GUIDELINES FOR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN INTEGRATED SCHOOLS WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

By

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DECLARATION

I, Sharon D. Enoch, declare that this dissertation entitled, “Guidelines for Multicultural Education in integrated schools with specific reference to the South African Context” is the result of my own investigation and research and that all the sources I have used have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

Sharon D. Enoch
1 February 2007
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GOD BLESS YOU ALL!
DEDICATION

TO MY PRECIOUS HUSBAND, JOHN AND MY LOVING CHILDREN

JAPHETh, CANDACE AND SHEVONNE

FOR FILLING MY LIFE SO COMPLETELY
ABSTRACT

South Africa hails from a legacy of racial discrimination and other related forms of discriminatory practices. In the decades prior to the democratic elections of 1994, race separation was the defining feature of schooling. However, post-democracy, racial integration became the defining feature. Racial integration in schools has not proceeded smoothly, partly because both learners and educators were not prepared for the complexities that accompany racial and cultural mixing. The absence of an educational programme geared pointedly towards multicultural education in the South African context thus becomes vital. The primary purpose of this study was to generate guidelines for such a programme.

Through a phenomenological approach, this study focused on the experiences of a total of eight learners and seven teachers, who constituted the sample. Qualitative research methods were used in the form of vignettes, open-ended questionnaires, focus-group interviews and direct observation, with a view to obtaining deeper insight into the experiences of integration, as well as the problems facing both learners and teachers in respect of integration in a secondary school. In addition, the study explored solutions to integrated schooling as seen by the participants.

The Contact Hypothesis, together with the results of the data analysis, was used to underpin the guidelines for multicultural education. The themes that emerged were: the
need for equal status among learners, common goals, cooperation rather than competition, quality activities specifically designed to promote positive integration, authority sanction for integration, as well as compromise in respect of language, relevant education, role of teachers, learner initiatives, forced integration, parent involvement, accepting differences, promoting cultural awareness, the need for open communication, and tolerance. The researcher was thus able to access themes that were then used to develop guidelines for multicultural education in the South African context.

The outcomes of the investigation were discussed within the context of international and local literature, which reviewed contact as a means of promoting positive integration, as well as multicultural intervention strategies.

The study concluded with a brief discussion on the limitations of the investigation and recommendations for further research. It is anticipated that this research endeavour will provide insight into the effective role that educators, learners, parents and the community can play in improving racial integration in secondary schools in South Africa.
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OVERVIEW OF STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Interracial and intercultural conflict has been and continues to remain, a focus of debate and deep concern in the South African society in general, and in educational institutions (schools) in particular.

To the outside world looking in at South Africa, desegregation of schools is synonymous with the end of apartheid. However, this is far from reality. It takes much more than a mechanical process of opening schools to learners of all race groups to overcome the inequities of apartheid. “Nevertheless, there is something deeply symbolic attached to the image of children of different race groups coming together in what was the heartland of racism” (Naidoo, 1996, p. 1). This is, possibly, why researchers have been attracted to this complex and intriguing area of study. It is even more intriguing to explore the impact of this “coming together” (contact) in what Hofmeyr (2000, p. 21) refers to, as “the melting pot of racial integration” and to provide strategies to facilitate positive integration in schools.

1.2 A brief historical perspective of the South African education system and desegregation in schools

The South African education system has been characterised by a protracted history of racial discrimination and segregation (Freer & Christie, 1992). This resulted primarily from South
Africa’s policy of apartheid and separate development, implemented by earliest policies such as the Education Act of 1907, later the National Policy for General Education Affairs of 1948, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Coloured Persons’ Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965. The apartheid system in South Africa attempted to regulate intergroup contact in all spheres of life. This practice predominated schools through the process of segregation. The result was a huge restricting of opportunities for interracial contact between learners.

The year 1994 however, was a watershed in South African history with the birth of the “New South Africa”, following the first democratic elections. This heralded a gradual desegregation in respect of schools and the integration of learners from diverse racial, ethnic and cultural groups within schools.

Since the birth of the “New South Africa” in 1994, the past decade has seen major political changes in the country, with the result that education and the schooling system is still undergoing restructuring. The gradual demise of the apartheid system has given birth to a unitary system of education in which learners of diverse racial and ethnic groups are coming together in integrated learning environments, referred to earlier, as “a melting pot of racial integration” (Hofmeyr, 2000, p. 21). The integration of learners into previously segregated schools is certainly not a panacea for the mindsets and stereotypes with which learners enter the school environment. While legal barriers to access have been removed, the deeper dimension of race allows it to have an impact on the experience of learners from different racial backgrounds. The greatest challenge facing learners is to shed the discriminatory “baggage” of the past and truly integrate. It behoves them to learn to accept other racial groups, with their differences, and adapt to the demands of racially mixed schooling. One of
the more serious concerns of such integration is the attitude of learners to the integration process. The difficulties attached to racial integration among learners must be viewed in the context of the individual learner’s background. From birth, learners have been raised and educated in relatively homogenous settings. As a result they are largely ignorant of the culture, values, communication patterns and lifestyle of other races. Apartheid severely limited contact between white and non-white learners. This led to the alienation of the different population groups, which resulted in inter-group relations characterised by conflict, distrust and intolerance. This is particularly problematic when learners are faced with diverse cultures in a racially mixed school. They enter school with many inhibitions, prejudices and fears. To compound the problem, learners have not had bridging programmes prior to entering mixed schooling environments, to assist the acclimatisation process.

Chrisholm and Kgoble (1993, p.5) maintain that “desegregated education is not a process that would in itself lead to quality education and the elimination of racial barriers in education”. To initiate children into a new, open and united society is problematic. Recent media coverage of racial tensions bears testimony to this. Pupils tend to interact with fellow pupils of the same racial background inside and outside of school and most of them continue to adhere to apartheid racial stereotypes (The Teacher, 1996, p. 21). Cultural alienation, discrimination and harsh treatment are some of the problems cited by black pupils attending desegregated schools. “The fact that they are usually in the minority exacerbates the problem” (The Teacher, 1997, p.5). The overall ethos of the formerly white school remains unchanged as well. The burden is thus on black learners to assimilate, by adopting the values and lifestyles of the dominant group in order to participate fully in the school (The Teacher, 1996, p.21). An Indian mother from Johannesburg lodged a complaint of school racism with The South African Human Rights Commission. Her daughter had been called “blackie” eight
times, and her son was told by a white pupil that, "I am white and therefore I am superior and I say that you are dirty" (Sunday Tribune, 1999, p.28).

In the wake of such on-going conflict and in the absence of structured guidelines for positive integration, it becomes imperative that multicultural intervention strategies are implemented to minimise the negative outcomes that often accompany integration among learners. Integration establishes physical proximity of members of diverse racial, ethnic and cultural groups within a common environment.

1.3 Motivation for the study

The impetus to conduct the research emanated from the results of my Master's study which focused on the attitudes of grade ten learners towards racial integration. Important outcomes of the study were learners' views on the difficulties encountered with the integration process, nine years post-democracy, which are outlined below:

1.3.1 Racial prejudice, discrimination and conflicts

Some of the greatest difficulties facing learners concern racism, prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and conflicts in the school environment. Respondents from all race groups mentioned that most class discussions invariably take on a racist slant and often result in violent verbal outbursts and aggressiveness. An Indian female emphasised that racial jokes are often "pushed too far". Learners tend to use racial jokes to vent their true feelings towards one another, in keeping with the old adage. "Many a truth is spoken in a jest". This often
leads to vicious inter-racial fights. Interviewees also appeared extremely perturbed with derogatory name-calling such as “coolie”.

Stereotyping among learners was evident during interviews. Black learners were stereotyped as “loud”, “noisy”, “unhygienic”, “disrespectful”, and “thieves”. They were also perceived by white and Indian learners as interpreting everything that is said and done “in a racist way”. There was a feeling that black learners wanted everything for themselves, as expressed by one learner “Blacks are taking over this country, this is a black man’s land”. They were also accused of always assuming that discussions and arguments are racially motivated. Black learners, on the other hand, perceived white learners as racist. White learners in turn felt prejudiced that they were perceived as racist because of the previous apartheid system in this country.

Racial conflicts have been serious in some instances. An interviewee recounted that in one incident black learners threatened to infect white learners with AIDS and vice versa. Another learner reported that a coloured student attacked one of his white friends and he had to obtain a restraining order against him.

The general perception among learners was that girls of different race groups get along better than boys. This observation supports the outcome of the study, that boys are less positive towards integration than girls. Useem (1971), Freer and Christie (1992) and Pillay (1996) reported similar results in their studies of racial attitudes. An explanation for this may be that boys are more intimidated by one another and therefore resort to measures that allow them to assert themselves.
Generally, it seems that learners are suspicious and distrustful of one another. They appear to have entered the integrated schooling environment with attitudes and perceptions that were already coloured by the social environments from which they come.

1.3.2 Communication difficulties and barriers

A number of learners were disgruntled by the fact that black learners communicate in their own language, which they are unable to understand. This creates an obstacle to communication between the race groups. Some learners were infuriated that even when this is pointed out to black learners, they persist with the practice. The assumption by white and Indian learners is that they are being spoken about in a derogatory manner. The black learner on the other hand felt that whites were "paranoid" because whenever they spoke in isiZulu they believed they were being spoken about. Other communication difficulties centred on the levels of communication between races, which was not always the same. This presented a further obstacle to learners' positive interracial interaction.

1.3.3 Racial in-group preference

All interviewees indicated that racial polarisation is a common, daily practice amongst learners. One learner described the situation as follows; "This school is not really integrated. There is no unity among races. During breaks races stick together. The only time we mix is in the classroom. There is no interaction among us out of school". Christie (1990) also found that for many learners in integrated schools, social relationships ended with the ringing of the bell at the end of each school day. A white male, who was interviewed by the researcher, described the impact of racial homogeneity in the following way. "Groups of
people stick to their own race groups. Even if you have friends in other race groups you are not free to join because you will stick out. If you have an opinion about this as an individual, it changes when you are with your own race group". American and British studies also suggest that in racially mixed schools, homogeneity is a salient feature of peer groups (Cohen and Manion, 1983).

1.3.4 Compromised educational standards

In this category of responses, some learners expressed the view that the standards of education were dropping. The pace of work was slow and the level of work was easier. Frustration was experienced when teachers have “to go over the same work several times because some pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds do not understand. This wastes the time of the rest of the class”. Other difficulties were overcrowding and large classes. It is evident that some learners are not ready to compromise in an integrated school, although they are aware that some learners are at a disadvantage.

1.3.5 Cultural differences

A number of responses emphasised that cultural differences impacted negatively on racial attitudes. Many cultural differences become obstacles to classroom discussions. Some learners were of the opinion that cultural disparities severely hampered interaction. One white learner expressed her feelings in the following way. “Cultures are different, so the way we treat one another is different e.g. blacks believe women are inferior to men so they treat girls differently”. Another learner indicated, “We don’t have the same goals. We have higher goals in life, therefore each group acts differently”. Others felt that the racial groups
act and behave very differently and this hampers understanding among them. A learner summed up her feelings as follows, “Different cultures, religions and ways of life cause problems and frustrations”.

1.3.6 Teacher-learner difficulties

In general, a large number of respondents reported that teachers favoured their own race group learners and treated other learners differently. Complaints lodged with teachers were not given serious consideration. They also felt that the principal tends to ignore serious racial problems that occur, and this causes frustration amongst them. Both black and Indian learners felt that some white teachers were more positive towards white learners than to other race groups. A black female learner indicated that teachers were blatantly racist in the manner of addressing them and the type of comments made. An Indian male learner expressed dissatisfaction that white learners were not as severely disciplined as other learners. He quoted an instance when white matric learners and Indian learners were caught throwing water bombs. The Indian learners had to stand in the principal’s quad as punishment, whilst the white learners were not punished.

1.3.7 Superficial relationships

Black learners expressed annoyance that often relationships were not genuine, but superficial. A black learner said, “People from other races try to be nice but you see that it is hard to accept a different race. They try too hard, almost pretend to have welcomed you”.
There appears to be a misconception among state schools that by making schools accessible to all race groups and admitting coloured, black and Indian learners, the racism of apartheid will automatically be counteracted. (Christie, 1990; Carrim, 1992; Naidoo, 1996; Carrim, 1998 and Zafar, 1998) conclude that racism in schools will not disappear as a result of desegregation (as will be pointed out later). Lemmer and Squelch (1993) and Louw (1992) express similar views. They contend that cultural prejudices and obstacles to interracial contact will not fall away naturally, nor will social contact become positive by simply bringing people together, who previously lived in isolation. Rather, Christie (1990, p.130) advocates that, "it is important to recognise that desegregation of white schools entails working with an existing legacy of assumptions and practices". St. John (1975, p. 105), further indicates that, "Desegregation exposes minority group pupils to cultural marginality and confusion". This view was confirmed by an Indian female learner in the study who stated, "The problem of being in the minority is that you cannot fight back, you get no support... It's pointless prolonging an argument".

It is clear from the above discussion that there is an urgency to re-examine and revise the education programme in order to cater for the unique needs of integrated schools. Amongst other considerations there seems to be a need for intensive teacher training specifically aimed at multicultural, multiracial classes, if learners are to wholeheartedly accept cultural diversity, which is, at present, a major obstacle to positive attitudes among them. The implementation of well thought-out intervention programmes to improve racial attitudes is imperative.

The degree to which integrated schooling succeeds is dependent on a multimodal approach. It will take a concerted effort on the part of parents, principals, management staff, teachers, education authorities and all members of the community to seriously examine their roles in
this vital process and define their contributions to individual learners with whom they come into contact. While engaging in such an exercise, they need to examine their own convictions and align them in accordance with what is necessary to truly promote positive interracial attitudes.

1.4 Aim of the study

The aim of the current research is to develop guidelines for a multicultural intervention programme in integrated secondary schools, that is relevant to the South African context, with a view to promoting positive integration in schools.

1.5 Statement of the problem

A perusal of literature has revealed that at present, there are no specific guidelines that have been formulated to promote positive interracial and intercultural relationships at integrated schools in South Africa; neither are there any programmes provided by the Department of education, directed pointedly at racial integration. Learners and teachers are therefore expected to resort to their own devices to cope with interracial and intercultural differences. Clearly, without specifically formulated guidelines, they are struggling with the adjustment, as evidenced by interracial conflicts reported in schools. In light of the above, guidelines for racial integration are well indicated as a corrective for interracial and intercultural conflict.
1.6 Research Methodology

School integration holds specific meaning for learners who have attended such schooling facilities. By means of employing a qualitative method based on phenomenology, this research endeavour will attempt to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the experience. Phenomenological philosophy does not focus on descriptions of worldly objects, but on descriptions of experiences. The emphasis is on descriptions offered by participants rather than accounting for causality. The purpose as expressed by Kvale, (1996, p.53) is "...to make the invisible, visible." The qualitative paradigm purports that all knowledge is socially constructed and emanates from specific cultural and historical contexts. This study is concerned with extracting and understanding the nature and defining features of this experience for the purpose of providing knowledge about, enhancing insight into, as well as informing guidelines for positive interpersonal relationships in integrated schooling environments.

In an attempt to obtain some insight into essential meanings of the integration experience for learners and educators, it is important to tap into and obtain the 'qualitative diversity of the experience'. Common themes that emerge in all participants' responses provide an overall description of the experiences of integration.

Data collection took the form of vignettes, focus group interviews involving learners who had been in an integrated school for a minimum of three years, participant observation and open-ended questionnaires which were given to educators in the school who have experienced integration for at least three years.
1.7 Data analysis

The qualitative questions of the educators’ questionnaire, learners’ narratives as well as the focus group questions will be analysed in terms of emergent themes.

1.8 Significance of the study

It is envisaged that the insights provided by the study will assist in generating guidelines for a multicultural education programme to foster positive integration in schools. It may also contribute to re-examining the training programmes of teachers currently in place and to include competencies that empower them to deal with the difficulties of the integration process. The results of the study will also provide valuable insights for parents in respect of their roles in initiating and maintaining positive interracial interaction as well as the ways in which they can deal with problems that emerge.

1.9 Structure and organisation of chapters

Chapter One provides an overview of the study.

Chapter Two presents a detailed review of the Contact Hypothesis as well as an overview of multicultural intervention strategies that are relevant to integrated schools.

Chapter Three provides an in-depth discussion of the research methodology and design. It also presents the stance of a qualitative paradigm and argues for the value of a phenomenological approach in understanding the experiences of integration.
Chapter Four presents the data as well as a discussion of the research findings.

Chapter Five presents the guidelines for multicultural education in secondary schools. It also provides a discussion of the implications of the study, limitations of the study and recommendations for areas of further investigation.

1.10 Clarification of Terminology

A clarification of terminology is imperative to a clear understanding of concepts used in this study. This is important because language is more than a reflection of the communication structures in society. According to linguist, Benjamin Whorf, “Language not only expresses ideas and concepts, but it actually shapes thought…” Vally and Dalambard (1999, p.6). In South Africa, the practice of explaining the use of terminology is vital since certain terms are unique to the South African context.

White, African, Coloured, Indian

In 1950, the South African Population Registration Act No.30 introduced various categories into which every South African had to be classified. These categories included White, African, Coloured, and Asians. The latter were divided into Chinese and Indians. Burman (1986), cited in Burkhalter (1996) has this to say about the concept of race, “while the concept of race has been thoroughly discredited as a meaningful biological classification system, it has acquired a pseudo-reality because of its socio-political consequences. Generations of children have grown up within this system with uniquely different experiences
and attitudes from and about each other, despite being members of one nation” (Burkhalter, 1996).

“Black” Learners

This term is used, in this study, to refer to learners other than Coloured, White or Indian.

“Non-white” learners

Refers, in this study, to learners other than White

Segregation

Segregation implies the provision of separate facilities for whites and non-whites (Munshi, 1998), including the physical separation of two groups of people in terms of residence, workplaces and social functions (Schaefer, 1986, p. 232).

Desegregation

Desegregation is the mechanical process of opening a school to learners from all racial, ethnic and cultural groups (Zafar, 1998). This means the abolishing of the practice of providing separate schools for the different racial groups, thus establishing the physical proximity of members of different racial groups in the same school, without interrogating the quality of the contact.
Integration

Integration implies a social process and a possible outcome of desegregation. It involves far more profound changes to the institutional structure and social relationships in the school, than desegregation. According to St. John (1975, p.108) integration refers to “equality of opportunity, equality of social status, assimilation, or to its opposite, the acceptance of cultural diversity”. The concept of integrated education implies the presence of children from different racial or ethnic groups in the same schools and classrooms (Burkhalter, 1996).

Race

Race refers to the socially imposed categories of human beings in terms of ethnicity, skin colour and other visible differences, and such matters as language, religion, customs and cultural heritage, by which people can be perceived, or perceive themselves, as part of a “racial group”.

Racism

Racism refers to discrimination or prejudice against a race and the belief that one’s own race is superior to other races. Rampton, in Sarup (1986, p. 49) defines racism as: “A set of attitudes and behaviour towards people of another race which is based on the belief that races are distinct and can be graded as ‘superior’ or ‘inferior’. Such beliefs are used to justify and prescribe inferior or unequal treatment for the group”.

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Racist behaviour

According to Lemmer and Squelch (1993), racist behaviour may assume many forms, such as physical assault against a person or group, because of colour, derogatory name-calling, insults and racist jokes, racist graffiti or any other written insults, provocative behaviour, making threats because of ethnicity or colour and racist comments.

Ethnocentrism

This refers to the tendency to assume that one's culture and way of life is superior to all others.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity reflects the cultural uniqueness of different groups and includes shared customs, values, language, cultures and traditions of people within a particular ethnic group.

In-groups

The in-group is a social unit or category with which people identify and to which they feel they belong. It comprises everyone who is regarded as "my", "we", or "us". (Horton & Hunt, 1984; Schaefer, 1986 & Vander Zanden, 1988). The members are drawn together by a sense of solidarity, loyalty and co-operation.
Out-groups

The term refers to a group in which people have a sense of being alienated or excluded. It comprises everyone who is regarded as “others”, “they”, and “them”. These terms are used to convey a feeling of indifference, disgust, competition, hostility and at times outright conflict with members of other groups (Schaefer, 1986; Vander Zanden, 1988).

Prejudice

Prejudice is a negative attitude, image or prejudgement held towards an entire category of people solely because of their membership of some group, and without reasonable evidence or knowledge about them as individuals.

Discrimination

According to Davidoff (1987), discrimination refers to the behavioural rejection or the unequal treatment of groups of people, based on group membership rather than on individual merit.

Culture

A clear distinction between the terms race and culture are often blurred in the literature (Ngcobo, 2002). The terms are acknowledged by some writers such as d’Ardenne and Mahtani 1989 p.5. as cited in Ngcobo. (2002). They further suggest that these terms often overlap because it is difficult to clearly distinguish between the terms “race” and “culture” in
the traditional sense of these terms. Dawes (1986, p.8) replaced the term “race” with “culture” because of the provocative nature of the former. Pederson (1991, p.7) broadens the term “culture” to include demographic variables such as age, sex, status, affiliations, nationality, language and religion. The lack of precision of these terms as well as others such as “ethnicity” may be attributed to their beginnings as socially constructed terms (Sharp, and Thornton 1988, as cited in Ngcobo, 2002).

1.11 Conclusion

The study attempts to extract the meanings of the experience of integration for learners and educators in an integrated school. Through employing a qualitative method based on phenomenology, it seeks to understand such experiences. The purpose is to generate guidelines for multicultural education in secondary schools.

The Contact Hypothesis will be used as a theoretical basis that underpins intervention strategies. According to the Contact Hypothesis, “increased interaction between individuals belonging to different groups will reduce ethnic prejudice and inter-group tension” (Ryan, 1995, p.131). It further purports that intergroup prejudice will be reduced under optimal conditions viz: equal status between group members, working toward common goals, removal of competition, interdependence and authority sanction for the contact and interdependence (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000).

Integration establishes physical proximity and increased contact between members of diverse racial, ethnic and cultural groups within a common environment.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Integrated schooling and multicultural education have been the focus of research for many years. Several studies in South Africa have centred largely on learners' attitudes to integration over the last eleven years. Multicultural education has also been explored, although to a lesser extent. However, there appears to have been a lacuna in respect of guidelines for positive integration in secondary schools in South Africa. Perusal of the literature has failed to provide a context-appropriate set of guidelines that educators can be presented with to facilitate the integration process positively. Such an endeavour is imperative in light of the vast number of studies that have highlighted negative attitudes towards integration in South African secondary schools (Enoch, 2004). In addition, escalating interracial and intercultural conflict in schools has also received growing attention (Enoch, 2004). Media coverage of interracial conflict and violence have emerged more and more in the past year and has led to widespread concern amongst parents, learners and the educational authorities. Examples of such tensions are evident in the following most recent newspaper articles: “Town boss racism probe” (Saturday Independent, 18-02-2006); “School racism probe after pupil beatings” (Sunday Times, 30-04-2006); “Get out ‘coolie’ threat” (Post, 6-10/09-2006); “Cultural diversity root cause of conflicts” (Daily News, 13-09-2006); “Police dismiss claims of racism and threats” (Daily News, 13-09-2006); “Surviving the colour island” (Daily News, 15-09-2006) and “No place for racism” (Daily News, 27-09-2006).
Former president, F.W.de Klerk has this to say in respect of a multicultural approach, “The international community must find the best way to manage religious and cultural diversity, as these are the root causes of most of the world’s current conflicts” (Daily News, 13-09-2006).

This chapter presents the argument that contact provides an opportunity for positive integration amongst learners, more especially if it occurs in the presence of specific conditions. The Contact Hypothesis will be used as a theoretical basis that underpins the guidelines for a multicultural education programme in secondary schools in South Africa. Contact has been shown to lead to positive interracial relationships. A review of such contact studies will be provided. Studies suggesting the negative outcomes of contact will also be reviewed. However, it will be argued that constructive intervention to address obstacles that impede positive contact is an option that needs to be pointedly effected, rather than reversing the process of integration, which invariably means segregated schooling. This chapter will also explore definitions of multicultural education as well as multicultural education programmes that have been successful both internationally and locally.

2.2 The concept of race and racism in the South African context

“Race” as a construct, denoting primarily skin colour, was first employed as a means of classifying people by Francois Bernier, a French physician in 1684 (Steyn & Motshabi, 1996). Over centuries, this concept has been vigorously challenged. It reflects the tendency to categorise people into racial categories purely on the basis of skin colour and hair texture, and then reading arbitrary meanings into these selected differences (Steyn & Motshabi, 1996). The extensive biological variations among people are completely denied by these tendencies which seem to be founded on the “much vaunted and supposed superiority of
Europeans” (Steyn & Motshabi, 1996, p. 5). Steyn and Motshabi (1996) proceed to argue that the construct of ‘race’ is completely erroneous and meaningless, since biological variation is continuous and cannot be boxed into specific categories. Therefore, since the construct ‘race’ is founded on unexamined facts and unjustifiable generalisations, “and being so weighed down with false meanings, it is better that the term be dropped completely from usage” (Steyn & Motshabi, 1996, p.5). However, Steyn and Motshabi (1996) highlight the fact that despite the concept lacking any substance whatsoever, the social reality of racism persists in affecting the lives of South Africans. Whilst, noting this grim reality, the authors remind readers that a non-racialist society remains the ultimate vision.

