ	165	2	7	4	2	3	1	
	166	1	5	4	2	3	1	
- }	167	1	6	4	3	3	1	
- {	168	1	5	4	4	4	1	
-	169	1	4	4	1	2	1	
-	170	2	5	4	3	2	1	
ì	171]	5	4	4	2]	
	172]	5	4	3	2	1	
	173	1	6 '	4	2	3	2	
١	174	2	5	4	1	2	1	
	175	2	6	5	2	ა ი	1	
	176	2	6	5	2	ა 2	1	
	177	·∠ 1	6	ວ ຮ	4	. 3	1	
-	178] 1	6	5 5	2	3	1	
- 1	179	l	4	บ	~	. J	ı	

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL	
	• 180	1	6	5	2	3	1	
	181	1	5	5	4	2	1	
	182	2	4	5	2	3	2	
-	· 183	2	5	5	1	2	1	
	184	1	6	5	1	't 2	2	
	185	2	4	5	2 .	3	1	
	186	1	6	5	2 ' '	3	1	
İ	187	1	5	4	4	2	1	
	188	1	6	5	2	3	1	
	189	2	6	5	4	2	1	
	190	1	5	5	4	2	1	
	191	2	5	5	4	2	1	
	192	2	6	5	4	2	1	
	193	2	7	5	4	2	1	
	194	1	6	5	2	3	1	
	195	2	3	2	2	3	1	
	196	2	3 ′	2	2	3	1	
	197	1	3	2	2	3	1	
	198	1	5	4	4	2	1	
	199	2	4	3	2	3	1	
	200	1	4	2	2	3	·1	
-	201	2	2 2	1	1	. 2	1	
	202	2	2	1	1	2	1	

	SPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
	204 205	1 2 1	1 1 3	1 1 1	4 3 4	1 2 2	1 1 1
	206 207 208 209	1 1 2 2	2 2 1 2	1 1 1	2 2 4• 1`	3 3 2 2	1 1 1
ļ	210 211 212	2 2 1	2 3 3	1 1 2	1 4 4	2 2	1 1
	213 214 215 216	1 1 1 2	1 1 2 5	1 1 1 3	4 2 4 2	2 3 2 3	1 1 1
	217 218 219	2 2 2	2 1 3 ,	1 1 2	2 1 2	3 2 2	i 1
	220 221 222 223	2 2 1	3 2 3	2 2 2	4 4 2 2	4 2 3 3	1 1 1
	223 224 225	2	4 4	2 2	2 , 2	3 3 3	1

٠.