In South Africa, white racism or the tendency to view blacks as ‘less than’, is a social construct that has been learned and can therefore be unlearned, albeit over a long period, since the roots of such entrenched perceptions run deep. The clearly expressed view that whites are superior to blacks and vice versa has been termed ‘old fashioned racism’ (Steyn & Motshabi, 1996). In the wake of the government’s clear rejection of this notion by virtue of abolishing discriminatory laws, somehow a more subtle and covert form of racism has emerged, referred to as ‘modern racism’, which, though less obvious, is just as divisive and damaging to race relations in South Africa. Examples of ‘modern racism’ would be, using reasons that appear unrelated to race, to prevent equal opportunities and access to blacks and other races of colour. Exorbitant school fees and high entry fees at beaches and recreational sites would be another example of such practices. According to Steyn and Motshabi (1996) both ‘old fashioned racism’ and ‘modern racism’ operate at various levels. At a personal level, it is reflected in peoples’ beliefs, thoughts, values and feelings which lead to prejudices and biases, which invariably devalue people. The belief that blacks steal, exemplifies personal level racism, which results in feelings of mistrust and fear. At an interpersonal
level, personal values, beliefs and attitudes impact the way in which people interact with one another. If people are judged as ‘less than’ e.g. if blacks are judged as dangerous, people will be very wary of them and display extreme caution in their interactions with them. In fact, it can result in no interaction at all. Blacks, on the other hand, are understandably, aware of and often sensitive to such behaviours, and may find their interracial interactions negatively impacted by this knowledge. Hence, one sees the huge impact of interpersonal expressions on black-white interaction. On an institutional level, racism is displayed in laws, rules, traditions and regulations of South African society. Although much has been done to eliminate racial laws, the continuing preponderance of white people in positions of leadership in schools, churches, businesses and companies, indicates a level of institutionalised racism that has not been completely eliminated. “Until institutionalised racism has been addressed in a substantive manner, white South Africans will continue to be tainted by their unearned privileges. It is worth recalling that apartheid and colonialism were not only about discriminating against black South Africans, but they were also about providing benefits for whites” (Steyn & Motshabi, 1996, p. 8). Perhaps the least obvious, but most impacting form of racism, is the cultural level of racism. In South Africa, being white has for a long, long time been equated with what is ‘right’ and ‘beautiful’. This belief has pervaded schools, the media, movies and even churches. The previous naming of streets, airports and buildings with white men’s names is an example of cultural racism. Until quite recently, and even at present, in some areas, the education curriculum reflects white stories and realities. White racism continues to distort the contributions of Africans and Asians.

As stated earlier, white racism has been learned in South Africa, and, in order to reverse the process, there has to be firstly, an awareness that ‘old fashioned’ and ‘modern racism’ operate
at different levels and secondly, ‘a willingness to recognise and confront these attitudes in the
self and in others’ (Steyn & Motshabi, 1996, p. 5).

2.3 Desegregation - Does it mean integration?

As alluded to earlier, the abolishing of segregation and the advent of desegregation of schools
in South Africa has not necessarily led to integration of learners. Desegregation is not
integration; desegregation is about ending exclusion. Admitting learners of colour into better
white schools does not produce equal opportunity or equal results. This outcome is not
unique to South Africa. A similar outcome occurred in the United States of America. Even
after the Supreme Court made its desegregation decision in 1954, in which it struck down the
apartheid system of schooling prevailing in 17 states, and in the national capital, unequal
treatment of black children continued to persist. A decade after the Supreme Court acted,
integration had not been realised in desegregated schools, “Announcing a policy does not
mean that the policy is realised” (Orfield as cited in Nkomo et al, 2004, p. 101), as reflected
in the following comment: “The end of de jure segregation has not led to a universal
dissolution of racial boundaries and distances” Massey and Denton (1989, 1993). To the
contrary, “segregation continues to shape the lives of many US citizens and, in some areas of
the country, remains so extensive and multiple in form as to warrant the label hyper-
segregation” (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005).

A number of studies both internationally and nationally have shown that legal desegregation
often fails to bring about de facto integration in various settings. (Schnell & Yoav, 2001)
suggest that segregation can be fruitfully treated as a micro-ecological practice i.e. a
phenomenon sustained by boundary processes operating at an intimate scale and in everyday

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life spaces, where social relations tend to be fleeting, informal and subject to constant realignment (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005). A selected number of studies follow.

Studies conducted by Davies, et al (1966), explored relations beyond the school situation, on public transit buses in New Orleans approximately six years after the abolition of the so-called white precedence law. Davies et al (1966), wanted to investigate the extent to which passengers of either race were prepared to violate the long-established rule that it was illegal for a black passenger to sit in front of any white passenger and conversely, for a white passenger to occupy a seat behind any black passenger. The results showed that most of the bus journeys indicated persistently high levels of segregation and so-called precedence violators are rare. Legal desegregation had failed to bring about *de facto* integration.

Parkers’ (1968) study of racial interaction and avoidance in the Chicago First Baptist church found that although there was some degree of interaction among different racial groups, seating charts plotted over a series of five Sunday services suggested the existence of a systematic process of segregation, with black and white members clustering in different areas of the church (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005).

Kaplan and Fugate (1972) in exploring patterns of racial contact and avoidance in supermarkets in Cincinnati and Richmond in the United States found that customers avoided queuing behind a person of another race.

Similarly, in contemporary South Africa, in spite of vast social and political changes within the country since 1994, racial segregation continues to occur (Christopher, 2001). A number of local studies conducted in educational and recreational settings have shown that desegregation has failed to bring about integration.
Schofield and Sagar’s (1977) study of seating arrangements in school cafeterias demonstrates that integration in terms of racial ratios is not a guarantee of meaningful social interaction. According to Schofield (1986) the issue of re-segregation in schools continues to remain an “insidious but neglected problem in many schools and this may help to account for the rather mixed success of integrated education initiatives”. She goes on to further argue that the recurrence of racial isolation in contexts such as the playground, cafeteria and sports fields may frequently undermine the educational and psychological benefits of multiracial classrooms.

Cowley (1991) investigated racial awareness and attitudes (both intra-and interpersonal) of a small group of grade one children at a desegregated school in Cape Town in 1991. Her findings revealed that more than half of the children struggled to adjust to classroom desegregation.

Taylor and Moghadam (1994), more broadly refer to the so-called “illusion of contact”. In their view, in many daily situations the appearance of integration belies the reality of segregation. They continue to argue that the quality and frequency of interaction are more limited than is usually assumed.

Soudien (1998) found that inter-racial friendships were almost non-existent among learners in previously coloured, Indian and white schools into which black learners had been integrated. Rather, an apartheid-imposed discourse of race was pervasive at the school, evident in the use of stereotypes of coloureds, black Africans and whites (Holtman et al, 2005).
More recently, a most relevant study is one that is located in the “changing landscape of the new South Africa” (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005 p. 400). A study conducted by Dixon and Durheim (2003) explored relationships on an open beach in KwaZulu-Natal. They noted spatial patterns of getting together and distribution over the Christmas period. They also observed processes of racial contact. The results indicated on the one hand, that the demographic composition of the beach population appeared to reflect the racial diversity of the South African society with approximately 64% black people, 24% white, 10% Indian and 2% coloured. On the other hand, actual interracial contact seldom occurred on the beach and recurring patterns of informal segregation characterised the arrangement of relations. Despite the fact that all groups shared the same space, groups still maintained their racial divisions by boundary processes that operate at different levels. Black beach goers tended to congregate around the swimming pool and white beach goers congregated on the embankments and sand areas.

Tredoux et al (2005) examined inter-group contact in a naturalistic setting i.e. a public space on the university of Cape Town’s campus (the steps leading up to the Jameson Hall). The area is used daily as a leisure place where students eat their lunches, meet and chat to friends etc. Its popularity in this regard theoretically attracts people from diverse racial groups, providing them with opportunities to interact naturally. Results from the study suggest that, in the context of this specific university (with a liberal reputation and an integrated student populace, at least from demographic statistics) there is segregation in respect of seating choice, with different race groups preferring to occupy different areas within an accessible public space (Tredoux et al, 2005). White students tend to use the space more than any other race group, relative to their respective proportions at the university as a whole. The above mentioned researchers found that race groups consistently preferred certain areas in the
space. This bears an implication of a process of spatial organisation at an intergroup level.

“One could argue that this merely reflects habitual seating tendencies of people but the counter-argument is then to ask why it occurs across racial lines every time” (Tredoux, et al 2005). A possible explanation put forward by the authors is that there exists a shared understanding among members of specific race groups in respect of ‘their’ places on Jameson steps. However, this claim cannot be supported as there is no evidence beyond the observational data to support such a claim. Previous research conducted in an educational setting yielded similar results (Sagar, Schofield & Snyder 1983; Schofield & Francis, 1982; Schofield & Sagar, 1977).

Finchilescu (2005) suggests that racial isolation in everyday life may reflect deep-seated anxieties over the nature and potential consequences of intergroup contact. She purports that peoples’ representations of how they are stereotyped by others (meta-stereotypes) make them view contact as an emotionally troubling experience and therefore a barrier to mixing (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005). Durheim (2005) highlights the points that in the context of the historical relationship between representations of race and practices of segregation in the new South Africa, despite the fact that petty apartheid is officially “dead”, social relations somehow persist in adhering to a supposedly defunct logic of racial hierarchy, division and withdrawal. The above arguments together draw attention to the tenacity of so called-preferential segregation in the new South Africa.

The above studies illustrate the point that despite the removal of constitutional laws (desegregation), segregation still exists within life spaces. It is maintained, whether deliberately or inadvertently, by people in their day to day living. It therefore becomes imperative that urgent attention is given to promoting school integration in South Africa, and
investigating ways in which this can be achieved. For, despite the situation outlined above, racial contact is not rare. In fact it is occurring more and more as the country moves in the direction of full democratisation. It does occur in the new South Africa, and is effective in altering social relationships positively, as illustrated by Holtman et al (2005), contact in areas such as education, is consistently associated with positive racial and cultural attitudes.

In the United States of America, research has shown that desegregation, on average, both improves test scores and changes the lives of students positively. More importantly, there is clear evidence that students from desegregated educational experiences benefit in terms of college-going, employment and living in integrated environments as adults (Braddock 11, 1980; Braddock 11 & McPartland, 1989; Wells & Crain, 1994).

Therefore, in light of the above discussion it becomes a matter of urgency that integration of learners in desegregated schools becomes an area of sharp focus for multicultural intervention. As mentioned earlier, the Contact Hypothesis will be the theoretical underpinning for such an intervention programme. The Contact hypothesis claims, that if contact occurs in the presence of specific conditions, positive interracial contact will result. Contact, when it occurs, does enable positive socio-psychological change (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005).

2.4 Introduction to the Contact Hypothesis

It is common knowledge that societies, including South Africa, are becoming increasingly ethnically heterogeneous or "mixed". However, there is mounting concern that they are becoming less, not more integrated (living "parallel lives") as has already been pointed out.
In a world in which groups in contact seem so often at each other's throats, it may appear surprising that the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) remains, according to the authoritative Handbook of Social Psychology, "one of the most long-lived successful ideas in the history of Social Psychology" (Brewer and Brewer, 1998). Contact theory has long been favoured, as illustrated in the following comments: "The classic contact hypothesis is alive and well; it reaffirms long held views that separation of spaces is not good for our being in relation to others" (Foster, 2005, p. 500). "The contact hypothesis, long in the tooth as it is, still suggests the possibility of positive social change" (Foster, 2005, p. 500). The standard contact hypothesis proceeds from a familiar assumption that the customary practices and beliefs that distinguish one ethnic group from another may provide pretexts for discrimination and prejudice, but are not the real causes of such.

2.5 Background to the emergence of the Contact Hypothesis

The United States Supreme Court judge, Justice Henry Billings Brown, who wrote the infamous 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision permitting "separate but equal" accommodation for blacks, did not defend segregation using an explicit racist appeal. Rather, the constitutional permissibility of de jure segregation was based on a "fatalistic view" of what mere laws could accomplish. "If two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each others' merits and a voluntary consent of individuals" (Voss, 2000, p15). Justice Brown wrote, "Legislation is powerless to erase racial inurts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences." (Voss, 2000, p. 89).
The reaction by social scientists to these statements after the 2nd world war was to set out to prove them wrong, especially with regards to race relations. They purported that ignorance leads to hatred and fear. This phenomenon had surfaced repeatedly during the war years. The Americans for example, had held dehumanising stereotypes of the Japanese. "You must realize we were not a worldly people. We were an isolated big country. We didn't know much about the Japanese and Japanese culture. They were yellow, they had squinty eyes, and they looked evil. They were always evil in the movies, characters slinking around knifing people. You begin to think about them not as human beings but as little yellow things to be eradicated" Teinkel, 1984 as cited in Voss (2000, p.521). Ultimately, this disregard, triggered by stereotypes of Japanese resulted in the evacuation of approximately 120 000 people from a West Coast Military Command zone in Pearl Harbour’s wake and may have contributed to the dropping of two atomic bombs on Japan, according to Smith. 1995 as cited in Voss (2000, pp. 161 - 162).

The idea that contact reduces prejudice emanated during a specific historical period (World War II). It was based on an underlying assumption that most ethnic and racial groups within the American society were more culturally similar than their members imagined. The assumption of basic similarity had emerged during the 1930s in social psychology, partly as a reaction against the prevalent "Scientific racism" (Gould, 1981) in psychology in general, according to which fundamental differences such as (I.Q., criminality) among groups were considered to be proven. In the wake of racist and aggressive Nazism and a need for societal unity during the war, social psychologists emphasised the common humanity of all people and denounced vehemently racist and ethnocentric stereotypes that asserted differences. The optimistic effects of intergroup contact appeared quite justifiable within this context of assumed similarity.
Many social scientists thus concluded that the best way to deal with and combat ignorance, is to educate people and that the best way to learn someone’s ways is to live near them. They believed that this rational thinking could be transferred to race relations as well. Forcing blacks and whites together, by integrating public housing or residential developments would presumably lead to better social relations. This idea was made famous by Allport 1979, as cited in Voss (2000). Allport, 1979 as cited in Voss (2000, p. 226) believed and propagated the idea that the more one knows about a person the less likely one is to feel hostility towards that person. “Those who know more about other races and people, tend to have favourable attitudes toward them.” Allport acknowledges that contact can sometimes spur mutual antagonism but he ultimately recognises and endorses an optimistic view of contact. He concluded that when barriers to communication are insurmountable, ignorance tends to make a person an easy prey to suspicions, stereotypes and rumours. These outcomes are most likely to occur if the unknown is seen as a potential threat.

If one carelessly reads Gordon Allports’ (1954) careful definition of “prejudice” one could see him as encouraging the tendency to minimise the role of group differences in causing antagonism and conflict: “clashes of interests and values do occur, but these conflicts are not in themselves instances of prejudice” (Allport, 1954, p. 88). In other words Allport (1954) confined the term “prejudice” to instances in which there was no reality basis for intergroup hostility (Forbes, 1997). Technically, then, a point missed by most readers (e.g., Katz, 1991) is that prejudice is not caused by real behavioural or cultural differences or group competition. According to Allport, a group that is prejudiced does not really possess the unpleasant characteristics attributed to it. In terms of such prejudice then, contact, would, in all probability, reveal similarities that could only serve to undermine the negative stereotypes associated with the hostility which is irrational and unprovoked. Unfortunately he was one of
a few together with Krech and Crutchfield (1948), Asch (1952) and Campbell (1967) who, in that period, took realistic conflict and real intergroup behavioural differences seriously (Allport, 1954, pp. 85 – 162). Although he insisted that prejudice and real conflict be treated differently, his plea was for the most part, ignored.

The basic principle underpinning the contact hypothesis i.e. that contact would undermine hostile intergroup attitudes and beliefs by revealing essential similarities, continued in American social psychology throughout the 1960s to the 1990s. It also predominated through the period of the rediscovery of group identities (i.e. cultural differences), celebration of diversity and multiculturalism.

2.6 Definitions and descriptions of the Contact Hypothesis

According to Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) intergroup contact may be described as face-to-face interaction between members of clearly defined groups. The contact hypothesis is based on the principle that bringing together people who are in conflict will result in the conflict subsiding as they get to understand one another. According to the Contact Hypothesis, the more one gets to know personally, individual members of a group, the less likely one is to be prejudiced against that group. It is founded on the belief that interaction between individual's belonging to different groups will reduce ethnic prejudice and inter-group tension.

The more contact, the less conflict, is the negative correlation that supports the contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis is thus a broad generalisation about the effects of personal contact between members of different ethnic or racial groups on their prejudiced opinions and discriminatory behaviour. Proponents of the contact hypothesis usually think of intergroup
contact as having an effect on prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour that result from stereotyping. Simply, they believe that stereotypes result from social isolation and can be eliminated by personal acquaintance (Allport, 1954). The underlying principle is that more contact between individuals belonging to antagonistic social groups (defined by culture, language, beliefs, skin colour, nationality etc) tends to undermine the negative stereotypes they have of each other, and to reduce their mutual antipathies, thus improving intergroup relations, by making people more willing to deal with each other as equals. If people mix together they will eventually see how similar they are, how misleading stereotypes are, how much they can all benefit from peaceful exchange and how amusing and enjoyable their differences can be (Forbes, 1998). Empirical studies that compare individuals with and without personal contacts/relations outside their own groups support this reasoning. When contact is the right kind of contact in a favourable setting, it should lead to reduced prejudice and discrimination. If racial conservatism is fundamentally irrational, then it must stem from ignorance and unchecked prejudice. Stereotypes of African Americans cannot persist among Whites where, for example, they are present in sufficient numbers, since regular social interaction will educate whites. Proximity thus, would lessen racial conservatism as reality imposes itself, shattering prejudices, according to Carsey 1995, as cited in Voss (2000). In keeping with refined versions of the concept, we might expect proximity to do the most good where conditions are more equal between two groups (Brewer & Miller, 1984b p. 2). In short, more contact means less ethnic or cultural conflict, all other things being equal.

In the field of race relations, the hypothesis is a corollary of the scapegoating theory viz. that one dislikes Jews or Blacks because one has been socialized into holding simplistic, false and derogatory opinions about them. If such opinions are false, then experience should presumably correct them.
The positive outcomes of contact illustrated in many studies support the principles of the contact theory. Should a situation of frequent contact result in intense conflict it means that the contact has been the wrong kind of contact, in unfavourable conditions. The right kind of contact, in favourable conditions could only alleviate any conflict, not exacerbate them. Empirical research shows that virtually all of the usual situations of contact are ones in which positive effects result from personal contacts (Forbes, 1998).

2.7 Conditions for contact

The contact hypothesis proposes that interaction between members of different groups reduces intergroup prejudice – if and only if – certain optimal conditions are present. Expanding on the ideas of William (1947), Gordon Allport, a pioneering psychologist, (1954) in formalizing the theory, stated that intergroup contact would lead to reduced intergroup prejudice if the contact situation embodies four conditions, viz: equal status between the groups in the situation, common goals, no competition between groups and authority sanction for the contact. Subsequently researchers explored the conditions under which, and the processes whereby intergroup contact can promote improved intergroup relations. Research confirms Allport’s theory that while increased contact may succeed in reducing stereotyping and discrimination, it succeeds only under certain optimal conditions such as group equality in status, co-operative working towards goals, the opportunity for informal one-to-one interaction, intimate contact that is pleasant, socially supported, and where there is the pursuit of common goals. Researchers have also found that prejudices are more likely to change if the contact situation presents an opportunity for members of different groups to be actively involved with one another. Research by Elizabeth Cohen at Stanford, Robert Slavin at John Hopkins, and others suggest that there are methods, some of them relatively simple, by which
school personnel can help create these positive conditions (Slavin and Oickle, 1981). For example, the process of intentionally assigning students across race lines to work on collaborative academic projects can increase both positive race relations and achievement levels.

Stuart Cook (1978) who focused on researching housing integration effects and concluded that personal contact leads to mutual understanding and liking, expressed his own disappointment with school desegregation, in his important overview of school integration research, entitled: “Did we mislead the Supreme Court” (Cook 1979). His answer to the question was that social scientists were not guilty. According to Stuart Cook (1979) if intergroup attitudes had not improved in integrated schools it was largely because the host of conditions necessary for contact to work were typically absent. Among these was equal status: “due to racial differentials in socio-economic status and initial achievement levels, equivalence of positions and functions among students has only been partially achieved” (Cook, 1979, p. 431).

The practical challenge then, becomes how to foster the right kind of contact in the right situation. A number of authors have emphasised different variables that should be present in a contact situation (more than fifty), thus developing different versions of the contact hypothesis. Variables which may shape the contact situation may be placed in three main categories: the character of the contact situation, the character of the contact participators and the attitudinal and behavioural results. Amir (1998) conducted research in this area and suggests some conclusions based on those findings.
Firstly, it is unlikely that attitudes will change if contacts are mere ‘sight seeing’ (Amir 1998).

Secondly, prejudice is likely to be reduced if contact occurs between individuals of equal status (even if purely within the context of the contact situation). Contact with individuals of a lower status group tends to worsen views of their group. On the other hand contact with members of higher status groups may improve views of the group. However, such contacts may also generate feelings of inferiority and compromised regard for one's own group, specifically in the case of low status minority groups who come into a contact situation with higher status members of the dominant group.

Thirdly, the outcome of intergroup contact may also be affected by the nature of the contact activity. Activities requiring contact tends to foster positive intergroup relations, whilst activities geared towards competition may negatively impact intergroup relations. Shared, superordinate goals foster co-operation between groups. A superordinate goal is “an urgent goal that could only be achieved by co-operation between conflicting groups” (Ryan, 1995 p. 137). When one side is disadvantaged by the contact or if superordinate goals are absent, negative attitudes may result. The intensity of attitude rather than the direction of attitude are altered by contact. Experimental research has found that pursuit of such goals can help reduce stereotyping and hostility between adversarial groups. Ryan (1995) cautions, that when the costs and benefits of interdependence are not equally shared, interdependence may become a source of conflict. This approach has had some success in some areas. Internationally, in Sri Lanka, multiethnic teams have been formed to dig wells and build houses. In Northern Ireland the Mid-Ulster Basketball Club brings together children and parents from both Protestant and Catholic communities to foster cooperation (Ryan, 1995).
Fourthly, intimate contact is far more likely to change attitudes than just casual contact. Close acquaintance and more intimate relations are more likely to reduce prejudice. "When intimate relations are established, the in-group member no longer perceives the member of the out-group in a stereotyped way, but begins to consider him or her as an individual and thereby discovers many areas of similarity (Amir, 1998, p 174).

Fifthly, contact is far more effective and positive in the presence of broader institutional support, even if there is just a supportive social atmosphere.

Sixthly, individual personality factors also determine to some extent whether contact will result in improved attitudes towards other. Contact with another group is more likely to improve if an individual is well-adjusted and adaptable. Individuals who are less secure or more aggressive may have a greater tendency towards prejudice.

Amir (1998) used an experimental approach to study inter-group contact. The study researched the effect of personal contact on attitudes and relationships of persons from disliked groups. Initial data showed that successful contact needed to be on an equal basis with initial cooperation towards a joint goal. Amir (1998) concluded that participants' attitudes towards one another do undergo some change as a result of contact. However, the contact conditions largely determine whether the change is positive.

According to Amir (1998 p. 178) however, "the assumption that contact always lessens conflicts and stresses between ethnic groups seems naïve." The reasoning is that greater contact will either exacerbate or relieve intergroup hostility depending on the value of the abovementioned variables in different situations. As described by Pettigrew (1971 p. 275)
increasing interaction seems to intensify or exacerbate whatever process is underway, in some cases separation and in others, accommodation. “More interracial contact can lead either to greater prejudice and rejection or to greater respect and acceptance, depending on the situation in which it occurs. The basic issue then, concerns the types of situations in which contact leads to distrust and those in which it leads to trust” (Pettigrew, 1971, p.275). Thus, in the example of race relations in the southern regions of the United States, although there may have been a lot of contact, there might have also been considerable discrimination and prejudice as a result of a casual type of contact in a situation of inequality, without co-operative interdependence in terms of pursuing common goals, and contrary to law. As a result pre-existing prejudices and intergroup conflict were merely reinforced by contact. If the situation had been one of equality and cooperation in which contact across group boundaries could lead to true acquaintance because it was supported by the authorities, then the positive effects anticipated in the contact hypothesis would have materialised. In order for these positive effects to be maximised, as mentioned earlier, individuals should come into contact as equals, co-operating in a pursuit of common goals with the support of superiors.

Despite the influence of contact itself, some researchers believe that contact alone is not sufficient to counter racism (Grant, 1992), but that “making the acquaintance of people from other ethnic groups is an important factor... in beginning the process of reducing prejudice and stereotyped views of the other group” (Amir, Sharan, & Ben-Aft, 1984, p.9). Contact theorists also agree, as pointed out earlier, that there are specific prerequisites for positive relations and for changes in attitude, to occur. These are equal status for learners who come into contact with each other, co-operation towards a common goal, voluntary contact that is non-competitive and strong institutional support (Gaganakis, 1990). Miller’s (1990, p.13) partial explanation for the negative attitudes of white learners after desegregation also
stresses the importance of prerequisites for positive attitude: “Within actual desegregated school settings, the requisites of contact theory are rarely met”. Dissonance theorists, on the other hand, argue that contact between learners of different race groups in a desegregated school would produce dissonance, and therefore attitude change among prejudiced learners, provided the authorities establish favourable conditions for contact (Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991). As early as 1960, Pettigrew supported this view when he argued that positive attitudes by the school authorities were essential in creating a classroom climate, which promoted inter-racial interaction. These contentions were further supported by Berman and McLaughlin (1980) who, twenty years later, confirmed in their study, that if the principal of the school was in favour of racial integration and supported and motivated the staff and learners, conditions for healthy inter-racial contacts were promoted. In addition, Carter, Detine-Carter, & Benson (1975) pointed out that, relevant training of staff members does not only reduce racial prejudice of white teachers but promotes positive attitudes in high school learners.

Contact theory can provide an appealing rationale for what common sense may suggest political authorities should do. It implies policies of enforced equality and co-operation, not as an authoritative imposition of new cultural norms, but as the creation of conditions to dismantle misleading stereotypes and the attainment of greater rationality. It puts the most benign possible interpretation on policies that minimize violence in the short run and erase differences in the long run. The popularity and resilience of the contact theory may better be accounted for by its political usefulness than its strict scientific merits. It provides a reassuring response to the uneasiness associated with some long-term trends and the public policies associated with them. It promotes the belief that more contact will mean less foolish prejudice, a more practical, less superstitious approach to life and ultimately a freer more peaceful society, rather than more latent tensions, tighter restrictions and less diversity.
2.8 Studies on the Contact Hypothesis

The contact hypothesis has had a somewhat chequered history since its inception in 1954. Over the last half century, Allport's formulation of the intergroup contact theory has inspired extensive research (Pettigrew, 1998, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000), and it has garnered support spanning various groups, situations and societies. A wide variety of research methods and procedures such as surveys, laboratory experiments, field studies and archival research have been employed in contact research. Contact theory has been usefully applied to a number of critical social issues ranging from racial desegregation at schools (Stephen & Rosenfield, 1978) and the resolution of ethnopolitical conflicts (Chirot & Seligman, 2001) to the educational mainstreaming of disabled children (Harper & Wacker, 1985). In addition the theory has spanned many disciplines. Recent support for the contact hypothesis seems to be associated with the names of Berry in Canada (Berry, 1979) and Amir (1969) in Israel. More and more empirical studies have been conducted to explore its usefulness as a tool to overcome prejudice.

With regard to school integration, international policy decisions and considerations have been guided to a large extent by the contact hypothesis (Burkhalter, 1996). In the USA, the rationale for desegregation policies in education have been provided by the notion that interracial contact under specific conditions leads to a reduction in inter-group prejudice and hostility (Brown, 1988; Brown & Turner, 1981). This is reflected in the 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which urged that school desegregation be adopted as "the priority education strategy" (Schofield, 1986). Even Social Psychology has frequently purported that inter-racial contacts facilitate racial attitude change (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). Many researchers who tested the contact hypothesis concluded that
such exposure produces positive attitude changes: Sherif, 1953; Jahod & West, 1955 as cited in Voss, (2000); Russell (1961); Amir, (1969); Williams & Byars, (1970); Aboud, Taylor & Doumani, (1973); Schofield & Sagar, (1977); Stephan & Rosenfield, (1978); Pettigrew & Tropp, (1989); Desforges, Lord, Ramsey, Mason, Van Leeuwen, West & Lepper, (1991); Sigelman & Welch, (1993); Holtman et al, (2005) and Foster, (2005). Some of the positive results included the following:

- A significant increase in racial acceptance
- Lower racial dissension among students
- Striving towards a common goal improves interracial relationships
- Greater intergroup contact is associated with less intergroup prejudice
- Allport’s conditions of contact enhanced the positive effects of contact across a wide range of research designs and reduced intergroup bias
- Conditions of contact were especially effective where participants had little or no choice in the contact
- Contact leads to positive intergroup relationships
- Personal relations with members of other ethnic groups results in less expression of prejudice
- Seating patterns in a mixed cafeteria lead to more integration over time
- On a race attitude measure, contact emerged as the most important predictor of positive attitudes
- Attitudes of white housewives in integrated settings were far more positive than those in segregated settings
South African research on the contact hypothesis has been substantial, dating back to as early as the 1930's and includes inter alia studies by: Mac Crone, (1930); Rakoff, (1949); Lever, (1972); Luiz & Krige, (1981); Mynhardt, (1982); Foster & Finchilescu, (1986); Mynhardt & Du Toit, (1991); and Holtman et al, (2005).

"While it is true that South African intergroup patterns have remained largely unchanged for the past 60 years, there are indications of change in a positive direction with regard to desegregation in schools. Support for the contact hypothesis augurs well for desegregation in South Africa" (Holtman et al, 2005, p. 491). Research has shown that desegregation in schools may result in more positive attitudes (Mc Clenaharn, Cairns, Dunn & Morgan, 1996; Schofield, 1997; Dutton, Singer & Devlin, 1998).

The first study on the contact hypothesis in South Africa was that of Russell (1961). He examined an inter-racial neighbourhood in Durban well before the effects of the Group Areas Act. The results of the study indicated that contact produced positive relations between white, Indian and coloured people, contrary to the claims of the apartheid priesthood (Foster, 2005).

The view that contact improves inter-racial relations has also been supported by a study conducted by McConahay (1981). The results of his study indicated that the racial integration of learners led to more favourable inter-racial contacts as compared to segregation. Katz, Schmida and Dor-Shav (1986) who studied two integrated junior high schools and two regular high schools in Israel, confirmed this finding. The integrative pupil-body seemed to contribute to positive behaviour changes toward learners from different ethnic groups. Sigelman and Welch (1993) explained that direct contact produces more positive attitudes because, in the absence of such contact, people generalise and stereotype
from other information sources (e.g. media). With contact, however, myths and stereotypes can be combated and new views formed.

A laboratory study was set up which created the following conditions (Cook, 1985). White and black co-workers worked together on a mythical train for 20 days. The most prejudicial pair of white subjects was selected; one was allocated to the treatment group and one to the control group. The control group did not do the experiment but were evaluated in terms of their race viewpoint at the same time as the control group. Results showed a significant increase in racial acceptance among members of the experimental group versus the control group. For some subjects the change was from total disapproval to complete racial approval.

Researchers set up co-operative interdependence by arranging racially mixed learning teams in English Literature in Denver (Cook, 1985). Exercises were changed from the usually individually-based to team-based. Results indicated lower racial dissension among students who were in learning teams versus others. Eleven out of thirteen similar studies showed that co-operative interdependence improved racial acceptance.

Researchers also set up and tested other variables that may determine racial attitudes in a group setting in the laboratory (Cook, 1985). A management simulation was arranged with a white male subject and a white and black co-worker confederate. In one situation one of the confederates made gross errors that led to the team's failure. The outcome indicated little disliking difference whether the failing confederate was black or white. There was little preferential difference for white or black co-workers in this cooperative situation. The above experimental situations showed that inter-group contact within a group that strived towards a
common goal can improve racial perceptions significantly and dramatically. There was also a positive effect on group success.

A most interesting experiment often cited in literature pertaining to race relations is contained in a book by Sherif and Sherif, 1953 as cited in Voss (2000), regarding the famous boys' camp study. In the exercise, Muzafer Sherif brought together fairly similar boys in a summer camp. They were divided into groups and the experimenter created opportunities for the two groups to develop mutual hostility. Once the two groups took on distinct personalities, with negative stereotypes about each other, contact encouraging mutual participation between them (i.e. they were compelled to work together) was undertaken, barriers between them broke down very quickly. Thus, in order to dissipate the hostility between the groups, they were given tasks that they could not complete by themselves. Subsequently, the boys resumed their friendship.

A meta-analysis on intergroup contact was conducted by Pettigrew & Tropp (2000), using 515 individual studies with 714 independent samples and 1,365 non-independent tests. Altogether, 250,493 participants from 38 nations were involved in the study. The primary research findings indicated that greater intergroup contact is typically associated with less intergroup prejudice. Global indicators of Allport's optimal conditions typically lead to larger effect sizes between contact and prejudice. Samples that experienced contact under carefully structured situations designed to meet Allport's optimal conditions achieve a markedly higher mean effect size than other samples. In addition, Allport's conditions enhanced the positive effect of contact across a wide range of research designs, and were especially effective in contexts where participants had little or no choice in the contact.
Despite these outcomes there is still considerable variability in the extent to which Allport’s conditions contribute to positive outcomes of contact among members of different status groups. Thus, members of minority and majority groups may subjectively experience and perceive intergroup contact in different ways, even when the contact situation is objectively structured to maximise positive intergroup outcomes.

Amir (1969) reviewed research regarding the impact of intergroup contact in ethnic relations. The investigations included both intra and cross-cultural studies involving contact between various ethnic groups. The most significant generalization arising from the review was that changes in ethnic relations do occur following intergroup contact. However, the nature of the change does not necessarily occur in the anticipated direction. According to Amir’s (1969) findings, “favourable” conditions do lead to reduced prejudice, but “unfavourable” conditions may increase intergroup prejudice and tension. Ethnic attitudes may also change in intensity and they may be limited to specific areas of ethnic attitude and not be generalized to other aspects of intergroup relationships.

The effects of cross-age contact on children’s attitudes were investigated, following revelations by recent studies that children in our sharply age-segregated society hold negative attitudes towards the elderly. Children attending an age-integrated preschool were compared to children attending a traditional preschool. The results indicated that children in daily contact with elderly persons held very positive attitudes towards them. Children without such contact, on the other hand held vague or indifferent attitudes. Moreover, the contact children could differentiate between adult age groups with greater accuracy than could the non-contact children (Caspi, 1984).
A study was conducted to assess the efficacy of a cross-age programme involving 63 middle school adolescents and older people (Meschel & McGlynn, 2004). The cross-age programme adopted the principles of the contact hypothesis. The adolescents were randomly assigned to cross-age contact, didactic instruction or control conditions for a six-week programme. The results indicated that overall, adolescents and older persons held positive attitudes and stereotypes of each other. Relative to the control group, the contact group adolescents' attitudes toward older people became more positive. There was no change in the didactic group. Following contact, the older people showed more positive attitudes toward younger people and scored higher on a measure of life satisfaction.

A study was conducted to examine the underlying assumptions of the Contact Hypothesis viz: that intergroup contact under certain conditions would reduce bias toward out-group members (Suzuki, 2003). An international education called Ship for World Youth (SWY) was selected as a subject to test the hypothesis (Suzuki, 2003). The programme met the conditions for contact as described by Amir (1969). An interdependent and co-operative contact setting was created. A scale was developed to measure participant's attitude change during the programme. Items on the scale were written to reflect some of the conditions of the contact hypothesis. The pre-post and post-post research design was used for the study. The overall results indicated that specific conditions under the contact hypothesis did enhance the reduction of inter-group bias among participants.

Results of a study conducted by sociologist, Robin Williams (1964), in which surveys of social contacts and ethnic attitudes in four cities in different regions of the United States were conducted, yielded the following results: In all four cities greater reported contact between members of the white majority and one or more relevant minorities was clearly associated
with lower levels of prejudice against these minorities. In all cities, participants who reported having personal relations with one or more members of one or more racial or ethnic minorities were less likely to express prejudiced opinions than were those who had no such contacts. "In all the surveys in all communities and for all groups, majority and minorities, the greater the frequency of interaction, the lower the prevalence of ethnic prejudice" (William, 1964 p. 167 – 168). These results indicate that more contact across group boundaries can reduce prejudice and improve inter-group relations.

Dutton and Singer (1998) examined a study, which assessed fourth-grade children in three schools viz: integrated, black and white. They compared children from integrated schools with children from predominantly white schools. Using schools with three different racial compositions yielded an interesting set of results that both refute and support previous research. Exposure to other races may explain why the children from the integrated schools chose opposite-race friends more often than did the black children from the non-integrated school. This finding may stem from the daily contact that the children in the integrated setting have with other races, supporting the hypothesis that the children in the integrated school are more accepting of other races. Findings of the study indicated that white and black children from the non-integrated schools chose another race as one they disliked at significantly greater rates than the children in the integrated schools. This may be attributable to the lack of daily contact with other races in the non-integrated schools, as well as to a higher level of acceptance of other races in the integrated schools. All groups chose their own race when asked to indicate which child looked most like them. In answering the question "Which person would you like to be friends with?" children from integrated schools chose a race other than their own more often than did the children in the predominantly black school.
There have been some field studies conducted in residential and educational settings in the United States of America, which reported positive outcomes, even in the absence of ideal contact conditions. Johada and West, 1951 as cited in Voss (2000) for example, found that people in interracial housing estates who lived in integrated housing blocks were more likely to be in favour of interracial housing than those who lived in segregated blocks, although contact is not a form of immunity and residential heterogeneity (merely living side-by-side) can be associated with more prejudice. However, once opportunities for contact are taken up and meaningful contact is engaged in, then contact is an essential aspect of positive integration.

Stuart Cook (1978) mentioned earlier, focused on researching housing integration effects. The gist of Cook’s approach can be detected from the opening of his 1978 paper summarising the research programme he had pursued since the mid-1940’s: “One of our most persistent faiths has been that if members of hostile groups come to know each other through personal contact, the development of mutual understanding and liking would follow and would neutralise the negative relationships that formerly existed” (Cook, 1978).

Contrary to the beliefs that interracial contact cannot and does not reduce prejudice and could not overcome emotionally deep irrational attitudes, a study contrasting integrated and segregated housing projects in New York and New Jersey by Deutsch and Collins (1951) revealed positive outcomes which constituted important steps in establishing the contact hypothesis as an idea to be taken seriously. The results indicated rather convincingly that the attitudes and stereotypes held by white housewives living in integrated projects had become, on average, more positive (relative to those in segregated living conditions) towards the black residents of the same projects. When asked directly about common stereotypes of black
people in general, specifically “lazy and ignorant”, “can’t be trusted” and “different and strange” only 22 percent of integrated occupants agreed with the entire set, whereas 41 percent of the segregated whites did so. Deutsch and Collins’ (1951) results of their study show that “intimate, equal − status contact of Negroes who do not conform to the stereotypes, disrupts the rationales for prejudiced sentiments. Further, judging from the remarkable positive data on traits attributed to and liking for blacks, any such freshly discovered similarity and equality does not seem to have been particularly threatening to the white residents. Because administrators could experiment with different living arrangements, public-housing projects were especially popular. In general researchers found that whites in integrated settlements reported relatively tolerant racial views especially if whites and blacks shared the same public space (Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Jahoda and West, 1951, p 137 -38, cited in Voss, 2000).

Other studies have directly observed contact or physical proximity. These studies collected data about seating patterns in ostensibly integrated contexts. Seating patterns were observed in three desegregated schools. The results showed that children congregated in homogenous racial groups to a greater degree than would be expected by choice (Campbell, Kruskal & Wallace, 1966). Seating patterns in a school cafeteria were examined by Schofield and Sagar (1977). The results showed that seating patterns became more integrated over time in the seventh grade, providing support for the contact hypothesis. Schofield and Francis (1982) in their studies found that race was a significant grouping variable when studying student interactions in a desegregated classroom setting. The aforementioned studies have supported the contact hypothesis in naturally occurring settings.
Pettigrew and Tropp's (2000) recent meta-analytic findings present a good prognosis for reduction of prejudice through intergroup contact. Their review of individual studies included participants from various nations as well as developing countries. The outcomes of the analysis indicated an inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice: greater intergroup contact was associated with lower prejudice.

In her investigation of the developmental patterns of own and out-group preference among young children, Aarons (1991) found that the white group showed high own-group preference and high out-group prejudice. However, in keeping with international research findings, both outgroup prejudice and own-group preference declined with age (Holtman, 2005).

Luiz & Krige, (1981), in their study of high school learners, found that contact between white and Coloured schoolgirls led to significant positive attitude change. They conducted two intensive group contact programmes with 93 white, English-speaking schoolgirls, and 65 Coloured schoolgirls, from two neighbouring convent schools. These girls displayed mutual friendliness, intimacy and positive attitude change towards each other. A follow-up study conducted a year later to ascertain whether these positive changes still existed, showed that white and Coloured girls who had been paired together in the activity group programme, still had positive attitudes towards members of the other ethnic groups one-year after the programme. (Luiz & Krige, 1984). It appears that white learners may indeed benefit from short interventions aimed at providing information to reduce previously held racial stereotypes.
The above findings were confirmed by Watson (1970), who found that inter-racial interaction among white and Coloured high-school children at a school in Johannesburg improved racial attitudes of the groups towards one another. The results of a study by Fabian (1987), of high school learners' attitudes and adjustment to racial integration, indicated that both black and white learners at desegregated schools were more racially tolerant than learners who attended segregated schools.

A study by Bradnum, Nieuwoudt and Tredoux (1993), yielded interesting results in respect of the effects of interracial contact on the attitudes of school children. They examined the attitudes of school children in integrated and segregated schools, to determine whether naturally occurring extensive racial contact such as is found in multicultural schools, has beneficial effects on racial attitudes. Their sample constituted learners from integrated and segregated South African high schools who were compared with a sample of learners drawn from Zimbabwean high schools, who had experienced integration over ten years since independence. The research highlighted evidence for new racial attitude patterns in South Africa that differed substantially from those consistently reported over the last 50 to 60 years.

In Zimbabwe, contact situations are fostered within a socio-political and academic climate where there is supposedly little racial antipathy. However, black and white Zimbabwean school children sampled in the study showed a high degree of racial prejudice. On the other hand, white South African school children experiencing less than ideal contact situations within racially integrated private schools, showed minimal levels of prejudice, and perhaps even reversed prejudice. Much the same was true for white pupils sampled from segregated government schools. They showed very low levels of ethnocentricity. Black school children from segregated government schools, on the other hand, showed a very high degree of racial
in-group preference and out-group prejudice. There is some evidence here, of a substantial change in patterns of racial prejudice, considering that white attitudes towards black South Africans are rarely reported as being positive, even amongst English-speaking citizens. What is particularly intriguing is that there is a tendency among pupils attending private schools to show reversed prejudice, that is, to favour blacks over whites. Interestingly, the attitudes of both black and white Zimbabwean learners showed a high level of ethnic favouritism towards their own racial grouping. Zimbabwean children, who had experienced inter-racial contact for at least 10 years since independence, showed a high degree of racial prejudice, in that they favoured their own race. The white South African learners' attitudes in desegregated schools are a refreshing outcome. It suggests an attempt by learners to move away from prejudices and stereotypes that epitomised the South Africa of the past, and embrace people of other races.

A study conducted by Mynhardt (1980), researched the racial attitudes of 289 white high-school students towards blacks. The sample group, white students at Catholic high schools who had experienced ongoing interracial contact with fellow black school pupils, had more negative racial attitudes than those white high-school pupils in a second sample group who had no contact with black children at school. Mynhardt (1982) also tested the contact hypothesis in a field experiment. The research subjects comprised English-speaking, white high school girls from 10 different private schools, who had had school contact with black, coloured, Indian, Chinese, Afrikaans and Portuguese children. In contrast to Luiz and Krige's study, Mynhardt (1982) found that the white children who had had contact with black children scored significantly more unfavourable attitudes towards blacks in general, on four different attitude measuring instruments, compared with pupils who had no contact with black children. This outcome may well be attributed to the fact that the ideal of tolerance is
romanticised in non-contact learners, as they do not have to deal with the reality. However, in a contact situation they are faced with having to deal with the very real relational problems that the new situation presents. Mynhardt (1982) drew up a table, listing previous research results in terms of positive, neutral, or negative attitude change following a contact situation. This list showed that school contact in general was less successful than other forms of contact. Mynhardt (1982) attributed this to the contentious nature of school contact. He reasons that school contact is contentious since it takes place in a segregated society, which implies a greater demand for social change. An alternative explanation for contentious contact is given as forced integration, which is not conducive to positive race relations. Milner (1981) argues that although fairly close personal contact is more likely to create positive feelings than more distant contact, close personal contact should not be forced, as this would be counterproductive. His view is supported by Schofield (1986), who contends that forcing academic contact through racially mixed workgroups may be tolerated by the learners in view of the teacher’s authority, but trying to alter the structure of social groups by artificial means might build up resentment and do more harm than good. This does not mean that social contact is doomed. It merely emphasises the caution required when introducing social contact and social skills training programmes. This contention is confirmed by the findings of Mynhardt (1982). Mynhardt’s (1982) sample comprised 972 English-speaking white high school girls from ten Roman Catholic convents who were subjected to several attitudinal measures. Whilst some of the learners had institutional contact with people from other race groups, others had no contact. The absence of the conditions for contact, such as strong institutional support, voluntary attendance, and similar socio-economic backgrounds may contribute to less positive outcomes in integrated schools. Other explanations for contentious contact are: competition in the classroom, which comprises equal status, emphasis on academic achievement, and differing social systems which may limit
cooperative interaction (Mynhardt, 1982). Once again, conditions for positive contact are vital in desegregated schools.

A serious shortcoming of this study lies in the assumption that if there are children of more than one race in the school, contact exists, and that frequency of contact is measured by the presence of more than one race in a class register or sports team. However, presence does not imply contact, as learners are quite capable of avoiding contact with members of other race groups despite being in the same class or sports team. Mynhardt's (1982) results may thus, not necessarily reflect increased contact as the chief agent of negative attitude, since no meaningful contact may have taken place. The increased negativity may be more the result of increased negative stereotyping as a result of the contentious nature of integrated schools described above.

In a study conducted by Holtman et al (2005) in 19 desegregated, co-educational, high schools in Cape Town, to find predictors of race attitudes across groups on race attitude measures, contact emerged as the most important predictor. In general, the extent to which the school had been desegregated, the quality of inter-race contact at school, and the amount of social contact inside and outside the school premises emerged as the strongest predictors of race attitudes and accounted for the highest variation in most of the dependent measures (Holtman, et al 2005). The results of the study indicate that the route to reducing prejudice runs through inter-racial contact.

Together these findings suggest that while intergroup contact typically promotes positive intergroup outcomes, we must reconsider how intergroup contact is commonly treated as a strategy for improving intergroup relations. Conditions of the intergroup contact have been
conceptualised by most researchers as objective features of the contact situation. However, significant differences between the effects of contact for members of minority and majority status groups suggests that these elements must be treated as elements that are perceived and experienced by people on either side of the interaction, rather than being intrinsic to the contact situation. Thus interaction across group boundaries is encouraged and greater attention should be focussed on the subjective nature of intergroup experiences in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of those factors that may inhibit the development of positive outcomes from intergroup contact.

There are strong effects of both direct and indirect contact, and much of this is due to contact reducing anxiety about meeting members of the outgroup. Contact also attenuates perceived threat, promotes greater perspective taking and more positive emotions towards the outgroup, which, in turn are associated with greater outgroup forgiveness and higher levels of outgroup trust. Contact is even associated with a weaker “own-race bias” when responding to faces of ingroup and outgroup members, and a weakening of differential patterns of associated brain activity.

During the 1950’s the contact hypothesis became challenged, as the argument emerged that hostility requires contact just as much as friendship does. Evidence for and against the hypothesis began to emerge. Although intergroup contact is commonly believed to reduce prejudice and intergroup tension, evidence to the contrary began to surface viz. that intergroup contact may have no positive effect on prejudice, or may even exacerbate tensions. A number of studies have shown that mere contact does not necessarily result in attitude change nor does it necessarily improve inter-group relations: Killian.1953 as cited in Voss (2000), Russell (1961), Campbell et al (1966), Glock et al. as cited in Voss (2000), Schofield

- Southern whites (USA) who lived close to African Americans avoided them elsewhere
- Though blacks in the residential South (USA) were very familiar with whites, their prejudice was no less
- Anti-Semitic sentiments thrive in the presence of Semitic contact
- In three desegregated schools children congregated in homogenous racial groups
- White children in some schools showed high own-group preference and low out-group preference

In respect of desegregated schooling, Walker (1989) contends that the reason for little or no attitude change in desegregated schools was due to the assimilative nature of the education systems of both British and American schools. In these schools, minority groups were simply absorbed into the school and expected to adopt white middle class values and norms. Since this was not in keeping with the child's ethnic or racial socialisation, Walker (1989) hypothesised that dissonance would result, which could affect racial attitudes.

Katz and Braly (1935, 1936) argued, when considering the possible effect of contact with members of the out-group, that although black people in the South were quite familiar with whites, their prejudice towards them was no less. In their survey of recent work on reducing prejudice, Kurt Lewin's associates, Lippith and Radke (1946) concluded that prejudice has no relation to "actual experiences" of the individual and is unaffected by contact.
As indicated, theorists such as Allport (1954), Cook (1972) and Brewer and Miller (1984b) have argued, that fairly close personal contact is more likely to create positive feelings than more distant contact, since the high "acquaintance potential" of the former situation increases the opportunity for individuals to discover that they have similar interests, attitudes and the like. Yet, considerable research suggests that blacks and whites in the United States are more willing to engage in fairly impersonal interactions than they are to engage in close personal ones (Bogardus, 1959; Cook, 1972, Triandis & Davis, 1965). In fact, there is experimental evidence demonstrating that the more personal the nature of a task-orientated academic interaction, the more white and black students chose to work with peers of their own race. This is the case even when such a choice reduces the probability of earning desirable rewards for success at the task. The above finding was confirmed by Benson and Carter (1971) who indicated that after six months of integration, both black and white intermediate and junior high school students seemed to prefer their own race group for satisfaction of their social needs. According to a review of five bussing studies conducted by Armor (1972), integration promoted racial segregation and reduced opportunities for actual contact between races. Arbor (1969) indicated that black students lost their peer status when they moved into an integrated school, but their ratings were more favourable towards their white peers. This is consistent with Katz, Schmida and Dor-Shav’s (1986) assertion that their white peers would have high prestige value for blacks. In recent years there has therefore been an emphasis on creating the ideal contact situation that will improve attitudes (Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

Dutton and Singer (1998) examined a study, which assessed fourth-grade children in three schools viz.: integrated, black and white. They compared children from integrated schools with children from predominantly white schools. Using schools with three different racial compositions yielded a variety of results that both refute and support previous research. The
children in the integrated school setting mentioned "race" and "ethnicity" significantly more often than did children in either of the other two settings, indicating greater racial awareness.

The finding of more references to race or ethnicity in the integrated school supports the hypothesis that exposure to other races increases the salience of one's own race. This finding also follows a trend which emerged in previous studies (McGuire & Padawar-Singer, 1976 & McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978). Such results could be explained by the distinctiveness postulate, which implies "that as schools integrate, children become more conscious of their ethnicity and are more likely to define themselves in terms of it than in ethnically segregated schools" (McGuire et al., 1978, p. 512).