226 1 2 2 1 2 1 227 2 3 2 4 2 1 228 1 4 2 4 2 1 229 1 3 2 3 2 1 230 2 2 2 2 2 3 1 231 2 3 2 4 1 1 1 1 232 2 2 2 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2		RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL	
228 1 4 2 4 2 1 229 1 3 2 3 2 1 230 2 2 2 2 1 1 231 2 3 2 4 1 1 1 232 2 2 2 1 2 1 233 1 3 2 4 2 1 234 2 3 2 4 2 1 235 1 2 2 1 2 1 236 2 3 2 4 2 1 237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 2 3 1 242 1 3<		• 226	1	2		1	2	1	
229 1 3 2 3 2 1 230 2 2 2 2 3 1 231 2 3 2 4* 1 1 232 2 2 2 1 2 1 233 1 3 2 4 2 1 234 2 3 2 4 2 1 235 1 2 2 1 2 1 236 2 3 2 4 2 1 237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3	ļ		2	3	2	4	2	. 1	
229 1 3 2 3 2 1 230 2 2 2 2 3 1 231 2 3 2 4 1 1 232 2 2 2 1 2 1 233 1 3 2 4 2 1 234 2 3 2 4 2 1 235 1 2 2 1 2 1 236 2 3 2 4 2 1 237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 3 3 2 3 1 243 2 4 3<	1	228	1	4	2	4	2	1	
231 2 3 2 4 1 1 1 232 2 2 2 1 2 1 233 1 3 2 4 2 1 234 2 3 2 4 2 1 235 1 2 2 1 2 1 236 2 3 2 4 2 1 237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 2 3 1 245 1 3<			1	3			2	1	
233		230	2			2	't 3	1	
233		231	2	3		4	1	1	
234 2 3 2 4 2 1 235 1 2 2 1 2 1 236 2 3 2 4 2 1 237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 4 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		232	2	2	2	1 "	2	1	
234 2 3 2 4 2 1 235 1 2 2 1 2 1 236 2 3 2 4 2 1 237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 2 1 244 1 3 3 2 3 1 245 1 3 3 4 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1	1		1	3	2	4	2	1	
236 2 3 2 4 2 1 237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 4 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1			2	3	2	4	2	1	
237 1 2 2 1 2 1 238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		235	1	2	_	1	2	1	
238 1 4 3 3 2 1 239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		236	2	3		4	2	1	
239 1 4 3 2 3 1 240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		237	1	2	2	1	2	1	
240 2 4 3 4 2 1 241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5' 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		238	1	4	3	3	2	1	
241 1 3 3 1 2 1 242 1 5' 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1	i	239	1	4	3	2	3	1	
242 1 5' 3 2 2 1 243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		240	2	4	3	4	2	1	
243 2 4 3 2 3 1 244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		241	1	3	3	1	2	1	
244 1 3 3 4 2 1 245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		242	1	5 '	3	2	2	1	
245 1 3 3 1 2 1 246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1		243	2	4	3	2	3	1	
246 1 4 3 4 2 1 247 2 4 3 4 2 1	[244	1	3	3	4	2	1	
247 2 4 3 4 2 1			1	3	3	1	2	1	
247 2 4 3 4 2 1		246	1	4	3	4	2	1	
	-		2	4	3	4	٠ 2	1	
	-	248	2	4	3	2	. 3	1	

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL	
	• 249	1	3	3	4	2	1 .	
	250	1	4	3	4	2	1	
	251	2	4	3	4	2	1	
	. 252	2	4	3	2	3	1	
1	253	2	4	3	~	ւլ 3	1	
١	254	1	4	· 3	2 •	· 3	1	
١	255	2	3	3		2	1	
-	256	2	3	3	1	2	1	
	257	2	3	3	1	2	<u>.</u>	
١	258	1	5	4	1	2	1	
1	259	1	5	4	4	2	1	
Ì	260	1	4	4	1	2	1	
ļ	261	1	5	4	4	4	2	
İ	262	1	5	4	2	4	2	
J	263	2	4	4	2	3	1	
Į	264	2	4	4	4	1	1	
Ì	265	1	4 '	4	4	2	1	
	266	2	5	4	4	2	1	
1	267	2	4	4	1	2	1	
	268	2	5	4	2	3	2	
	269	2	5	4	2	3	:1	
	270	$\bar{\overline{2}}$	7	4	4	2	1	
-	271	<u>-</u>	6	4	2	3	<u>i</u>	
- 1		•	•	•	_		•	

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
	• 272	1	4	4	2	3	1
	273	1	5	4	4	2	1
Į	274	2	7	4	3	2	1.
	275	2	4	2	2	3	1
	276	2	3	1	2 2 2 1 2	<u>3</u>	1
	277	1	4	1	2 *	3	1
-	278	2	3	1	2 ' ''	3	1
- [279		1	1	2 3	3	1
	280	2 2 2	4	2	3	2	1
	281	2	2	1	3	2	1
	282	2	2	1	2	3	1
Ĺ	283	2	3	2	2	3	1
	284	2	4	1	2	3	1
	285	<u></u>	3	1	2	3	1
1	286	2	4	1	2	3	2
	287	1	4	1	2	. 3	1
	288	2	4 '	1	3	2	1
	289	$\bar{2}$	4	1	2	4	1
1	290	- 1	ò	1	3	2	1
ĺ	291	2	1	i	3	2	1
	292	- 1	À	2	2	3	:1
	293	i	4	2	2	, 3	1
	294	1	2	1	2 2	' 3 3	1
1	234	•	4 -	•	-	v	•