Although studies have shown improved interracial relationships following contact, the questions that researchers have posed are: Aren't high levels of contact often associated with high levels of prejudice and discrimination in parts of the world where different racial and ethnic groups live in close proximity and come into contact frequently? If contact always reduced levels of intergroup antipathy then the expectation would be that proximity would encourage personal contact and this should then in turn result in low levels of prejudice and discrimination. It should not be an expectation that high levels of conflict, often erupting into violence, occurs in parts of the world where different racial and ethnic groups are in frequent contact. However, this is precisely one's observation. In the past and even at present, there appears to have been and still continues to be, more racial discrimination, prejudice and violence, for example, in the Southern United States than the North and West. Also despite increasing opportunities for close contact and personal relations, tensions between the various nationalities in the Balkans appear to have worsened during the past century. In addition, the French and Germans or Indians and Pakistanis have huge difficulties getting along as
opposed to the Peruvians and Palestinians or the Tamils and Turks who live further apart (Forbes, 1998). Thus it seems more contact results in more conflict.

Never before has there been so much contact between people of different races, religions and nationalities as today. Yet it seems, never before has ethnic differences been linked to so much hatred and violence. As a result of changes in modes of transport and communication, the growth of cities, development of a global economy and the huge migrations over the past centuries, there has been an overall increase across ethnic boundaries. Somehow the problem of ethnic rivalry still remains even when it is “safely under control” in cosmopolitan cities such as London, New York and Toronto. It still appears to be a menace today as it was a century or two ago (Forbes, 1998). Optimistic theories that growing contact across ethnic boundaries would ultimately reduce and eliminate discrimination and prejudice and produce a peaceful world seem to be “belied” by ongoing experiences of racial and ethnic conflict. High levels of contact often coexist with high levels of ethnic antagonism. Intense hostility could simultaneously reduce contact.

The American version of the Contact Hypothesis as applied to race relations is that the more you get to know Black people the better you will like them. Australian research supports the opposite generalization. A random doorstep study of 200 Australians was conducted which compared degree of contact and favourable attitudes towards a number of community sub-groups viz. working mothers, divorced individuals, nude sunbathers and co-educational school learners as well as towards blacks. Only in the cases of divorcees and nude sunbathers was there a relationship between degree of contact and attitude. Thus, to propose either a negative or a positive characteristic effect of contact per se appears quite simplistic. Contact as such, it appears, may not have a consistent effect.
Most interestingly there is, however, an inverse contact hypothesis which finds its supporters mainly in Australia, Britain and South Africa. The hypothesis purports that the more one comes into contact with blacks, the more prejudiced one becomes.

Killian, 1953 as cited in Voss, (2000), indicated that Southern whites who lived close to African Americans almost uniformly devised ways to avoid contact with blacks elsewhere. Glock et al, 1975 as cited in Voss (2000) looked at variation in anti-Semitism across Northern cities, expecting that the sentiment would thrive where intergroup contact was less frequent, but were forced to arrive at exactly the opposite conclusions. Hallinan 1982, as cited in Voss (2000) in evaluating interracial friendships in classrooms discovered that only when white numerical superiority was unchallenged, were whites most accepting of blacks. Jackman and Crane, 1986 as cited in Voss (2000) allude to the most damning critiques of the contact hypothesis in mixed-race classrooms where the greatest social segregation occurred. They analysed 1975 Survey Research data documenting cross-racial friendship patterns to see whether such friendships influence racial views. Their findings emphasise that attitudes and political action are distinct. Whites with interracial friendships were significantly more tolerant in their racial views but essentially as applied to “affect” for African Americans. Negative beliefs about the group as a whole appeared more resistant to reversal, and racial policy attitudes remained almost untouched. Although better and more information may correct stereotypes, desire for status advantage remains unchanged. They conclude that whites “are driven by an enduring force that is unaltered by a change in personal contact with blacks – the material and cultural interests of white racial privilege” Jackman and Crane, 1986 as cited in Voss (2000 p. 471).
Rogers et al. 1984, as cited in Voss (2000) conducted studies that have yielded results that are not very supportive of the contact hypothesis. They observed the impact of interracial co-operative activities on a school playground. The results indicated little impact. However, there were a number of unexpected confounding variables that may have influenced the outcomes. For example, subtle prejudice increased in a neutral interracial interaction immediately after proximal contact that is unfavourable.

2.9 Conclusion

Results of studies examining the impact of interracial and intercultural interaction have been inconsistent to some extent, but this does not imply that racial/ethnic/cultural contact is rare in South Africa, or that it is ineffective in altering social relationships positively. Whatever the final evaluation of the contact hypothesis, the general issues raised by the ‘50 something-year-old’ contact hypothesis will yet be around for some time to come. The studies by Holtman, Louw, Tredoux & Carney (2005) and others referred to earlier, provide grounds for optimism: Contact was consistently found to be related to reduced measures of prejudice towards ‘racialised’ others. As alluded to earlier, contact within an environment where ‘Allport’s conditions’ are present, always resulted in positive intergroup relations. Holtman et al. (2005) highlight the fact that contact in areas such as education is consistently associated with positive racial and cultural attitudes. Despite the criticism levelled against the contact hypothesis, numerous authors accept that contact, when it does occur, enables positive social and psychological change.

Forbes (1998) concluded his review of the impact of contact on interracial interactions by posing a defining question: Would it be really wise to try to reduce or limit intercultural
contact across ethnocultural boundaries in order to reduce ethnic conflict? bearing in mind that such practices were in the past aimed at restricting contact between racial and ethnic groups by “nationalistic policies of segregation, political independence and economic autarky”.

In the context of the long term, inexorable upward trend in contact in South Africa, rather than try to reduce conflict by reducing contact, the better, practical alternative clearly is to minimise the tensions that contact may produce, negotiate obstacles and deal with its worst manifestations while promoting cultural homogenisation or harmonisation in the way of multicultural intervention strategies. “The right kind of contact, in favourable circumstances, could only alleviate conflict, not aggravate them. To maximize these positive effects, individual should come into contact as equals, cooperating in the pursuit of common goals with the support of their superiors” (Forbes, 1998).

For many South African learners, interacting with learners of another cultural or racial group on an ongoing basis over an extended period of time may be quite a new experience, since the first seven to eight years of their school careers were spent in segregated schools. Increased contact does not automatically foster positive race and cultural relations and it is therefore essential to provide structures within a multicultural programme such as skills training programmes, which should be aimed at providing alternatives for behaviour, in what is perceived as difficult interracial contact situations. These programmes should be aimed at including the conditions that would contribute to positive interracial integration. Multicultural education programmes would be invaluable in aiding the move towards positive interracial and intercultural relations.
2.10 Multicultural Interventions

2.10.1 Introduction

Jansen, (2004, p. 70) crystallised the South African Education System twelve years post democracy, in the following way: “The formal arrangements for democratic education are clearly in place. The suite of education policies produced since 1994 are impressive. Each policy, grounded in a progressive constitution, makes commitments that signal profoundly democratic principles and practices for education. The base values of non-racism, non-sexism and redress are visibly dispersed in any major government policy on education. The Value in Education Policy produced in the second five years, commits learners to values that include dignity, respect, honour, tolerance and criticality. The insertion of human rights education into the curriculum, the promotion of citizenship education and the momentous shifts towards inclusive education with respect to disabilities and religious-education, are without question, among the most liberating policy shifts in democracy. But policy is not practice! And while an impressive architecture exists for democratic education, South African has a long way to travel to make ideals concrete and achievable within educational institutions”. According to Jansen (2004), a matter of grave concern is that there are no viable planning strategies within the Department of Education to promote democratic education within schools and universities. He further argues that the new ‘surveillance methods’ in schools viz. performance-based accountability systems and whole school evaluation, have effectively muzzled any serious or sustained attention in schools, to matters of deep learning about democratic principles and practices within the lives of teachers, learners and community.
Jansen (2004) goes on to reiterate that the task for policymakers, politicians and practitioners is to clarify how respect for difference can be built and sustained in integrated schools, even if the point of departure is not "race"! Schools remain the "life-blood" of this young democracy. What happens in schools matter, and matter enormously. The experiences of schooling impacts hugely on the choices young people make, including the experience of living with others or living with difference.

Within the context of rapidly changing demographics in South African schools and the growth of multicultural groups, schools and professionals face a huge challenge as to how to provide the most appropriate, comprehensive educational support services to their increasingly diverse student population. Within psychological literature, the focus of racial attitude research has been descriptive and theoretical accounts of its origin. Far less attention has been paid to intervention, when compared to fields like educational psychology, counselling, and school psychology where a major thrust has been intervention.

As schools experience a diverse flow of learners from different cultural groups into integrated environments, what is emerging is certainly a "multicultural world" within the school environment. It is clear that cultural differences often exacerbate the potential for conflict. The increasing diversity in schools is a reflection to some extent of the changing demographics of integrating neighbourhoods, with racial mixing becoming more and more evident. Without improved intergroup relations, the full promise of South African democracy and harmonious intergroup relations will remain a romanticised ideal. It is evidently clear then that a central dilemma facing educational authorities is how to make pluralistic ideals work in the day-to-day setting in schools which remain the life-blood of the South African nation. Specifically, how can schools grow and change to accommodate the broader ethnic
range of today's school population? How do we balance unity with diversity? In an effort to answer these questions and to improve the quality of interaction among racial and ethnic groups, Multicultural intervention strategies have been proposed.

With the changing racial composition of the South African learner population, the need to provide educational programmes that address the complex issues related to multiculturalism and diversity is becoming more and more evident. Educators and researchers have used a broad array of specific strategies to integrate multiracial and ethnic material into the curriculum in order to reduce racial bias in children. The purpose, according to Nkomo et al (2004), is to meet the needs of all children in integrated schools and for meaningful interaction in the classroom, on the playground, during extracurricular activities and in “after school” interaction. This should occur within the context of school integration being born out of “a conscious effort to transform undemocratic, apartheid culture and practice by replacing it with a democratic, inclusive, education ethos founded on a human rights culture” (Nkomo, 2004, p. 2), so that President Nelson Mandela's directive in his inaugural speech “that this beautiful land will never, never and never again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world” (cited in Nkomo et al, 2004, p. 1), would become a reality.

Multicultural education means different things to different people. People involved in the area of multicultural education include educational scholars, researchers and practitioners from a wide variety of professional, philosophical, psychological and pedagogical backgrounds. It is therefore expected and understandable that different points of reference will be used in discussing ethnic diversity and pluralism. However, a consensus on the substantive aspects of multicultural education surfaces when allowances are made and
cognizance is taken of these differences. Despite these subtle differences, all conceptions of multicultural education share four characteristics: they are based upon a common set of assumptions, they evolve out of common concerns, they contain common guidelines and they share a desire to make cultural pluralism and ethnic diversity integral parts of the educational process (Gay, 1994).

It is therefore important to allow different conceptions of multicultural education to be expressed in the school decision making process, rather than insist on one definition. Given the rapidly changing population demographics of South Africa and the significant growth of diverse multicultural groups, schools and professionals are being challenged as to how to provide the best comprehensive educational and support services to their increasingly diverse student population.

2.10.2 Definitions

There are many definitions of multicultural education. Some definitions rely on the cultural characteristics of diverse groups, whilst others emphasise social problems, political power and the reallocation of economic resources. Some definitions limit multicultural education to characteristics of local schools and still others provide directions for school reform in all settings, irrespective of their characteristics. The most frequently used definitions are the following:

- A philosophy that stresses the importance, legitimacy and vitality of ethnic and cultural diversity in shaping the lives of individuals, groups and nations.
• A reform movement that changes all components of the educational enterprise, including its underlying values, procedural rules, curricula, instructional materials, organizational structure and governance policies to reflect cultural pluralism.

• Policies and practices that show respect for cultural diversity through educational philosophy, instructional materials, curricula, staffing composition and hierarchy.

The above definitions share common focal points. Advocates concede that multicultural education programmes should include ethnic identities, cultural pluralism, and equal distribution of resources and opportunities. At best, they believe that multicultural education is a methodology for educational reform. It means learning about, preparing for and celebrating cultural diversity. It thus requires change in school programmes, policies and practices.

Multiculturalists explicitly value diversity. They believe everyone involved must play an active role in implementing multicultural interventions. Promoting diversity means acknowledging diversity, incorporating diversity into all levels, demonstrating pride in cultural pluralism together with a sincere belief that diversity is desirable.

Steps pursued by schools to promote multicultural education should reflect the ethnicity, language, race, customs, habits and cultures of the general community. In order for multicultural education to be completely implemented, fundamental changes are necessary for the conception, organization and execution of the educational process. These changes require modification in a system of education that has been governed with a monocultural orientation based on Eurocentric middle class norms.
2.10.3 The need for Multicultural Education

Diversity of race, culture, ethnicity, religion, language and social class is a significant feature of interpersonal relationships in South Africa. Individuals from similar ethnic groups live close to one another, thus creating largely single-race or ethnic group geographic clusters. Even in areas that appear to have racially mixed residential areas, separation on economic and racial lines is prominent. The racial mixing often occurs superficially, for in reality, these seemingly desegregated communities contain insulated ethnic and racial pockets. Similarly, even in legally desegregate schools students tend to resegregate themselves in social interactions and friendship choices.

The non-existence of close and significant interactions across racial, ethnic, cultural and social lines may reinforce stereotypes and lead to suspiciousness and distrust among individuals, of those who are different. Multicultural education is urgently needed to assist to reverse these trends, attitudes and stereotypes, by educating learners about culturally different groups and by providing opportunities for learners from diverse backgrounds to learn, live and work together.

Despite the fact that democracy heralded new laws in South Africa that prohibits discrimination based on race, colour, age, gender and creed, the South African society is still plagued by attitudes and behaviours that are derogatory to social groups and favourable to others. Unofficial inequality flourishes, manifesting itself in racism, ethnocentrism, prejudices, discrimination and cultural appropriation. One revealing sign of such inequality is the frequency with which racial hostilities are reported in the media. In addition, racism
and discrimination are evident in patterns of unemployment, educational failures and poor health care, in which the numbers of people of colour are disproportionately high.

These attitudes and behaviours directly contradict the South African democratic ideals of democracy viz: freedom, equality and justice for all. Multicultural education programmes that are aimed at assisting young adults to learn to value and celebrate diversity, and involve themselves in social action to institutionalize these values, have the potential to aid society in living up to both the letter and spirit of its democratic ideals. The trend in America, and even emerging in South Africa, is that a large number of culturally different individuals and groups have ceased trying to deny their ethnicity for the sake of being accepted unconditionally into mainstream society.

The increasing ethnic diversity in South African schools makes multicultural education imperative for all students. In order for society at large to survive, diversity in education founded on ethnicity, social class, language, non-Western origins, cultures and interests is a "must". Educational policies and programmes have to be responsive to the needs of different racial, ethnic, social and cultural groups as they increase in size in schools. Satisfying these demands will require more cultural sensitivity, "rainbow coalitions" and pluralistically negotiated compromises. "Academic exposure to the multicultural environment will provide students with the skills to excel in the real world. Because students ultimately return to a world outside the school, the more fully they learn to recognise and to respect differences in the beliefs, values and worldviews of people of varying cultural extraction, the more effectively will they promote a multicultural society beyond the classroom" (Chen and Starotsa, 1998, p.225).
Multicultural education can develop skills to meet the needs of a culturally diverse society.

2.10.4 Culture and Human Development

Human behaviour, attitudes and values are shaped by culture. Human behaviour results from a process of socialisation, and socialisation always takes place within the context of specific cultural and ethnic environments (Kallen, 1970; Novak, 1975; & Pai, 1984). Hence, human beings are social beings who carry within them their individual biological and psychological traits as well as the legacies of their ethnic group’s historical background, collective heritage and cultural experiences.

When educators claim that their top priority is to treat all children like human beings, regardless of their ethnic identity, cultural background or economic status, they are creating a paradox (Gay, 1994). It is not possible to divorce one’s humanity from one’s culture or ethnicity. One cannot possess culture or ethnicity without being human and one cannot be human minus culture and ethnicity. Delpit (1992) states that, “If one does not see colour, one does not really see children”. It therefore follows that to acknowledge racial and cultural diversity, to respect one another, and to be fully human, requires mutual understanding and appreciation based on cultural understanding.

Cultural and ethnic influences are established very early in one’s development and continue to exist for the rest of one’s life. Although it is possible for some secondary elements of culture to be modified by experiences over time, the core features persist and become the essence of one’s identity.
Kallen (1970, p.184-185) has the following view in this regard. When schooling processes operate on a single cultural model to the exclusion of all others, or when children who are culturally different are expected to set aside all their cultural habits in order to succeed at school, deeply ingrained cultural socialisation becomes problematic in children's education. Such demands on children are not only unreasonable, but virtually impossible to meet. Should children not try to comply with such pressure the results may be marginality, alienation and isolation, which are not conducive to maximum school success or well being. "The incompatibilities or discontinuities between the culture of the school and those of different ethnic groups, need to be major issues of analysis in making decisions about educational programmes and practices that reflect and promote cultural diversity" (Spindler, 1987a, p. 47).

In order for responsible decision making to occur in educational institutions, which reflect cultural pluralism, educational leaders should be keenly aware of the strong influence of culture in shaping their own, as well as students' behaviours, attitudes and values. This awareness will augur well for educators to liberate themselves from "the tyranny of their own cultures, and free children from the damaging effects of premature, inaccurate and prejudiced interpretations of their culturally induced behaviour" (Spindler, 1987a, p. 47).

In South Africa, as in other parts of the world, integrated schools are microcosms of mainstream society. They largely reflect Western cultural values in their procedural norms, behaviour codes, structural arrangements and distribution of power, privileges and responsibilities. Students in South African integrated schools bring their cultural experiences and perspectives into learning attitudes and behaviours, just as educators carry their specific cultural experiences and perspectives into their educational actions and decisions. Inevitably,
cultural conflict results from these different systems encountering each other in pluralistic classrooms. If these differences are not mediated consciously, the efficacy of the instructional process can be hugely jeopardized.

It is quite common to see educational leaders function from a misperception that their values, beliefs and actions are the norm for all, that they exist beyond any cultural constraints and are culturally neutral. Contrary to a perception that educators’ ideas of what is desirable knowledge and the transmission thereof is determined exclusively by pedagogic principles, culture influences and shapes all dimensions of the learning and teaching processes adopted in schools.

It is therefore vital, that ethnic and cultural diversity be reflected in educational decisions and practices (which are not happening adequately at present in South African schools); so that schools do not remain out of sync with the populations they are supposed to serve. La Belle (1976) states that this could result, if schools are controlled by individuals from the dominant culture, who use only their standards to guide actions, and the population they serve do not practice similar cultural standards. Often, the disjunctures that result cause misinterpretation of attitudes and actions between students, as well as between students and educators.

It is common practice for educators to base instructional decisions on general theories of learning and principles of developmental psychology. However, these must be operationalised within the context of culturally diverse school situations and student populations. Of specific relevance would be Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, which purports that some psychological needs must be met first, before others can be negotiated.
In addition, Erickson's principles of identity development; the notion that educational experiences can only be relevant if they are perceived as personally meaningful to students; the negative impact of stress and anxiety on learners' academic achievement and the degree to which educational rules and guidelines are compatible with those that learners are accustomed to in their cultural communities, cannot be ignored. Underpinning these principles, is the acknowledgement of the fact that the process of learning is not constituted of just intellectual ability and proficiency in mastering cognitive content, but rather hugely includes learners' and teachers' psychoemotional status.

Learners' success at academic tasks will be negatively impacted if the educational environment is perceived as alien and hostile or non-affirming of them, or if it in anyway devalues them. Psychological security and a positive feeling of self-worth are prerequisites for the more abstract need to know and learn. These are some of the ideas and arguments that underpin the theory of Africentricity and the efforts of some school districts such as Detroit, Milwaukee, Baltimore and Seattle in the United States of America to create Africentric schools (Asante, 1991/2; Hilliard, 1991/2).

The aforementioned beliefs and principles require that cultural diversity be the driving force in all education decision making, from determining students' readiness for learning to designing curricula, selecting instructional materials, appraising performance and developing appropriate programmes and teaching techniques for culturally different learners. The rationale is that cultural socialisation determines to a large extent the way students learn.

According to Gay (1994) one of the main reasons for shifting towards multicultural education is to correct what is referred to as 'sins of omission and commission'. Gay (1994) advocates a number of goals of multicultural education. Learners must be provided with information
about the history and contributions of ethnic groups who have been traditionally excluded from instructional materials and curricula. Distorted and biased images of those groups that were depicted in the curricula must be replaced with more accurate and significant information. Many learners know very little about the history, heritage, culture and contributions of minority groups (of colour). The information about and images of ethnic groups portrayed in the media are often distorted, superficial, one-dimensional and incomplete. For example, if students are exposed to racist portrayals of blacks as only violent, their perceptions become clouded. The persistence of these types of caricatures about ethnic groups, together with limited inter-ethnic interaction, reinforces the need for learners to be educated with accurate information to ethnic groups' contributors to the history, life and culture of South Africa. Consequently, a major goal of multicultural education is to learn about the historical backgrounds, languages, cultural practices, contributions, critical events, significant individuals, and social, political and economic conditions of various majority and minority groups. The information should be analytical, comparative and include similarities and differences within and among groups.

2.10.5 Areas of Intervention

The challenge in working with an ever growing pluralistic school population encompasses many areas. The provision of relevant multicultural curricula, the use of culturally sensitive assessments and intervention strategies, the training of school staff in the provision of the services, the recruitment and retention of multicultural and diverse professionals and the integration of diverse communities and parents in an authentic and empowering manner are only a few of the critical issues facing those working with today's learners. Professionals are also challenged by the need to consider the impact of complex social or environmental
problems which in many contexts have negative consequences for learners from various racial and ethical and social class backgrounds.

2.10.6 The Training of Culturally Sensitive Professionals

Despite the fact that there is greater acknowledgement of the need to train professionals in multicultural competencies, training in many programmes is still conceptualised as an 'add-on'. In other words, programmes require only one or two courses for their specific professional capacity (William, 1995) in contrast to a comprehensive and integrated 'paradigm shift' in the teaching of all helping professional courses (Nuttall, Sanchez & Webber in press).

(Sue, Arredondo & Mc Davis, 1992; Sue et al, 1982) suggest a model to conceptualise the training of school staff and related professionals which emphasise three major components viz: awareness, knowledge and skills. The awareness component involves professionals examining their own values, myths, stereotypes and world view. Knowledge refers to the development of non-stereotyping, flexible understanding of cultural, social and family dynamics of diverse groups, together with understanding of the critical socio-political, historical and economic contexts in which people from diverse multicultural groups are embedded. Skills entail assessment and treatment strategies that are culturally sensitive and flexible and that are accompanied by communication skills. The integration of multicultural and diversity issues in various treatment modalities, multicultural consultation and advocacy skills must also be seriously considered.
2.10.7 A Model for serving diverse learners

William (1995) suggests a useful model that allows for the integration of these critical variables, viz: the Ecological Model developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) and enhanced by others (Knoff, 1986; Nuttall, Romero & Kalesnik, 1992).

In terms of this model we attempt to understand or evaluate a student (the microsystem) in the context of his or her mesosystems (immediate family, extended family, friends, and network) macrosystems (culture or sub-culture) and exosystems (social structures). According to this model the diverse learner, school staff, parents and community are placed in an ecological context which then allows for a broader understanding of the crucial issues impacting learners from diverse backgrounds as well as the development of relevant interventions and educational models. Such models have to be keenly sensitive to the specific cultural and social contexts to which diverse learners belong.

The ability to conceptualise and integrate culture and issues of diversity within a development perspective is also crucial for the diverse learner and the school staff, in view of the changes in developmental tasks at each life stage and the different ways in which these "tasks" are expressed and resolved in different cultural groups (Lee, 1995). Relevant to the diverse learner in schools, these issues must be integrated into a specialised intervention programme offered to children with developmental issues.
2.10.8 Culturally sensitive assessment and treatment strategies

As a result of the development of multicultural competencies within the areas of awareness, knowledge and skills the probability of educators using assessment and treatment strategies that do not meet the needs of a wide range of culturally diverse groups increases.

Many researchers in the field have stressed the importance of and need for, flexible and culturally sensitive assessment techniques (Facundo, Nuttall, Walton, 1994; Nuttall, Sanchez, Borras, Nuttall & Varxogli, in press). Examinations of the crucial aspects of assessment should include the sociocultural context of the diverse learner and his family, the sociocultural context of the examiner (such as issues of awareness of biases and stereotypes, selection of suitable testing, survey and interview instruments). Taking all these factors into account, increases the possibility of more relevant and culturally sensitive assessment techniques.

The provision of culturally affirming treatment strategies can be enhanced by an awareness of and the ability to assess specific factors, such as acculturation, sociocultural history and language proficiency.

Williams (1995) draws attention to the need for schools and educators to develop curricula that integrate awareness, knowledge and skills within educational materials. “It is critical that diversity and multiculturalism not be conceived as being accomplished by adding a course, a lecture or a one-day ‘multicultural fair’. He further implores that there be a complete transformation of the curriculum that incorporates critical issues of diversity and
multiculturalism into all components of learners' academic achievement, social skills development and relationships within the larger society.

Williams (1995) cites an example of such an attempt in the work of Li (1993, 1994). He developed a psycho-educational course to assist learners to increase self-awareness, acceptance and appreciation of self and others, as well as communication skills. The course was conducted in one school of minority learners as well as two multicultural schools. The results indicated a positive outcome on the part of teachers and learners of both schooling environments, who reported the emergence of a nurturing climate that developed through the course.

It is vital that children be provided with opportunities to integrate issues related to multiculturalism and diversity into their lives. This will foster the development of respect and acceptance for others from diverse backgrounds. The creation of models that emphasise the development of awareness and cultural sensitivity skills is imperative in this regard (Omiza & D'Andrea, 1995). In addition there is a critical need to confront issues of racism and prejudice. The need for direct discussion and exploration of these issues within schools needs to be conceptualized as another critical element of the work done by those involved with diverse learners within multicultural settings (Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993).

### 2.10.9 Involving Parents and Community as authentic participants

A vital aspect in working with diverse learners is that of establishing 'authentic' relationships with both parents and community. This is a crucial aspect of any endeavour to enhance multicultural understanding, awareness of diversity and creating a truly pluralistic school and
community environment. Workshops held to assist parents of minority groups who may be unfamiliar with the school system is vital, if one hopes to elicit their active involvement in the school. Such workshops can cover aspects such as the school structure, school rules, services, rights and responsibilities of parents and learners, and the role of parents in respect of promoting multicultural awareness and acceptance.

The dire need for a direct working relationship between school and parents has been highlighted by Atkinson and Juntuner, (1994 p.108) "...School personnel must function as a school-home-community liaison, as an interface between school and home, school and community and home and community". School staff needs to fulfil their advocacy role by increasing parent participation and facilitating empowerment among parents of diverse learners in an increasingly multicultural environment. The aim should be to conceptualise the diverse student and community into a "wonderful and exciting element of the world we live in, and not as a hindrance to the educational process" (William, 1995, p. 59).

2.10.10 Specific Intervention Programmes

Today, perhaps more than ever, social science has an important role to play in examining the impact of cultural differences, and fostering a climate of mutual tolerance and understanding. In an effort to assist the process of multicultural education, balancing unity with diversity, assisting schools to grow and change to accommodate the broader ethnic range of today's school populations, improving the quality of interaction among the many racial and ethnic groups in the American society, the Russell Sage Foundation established its Cultural Contact Programme in 1992. An environment should be fostered in which differences are welcome, not just ignored, as this may mitigate the long standing effects of racism and distrust.
2.10.10.1 Contributions and additive approaches

Most approaches used to integrate multiracial and ethnic material into curricula to reduce racial bias in children are typical of what Banks, 1995 as cited in Bigler (1999), refers to as "contributions" and "addictive" approaches; in which multicultural heroes, holidays, concepts, themes and other elements are added via books, videotapes, songs etc. to a standard, traditional curriculum. The fundamental aim of these programmes is to expose children to minority groups using symbolic models with the goal of reducing racial bias that is assumed to result from ignorance about other ethnic and racial groups.

An example of such an intervention programme was one conducted by Appl, 1996 as cited in Bigler (1999), over a six week period. During this period library books featuring diverse racial and ethnic groups were incorporated into the classroom. The teachers read books such as Rise and Shine, Marikochan - a tale about a Japanese girl and her daily routine. Children also located Japan on a map and made fish banners called Koinobari.

Other programmes of a similar nature use multicultural materials to incorporate information about racial and ethnic groups with specific focus on counterstereotypic information about groups, Bishop, 1992; Litcher, Johnson & Ryan, 1973, as cited in Bigler (1999). An example would be one of the most often cited curriculum-based interventions. Litcher and Johnson, 1969, as cited in Bigler (1999), randomly assigned elementary school classrooms to either a traditional or multiethnic textbook condition. The texts were identical except for the characters' names and race. Thus, African Americans and other minorities were described in the experimental texts as having characteristics that are typically associated with European Americans, such as hard work, 'dresses nicely' and is clean.
A growing number of writers have more recently appealed for the inclusion of explicit lessons on stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination within curriculum-based interventions e.g. Anderson & Love, 1973; Dermon-Sparks & A.B.C. Task Force, 1989; Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993; Short & Carrington, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Spencer, 1998; Walker, 1989; Wardle, 1996, as cited in Bigler, (1999). These types of interventions sometimes referred to as antiracist programmes, assist children to focus on recognising and confronting racism. Examples of antiracist activities in such programmes include learning to define concepts such as prejudice and tolerance, analyzing differences in power and economic status, and using role playing to solve problems around discrimination.

2.10.10.2 The transformative approach

As opposed to the above strategies, some multicultural interventions focus on effecting major changes to the goals and structure of the curriculum. Banks, 1995, as cited in Bigler (1999), referred to this type of intervention as a “transformative” approach. For example, Mc Adoo, 1970, as cited in Bigler (1999), gave African American children a “Black Consciousness” curriculum over a six-week period for durations of three one-hour sessions each. The curriculum comprised songs and stories of famous black heroes and individuals who had contributed to the country’s progress. Books that portrayed African American men and women in a positive perspective, art activities and traditional games were also included. Sardo-Brown and Hershey 1994, as cited in Bigler (1999), conducted a similar intervention. They taught children in grades three through eight, lessons designed to encourage learning about, and appreciation of multiple cultures. Children were exposed to information through books, lectures and group discussions about four or more ethnic and cultural groups. In addition children participated in games, art, drama and cooking activities.
Multicultural education and interventions differ in many respects, other than in their approaches to integrating multicultural materials into the curriculum. They often differ markedly in their duration, ranging from one 15 minute session to more than fifteen, 15 minute sessions per day, over a seven-month period (Wham, Barnhart & Cook, 1996 as cited in Bigler, 1999). The scope of intervention programmes may also vary from ones having a fairly focused, narrow scope, to others having a wide range of experiences and activities such as guest lectures, field trips and group discussions.

An assumption underlying much intervention work concerns the structure of children's racial attitudes. Specifically, many interventions are implicitly based on a unifactorial and unidimensional model of children's racial beliefs and behaviour. Empirical data support the contention that racial attitudes are multidimensional and multifactorial. Aboud 1988, Fishbein, 1996 & Katz & Kofkin, 1997, as cited in Bigler (1999), point out that young children's racial knowledge, attitudes and behaviour are only weakly related, if they are related at all. This finding has important implications for designing interventions to reduce racial stereotypic beliefs and behaviours. Empirical evidence supports the notion, that changes in individuals' racial attitudes in a specific domain will not necessarily affect other racial attitudes or racially biased behaviour. The implications then are that racial attitude interventions should be broad in scope, addressing racial knowledge, beliefs and behaviour in a number of domains in order to effectively counteract racism.

2.10.3 Counterstereotypic models

In order to develop effective intervention strategies, it is crucial to look at research that has emerged from social-cognitive and intergroup theories. A recommendation has been to focus
on a greater understanding of and emphasis on Counterstereotype Group Models. As opposed to developmental psychologists, few of whom have examined the exact process by which children revise stereotypic beliefs, social psychologists have proposed and tested several cognitive models of the process of stereotypic revision e.g. Hewstone, Johnston & Aird, 1992; Hewstone, Macrae, Griffiths, Milne & Brown, 1994, as cited in Bigler (1999). The "bookkeeping" model proposes that as stereotype-inconsistent information is presented, the perceiver gradually adjusts and revises the stereotypic belief relevant to the new information. Exposure to increasing numbers of African American scientists, for example, should result in fewer stereotypic beliefs about African Americans across time (Bigler, 1999). According to the "conversion model", highly salient and convincing stereotype-inconsistent information produces sudden, rather than gradual changes in attitudes. Exposure to a very highly competent African American scientist, for example, should result in a sudden and dramatic decrease in racial stereotyping. The "sub-type model" proposes that as stereotype-inconsistent information is presented, the original stereotype becomes differentiated into subtypes, with one particular subtype representing the disconfirming evidence. According to this model, exposure to an African American scientist should produce a "sub-stereotype" of well-educated African Americans embedded within the racial stereotype and that leaves the overall stereotype of African Americans intact (Bigler, 1995).

Intergroup processes have been increasingly implicated in children's racial stereotyping and discrimination. Aboud & Fenwick, Jones & Lobliner, 1997; Powlishta, 1995, as cited in Bigler (1999) represent another important source for developing additional models of racial attitude change.
Although intergroup theories suggest some potential negative outcomes linked to multicultural interventions, they also outline possible positive intervention strategies. It may be possible, for example, to reduce racial bias by creating salient and important categories that cross racial boundaries. In keeping with this hypothesis, some social psychological research suggests that cross-classification reduces bias against outgroup members (Bigler, 1999). One such mechanism that may be used to reduce children’s racial attitudes is cooperative learning strategies, which will be discussed later.

Children’s racial and ethnic perceptions may be altered by exposing them to tasks that encourage them to focus on differences among individuals within racial and ethnic groups and similarities among individuals of different races or ethnicities. Consistent with this notion Katz et al 1973, 1978, as cited in Bigler (1999) discovered that training children to focus on individuating characteristics of outgroup members, results in reduction of racial stereotyping. A recent study by Aboud and Fenwick 1999, as cited in Bigler (1999), investigated the effects of a school programme that required participants to focus on similarities and differences among a sample of multiracial and multiethnic children. Consistent with intergroup theory, the programme succeeded in reducing racial stereotyping among children.

Racial stereotyping is pervasive among children and is resistant to change. It is very likely that highly effective intervention might require a combination of strategies based on several theoretical foundations. For example, optionally effective interventions might include exposure to counterstereotypic models (e.g. books about African American scientists/ black scientists) training to attend to the multiple features of these symbolic models (e.g. individual’s race and occupation) and practice in detecting within-group differences (e.g. individual’s race and occupation).
differences between African/black scientists and artists) and between group similarities (e.g. similarities between African/American black scientists and European American scientists). Highly effective programmes may also need to address issues such as stereotyping and intergroup bias explicitly.

2.10.10.4 Structural Factors

Structural factors can actively affect intergroup relations. Changes in school structure from traditional to cooperative learning programmes increase children's formation of cross-race friendships, as well as friendship quality. According to research results, encouraging cooperative learning programmes while maintaining small, diverse classrooms will increase proportions of cross-race friendships among school children. Individuals with high proportions of cross-race friends, have greater stability and interracial friendship quality than individuals with low proportions of cross-race friends. Cross-race friendships reduce racial bias and increase social competence and leadership skills. Overall, South Africa will benefit greatly from an upcoming cohort of leaders with increased positivity towards intergroup relations and multicultural sensitivity.

2.10.10.5 Conducive environments

Certain environments increase children's opportunities for interracial friendships. Structural factors such as teaching orientation, reward structures, demographic diversity and classroom size can be used effectively by schools to foster interracial interactions among learners. Generally, co-operative learning programmes, and small, demographically diverse
classrooms have been most successful in increasing interracial relationships. Schools can implement learning techniques that encourage interracial relationships between learners.

Hallinan and Teixeira (1987b) examined structural and social factors that increased the likelihood of interracial friendships among school children. They concluded that classes that adopted a 'status-levelling effect', such as de-emphasising grades, standardized test scores and curriculum, improves interracial friendships among Caucasian students. For African American students’ classrooms that emphasise student initiative and the intrinsic enjoyment of learning, fostered more cross-race best friend choices in schools where students were in smaller demographically diverse classrooms. More and better quality interracial friendships developed.

Damico et al (1981) investigated the effects of school organizational structure on interracial friendships in middle schools. They found that Caucasian children in team organized schools had significantly more interracial friendships than those in traditionally organized schools. The conclusion was that team organization provides students with a co-operative, equal status environment which fosters interracial relationships.

Among school children, greater interracial relationships have been associated with beneficial outcomes in both achievement and the social domains. In one study, greater social competence, increased minority acceptance and less desire for social distance from ethnic minorities among 5th grade learners were reported, Hunter and Elias. 1999. as cited in Damico. (1981).
Wright et al (1997) found in their study that Caucasians who are reported knowing another Caucasian with a cross-race friend, had less negative attitudes about non-Caucasians, regardless of the respondent’s direct level of contact with Caucasians. The researcher created competition between two groups of randomly assigned participants, who thought that the groups had been formed on the basis of similarity. After intergroup hostility had been established, the participants observed one member of their in-group complete a puzzle task with a member of the out-group. Participants who observed a member of their in-group interact positively with an out-group member rated the out-group more positively, or both positive characteristics. The conclusion was that merely observing an in-group member act friendly towards an out-group member, increases positive feelings towards that out-group. This finding implies that positive attitudes towards other races may increase exponentially as more interracial friendships are formed.

2.10.10.6 Cooperative learning strategies

Cooperative learning is a teaching arrangement that refers to small, heterogeneous groups of students working together to achieve a common goal (Kagan, 1994). Students work together to learn, and are responsible for their team mates learning, as well as their own. The basic elements are positive interdependence which occurs when gains of individuals or teams are positively correlated, equal participation which occurs when each member of the group is afforded equal shares of responsibility and input, individual accountability which occurs when all students in a group are held accountable for doing a share of the work and for mastery of the material to be learned and simultaneous interaction which occurs when class time is designed to allow many students interactions during the period.
A synthesis of research on cooperative learning has shown that co-operative learning strategies improve interpersonal relationships of students. Positive effects were found at all grade levels in urban, rural and suburban schools. The most widely used team formation is that of heterogeneous teams, containing a mix of gender and ethnic diversity that reflect the classroom population. The rationale for heterogeneous groups argues that this produced the greatest opportunities for peer tutoring and support as well as improving cross-race integration. Providing students with an incentive to help each other to put forward maximum effort increases the likelihood that all group members will be involved, and mix together. Cooperative learning has been found to enhance social interaction, which is essential to meet the needs of minority group students (Slavin, Karweit & Madden 1989; Johnson, 1989).

Within the framework of co-operative learning groups, learners learn how to interact with their peers and increase involvement with the school community. Positive interaction may not always occur naturally, therefore social skills instruction must precede and concur with co-operative learning strategies. Social skills include communicating, building and maintaining trust, providing leadership and managing conflicts. The developmental characteristics of secondary school students make co-operative learning a good fit of strategies for the social as well as academic needs in an integrated school. Young adolescents need to socialise, be part of a group, share feelings, receive emotional support and learn to see things from other perspectives. Cooperative learning groups do not separate learners on the basis of race, class or ethnicity. It is thus a peer-centred pedagogy that promotes and builds positive intergroup relationships.

The following instructional methods used in cooperative learning provide many opportunities for intergroup interaction:
• **Think-Pair-Share**

The teacher poses the question to the class and learners think about their response. The learners pair with a partner to talk over the ideas. Finally, students share their ideas with the class.

• **Rallytable**

Learners work in pairs within a team. They then take turns to write on one piece of paper or to complete a task.

• **Numbered Heads Together**

Learners work within a team of from one to four. A question is posed by the teacher and the learners put their heads together to discuss the answer. The teacher randomly calls out a number, and from each team the learner with that number writes the answer on the team response board.

• **Showdown**

Each learner writes his or her answer on an individual response board. When everyone in the group is ready, the leader shouts, "Showdown" and members compare and discuss their answers.
- **Teammates Consult**

Learners all have their own copy of the same worksheet. A large cup is placed in the centre of each team and learners begin by placing their pencils in the cup. With pencils still in the cup, they discuss their answers to the first question. When all the team members are ready, they remove their pencils from the cup and write their answers. The process is repeated with remaining questions.

- **Brainstorming**

Each student in the group has a role to play viz: Speed Captain (promotes more ideas), Super Supporter (encourages and recognizes all ideas), Synergy Guru (encourages members to build upon one another’s ideas), and Recorder (writes ideas). Members carry out their respective roles while the team generates a variety of responses.

A review by Bhavnanie et al (2005) on international antiracist interventions indicated that successful interventions tend to be educational, aimed at improving knowledge and communication, if strongly led. Good communication and an open and honest approach to confronting interracial conflict are important. These approaches can heal rifts and lead to reconciliation.

Canada’s multicultural policy is part of its national policy and constitution. New Zealand recognizes its indigenous people in its constitution. The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1957 is a permanent Commission of Inquiry on Maori claims relating to the land and allows negotiation between the Crown and Maori people around any grievances in respect of policy.
legislation or practices. In Sweden, multiculturalism has meant taking a holistic look at nations of citizenship which engages people to address difference and participate in community development at a local level (Bhavnani, 2005).

This review has brought together evidence from written literature in a necessarily short period of time. It cannot be exhaustive in its coverage of the breath of interventions, given that new initiatives are continually being started.

2.11 Tolerance

"Tolerance is the appreciation of diversity and the ability to live and let others live. It is the ability to exercise a fair and objective attitude towards those whose race, ethnic group, practices, culture and religion differ from one's own (Peterson, 2003). Being tolerant remains key to easing hostile tensions between groups and helping communities move past intractable conflict and hostility. This is because tolerance is integral to different groups relating to one another in a respectful and understanding way. In societies, like the South African one, where conflict and hostility have been deeply entrenched, being tolerant helps the affected groups to endure the pain of the past and resolve their differences. Such an example is Rwanda, where the Hutus and Tutsis have tolerated a reconciliation process which has helped them to work through their resentment, as well as anger towards one another (Peterson, 2003).

The media can do much to provide positive images to promote understandings and cultural sensitivity. The more groups and individuals are exposed to positive media messages about other cultures, the less likely they are to find faults with one another."
Intolerance, on the other hand, will drive groups apart. For example, though the laws of apartheid were abolished twelve years ago, there still exists a noticeable level of personal separation between black and white South Africans, as evidenced in studies on the levels of perceived social distance between the two groups. This continued racial division perpetuates the problems of inter-group resentment and hostility (Peterson, 2003).

Intolerance is perpetuated between individuals when, in the absence of their own experiences, individuals base their impressions and opinions of one another on assumptions. These assumptions can be influenced by positive or negative beliefs of those close to them or who exert a strong influence in their lives. Intolerance may be perpetuated in schools by curricula and educational literature that provide biased and or negative historical accounts of different cultures. Education or schooling based on myths or misrepresentations can demonise and dehumanize other cultures, rather than promote cultural understanding and a tolerance of diversity and differences.

There is evidence, that through intimate intergroup contact, groups will base their opinions of one another on personal experiences, which can reduce prejudices. Intimate intergroup contact should be sustained over a week or longer, in order for it to be effective (Peterson, 2003, p. 4).

To enhance communication between ethnic, cultural and racial groups, dialogue mechanisms such as dialogue groups or problem-solving workshops provide opportunities for individuals to express their needs.
Individuals in schools should be taught and reminded to consciously and continually focus on exercising tolerance of other cultural groups. This requires a day-to-day, conscious challenging of stereotypes and assumptions that they typically encounter in making decisions about others and or working with others in a schooling environment. Educators are instrumental in promoting tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Schools that create a tolerant environment, help learners to respect diversity in the school and to understand and respect different cultures. For example, in Israel, an Arab and Israeli community called Neve Shalom or Wahat Al-Salam (Oasis of Peace) created a school designed to support intercultural understanding by providing children between first and sixth grades the opportunity to learn and grow together in a tolerant environment (Peterson, 2003). Each school must take responsibility for acknowledging and addressing intercultural conflict. Unless schools take steps to actively counteract racism and cultural conflict, they will contribute to aggravating existing hostilities. If schools are committed to change, then much can be to combat interracial and intercultural conflict.

Keleher (2001) makes a number of suggestions to address interracial conflict at schools:

Schools should take active leadership in addressing racism or inter-cultural disparities. Often, school managers are afraid to “open a can of worms” by directly dealing with intercultural conflict. However, the alternative i.e. keeping the “can of worms sealed” has even more pernicious effects. Each school should take responsibility and leadership by doing everything it can to counteract cultural inequality and promote celebration of diversity. This can be done by directly confronting every issue of inequality and guaranteeing that every learner will be provided the best opportunity to flourish and succeed in the environment (Keleher, 2001). When the leadership and stakeholders in a school are willing and open to
acknowledge and actively address the dynamics of institutional inequality, real change becomes possible.

2.12 Conclusion

Multicultural education must recognise the cultural diversity of learners and the effect that diversity has on the learning process as well as on the process of integration in South African schools. The educational system has an obligation to prepare learners to become functional members of the 'New South African' community. As much as this is an evolutionary process, it is time for schools to embark on a focused, concerted, pointed effort to address issues of interracial and inter-cultural conflict by means of a curriculum designed for interracial integration, in the true sense of the word.

The following chapter focuses on the methodology and research design used in this study.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter an attempt will be made to outline the methodology employed to explore experiences of integration and how data were collected.

Methodology refers to the best means that a researcher uses to gain knowledge about the aspect of the world that is being researched. A research design is an overall plan for relating the conceptual problem to relevant empirical research. In fact, it is the overall strategic choice made with an approach that allows for answering the research problem in the best possible way, within the given constraints of the research. This study adopts a qualitative approach which is consistent with a phenomenological orientation. Hence, phenomenology as well as qualitative research will be discussed hereunder.

3.2 The qualitative research paradigm

The term qualitative research refers to any kind of research that produces findings, not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or quantification (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 17). In an attempt to answer the question as to what qualitative research is, Smalina (1992) argues that qualitative research can be characterized by the fact that the object of study is the world as defined, experienced or constituted by the people being investigated. Data collection is open, flexible and not strictly regimented. Data analysis is descriptive and interpretive rather
than numerical. Hoshmand (1989, p. 14), suggests that qualitative research is supposed to be “organic and emergent, allowing for discovery, unplanned backlooping, and for decisions to change course”. Qualitative research design also implies an interactive, cyclical, relation between data collection and data analysis, alternating continuously and influencing each other.

The domain of qualitative inquiry offers some of the richest and most rewarding explorations available in contemporary social science. Kaplan and Maxwell (1994) suggest that qualitative research methods are designed to help researchers understand people, within their lived social and cultural contexts. Researchers turn to qualitative methods to generate richer and more finely nuanced accounts of human understanding, namely, the private experiences of the agent.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 3, 4), “qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right. A complex interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions surround it. It is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible”. The goal of qualitative research, therefore, is to understand and interpret the meaning individuals attribute to their daily lives. As opposed to quantitative research, which focuses on the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, qualitative research emphasizes finding of answers to questions that focus on how social experiences are construed and given meaning. Qualitative researchers stress the qualities of entities, processes and meanings that are not subject to experimental measurement. They are keenly interested in how reality is socially constructed and the close intimacy between the researcher and the researched. Furthermore, they explore the meanings, variations and perceptual experiences of phenomena.
Qualitative researchers use narratives, participant observation, interviews, life histories, ethnographic prose, documents and biographies to generate data in order to understand social phenomena. In using such methods, qualitative researchers believe that rich descriptions of the social world emerge. They get closer to the participant’s perspective through detailed interviewing and observation. Quantitative researchers on the other hand, with their ethic, nomothetic commitments, are not concerned with such detail, as it creates an obstacle to developing generalizations. Qualitative researchers therefore argue that because quantitative researchers are reliant on more remote, inferential, empirical methods and materials, they often fail to capture the subjects’ perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). However, irrespective of which view is more accurate, it is clear that qualitative research has become an important and very influential approach in research.

According to Polkinghorne (1989), in terms of the qualitative approach, human reality is perceived as closely linked to natural language. Hence, qualitative research relies on natural language descriptions for its data and results rather than measurement. “From the qualitative perspective, the richness and profundity of human reality is seen as closely related to the structures and meanings of natural language. Qualitative research methods thus, rely on the logic of natural language, to understand human experiences. Natural language descriptions such as unstructured interviews are used in order to obtain data. The results are also presented in natural language (Vaille, 1989).

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) emphasise that qualitative research is a multi-method approach. This quality reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Most qualitative research is phenomenological, in that the researcher enters the world of the participant as it exists and obtains data without any deliberate intervention to
alter the setting. This kind of research is descriptive, as text, rather than numbers, is
discerned (Locke, et al 1987). Qualitative research is thus an appropriate vehicle for
psychological research from a phenomenological perspective.

3.3 Phenomenological research

Phenomenological research may be identified with other descriptive and qualitative
approaches, but is clearly distinguished from them by its focus on consciousness as a realm of
inquiry (Polkinghorne, 1989). It is descriptive and qualitative (Ihde & Silverman, 1985).

According to Engler (1985, p. 279) the word phenomenology is derived from the Greek word
"phainomenon" which means "that which appears or shows itself". Thus, phenomenology is
focused on describing the data, or the "given" of immediate experience. In psychology, 
phenomenology has emerged to mean the study of human existence and consciousness. The
emphasis of the phenomenologist, therefore, is on how an object or event is perceived and
understood by an individual, rather than the object or event itself. Giorgi (1985a, p. 218)
crystallizes this notion as follows: instead of ‘physicalising’ persons, phenomenology
‘experientializes’ things.

As alluded to earlier, qualitative research is consistent with a phenomenological approach.
According to Polkinghorne, (1989, p. 41), "the phenomenological map refocuses inquiry,
concentrating not on descriptions of worldly objects, but on descriptions of experience. This
requires a change in the attitude or attunement of the researcher from a natural perspective to
a phenomenological perspective".

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Phenomenological research focuses on the researcher describing as accurately as possible the phenomenon as it appears, rather than explaining it in a given framework (Giorgi, 1986). The phenomenological method, therefore, is concerned with the description of the original experience of a particular phenomenon (Edwards, 2001). Phenomenology may be essentially described as an approach in which "the researcher attempts to suspend all preconceptions in order to allow the original lived world reality to reveal itself. This conscious attempt to bracket out assumptions, biases, prejudice and in fact everything in the natural attitude towards the world, is performed in phenomenological research in order to perceive more clearly the pre-reflexive world in its essential forms and meanings; before describing, explicating and interpreting our experiences of the phenomena of this pre-reflexive reality" (Edwards, 2001, p.2).