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL	
	- 295	1	2	1	2	3	1	
	296	1	4	2	2	3	1	
	297	1	8	3	3	3	1	
	. 298	1	3	3	1	3	1	
	299	2	4	3		't 3	1	
	300	1	4	3	3	2	1	
	301	2	4	3	2	3	1	
	302	2	5	4	4	1	1	
	303	1	5	4	2	3	1	
	304	2	5 5 5 5	4	2	3	1	
	305	2		5	2	3	1	
	306	1	5	4	4	1	1	
	307	2	4	4	2	3	1	
	308	1	5	4	2	3	1	
	309	2	5 7	4	2	3	1	
	310	2	-	4	2	ა 1	1	
	311	1	3	2	4	1	1	
	312	1	3	2	4 A	1	2	
	313	1	3 3	2	4	1	<u>د</u> 1	
	314 215	<u> </u>	3 3	2	4	1	1	
	315 316	· I • 1		2	'† ∕∕	, 1	2	
	317	2	3 2	2	3	1	1	
-	311	<i>~</i>	4	4	5	<i>t</i>	•	

318 2 3 2 4 1 1 1 319 2 4 4 4 2 1 320 1 5 4 2 3 1 321 2 6 4 2 3 1 322 2 4 4 2 2 1 323 2 5 4 4 2 1 324 1 4 4 4 2 1 325 1 4 4 4 2 1 326 1 4 4 4 2 1 327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 2 3 1 331 1 5 4 2 3 1 3331 1 5 4 4 2 1 3331 1		RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
320 1 5 4 2 3 1 321 2 6 4 2 3 1 322 2 4 4 2 1 323 2 5 4 4 2 1 324 1 4 4 4 2 1 325 1 4 4 4 2 1 326 1 4 4 4 2 1 327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 339 2 6 4 2 3 1 331 1 4 4 2 3 1 332 1 6 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 4 2<				3	2	4	1	1
321 2 6 4 2 3 1 322 2 4 4 2 1 323 2 5 4 4 2 1 324 1 4 4 4 2 1 325 1 4 4 4 2 1 326 1 4 4 4 2 1 327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 2 3 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 4 2 1 334 2 6 4 4 2 1 334 2 6 4 4<		319	2	4	4	4		1
322		320	1	5	4			1
323 2 5 4 4 2 1 324 1 4 4 4 2 1 325 1 4 4 4 2 1 326 1 4 4 4 2 1 327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 329 2 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 2 3 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3<		. 321	2	6	4		3	1
325 1 4 4 4 4 2 1 326 1 4 4 4 4 2 1 327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 329 2 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 3 2 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 3 1 1 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 4 2 1 1 3 2 1 3 2 3 2 1 3 2 3 <	1	322	2	4	4		ւ, 2	1
325 1 4 4 4 4 2 1 326 1 4 4 4 4 2 1 327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 329 2 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 3 2 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 3 1 1 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 4 2 1 1 3 2 1 3 2 3 2 1 3 2 3 <	1	323	2	5	4	4.	2	1
326 1 4 4 4 2 1 327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 329 2 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 3 2 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		324	1	4	4	4 * ***	2	1
327 1 5 4 2 3 1 328 1 6 4 2 3 1 329 2 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 3 2 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		325	1	4	4	4		1
328 1 6 4 2 3 1 329 2 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 3 2 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		326	1	4	4	4		1
329 2 6 4 2 3 1 330 1 4 4 3 2 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		327	1	5	4			1
330 1 4 4 3 2 1 331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		328	1	6	4			1
331 1 5 4 4 2 1 332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		329	2	6	4			1
332 1 6 4 4 2 1 333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		330	1	4	4	3	2	1
333 2 4 4 1 2 1 334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		331	1	5	4	4		1
334 2 6 4 3 1 1 335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		332	1	6	4	4	* -	1
335 1 4 4 1 2 1 336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1			2	4	4	1	2	1
336 2 5 4 4 2 1 337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1	1		2	6 <i>'</i>	4	3	1	1
337 2 4 3 2 3 2 338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1	1		1	4	4	1		1
338 2 4 3 2 3 1 339 2 4 3 2 3 1		336	2	5	4	4		1
339 2 4 3 2 3 1			2	4	_	2	_	2
			2	4		- -		-1
340 1 5 3 2 3 1			2	4		2	, 3	1
		340	1	5	3	2	. 3	1