Husserl, the acknowledged German founder of the philosophical school known as phenomenology, focused on the issue of intentionality in his attempt to explore and examine how reality is constructed. He purported that the notion of intentionality is the basis of all mental experience. Intentionality, as used by phenomenologists, refers to the "fundamental action of the mind, reaching out to the stimuli which make up the real world in order to translate them into its realm of meaningful experiences" (Spinelli, 1989, p.11). The term 'intentionality' was first coined by Franz Brentano, a philosopher, in an attempt to clarify his assertion that a real, physical world exists outside our consciousness and that, as such all consciousness is always directed towards the real world in order to interpret it in a meaningful manner (Brentano, 1973 cited in Spinelli, 1989). Intentionality can then be seen to focus consciousness initially on some 'thing' in the world. Individuals carry out a basic, interpretational step of translating the unknown stimuli of the world into things.
Inde, 1977; and Grossman, 1984 cited in Spirelli, (1989), distinguish three interrelated steps which constitute the phenomenological method viz:

The rule of Epoche which is focused on encouraging phenomenologists to lay aside initial biases and assumptions, “to suspend our expectations and assumptions”, in short, to “bracket all such inclinations to the best of one’s ability in order to focus on the primary data of our experience” (Spinelli, 1989, p. 17). The above rule forces phenomenologists to “impose an openness” on their immediate experiences in order for our interpretations of them to be more accurate. The rule of Description in essence is: ‘describe, don’t explain’ (Spinelli, 1989, p. 17). Phenomenologists, having, through the rule of epoche opened up to the possibilities contained in their immediate experience to the best of their abilities, are encouraged to avoid placing another type of limitation on experiences, by immediately attempting to explain in terms of theories or hypotheses towards which they are inclined. Rather, the rule of description encourages researchers to initially maintain focus on their immediate impressions and to maintain a level of analysis in respect of the experiences which uses description rather than theoretical explanation or speculation as its focal point. The equalization or horizontalization rule suggests that once researchers have maintained their focus on an immediate experience which they seek to describe, they should not impose any preliminary hierarchies of significance or importance upon the themes described, but view and handle each initially as possessing equal value. Phenomenologists are far better able to assess an experience with less prejudice and bias and greater accuracy, by simply reporting what is consciously being experienced in a descriptive manner without any hierarchical assumptions in respect of the items of description (Spinelli, 1989, p. 18).
In sum, phenomenology focuses on the relationship between objective reality (the reality which exists outside the mind) and subjective reality (the variety of thoughts and ideas individuals possess about reality). Phenomenology's perspective on the issue is that individuals experience the phenomena of the world rather than its reality. According to Spinelli (1989), all phenomena experienced by human beings are constructs, formed as a result of the invariant process known as intentionality. Through intentionality we interpret our world and give it meaning. In terms of the phenomenological approach, experience includes all mental phenomena such as wishes, ideas, notions, theories, precepts, memories, hypotheses etc. By using the phenomenological method, researchers try to draw adequate conclusions about our experience of the world. However, these conclusions are never final. The phenomenologist is therefore able to describe and clarify the invariant structures and limitations that are imposed upon our experiences.

Psychological researchers using phenomenological principles conduct open-ended interviews. They search out meaning units from lengthy interview transcripts to ultimately provide descriptions and common features pertaining to the phenomenon under study (Vaille, 1989). Thus phenomenological research is not a disorderly process and procedures are not haphazardly performed, but follow a logical sequence.

A qualitative approach from a phenomenological perspective is an appropriate vehicle for psychological research.
3.4 Issues of validity

Validity is an important key to effective research. "The concept of validity ordinarily refers to the notion that an idea is well-grounded and well supported and thus one can have confidence in it" (Vaille, 1989, p. 57). The criteria for validity in qualitative research are met in a different manner compared to quantitative research. Polkinghorne (1989) suggests that in phenomenological research, focus is on whether the conclusion inspires confidence as a result of a persuasive argument. In other words the findings should be presented such that the reader is convinced of its accuracy. Cohen et al (2000, p. 103) reinforces a similar notion: "in qualitative research, validity may be addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the objectivity of the researcher". Qualitative researchers build their findings by "saturating themselves with observation of the phenomenon in question (Ngcobo, 2002, p. 40) rather than through statistical analysis. The processed data is presented with accurate descriptions and interpretations which constitute the mainstay of qualitative research. The validity of these analyses is in the reading and re-reading of the work" (Ngcobo, 2002, p. 40).

Validity in qualitative research is therefore dependent on the extent to which the raw data has been accurately transformed into phenomenological, informed psychological expressions and the synthesis of the transformed meaning units into a general structural description (Polkinghorne, 1989). An important concern in respect of validity in phenomenological research is whether the general structural description provides an accurate portrait of the common features and structural connections that are manifest in the examples collected (Polkinghorne, 1989).
An important aspect and a close partner to validity is triangulation. According to Cohen et al (2000) triangulation refers to the use of two or more data collection methods in the study of some aspect of human behaviour. The main goal of triangulation techniques in the social sciences is to explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour, by examining it from various perspectives. In this study observation, vignettes, focus group interviews and questionnaires were used.

This study is framed within an ethno-methodological framework by the use of vignettes. Through the use of this framework one can specifically focus on how individuals construct meaning of the world. According to Barter and Reynold 1999 as cited in Ngcobo, (2002, p. 41) “vignettes provide a valuable technique for exploring peoples’ perceptions, beliefs and meanings about specific situations and are especially useful for sensitive areas of inquiry that may not be easily accessible through other means”.

3.5 Design and data collection

3.5.1 Selection of participants

Participants are selected who are able to “function as informants by providing rich descriptions of the experience being investigated” (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 47). The first criterion for selection in this study was that the participants had experienced integration for a minimum period of three years. This period would have afforded them sufficient time to adjust to the transition from primary to high school, thus preventing adjustment difficulties from influencing their responses. In addition, if most learners had interacted with members of other race groups for a minimum of three years, they would be in a better position to provide
reasonably accurate and reliable responses. The second criterion was that participants had the capacity to provide full descriptions of their experiences with open communication, unreservedly.

3.5.2 Purposive sampling

Participants for this study were selected through purposive sampling. In purposive sampling researchers handpick participants for a specific purpose. In this study learners were chosen to fulfil the aim of the investigation, which was to obtain a deeper understanding of their experiences of integration, the problems encountered with integration and the solutions they envisaged for positive integration in schools. The purposive selection of participants represents a key decision point in a qualitative study. In purposive sampling the researcher uses his or her best judgment in respect of which participants to select and only chooses those who meet the purposes of the study. The sample units were chosen because they had specific features or characteristics (outlined above), which enabled a detailed exploration and understanding of school integration.

Vaille (1989) draws attention to the logic of selection of participants in phenomenological research and how it differs from the logic of statistical sampling theory. With the latter, it is required that participants be randomly chosen from the population for which the study is designed, in order to satisfy the statistical demands of making inferences from a sample to a population. In phenomenological research, there is no requirement to describe the characteristics of the group who have had the experience. Instead, the focus is on describing the structure of an experience. Phenomenological research is concerned with the nature of the experience itself rather than attempting to describe the mean and standard deviation of a
group as it relates to the experience. In sum, the objective of selection of participants is to obtain richly varied descriptions and not to achieve generalizations (Vaille, 1989).

3.5.3 Research design

The focus of this qualitative study was on the stories of eight grade eleven learners who had been exposed to the integration process since grade eight, at the Model C secondary school they attend. Hence, the learners had completed three and a half years in an integrated school environment. Learners were selected from the different race groups viz: coloured, black, white and Indian. There were three male participants (one black, one white, one Indian). There was no coloured male learner amongst the grade eleven learners. There were five female participants in the sample (one coloured, one black, one white, one Indian and one Chinese). There was no male Chinese learner in the grade eleven groups hence the researcher was unable to obtain full gender representation. The learners were requested to provide a written account of how they experienced the integration process. Their experiences took the form of vignettes or case stories. The focus was on how the learners made sense of, and constructed meaning of, their integration experiences.

According to Polkinghorne (1989), the number of subjects selected for participation in phenomenological research varies considerably. However, the use of only one participant, according to Kruger (1979), may result in omission of vital aspects of the experience. It is suggested that several subjects be used to allow for greater variation of experiences (Stones, 1986). The number of participants in this study was derived by taking into account the purpose of the study, recommended size of samples for qualitative research, accessibility to
participants, availability of participants when needed and willingness of participants to communicate freely.

As with quantitative research, the essential requirement is that the sample is representative of the population from which it was drawn (Cohen et al., 2000). In qualitative studies a sample of five or six may suffice if the researcher obtains corroborative data by way of validation. When there is heterogeneity in the population, then a larger sample must be selected on some basis that respects heterogeneity (Cohen et al., 2000).

Focus group interviews were conducted with all the learners in the sample i.e. eight learners over four one-and-a-half hour sessions. Learners were posed two open-ended questions viz:

- From your experiences of integration at this school, please indicate what you consider to be problems or difficulties associated with the integration process.

- What do you see as solutions to the problems or difficulties you have identified with integration.

The second part of the study involved a self-administered questionnaire which was given to all educators who had taught at the school for a minimum period of three years. The questionnaire constituted open-ended questions. Section A contained biographical information of the participants. Section B consisted of the following instructions:
• Please relate your experiences of integration in your school over the last three years.

• From your experiences as an educator in an ex Model C integrated school please indicate/list below what you consider to be specific problems in respect of racial integration.

• Please indicate how you think/feel the above problems may be resolved.

• From your experiences as an educator in an integrated school what would you consider to be specific competencies you would require to promote racial integration?

Ten educators responded to the questionnaire.

Focus groups as a data collection strategy rely on the interaction within the group who discuss the topic supplied by the researcher. The participants interact with each other rather than with the interviewer so that their views can emerge. It is the participants’ agendas that predominate. The data thus emerges from the interaction of the group. Focus groups, as the term suggests, focus on a specific issue and will yield insights that might not otherwise have emerged in a straightforward interview (Cohen et al. 2000).

According to Morgan, 1988 and Kruger, 1988 cited in Cohen et al (2000), focus groups are useful for orientation to a particular field of focus. They are also useful for developing themes, topics and schedules for subsequent interviews. In addition, they generate and evaluate data from sub-groups and gather feedback from previous sessions.
The focus group is useful in triangulating with other data gathering strategies such as vignettes, observations and questionnaires.

3.5.4 Observation

Observation as a data collection technique in qualitative research allows the researcher to use the natural setting to gather information from the participants' non-verbal signals. Through intensive observation the researcher is able to obtain insight into behaviour. Henning (2004) defines observation as seeing as well as observing with the other senses.

The researcher conducted non-participant observation on the school field for four half-hour sessions (before school began and during breaks). The researcher observed learners in their natural setting. Bailey, 978 as cited in Cohen et al (2000) outlines the advantages of observation. In the observation study, ongoing behaviour is observed as it occurs and appropriate notes can be made. Observation studies are superior to experiments and surveys, when non-verbal behaviour is being collected as data. Naturalistic observations do not interfere with the people or activities under observation. "In social science research, as in legal cases, eye witness testimonies from trustworthy observers have been seen as a particularly convincing form of verification" Pelto & Pelto, 1978, as cited in Denzin and Lincoln, (1994).

Even studies based on direct interviews rely on observational techniques to obtain data on body language and non-verbal cues that add meaning to the words of the interviewee. Social scientists, therefore, are observers both of human activities and of the physical settings in which such activities occur.
3.6 Procedure and ethical considerations

Interracial relationships are, by virtue of the history of race relations in South Africa, a sensitive area of research. As a result of such sensitivity amongst parents, learners and educators and the demands of ethics in social science research, the researcher had to pursue this study within strict ethical parameters.

“Ethical concerns encountered in educational research in particular, can be extremely complex and subtle and can frequently place researchers in moral predicaments. One such dilemma is that which requires researchers to strike a balance between the demands placed upon them as professional scientists in pursuit of truth, and their subjects’ rights and values potentially threatened by the research” (Cohen et al, 2000, p.49). Frankfort-Nachiamas and Nachmias, (1992) as cited in Cohen et al (2000) refer to this dilemma as the ‘cost-benefit’ ratio.

In keeping with the ethical considerations of access and acceptance, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, the following procedure was followed:

Permission to carry out the study was obtained from the Department of Education and Culture by way of written communication, which introduced the researcher and outlined the research. Once permission was granted, a meeting was arranged with the principal to provide all the necessary information regarding the research. Informed consent was then sought from parents of all participants. Assurance of confidentiality and anonymity were provided. A meeting with all educators was then conducted in which the purpose of the study and all ethical issues were outlined. A briefing on the procedure in respect of the vignettes and the
questionnaire was provided. The scheduling of research time slots (i.e. for vignettes, the focus group sessions with the learners and observation) was negotiated with the principal, ensuring least disruption to the participants' academic programme.

3.7 Data gathering and data analysis

The data-gathering process produced a collection of experiential descriptions in respect of the research questions viz: experiences of integration, difficulties with integration and solutions for positive integration. The very process of data gathering allowed the researcher to learn about the integration experience and obtain some notions about its structure. The descriptions that were collated from the vignettes, focus group interviews and direct observation were converted into a written form. This process translated into copious written material, which was then analysed in the data analysis stage to tease out the essential descriptions of the experience of integration.

In view of the fact that the goal of phenomenological inquiry, as suggested by (Polkinghorne (1989) is to obtain from the collection of protocols a description of the essential features of the experience under investigation, the researcher extracted from the protocols essential, accurate descriptions of their contents and the particular relationships that cohered the elements into a unified experience.

A number of qualitative data analyzing processes were followed. Data was prepared and organized for analysis. This entailed processes such as transcribing focus group interviews and sorting out the data into different types e.g. vignettes, focus group interviews, written responses to questionnaires and observation notes. The researcher then read completely
through each protocol to get a sense of the whole. In keeping with Stones' (1986, p. 119) recommendation, the researcher attempted to 'bracket' personal preconceptions and judgements, as far as possible, in order to remain faithful to the data. The data was then read and re-read with a reflexive attitude, in preparation for subsequent phases requiring a more accurate and exacting analysis. The repeated reading of the protocols assisted the researcher to maintain the sense of wholeness of the data, despite the breaking down of such data in subsequent phases.

The researcher then proceeded to break down the protocols of each participant into natural occurring meaning units. This refers to the smallest naturally occurring unit of experience. Each significant statement is regarded as a natural meaning unit. Each unit expresses a specific meaning, which emerged spontaneously from the reading. Cloonan (1971, p. 117) as cited in Stones (1986) defines a natural meaning unit as, “a statement made by the subject, which is self-definable and self-delimiting in the expression of a single, recognizable aspect of the subject’s experience. The emergence of meaning units should not be influenced by the researcher’s theoretical position”.

The researcher then attempted to state, as simply as possible, in her own language the meanings that dominated the unit, without detracting from the participants' experience. Wherever possible, the participants' own phraseology was adhered to, in order that the data 'spoke for itself'. Next, the researcher interrogated each meaning unit and organized them into themes. Thereafter, having read through the themes pertaining to each meaning unit, relationships and patterns emerging between meaning units were formulated to arrive at a general description of the integration experience. problems encountered with the integration process and possible solutions i.e. the meaning units were transformed into psychological and
phenomenological concepts. In other words, each meaning unit was transformed into psychological language revelatory of the phenomenon.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed discussion of the methodology used in this research. This included the research design and data collection, the procedure and ethical considerations.

Chapter four will focus on the analysis of data collected in this research. Data from the focus group interviews was gathered by means of recorded interviews, which were transcribed. From the transcribed data, key analytical codes and categories were formulated.

The presentation of the findings of this study and the analysis of the results constitute a major part of the next chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter provided a detailed explanation of the processes involved in the research methodology used in this research. The purpose of this chapter is to present a summary of the research findings and a discussion of the results, with a view to providing guidelines for multicultural education in South African secondary schools.

A phenomenological approach was used to analyse the data, with the intention of accessing accurate and clear descriptions of participants' experiences of integration, the problems encountered with the integration process, as well as possible solutions to the problems experienced. Data was generated by means of vignettes, focus group interviews and direct observation.

4.2 Qualitative data analysis

4.2.1 Learner vignettes

Learners had to write down in a descriptive form their experiences of integration over a period of three-and-a-half years.
Learner A (white female)

“Experiences of integration have not been that pleasant. On our fields at break one can see that the races are not really integrated. Although at the same school only whites sit with whites, blacks with blacks, coloureds with coloureds and Indians with Indians. Myself, as a person does not care about what race you are. If you are black, white, Indian, coloured who cares! You still a person to me. Because of this I have taken a lot of shit from people. Telling me that how could I be going out with a kaffir or a coloured. Even now, after being in a relationship with a particular guy for over 9 months none of my friends have met him because, well he’s coloured and I’m white so we shouldn’t be together.

There are many other problems too. We see every day blacks throwing comments at the white people in isiZulu and making a huge joke about it simply because the white people don’t understand what is being said. But the same goes for some of the white people. Some white people walk around the school screaming “kaffir” and “coolie” at the top of their voices. You also see the white boys throwing things at the black groups and the black boys throwing things at the white boys. Or it is the Indians throwing things at the whites. Many whites are often mocked if you are with someone of a different colour. People insult you, calling you names such as “white thrash” or “desperate”.

Teachers too, are also racist. Just the other day in class we were left alone as our teacher had to go sort something very important out. Not long after she left, another teacher walked past and saw some black boys just standing at the back of the class near the bags. She told the boys they must move away because she knew what they were doing. When asked if she was implying that they were going to steal something, she said that was exactly what she meant.
Some teachers will only kick black students out of the class and not the white or Indian or coloured students, even if they are doing the same thing wrong.

Many of our black prefects too are very racist. Their black friends can do what they want but as soon as a white person does the same thing the white person is doing, they are reprimanded for doing it.

The school bus is another major problem. The bus is majority black with only a few of the other race groups catching it. Because of this the black people think they are superior and act just like it. The other races on the bus are too at fault. Whenever there is some form of a smell they always say, “those f***ing kaffirs are stinking again. Or if someone is making an irritating noise or doing something irritating, they say only a kaffir would do something like that. The other morning at school I experienced a terrible incident. Some black boys were kicking a soccer ball around. There was a group of white girls on one side of them and a group of black girls on the other side. These black boys kept kicking the ball at certain white girls. Eventually hurting one to a point that she had to go home. These boys had the audacity never to apologise to any of the girls.

Classes are also very racially segregated. Races don’t mix the way they sit. It is each race with their own kind. And if by chance a white person had to sit next to a black or Indian person, then they complain that now they have to sit next to a “kaffir”, or “cooler”.

At the beginning of last term we were trying to organize for a group of white people to go to a black school. The white people were totally against this, because they said they didn’t want to be around “kaffirs” all day because they would get raped.
I play soccer for the first team. All the black people want to know how I made the 1st team because soccer is a black sport and I am white so I should not be in the 1st team.”

Learner B (black male)

“I have experienced many things, some good and some bad. The first thing is the fact that the school is integrated but everything within the school remains separated. You will find blacks and whites in the same classroom but sitting separate from each other. When it comes to black people, it is if you speak isiZulu or Xhosa, or whatever your ethnic language is, they automatically respond in a negative way as if you are swearing at them or something. We have had to learn their language for 11 years, so they should deal with the fact that we don’t want to speak English 24/7.

Another problem is the classification of the different races. It is like if you are a certain race you can only do certain things or else you are judged in some way. Pupils always “play around” calling each other “kaffirs, rooineks and coolies” and voice negative opinions in a humorous manner, but a lot of truth is said in jest.

Another thing is the teachers. No matter how hard some try to hide it there are some teachers who don’t like particular races and target those races in a negative manner.

Another thing that usually applies to the black people in the school is the matter of theft. If something goes missing in a classroom or somewhere around the school, and there are black
people around, they are the ones who will be suspected, even before it has been proven that it was a theft, not just something that's gone missing.

Another problem is when it comes to integrated relationships in the school. The people involved in the relationships are forever being criticized about their relationships, as minds of other students have wrapped themselves around the idea one must only date their own race.

The good things are that integration has opened doors to experience new things, things that you wouldn't experience in non-integrated schools. Black people can learn about Indian or white food, for example, and vice versa. Those who are not hound by society's racial trades can interact with different races and actually get to really know a person, not just their skin colour.

Another problem is on the sports field. If a student is left out of a specific team that they tried out for, they automatically blame it on their race, even if that is not why they never got into the squad. This is because people aren't frank anymore. They try to sugar coat things, and then the students think they are good at what they are doing, only to be turned down in the end.

There are a lot of fights in the school, and even if it is provoked by a valid conflict between different races, people feel it is a fight because “he is black” or because “he is white” or something like that, resulting in a group fight where it becomes one race against another. For those people who have friends that are of different races, they are also criticized for “not sticking to their roots” or something along those lines.
All these problems come from lack of knowledge about different races and the fact that assumptions are made within the different races in society and these assumptions are followed by students and carried into the schools, and problems begin to rise because of this.

Another problem comes from the political factors. People feel that the different races must all follow their race in following a political party and are frowned upon for following what you feel”

Learner C (white male)

“I was born in 1990, so according to the new law I will not be a part of affirmative action when I apply for a job or university. Technically, this is saying that I am free from all racism and discrimination. I am a part of the ‘New South Africa’...However, there are problems with the “New South Africa”.

Everyday I come to school and sit with my friends. We talk about the same things (sport, weekends, girlfriends etc.) and yet one thing we never discuss is culture. In my group of friends of bout 30, there are only 2 people of colour, who sit with us......this is ridiculous! If you had to look at our field, you would see the “Indian” group, the “black” group, the “white” group etc. Why? I feel that it is because there is such a large gap between us all. Although we are part of an integrated environment, we still segregate ourselves from one another according to our culture. Each culture is very unique and we are all afraid to learn a new way of life. For instance, how many white people have been to an Indian wedding or eaten Indian food or been a part of their wonderful celebrations? Hardly, any. This is because we are afraid to learn about their culture. We feel safe amongst our own kind. We feel that our way
is the only way. But it is not. I am fortunate enough to have grown up in a home which supports and accepts new cultures. Some of my best friends are of colour. I am separated from them because of these “groups”. My black friend would go and sit with his black friends. I would go sit with my white friends. It is all about fear. I fear that if I had to go and sit with a group of black people, I would be judged, and perhaps not accepted. It is a fact that I do not think the same way as people of colour and they do not think the same way as me. It is because of culture. As South Africans, we need to take an interest in each other if we want to move forward. I want to learn about the black culture, the Indian culture. Feed my mind with a new way of life. Open our eyes to something new. The reason they say “the world is so small” is because we narrow our minds to things we find familiar. All of us live in a box, filled with our “own people, our own religion, our own way of life. We refuse to leave our box and prefer to think we are the only ones in the world. But we’re not.

There are several things that contribute to this. Firstly, it is ourselves for not taking an interest in people with a different culture. We shift the blame and blame it on schools, teachers. Yes! They are partly to blame because they do not teach us about ourselves, they teach us Mathematics but not who we are, where we come from. It is also our upbringing. Our families refuse to move on from the past. Yes, South Africa went through hardships and there are families who suffered a lot more than mine. But Mandela forgave in 1990 and so should everyone else. If you truly want the country to move on, forgive, forget and love. The government is also to blame as they harp on about how the white people gave them a raw deal and it’s their time to claim back what is theirs. Because you’re black? What kind of excuse is that! These are all frustrations South African children deal with each day and we don’t know how to deal with it and therefore we caught in the middle. So instead of us all being left in the dark by ourselves, let’s pick ourselves as one. South African students have
to stick up for each other. The war is not against ourselves, it is against the teachers, it is against the government. They may have control now but not for long. So students have to put their best foot forward now so we can live in a “truly New South Africa”. Lets get rid of these ‘groups’ and deal with the integration problem together. I want to see the Indians mix with whites. The whites mix with blacks and slowly we can deal with the problem of integration”.

Learner D (Indian male)

“I’ve been a learner at this high school since grade 8. I’ve noticed many stereotypes and how all the races break up into their little own groups. Ever since I was here I felt out of place. I don’t want to be stereotyped. I don’t want to be friends with only people of my race. Indian boys in *****High are all the same, especially the boys in grade eleven and matric. They are known for hiding in corners and smoking. Its funny, as most of them cut their hair the same and wear the same clothes. This is what caused the stereotype in the first place. As soon as you break away from your racial group and hang out with the whites, for example, you get named ‘coconut’ or ‘oreo’ or something ridiculous. They say you not Indian when in actual fact, you are rich with your culture, a true Indian, not a stereotype.

I believe the reason for these groups of separate races is mainly our parents’ fault. Our parents tell us how the white man treated the black man during the apartheid time, so we stay away from the whites. Then our parents tell us how the blacks are stealing and raping people, so we stay away from the blacks. But what happened in the past is history, we shouldn’t judge people. That’s the problem at ***High, is that we all are too quick to judge people.
We believe everyone is racist. We believe everything that goes against us is race related. Many whites believe with B.E.E they are not going to get anywhere so they don’t try as hard.

Even in sports there is segregation. Most of the whites play rugby and the blacks soccer. There are many people in ***** High who are not willing to change and be with other races, so they call blacks ‘kaffirs’ and so forth.

There are teachers who hint of racism and then there teachers who see through the race barrier. I have schooled in Jo’burg and to see the difference in race relations there is a lot better than here. To have friends of different races is so much better. You learn a lot more about cultures than just sticking to your race groups and adding fuel to the fire of stereotypes.

I’ve also noticed that some pupils look down at teachers of race and they also mock these teachers”.

Learner E (Chinese female)

“If we look at the school as a whole, there are no problems that we can actually pick out. But if we get to know the people, they can be the worst thing you come to face.

The teachers can be very racist at times e.g. we had to pick out people for the Matric dance committee, none of the black students were picked out. The teachers didn’t even give them a chance. They picked the students that were known to be ‘goody-two-shoes’. People in this school get judged very often. Some of the white kids in our school think that just because they’re white, they can pick on anyone. Some of the black kids also do that. No-one seems to
get along with one another. In some of the classes, specifically the “A” class there are hardly any black kids. Since grade 8 I’ve been in the “A” class for Maths. At the end of last year I still got an A for it. I compared my Maths mark to some of the people in my class, I got higher than some of them. But, I got moved to the “B” class this year! What the hell is that! This is not up to the teachers to choose who they want in class!

If a white girl goes out with a black boy or vice versa, the school makes such a big deal out of it! It’s got nothing to do with them! Why are they butting into their business! We should be happy we have one extra person that’s not racist!

There are also people that act all harmonious and not racist, like when we studied the Ku Klux Klan for History. They felt sorry for those black people that suffered, but then they turn around and call black people ugly names.

Sometimes if a black person does something wrong and the teacher shouts at them. then they’ll be like, “just because I’m black hey?” They must stop thinking that the world revolves around them because they’re black, but because they are them.

Personally, I haven’t experienced much ugliness, but sometimes what I see and hear could really shock me. I’m thinking that if they say that about someone else, then what are they saying could be about me.

Most of us in this school are so over the apartheid thing, but the rest who still have that in the back of their heads, must get over it because if you don’t make it happen, it won’t!”
Learner F (black female)

“I go to a Model C school because of the education or should I say level of education my parents want me to gain, but how sure are they that a black, Indian or coloured school would not give me the same level of education.

When you are always judged because of your skin colour, sometimes you tend to place yourself in a black hole where no-one can notice you. It’s heartbreaking when kids at school look at you and think nothing more of you than a “black” person. It was January this year and a child came back to school sun burnt and unfortunately he was black, so one boy (white) stood up and said, “you are black you reflect light, how can you get sun burnt, were you looking for a tan?” It became a joke. We also laughed because we knew we were against the whole class and 4 of us would not make a difference.

I am not saying that all of them are like that, but some are like this because of their parents.

In the grounds we are separated. It’s not because someone told us to, but because of how our minds think, how we look at each other.

Sometimes I wish I wasn’t black because people tend to think that you are nothing, a thief or if they were mugged and a house break-in would come across a families, they would make sure that the statement “its black people, who else?” would stand out.

Teachers, when they organize functions, us black people are the last on the list, just in case there’s shortage. When it comes to our cultural activities, they tend to get flushed. I
sometimes think that it's because of the new freedom, equality thing because if it was not for that some schools will still be white schools only.

If your parents could afford a highly recommended car, they stole it. It's never a congrats! or nice car. It's either whose car, then a smug will follow or they stole it.

A girl had a mother who was white and she was black. There was the issue about maids in class so they call them “Mavis”. It was so racial, so rude and degrading that this girl stood up and said, “My maid will be white, my garden boy will be white and I will treat them the same way you treat others”. The thing is that we don’t know how to act towards each other. Whatever they say is always racist.

This year I fought to be in the Matric dance committee, not only for me but for every black kid in grade eleven who wanted to be in it. But I was the only one chosen. It’s because they were trying to shut me up and give me what I wanted so we acted as if we didn’t see what was happening. That’s the way we tend to see things—put on a blind eye.

When a white kid smacks around a black child, it’s a detention, but if it happens the other way around, it becomes a big issue. Kids in this school, teachers also see and look at us as nothings, which tend to make the black kids in this school act more violently and keep away from other white boys because of what happens in school grounds and classes.

Integration is here, no matter how hard we try and say we are building a new nation, there’s still this thing that if you are black you live in a location, whites in suburbs. Indians in
Chatsworth. If you are black the best you can become is a teacher. If you become a doctor a community hospital is the best you can go”.

**Learner G (Indian female)**

“In school everyone gets along to a certain extent. For example, in grade 11, as a grade we are united. We do have problems, but most pupils tend to ignore them, as it’s easier than getting into conflict. Personally, I have no problems with other races as I grew up in a society where we all mixed. In the almost 4 years I have been at ****High, I have never experienced racial conflict. However, I have experienced problems among Indian females.

In our school most of the races stick together, yet with the Indian girls we tend to moan, fight and hate each other for no apparent reason.

One of the greatest conflicts this year has been the Matric dance and the pupils chosen to help. From talking to peers, many have said it was a disaster as the people chosen never bothered to come. Out of the 40 people chosen, 2 were Indian and the rest white. This hurt many of the black students, but nothing was done about it. I feel that Matric dance committee was a racial issue, as we all are not great artists, but will be able to help in one way or another. The people chosen for the committee were treated poorly, as they were blamed for the racial issue. This divided our grade as it became black against white. Choosing to ignore these problems is not a solution but an easier option.

I feel that these racial issues have discouraged many learners from applying to be prefects, as they feel there is no point, as the decision will be based on colour.
Theft has also become a racial issue as everyone blames “the black people”. In some ways we cannot ignore this comment, as it is partly true, but the point is – not only black people steal.

We are divided into race groups during break. I don’t feel it is because we are racists. I feel that everyone is more comfortable with their own race for obvious reasons. If there is a mixture between Indians and whites, the Indians are known as “coconuts”, which is unfair to all races concerned. I don’t think anyone in *****High says hurtful things to cause trouble. I feel it is done without thinking. Many of us have grown up together, we travelled from the junior school, to the senior school and now to the high school. We were friends and are still friends now; colour has always been irrelevant to most of us. We work together as a school despite the conflicts, but sadly this is changing as the grades 8’s haven’t been taught the meaning of unity”.

Learner H (coloured female)

“I attended my first really racially mixed school when I moved to Jo’burg. Moving from an Afrikaans school, where there were a handful of coloured people and a whole lot of white who basically kept to themselves –to black, white, coloured, Chinese who were all friends came as a huge shock to me!

In my experience of racial integration I learnt to accept people for who they are, no matter what shade their skin is. When I went to high school, people were even more accepting……again blacks, coloureds and whites who were really interested in each other.
I moved to Durban in 2004 and I have to say, even though our school “looks racially integrated from the outside it really isn’t! here, as earlier mentioned, blacks sit with blacks, whites with white, Indians with Indians and seeing and seeing that there are only about 3 or 4 coloureds we sit mostly with the Indians. In my opinion the school is very racist, not all kids, but most. Some of the racial comments that are passed are disgusting and in my honest opinion the teachers are too weak to deal with it.....not that they should have to deal with it, though. The teachers shouldn’t have to discipline kids, it should happen at home! But maybe that’s where the problem lies, at home where parents pass racially discriminating comments, talk badly about different races. Is that why we think it’s O.K.? It’s not that we have the choice to come to school and because we attend a multiracial school the opportunity to change our views on other races. But, like I said it doesn’t seem to happen.

I am so sick and disgusted to hear and see what happens between races at this school! Words used that I know if I used at home I wouldn’t get food for a week. I honestly think that High needs a wake up call! Racism, in my opinion, is the most amount of hate for the least amount of reason! I wish everyone could see that!”

4.2.1.1 Emergent Themes

Responses from learners in respect of their experiences of integration were categorized into the following core themes:

The school is not truly integrated

- “On our fields at break, one can see that the races are not really integrated.”
• “Although we are part of an integrated environment we still segregate ourselves from one another, according to culture”.

• “I moved to Durban in 2004 and I have to say, even though our school looks “racially integrated” from the outside, but it really isn’t!”

• “The first thing is the fact that the school is integrated but everything within the school remains separated. You will find blacks and whites in the same classroom, but sitting separate from each other”.

• “If we look at the school as a whole, there are no problems that we can actually pick out. But if we get to know the people, they can be the worse thing you come to face”.

• “In my opinion this school is very racist, not all kids, but some”.

• “I’ve been in ***** High since grade 8. Ever since I was here, I felt out of place”.

Racial segregation on the fields

• “Although at the same school, only whites sit with whites, blacks with blacks, coloureds with coloureds and Indians with Indians”.

• “In my group of friends of about 30, there are only 2 people of colour who sit with us…..This is ridiculous! If you had to look at our field, you would see the “Indian” group, the “black group”, the “white group” etc. Why? I feel that it is because there is such a large gap between us all. Although we are part of an integrated environment we still segregate ourselves from one another, according to culture”.

• “All the races break up into our own little groups”.

• “In our school, most of the races stick together”.

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• “Here, as earlier mentioned, blacks sit with blacks, whites with whites, Indians with Indians and seeing that there’s only about 3 or 4 coloureds we sit mostly with the Indians.”

• “In the grounds we are separated. It’s not because someone told us to, but because of how our minds think... how we look at each other”.

• “We are divided into race groups during break”.

• “Some of my closest friends are of colour. But when I come to school I am separated from them because of these ‘groups’. My black friend would go and sit with his black friends. I would go and sit with my white friends”.

Racial segregation in the classrooms

• “Classes are also very racially segregated. Races don’t mix, because of the way they sit. It is each race with their own kind. And if by some chance a white person has to sit next to a black or Indian person, then they complain that now they have to sit next to a “kaffir” or “coolie”.

• You will find blacks and whites in the same classroom, but sitting separate from each other”.

Bias towards interracial relationships

• “Myself as a person, does not care about what race you are. If you are black, white, Indian, coloured who cares, you still a person to me. Because of this I have taken a lot of shit from people. Telling me that how can I be going out with a “kaffir” or a coloured. Even now, after being in a relationship with a particular guy for over 9
months, none of my friends has met him because, well he’s coloured and I’m white, so we shouldn’t be together”.

- “Another problem is when it comes to integrated relationships in the school. The people involved in those relationships are forever criticized about their relationships as minds of other students have wrapped themselves around the idea that one must only date their own race”.
- “If a white girl goes out with a black boy or vice versa, the school makes a big deal out of it! It’s got nothing to do with them. Why are they butting in to their business? We should be happy that we have got one extra person that’s not racist!”

Racist comments and name-calling

- “We see everyday blacks throwing comments at the white people in isiZulu and making a huge joke about it simply because the white people don’t understand what is being said. But the same goes for some of the white people. Some white people walk around the school screaming “kaffir” and “cooie” at the top of their voices”.
- “If by some chance a white person has to sit next to black or Indian person, then they complain that now they have to sit next to a “kaffir” or “cooie”.
- “There are many people in ***** High who are not willing to change and be with other races so they call them “kaffirs” and so forth.”
- “Some of the racial comments that are passed are disgusting, and in my honest opinion the teachers are too weak to deal with it”.
- “But I am so sick and disgusted to hear and see what happens between races at this school. Words used, that I know if I used at home I wouldn’t get food foe a week! I honestly think ***** High needs a wake up call!”

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• “There are also those people that act all harmonious and not racist, like when we studied the Ku Klux Klan for History. They felt sorry for those black people that suffered, but then they turn around and call black people ugly names”.

• “Pupils always ‘play around calling each other ‘kaffirs’ ‘rooineks’ and ‘coolies’ and voice negative opinions in a humorous manner. But a lot of truth is said in jest”.

• “Some of the white kids in our school think that just because they’re white, they can pick on anyone, some of the black kids also do that”.

• “Sometimes what I see and hear could really shock me. I’m thinking that if they say that about someone else, then what are they saying about me?”

• “The thing is that we don’t know how to act towards each other, whatever they say is always racial”.

Language implications

• “When it comes to black people, it is like if you speak isiZulu or Xhosa or whatever your ethnic language is, they automatically respond in a negative way as if you are swearing them or something. We have had to learn their language for 11 years so they should deal with the fact that we don’t want to speak English 24/7”.

• “…everyday blacks throwing comments at the white people in isiZulu and making a huge joke about it simply because the white people don’t understand what is being said”
Physical violence and attacks

- "You also see the white boys throwing things at the black groups and the black groups throwing things at the white boys. Or it is the Indians throwing things at the whites”.
- "The other morning at school I experienced a terrible incident. Some black boys were kicking a soccer ball around. There was a group of white girls on one side of them and a group of black girls on the other side. These black boys kept kicking the ball at certain white girls, eventually hurting one to a point that she had to go home. These boys had the audacity never to apologise to any of the girls”.
- "There are a lot of fights in the school, and even if it is provoked by a valid conflict between parties involved if it is between different races people feel it is a fight ‘because he’s black’ or ‘because he is white’ or something like that, resulting in a group fight where it becomes one race against another”.
- “…tend to make the black boys more violent…”.

Victimisation/marginalization

- "Many whites are often mocked if they are with someone of a different colour. People insult you, calling you names such as ‘white trash’ or ‘desperate’.
- “For those who have friends that are different races, they are also criticized for ‘not sticking to their roots’ or something along those lines”.
- “It is all about fear. I fear that if I had to go and sit with a group of black people, I would be judged and perhaps not accepted”.
- “As soon as you break away from your racial group and hang out with the whites, for example, you get named ‘coconut’ or ‘oreo’ or something ridiculous. They say you
not Indian when in actual fact you are rich with your culture, a true Indian, not a stereotype”.

- “If there is a mixture between Indians and whites, the Indians are known as ‘coconuts’, which is unfair to all races concerned”.

- “People in this school get judged very often”.

- “That’s the problem at ***** High school, we all are too quick to judge people”.

Racist and discriminatory teachers

- “Teachers are also racist. Just the other day, in class we were left alone as our teacher had to go sort something very important out. Not long after she left another teacher walked past and saw some black boys just standing at the back of the class near the bags. She told the boys they must move away from the bags because she knew what they were doing. When asked if she was implying that that were going to steal something, she said that is exactly what she meant. Some teachers will only kick black boys out their class and not the white or Indian or coloured students, even if they are doing the same thing wrong”.

- “Another thing is the teachers, no matter how hard some try to hide it there are some teachers who don’t like particular races and target those races in a negative manner”.

- “Racial comments…..teachers are too weak to deal with it”.

- “The teachers can be very racist at times e.g. we had to pick out people for the Matric Dance Committee. The teachers didn’t even give them a chance. They picked the students that were known to be “goody-two-shoes”.

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• “Teachers, when they organize functions, us black people are last on the list, just in case there’s shortage. When it comes to our cultural activities they tend to get flushed”.
• “There are teachers who show a hint of racism”.

Stereotypes and assumptions

• “I don’t want to be stereotyped”.
• “Whenever there is some form of a smell (on the school bus) they always say, “Those f***ing “kaffirs” are stinking again. Or if someone is making an irritating noise or doing something irritating they say only a “kaffir” would do something like that”.
• “Another problem is the classification of different races. It is like, if you are a certain race, you can only do certain things or else you are judged in some way”.
• “Another thing that usually applies to the black people in the school is the matter of theft. If something goes missing in a classroom, and there are black people around they are the ones who will be suspected, even before it has been proven that it was a theft, not just something that’s gone missing”.
• “I’ve been a leaner at ***** High since grade 8 and I’ve noticed many stereotypes”.
• “Sometimes I wish I wasn’t black because people tend to think that you are nothing, but a thief. Or if they were mugged and a house break in would come across their families, they would make sure that the statement, “it’s black people who else? would stand out”.
• “If your parents could afford a highly recommended car, they stole it. It’s never a ‘congrats!’ or ‘nice car’. It’s either who’s car then a smuck will follow or they stole it”.
• "There's still this thing that if you are black, live in a location. If white, suburbs, Indian, Chatsworth. If you black, the best you can become is a teacher. If you become a doctor, a community hospital is the best you can go".

• "Theft has also become a racial issue, as everyone blames 'the black people'. In some ways we cannot ignore this comment as it is partly true. But, the point is: not only black people steal".

• "All these problems mostly come from a lack of knowledge and the fact that assumptions are made within the different races in society and these assumptions are followed by students and carried into the schools and problems begin to rise because of this".

• "When you are always judged because of your skin colour, sometimes you tend to place yourself in a black hole where no-one can notice you. It's heartbreaking when at school look at you and think nothing more of you than a 'black' person".

Racism/tension in sport

• "I play soccer for the 1st team. All the black people want to know how I made the 1st team because soccer is a black sport and I am white, so I should not be in the 1st team".

• "If a student is left out of a specific team that they tried out for, they automatically blame it on their race, even if that is not why they never got into the squad. This is because people aren't frank anymore. They try to sugar coat things, and then the students think they are good at what they are doing".

• "Even in sport there is segregation. Most of the whites play rugby and the blacks soccer".
Playing the race card

- “There are a lot of fights in the school, and even if it is provoked by a valid conflict between parties involved, if it is between races, people feel it is a fight ‘because he’s black’ or ‘because he’s white’ or something like that....”
- “Sometimes if a black person does something wrong and the teacher shouts at them, then they’ll be like ‘just because I’m black hey?! They must stop thinking that the world revolves around them because they’re black but because they are them’.
- “If a student is left out of a specific sports team they tried out for, they automatically blame it on race”.
- “We believe everything that goes against us is race related”.

Unwillingness to participate in improving integration

- “At the beginning of the last term we were trying to organize for a group of white people to go to a white school. The white people were totally against this, because they said they didn’t want to be around ‘kaffirs’ all day because they would get raped”.
- “If by some chance a white person has to sit next to a black or Indian they complain...”
- “Those people who have friends that are different races, they are criticized by those who are not willing to have friends of other races”.
- “No-one seems to be willing to get along with one another”.
- “...the black boys in this school ...keep away from other white boys because of what happens in school grounds and classes”.

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• “There are many people in High who are not willing to change and be with other races....”

Parental influence-upbringing

• “I believe the reasons for these groups of separate races are mainly our parents’ fault. Our parents tell us how the white man treated the black man during the apartheid time. So we stay away from the whites. Then our parents tell us how the blacks are stealing and raping people, so we stay away from the blacks. But what happened in the past is history, we should not judge people”.

• “It is also our upbringing. Our families refuse to move on from the past”.

• “Teachers shouldn’t have to discipline kids, it should happen at home! But maybe that’s where the problem lies—at home where our parents pass racially discriminating comments, talk badly about different races. Is that why we think it’s O.K.?”

• “I am not saying that all of them are like that, but some are like this because of their parents. In the grounds we are separated, it’s not because someone told us to but because of our how minds think, how we look at each other”.

Racism, racial acts and unfairness and discrimination

• “A girl had a mother who was white and she was black. There was the issue about maids in class, so they call them ‘Mavis’. It was so racial, rude and degrading that this girl stood up and said, “My maid will be white, my garden boy will be white and I will treat them the same way you treat others”.”
• "This year I fought to be in the Matric Dance Committee, not only for me, but for every black kid in grade eleven who wanted to be in it. But I was the only one chosen. It's because they were trying to shut me up and give me what I wanted, so we acted as if we didn't see what was happening. That's the way we tend to see things, put on a blind eye”.

• "Kids in this school, teachers also, see and look at us as nothings, which tend to make the black boys in this school act more violently and keep away from other white boys, because of what happens in school grounds and classes”.

• "One of the greatest conflicts this year has been over the Matric Dance and the pupils chosen to help. .......out of 40 people chosen, 2 were Indian and the rest white. This hurt many of the black students, but nothing was done about it. I feel the Matric Dance Committee was a racial issue as we are not great artists, but will be able to help in some way or another. The people chosen for the committee were treated poorly, as they were blamed for the racial issue. This divided our grade as it became black against white”.

• "I feel these racial issues have discouraged many learners from applying to be prefects, as they feel there is no point, as the decision will be based on colour”.

• "Many of our prefects too are very racist. Their black friends can do what they want, but as soon as a white person does the same thing the black person is doing, they are reprimanded for doing it”.

• "Some of the classes, specifically the 'A' class, there are hardly any black kids”.

• "It was January this year and a child came back to school sunburnt and unfortunately he was black, so one boy (white) stood up and said, "You are black, you reflect light, how can you get sunburnt? Were you looking for a tan?" it became a joke. We also
laughed because we knew we were against a whole class and 4 of us would not make a difference”.

- “I’ve also noticed that some pupils look down at teachers for race and they also mock these teachers”.
- “When a white kid smacks around a black child it’s a detention, but if it happens the other way around it becomes a big issue”.
- “The school bus is another major problem. The bus is majority black with only a few of the other race groups catching it. Because of this, the black people think they are superior and act just like that”.
- “Racism, in my opinion is the most amount of hate for the least amount of reason! I wish everyone could see that”.
- “We believe everyone is racist”.

Cultural differences

- “Everyday I come to school and sit with my friends. we talk about the same things.....and yet one thing we never discuss is culture”.
- “Although we are part of an integrated environment, we still segregate ourselves from one another according to culture”.
- “Each culture is unique and we are all afraid to learn a new way of life. For instance, how many white people have been to an Indian wedding or eaten Indian food or been a part of their wonderful celebrations? Hardly any. This is because we are afraid to learn about their culture”.
- “We feel safe amongst our own kind. We feel our way is the only way”.
• “All of us live in a box, filled with our ‘own people’, our own religion, our own way of life. We refuse to leave box and prefer to think we are the only ones in the world. But we are not!”
• “We are to blame for not taking an interest in people with a different culture”.
• “The reason they say ‘the world is so small’ is because we narrow our minds to things we find familiar”.

Irrelevant school curriculum

• “We shift the blame and blame it on the schools, teachers. Yes! They are partly to blame because they do not teach us about ourselves, they teach us Mathematics, but not who we are, where we come from”.
• “The war is not against ourselves, it is against the teachers, it is against the government. They may have control now, but not for long”.

4.2.2 Educators’ Vignettes

Educator 1

Experiences of integration

“I don’t feel there has been much integration in my school. The ethos is predominantly that of white Christian. The assemblies don’t really cater for diversity or difference.
In the classroom situation, the races divide and sit on different sides of the classroom. If I move pupils around, they soon gravitate back to their friends of the same race. On the surface one might feel there is integration, but it doesn’t go very deep. I believe the race issue lives just under the surface all the time”.

Specific problems

“In the grading of classes along lines of academic ability, it is predominantly white pupils who are in the top classes. This presents a problem for integration, as there is a perceived idea that black pupils are less capable. In assessment of written work, the problem is assessing pupils around their use of English. In written work it is the expression of the ideas, not the ideas that disadvantages black students. With this perception of academic ability comes behavioural attitudes and impatience on both sides. Academic capability or lack of is seen as a race issue (I think by teachers as well!).”

“When pupils have to bring equipment (for a role play for example) research etc. from home, it is by and large the black kids who don’t. This again causes impatience, resentment when it concerns groups being let down. This hardens race attitudes.”

“The issue of language is a BIG one! Black kids speak in their home language (loudly) and right across the classroom. This is the single biggest obstacle to integration”.

Specific competencies

“To be able to speak isiZulu.”
Educator 2

Experiences of integration

“Integration has improved over the last three years.”

Specific problems

“Cultural differences are the major issue among race groups. Very defensive of their race and often a lack of respect for differences. Use of black/white terminology. Cultural characteristics (tone down loudness) for effective learning. Blaming of race groups for past and present situations”.

Solutions

“More effective laws at school to deal with racial issues.”

“Better learning at home and work ethic of many pupils that come from underprivileged backgrounds.”

“Language training.”

Specific competencies

“Effective learning and teaching skills to incorporate all cultural groups.”
Educator 3

Experiences

"On the one hand integration has taken place fairly smoothly with daily examples of students from all backgrounds working and playing together in a natural manner. However, one also notices that in many cases (both inside and outside the classroom) where black students will not mix and white students will not mix)."

“One finds groups of 4 or 5 students in one part of a classroom (of one race) and occasionally racial comments are made from one group to another.”

Specific problems

“Lack of respect”

“Lack of appreciation”

“Desire to challenge rules”

Solutions

“One approach is for all stakeholders, including students to take ownership of the goals of education and the future of the country/ economy as a whole.”

“Put aside selfish desires and agree that together we will all work towards doing our best, not only for ourselves, but also those around us.”
"It simply amounts to embracing the boundaries that are around us and making the most of every situation".

"Students need to look forward, with all students of all races and forget the past pains of apartheid (or at least try to allow themselves to become emotionally detached from that pain)."

"Parents can help students to try to be more positive about the present and future (not an easy task)".

Specific competencies

"One needs very good skills in handling conflict"

"Students also need constant encouraging (all races) – many have very poor self-images"

"The modern teacher has a tough job keeping it all together"

Educator 4

Experiences

"Our children come mainly from middle to upper class families. They have come through the Model C system and many of them have no trace of a ‘black’ accent. They are comfortable and relaxed with their white peers and are treated as equals".
“Several of them chose Afrikaans over isiZulu as a second language, as they seldom speak isiZulu.”

“We have a deputy Head boy who is black and won the ‘Fellowship’ cup at the end of his Grade 11 year. The cup is given to the boy chosen by his peers as the person who best displays the characteristics of friendship and caring. **** is utterly colour blind and all of us are colour blind when it comes to him as well. He has crossed the race divide, being equally comfortable in the company of students of any race. He is a role model.”

“The chairman of our Students’ Representative Council is a matric Indian girl. She is articulate, out-going and takes her job seriously. Although not a high profile leader, she is effective in her role.”

“At the interschool galas, the black kids always lead the cheering. They have many original chants and are enthusiastic in their singing and shouting in their support of their house. They get the rest of the group going.”

“More and more we are getting black sportsmen and women who are excelling. We have black boys who return after matric to coach soccer and rugby. They are respected because they shone in their day. Our first teams sports many black kids”.

“I have managed the Touch rugby teams and found the black girls to be respected and treated as equals by the rest of the team. There was no racial discomfort at all at any strata of the sport.”
"The under 14 soccer team is only about one fifth white, but the white boys are totally comfortable and get on perfectly with the rest of the team."

**Specific problems**

"I think white people perceive black people to have a diminished sense of guilt and conscience. Theft is more common amongst black kids than white. Trust is borne out of experience and too often cellphone theft can be traced to a black kid."

"Volume! Black kids make far more noise even in simple conversation than white kids. It is however, not a malevolent noise- it is good natured, but loud!"

"Unfortunately, the black teachers have not integrated well into the staff. They keep much to themselves. Our male isiZulu teacher has a Masters degree and is a highly educated man with whom we could be more friendly, but the opportunity has not arisen. The situation has not been helped by having a female teacher who has been repeatedly ill and away from school for months on end. It causes teachers to become resentful of all the batting which results."

**Solutions**

"Sport will allow all races to compete and excel on an equal footing. It gives everyone an opportunity to become the best that they can be. It will reduce the barriers and establish a common goal. A strong sense of unity can develop along with a genuine respect for each other."
"Academics give bright children the chance to excel and therefore gain the respect of their peers. In my Science class one of the brightest kids is a black child and the others are proud of him and in no way resent him".

**Educator 5**

**Experiences of integration**

"Over the past 3 years I have seen pupils of different races battling or trying so hard to adopt the notion of racial integration. It is not the language (as a medium of communication) that drives our pupils apart. The reason why I say so is because all our pupils (irrespective of race or cultural background) are very fluent in English. They use English to communicate, and English is used as the medium of instruction. In that regard, I would say, it is not the ‘communication’ that is the problem. But the problem is what to communicate about. These students come from a very polarized society, and that are circumstantially put together to forge a marriage of convenience. They bring into schools the prejudices and stereotypes of their own societies. They were/are indoctrinated and introduced by their societies that ‘there are races that are inferior or superior to other races.’"