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL	
	• 341	1	4	3	2	3	1	
-	342	i	4	3	2	3	· i	
	343	1	3	3	2 2 2 2* 4**	3	i	
	. 344	1	4	3	2	3	1	
	345	1	2	. 3	2	3	1	
	346	1	3	3	2*	3	1	
i	347	2	4	3	4	2	1	
	348	2	5	3	4	2	2	
	349	1	5	3	2	3	2	
ļ	350	2	4	3	2	3	1	
	351	1	3	3	1	2	1	
	352	2	3	3	1	2	1	
	353	1	4	3	3	2	1	
	354	2	4	3	1	2	1	
	355	2	4	3	4	2	1	
-	356	1	4	3	4	2	1	
	357	2	2 ′	2	2	2	1	
	358	1	2 ' 2 2	2	2	3	1	
	359	1	2	2	1	2	1	
Į	360	2	2	2	2	3	1	
Į	361	1	2	2	4	2	:1 :	
	362	1	4	2 2	2	٠ 3	1	
	363	1	3	2	4	. 2	1	
- 1						§*		

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
	• 364	1	3	2	2	3	1
	365	2	2	2	2	3	1
	366	1	2	2	1	2	1
	. 367	2	2	2	1	2	1
	368	2	3	• 2	4	<u></u>	1
1	369	1	3	2	4.	2	1
	370	2	. 3	2		2	1
	371	2	3	2	2	2	1
- 1	372	2	3	2	2	3	1
	373	1	3	2	4	2	1
-	374	1	3	2	2	3	2
	375	1	4	3	4	1	1
	376	1	4	3	4	1	1
}	377	2	4	3	4	1	1
	378	2	4	3	4	1	1
1	379	1	5	3	4	1	1
	380	1	4 '	3	4	1	1
	381	2	4	3	4	1	1
	382	2	5	3	4	1	1
	383	<u>-</u>	1	1	2	3	1
	384	<u>i</u>	ż	i	4	2	1
	385	1	3	i	4	۰ 2	1
	386	i	3	1	ż	<u>-</u>	1
Ì	200	•	•	•	_	ł ·	•

RESPONDENT NUMBER	GENDER 1 = FEMALE 2 = MALE	AGE 1 = 13- 2 = 14 3 = 15 4 = 16 5 = 17 6 = 18 7 = 19 8 = 20+	GRADE 1 = 8 2 = 9 3 = 10 4 = 11 5 = 12	RACE 1 = INDIAN 2 = BLACK 3 = COLORED 4 = WHITE 5 = OTHER	HOME LANGUAGE 1 = AFRIKAANS 2 = ENGLISH 3 = ZULU 4 = OTHER	RESIDENCE 1 = URBAN 2 = RURAL
. 387	2	3	1	2	3	1
388	2	3	1	2	3	2
389	2	2	1	2	3	
390	2	_ 1	1	1	2	<u>i</u>
391	1	2	1	1	· _' 2	1
392	1	1	[.] 1	1∙	· 2	1
393	1	1	1	4 * #	2	1
394	1	1	1	2	3	1
395	2	2	1	3	2	1
396	2	1	1	1	2	1
397	1	1	1	4	2	1
398	1	2	1	2	3	1
399	2	2	1	4	2	1
400	2	2	· 1	3	2	1