"The school is trying so hard to accommodate everyone. But the question is: Does everyone feel accommodated? If not, what is the school doing in educating our pupils that, yes, we are different, but we are all human beings, who are equal in status, regardless of colour, class or race.”
“It is not only about developing policies, but it is about ensuring that those school policies are put into practice or not! It is about educating pupils about real life issues”.

**Specific problems**

“I’m seeing a war called “cultural war” this is definitely a war that schools need to address. Our bitter past has contributed a lot to this war. We were told or taught that some cultures are better than others. Today, because some schools are integrated some pupils who were previously disadvantaged (because of the colour of their skin) are now able to attend former Model C schools. These students/pupils begin to unearth or discover the truth. The truth that, in fact, there is no such thing as a superior race. They ask themselves some questions. And there is no one in schools who is there to answer those questions. Everyone is expecting them to integrate with people of other races very much easier”.

“No one dares to stand up and address the injustices of the past. No one tells them that what happened in the past was wrong. Everyone is afraid to speak out, and we expect our pupils to automatically adapt to this so-called ‘new dispensation’.”

“When the day is over, the same students go back home and face the hard reality of life. They rejoin their families, their communities, the communities that are still polarized, due to the legacy of the past. They go back to the townships, to poverty stricken societies. And they continue to ask themselves some questions. All I see is a ticking bomb that is waiting to explode, and it is just a matter of time before it does. And that is cultural war.”
Solutions

"Some of the schools have already started promoting cultural festivals. These festivals help in promoting cultural awareness, and are enforcing cultural pride within the previously marginalized communities. Some schools, however, are resisting these cultural activities, mainly because they don't understand their importance, or mainly because they still uphold their stereotypes and prejudices."

"Schools need to revisit the traditions they have upheld for so long, and swift with times.....for racial integration to take place, there should be no resistance to change".

"We all 'fear' the change. But, we need to ask ourselves whether it is worth preserving what has let us down as a nation. If schools cannot break away from traditions, and embrace everyone, I see a war, and it is a war of trying to show others the 'I' also counts. It is a 'cultural war'."

"Schools need to allow students to reconnect themselves with their roots (traditions) without being prejudiced or looked down upon."

"'Arts and Culture is a new learning area in grade R to grade 9. It is a very informative learning area that arouses cultural awareness, and I think it should be extended to grades 10, 11 and 12 and universities as well"."
Competencies

“As an educator in an integrated school, you need firstly, to understand where your students come from. You need to understand the history of South Africa. You need to understand the social imbalances that were created by our bitter past. Yes! We can’t undo the past, but at least we can build our future together.”

“An educator should understand the culture of his/her pupils. Most of the educators feel that pupils of different cultures don’t respect them. A culture is a very sensitive issue. If an educator steps over the line, obedience is unlikely to be earned by that educator. Therefore, educators need to be workshopped and sensitized about cultures. This is an aspect that integrated schools have overlooked. Maybe, research essays should be directed at addressing the issue of cultural differences in integrated schools. I am sure academics and researchers will be startled on what their research might find.”

“History, cultures and tradition are entities that cannot be divorced from education. If our curriculum doesn’t address those, I’m afraid we are trying to put a plaster over the cracks”.

Educator 6

Experiences

“The younger learners mix more easily, though in my registration classes the races still keep to their own. The black boys, especially, do not take kindly to being instructed by a white
woman. The black boys seem to target white girls socially rather than vice versa. They do tend to be insulting in their own language once they know you do not understand”.

Problems

“The presence of black pupils makes for a far noisier school. They do tend to speak more loudly, behave more boisterously and generally move around in noisy groups. There is reluctance to pay for things like civvies day. The money is given by the parents, but is spent at the tuckshop. Incorrect names and phone numbers are often given when apprehended”.

Solutions

“The isiZulu language instructors can do a great deal to guide their learners as to acceptable norms of behaviour”.

Competencies

“Patience and an interest in the background of learners from a different race group.”

“Intolerance of name-calling.”

“Learning their language.”


Experiences

"Sports like rugby always had white first team coaches at school. I was the first non-white 1st team rugby coach. I had to prove myself first. It took longer than I expected."

Specific problems

"Black pupils are loud in terms of the manner of the way they speak to each other, support at sports events and socialise at the tuckshop. Non-white teachers battle to get accustomed to this."

Solutions

"Educate teachers on the differences in the different cultures."

"Teachers need to associate outside the classroom with different cultural groups especially in sport."

"Teachers are not doing sport and school related activities anymore-hence a lack of interaction with pupils."

Specific competencies

"Racial tolerance, an open mind and a willingness to be part of the New South Africa. We cannot live in the past. We need to accept matters and move on."
4.2.2.1 Emergent themes

Experiences of and problems with integration

Not much integration

- "I don't feel there has been much integration at my school. The ethos is predominantly white Christian."
- "In the classroom, the races divide and sit on different sides of the classroom. If I move the pupils around, they soon gravitate back to their friends of the same race."
- "On the surface, one might feel there is integration, but it doesn't go very deep."
- "One notices that in many cases (both inside and outside the classroom) where black students will not mix."
- "One finds groups of 4 or 5 students in one part of a classroom (of one race group)."
- "Over the past years I have seen pupils of different races battling or trying so hard to adopt the notion of racial integration."
- "The younger learners mix more easily, though in my classes the races still keep to their own."
- "Unfortunately black teachers have not integrated well into the staff. They keep much to themselves. Our male isiZulu teacher has a Master's degree and is a highly educated man with whom we could be more friendly, but the opportunity has not arisen."
- "The situation has not been helped by having a female teacher who has been repeatedly away from school for months on end. It causes teachers to become resentful of all the butting which results."
Cultural differences and lack of cultural diversity

• "The assemblies don’t really cater for diversity or difference."
• "Cultural differences are the major issue among race groups."
• "Often a lack of respect for differences."
• "Lack of respect for each others cultural values."
• "I’m seeing a war called “cultural war.”"

Racial issues

• "I believe the race issue lives just under the surface all the time."
• "...very defensive of their race."
• "Use of black/white terminology."
• "Blaming of race groups for past and present situations."
• "Occasionally racist comments are made from one group to another."

Language problems

• "Black boys tend to be insulting in their own language, once they know you do not understand."
• "The issue of language is a BIG one. Black kids speak in their home language (loudly) and right across the classroom. This is the single biggest obstacle to integration."
Loudness among black learners

- "Volume! Black kids make far more noise even in simple conversation than white kids. It is however, not a malevolent noise, it is good natured."
- "The presence of black pupils makes for a far noisier school. They tend to speak more loudly...and generally move around in noisier groups."
- "Black pupils are loud in terms of manner of the way they speak to each other, support at sports events and socialize at tuckshop. Non-white teachers battle to get accustomed to this."
- "Cultural characteristics (tone down loudness) for effective learning."

Lack of cooperation

- "When pupils have to bring equipment (for role play etc.) from home, it is by and large the black kids who don't. This again causes impatience and resentment when it concerns groups being let down. This hardens race attitudes."

Grading of classes

- "In the grading of classes along lines of academic ability, it is predominantly white pupils who are in the top classes. This presents a problem for integration, as there is a perceived idea that black pupils are less capable. In assessment of written work, the problem is assessing pupils around their use of English. In written work it is the expression of the ideas, not the ideas that disadvantages black students. With this perception of academic ability comes behavioural attitudes and impatience on both
sides. Academic capability or lack of is seen as a race issue (I think by teachers as well!).”

Theft

- “I think white people perceive black people to have a diminished sense of guilt and conscience. Theft is more common amongst black kids than white. Trust is borne out of experience and too often cellphone theft can be traced to a black kid.”

Questions not answered – no preparation for integration

- “These students/ pupils begin to unearth or discover the truth. The truth that, in fact, there is no such thing as a superior race. They ask themselves some questions. And there is no one in schools who is there to answer those questions. Everyone is expecting them to integrate with people of other races very much easier”.

- “No one dares to stand up and address the injustices of the past. No one tells them that what happened in the past was wrong. Everyone is afraid to speak out, and we expect our pupils to automatically adapt to this so-called ‘new dispensation’.”

Polarised societies

- “When the day is over, the same students go back home and face the hard reality of life. They rejoin their families, their communities, the communities that are still polarized, due to the legacy of the past. They go back to the townships, to poverty
stricken societies. And they continue to ask themselves some questions. All I see is a
ticking bomb that is waiting to explode, and it is just a matter of time before it does.
And that is 'cultural war'.”

Possible solutions

Self-empowerment and working together

- “One approach is for all stakeholders, including students to take ownership of the
goals of education and the future of the country/economy as a whole.”
- “Put aside selfish desires and agree that together we will all work towards doing our
best, not only for ourselves, but also those around us.”
- “It simply amounts to embracing the boundaries that are around us and making the
most of every situation.”
- “Students need to look forward, with all students of all races and forget the past pains
of apartheid (or at least try to allow themselves to become emotionally detached from
that pain).”

Parents’ role

- “Parents can help students to try to be more positive about the present and future (not
an easy task).”
- “Better learning at home and work ethic of many pupils that come from
underprivileged backgrounds.”
Extracurricular activities/classroom activities

- "Sport will allow all races to compete and excel on an equal footing. It gives everyone an opportunity to become the best that they can be. It will reduce the barriers and establish a common goal. A strong sense of unity can develop along with a genuine respect for each other."
- "Academics give bright children the chance to excel and therefore gain the respect of their peers. In my Science class one of the brightest kids is a black child and the others are proud of him and in no way resent him."

Cultural awareness/role of schools

- "Some of the schools have already started promoting cultural festivals. These festivals help in promoting cultural awareness, and are enforcing cultural pride within the previously marginalized communities."
- "Some schools, however, are resisting these cultural activities, mainly because they don’t understand their importance, or mainly because they still uphold their stereotypes and prejudices."
- "Arts and Culture is a new learning area in grade R to grade 9. It is a very informative learning area that arouses cultural awareness, and I think it should be extended to grades 10, 11 and 12 and universities as well."
- "Schools need to allow students to reconnect themselves with their roots (traditions) without being prejudiced or looked down upon."
- "More effective laws at school, to deal with racial issues."
Willingness to change

- "We all ‘fear’ the change. But, we need to ask ourselves whether it is worth preserving what has let us down as a nation. If schools cannot break away from traditions, and embrace everyone, I see a war, and it is a war of trying to show others the ‘I’ also counts. It is a “cultural war.”

- "Racial tolerance, an open mind and a willingness to be part of the New South Africa. We cannot live in the past. We need to accept matters and move on.”

- "Schools need to revisit the traditions they have upheld for so long, and swift with times…..for racial integration to take place, there should be no resistance to change.”

Specific competencies for teachers

- “Effective learning and teaching skills to incorporate all cultural groups.”

- “One needs very good skills in handling conflict.”

- “Students also need constant encouraging (all races) – many have very poor self-images.”

- “The modern teacher has a tough job keeping it all together.”

- “Educate teachers on the differences in the different cultures.”

- “Teachers need to associate outside the classroom with different cultural groups especially in sport.”

- “Teachers are not doing sport and school related activities anymore-hence a lack of interaction with pupils.”

- “As an educator in an integrated school, you need firstly, to understand where your students come from. You need to understand the history of South Africa.”
• “You need to understand the social imbalances that were created by our bitter past. Yes! We can’t undo the past, but at least we can build our future together.”

• “An educator should understand the culture of his/her pupils. Most of the educators feel that pupils of different cultures don’t respect them. A culture is a very sensitive issue. If an educator steps over the line, obedience is unlikely to be earned by that educator. Therefore, educators need to be workshopped and sensitised about cultures. This is an aspect that integrated schools have overlooked. Maybe, research essays should be directed at addressing the issue of cultural differences in integrated schools. I am sure academics and researchers will be startled on what their research might find.”

• “History, cultures and tradition are entities that cannot be divorced from education. If our curriculum doesn’t address those, I’m afraid we are trying to put a plaster over the cracks.”

• “To be able to speak isiZulu.”

• “The isiZulu language instructors can do a great deal to guide their learners as to acceptable norms of behaviour.”

4.2.3 Focus group interviews

4.2.3.1 Emergent themes

Responses from learners in respect of the problems they experienced with integration were categorized into the following core themes:
Lack of respect among learners

- "I think people don’t respect each other”.
- "It’s respect, it’s respect”

In-group pressure

- "...which means that there has to be this loyalty type of thing, to my race group.”
- “So it’s back to what **** said, I don’t want to be judged by the group so I’d rather just ...go with the flow. You have to: otherwise you get judged, even in your own group.”
- “So now I go and I hang out with ****, and people like that who aren’t Indian, but then, other people look at you hanging out with white people and say, “They white, what are you doing and you just like well....”
- "****and ****” and I were eating a packet of chips together, our hands in the chips packet. A black chick....they won’t allow me to do it in front of their friends here. (back at school after the Business Economics trip) We won’t eat chips together.”
- “But it’s just a whole group of them that’s why they have to be like....oh! It’s a whole group of us, you know we don’t want to look bad in front of our friends, we not going to apologise and stuff like that.”
- “But the problem is if you look at it properly, we are all sheep. My friend says I hate that name, so I hate that name too. And I don’t even know the person. ‘cos I want you to be my friend and I don’ want you to reject me.”
• "...They're a group of them, that's why they like taking ****'s sister on, and taking us on. There was like fifteen of them standing there...that's why they didn't apologise."

Stereotypes and assumptions

• "I think the problem we have is that we don't realise that being a certain colour doesn't mean you behave a certain way...you can't say he's black so he's going to act like a gangster."
• "And he's white he's going to be all prim and proper. It's who you are, a colour doesn't class you."
• "So it's back to stereotypes, everything is about stereotypes."
• "Like my boyfriend's cousin was stabbed on Saturday night and then. like he's coloured so he must have been stabbed by another coloured, and I'm like, no it was a white guy who stabbed him. geez. white people don't carry knives...that's what the coloureds do."
• "It's what black people do"
• "**** is white, he's rich. **** is coloured, oh no! she comes from a violent family. yet she's prim and proper."
• "Being a certain colour doesn't mean you act in a certain way. I'm coloured.....I don't see why being a darker skin allows you to act like a hooligan. Being an Indian doesn't mean you lie."
• "He's black so he doesn't work."
• "The whole stealing thing in our school. Every time it's a black person."
• "People are saying that it’s because you white, or white people have the best things, it’s not because you white, its what you done in life to make your life more……”

• “If one little thing happens I remember that….if its got to do with race…..e.g. someone got robbed by a black person, I clutch my bag close to me….Then all black people are robbers. I don’t ask why? I make it worse by being prejudiced. People get offended when you clutch your bag….You must look at your own behaviour!”

Racist acts

• “Those people kicking the ball were black people, so they were like oh! Fine I kicked the ball and it hit a white person. I saw them laugh, when they kicked her in her face….they were laughing ‘cos they didn’t care. If it hit **** or me **** (blacks) they would be like ‘oh! I’m sorry it was a mistake.’”

• “Because of this whole I’m black, you’re white thing, so it’s only because of that I am not going to apologise to you. If I apologise to you, you white, that means I am lowering my soul. I’m not black anymore. I’m siding your side. I’m siding white people.”

• “They push you, do whatever to you. they can even take rotten apples or rotten food that’s on the ground and hit you with it and they will laugh.”

• “….two weeks back, hitting black people in the grounds and splashing them with water and what not. After school they throw water balloons only to black people down there ‘cos they know black people will rush down to the bus after school.”

• “Just because we are black we are being provoked. so we stand up for ourselves. If they going to come try conflict with us.”
• "And you know, actually they are scared, so it's more like a black pupil is by herself today so let's go knock her down."

• "The matrics...white guys, I promise you, if you black just know it, move away don't try and be strong....its either you pushed down the stairs; I mean I fell, like rolled down the stairs. They have a thing that you black, so you, you just nothing."

Cultural barriers

• "...you see it's a cultural barrier. We don't know enough about each other."

• "We have no understanding of each other's culture, therefore there's no respect e.g. my culture is better than blacks....he's killed chickens and makes sacrifices etc."

• "If you don't understand culture you can't respect the culture or the person. You also make assumptions. It also leads to stereotypes."

• "We all trying to adapt in the 21st century. Slowly we gonna have to break down cultural barriers."

Labelling and name-calling

• "He went to pupils saying. "I am going to kill you 'kaffir'. I am going to kill you kaffir."

• "It's just a joke, ya! But that kind of thing he says things and expects to get away with it. that is his problem...."

• "...he'll take a black person on one-on-one. He'll be like, 'oh! Keep quiet. your dad's doing my dishes. He means it like a joke and the black guy takes it. and there's so much you can take...At one point I have to say, 'slow down. it's actually getting a bit
much. So in jest he says hurtful things...and the black guy says, ‘oh! ‘cos I’m black’, that becomes a stereotype comment.”

**Language differences**

- “Language is a problem. ....If you had 15 guys speaking a completely different language to you, you immediately on a different level. And now you upset, they’re laughing. They could be saying things in isiZulu and you have no idea what they are saying. You could interpret this....they chirping me, is it ‘cos I’m white...”
- “…An interpreter is crucial, because then suddenly everything becomes neutral again...”
- “…to get people to tolerate the language barriers. We say something and people think we talking about them...”

**Fear**

- “It’s all about fear really. I fear another culture might intrude on mine. Therefore, I refuse to understand or refuse to learn so I can keep mine the way it is. Instead of uniting, we segregate. There is a fear if I accept ****’s mine changes. I fear change.”
- “We fear going and learning across the borders.”

**Unwillingness to change “We all in boxes/comfort zones”**

- “That comes back to my box theory. We all in a boxes, where basically it’s like a comfort zone and we refuse to leave that comfort zone purely on the fact if we leave
we might be judged both by other boxes and our own box. So we prefer to stay loyal
to our own group, we prefer to respect our own group. No matter what that means. So
whether that means like the ball incident, if you have to laugh at others, then we will
do that.”

• “I am able to talk the same language as my group and that makes me comfortable. I
can talk slang, we share the same jokes, we share the same interests and we refuse to
let go, you know. We refuse to learn about other groups.”

• “We have this fear of being judged if we leave the box.”

• “Ya, they like the way they live and that’s the way perhaps they want to keep it. And
if I change, I am scared of what changes I will have to make.”

• “You see I read this book “Who moved my cheese”. This is exactly the same thing,
where you refuse to change. And even if the cheese is rotten, you don’t move my
cheese, you just leave it where it is! …suddenly your cheese runs out, suddenly your
cheese moves. You have to find new cheese, but you refuse! You in denial. You say
‘No, I am not going to change, someone else will change and bring my cheese back.’”

• “We don’t want to change. We want to continue on our paths.”

Family influence

• “You see I believe it comes down to a past as well. Your family is your biggest
influence, your parents are your biggest influence…they are your biggest influence.
Perhaps, if they’re racist, you have a good chance of being racist. And this is a
problem, you know.”

• “…because my dada comes to me and says…don’t worry about white people, they
only know how to pretend…what not.”
• “Because of our parents we don’t hang out together and get to know each other. I know **** is not liar…..parents need to understand being a certain colour doesn’t mean you are a certain way.”

• “If you tell them, this is what ****’s dad (white) does. He allows him to go to the Pavilion till 11pm. Automatically **** becomes a bad influence. He’s white, therefore he is a bad influence.”

• “Our parents don’t want to adjust. ‘I lived this way through apartheid. If you Indian you have to live in Phoenix…you bargain. If you black you will always work for a white person.”

• “Parents hold grudges…I work so hard…whites don’ even have matric”

• “It doesn’t give me a right to say **** is white and I must dislike him because of what his forefathers did…going back to stereotyping…”

• “My parents are very racist, but they don’t show it. My dad will never change. He says he hates blacks and whites. If he goes to a friend’s braai and I ask if it was a friend he would say. ‘not my friend, a colleague’ Dad holds grudges.”

• “I wasn’t there during apartheid, but things are portrayed to us. Whites totally as wrong people. I don’t know what happened. I hear what they say. We poor because of whites. No! We once had land that we owned; now we don’t own it anymore. In our world we are suffering. I go to a black school because of you....”

• “Parents need to accept the changes and educate us....”

• “They don’t want to let go of the past. In apartheid we lived like this, in segregation, so why not continue....”

• “We go home and spend the evening with our parents who might be racist ....”

• “My dad says white people will never be a friend to a black person. They don’t smile. they smirk..............I don’t see that....but I just listen to you....”
• “Parents come with baggage from the past. We are not connecting because we are on about the baggage. ....always complaining, ‘he’s racist, I’m racist, he’s black.......just let it go. Rather you know that that’s in the past.”

Unfairness and discrimination among teachers

• “...Some teachers...in some cases they plainly attack..... because of racial groups. Like you find there’s a whole classroom..... there’ll be white people and black people and everyone is talking..., but they go straight to the black people, they always start with the black people, they start separating the black people and then when the white people talk they say, ‘keep quiet’ or ‘do something’ but nothing else happens....”

• “...teachers....they make it too obvious that they are not yet comfortable with us being in their school. Like Mrs**** read a book to us and ...replaced ‘kaffir chicken with ‘native chicken’. She made it so obvious she was uncomfortable with the whole thing.”

• “But I think somehow we need to sort it out with teachers....think about it....if you see a white teacher treat a black person badly, what do you think you treat them like? Just as badly because a teacher is a role model.......She’s white, she’s allowed to do that, I’m white I’m allowed to do that.”

• ‘Teachers must be fair. If we say to them they are being unfair they say, ‘it’s an unfair world, darling! What are they there for. if teachers can’t make things fair?’

• “When you teach or look at me, don’t look at me as a black. Use merit.”

• “It is a racial problem. Whatever happens to a white kid in the school is a big thing. They put the name in the papers, get announced. I put the school name in the papers but never, ever was recognized. Some don’t even know.”
• "...because of the acting-prefect thing my friends are not talking to me now."

• "...The black kids never queried the acting prefects' thing. They waiting for us to come, we not going to come and argue, we not gonna. They not gonna make us acting prefects or prefects anyway. If we felt we were gonna be prefects we would have gone."

• "The rule changes with respect to whose breaking it. If a black breaks the rule, straight to detention. If a final warning is given he will be expelled. If a white breaks the rule, it is, don't do it again, please."

• "**** (a white boy) has had 3-4 final warnings, but **** is white. He is racist, passes racial comments. Everything is race, race, race. His last final warning was for a racial issue-he had a tribunal for it. He was suspended for a week. Come on, please that's like a vacation. He comes back; he's learnt nothing from it."

• "In school let's say we all change, but if the teachers are no where near changing, forget it. We can change on the grounds and be all 'lovey, 'dovey'. on the field, come in the class....."

**Interracial relationships**

• "When I was going out with *** last year, it was never a single rumour going around (he's white). Then when I am going out with **** and he's coloured, you must hear the stuff that goes around .....Why did you break up with ****, why you with a coloured....I heard you pregnant....leaving school to have a baby with him. When I was with **** and he was white, it was like there was no problem...."
Polarised societies/no guidelines for integrated schooling

- “I think the problem is.....we’ve had interracial schools for twelve years, I think when it started they didn’t give us a program to work on. They just kind of put us together”

- “They just put us together and didn’t say, ‘O.K. There will be differences. They didn’t give us a guideline on how to go through it, and now its twelve years later, it’s kind of a bit too late because we lived with it since apartheid....we don’t know how to get rid of these underlying issues.”

- “After apartheid we stayed in our same places which were segregated at the time. So we were only living with Indians, only living with blacks, only living with whites. As soon as someone from the Indian community ventures out.....’cos the Indian areas are not so good.......we want to move to top class white areas.....So then you move to **** and go to **** High, you going to a majority of white pupils....you slowly have to integrate yourself into the system and work your way up. The small group goes to the small Indian group and start clinging with them ‘cos they were from like the same neighbourhood, background.”

Lack of communication by the school

- “The school keeps us in the dark. We then make an assumption which adds to the fear. They need to be more open. When something bad happens, tell us exactly what happened....”

- “Because we did not know what happened to **** I thought. ‘all coloured people are psycho. they try to kill themselves and all library monitors are freaks who look at
child porn, because that is what **** did. That’s what the rumour is now! There is stereotyping.

- “Five stories in one day about ****! Imagine that! Keeping us in the dark. Making us assume and think what we want to think.”

- “We need a lot more communication between teachers and students.”

Responses from learners in respect of the solutions for positive integration were categorized into the following core themes:

**Intergroup communication/information-sharing about culture**

- “Yesterday in L.O they asked me about virginity and the Reed Dance. It opened their minds.”

- “Sharing the information created an understanding which changed what we thought. Breaking the stereotype is what happened. She shared it, the stereotype breaks.”

- “I think we lost that, we don’t find out enough about each other on a personal level. that’s what’s missing!”

- “If ****’s parents come I’ll call them mum and dad, that’s how we portray respect. She however, cannot call someone else ‘mum’ because her mum is sacred to her. We spoke about it. I understand her now and she understands me.”

- “When I first came to school Mrs **** said I was so rude I couldn’t look at her in the eye. I am not allowed to look at her in the eye. I have to bend and smile. It’s a cultural thing. I told Miss ****, she said, ‘I understand where you come from, but they won’t understand, so adapt….I did but I still look maybe at the forehead.’
Open debates and communication

- "We need debates...little topics to address the race issue."
- "Have a group discussion for a month or so once a week."
- "We get along better in a relaxed, open discussion. ... Many boundaries are broken."
- "I've just realized we don't have a racial issue in this room, when I go outside I won't feel intimidated. This is an open environment and we need to create that."
- "Everything is sugar-coated. We never tell it straight. We need to stop beating about the bush, put it straight, 'We have common problems with racism, let's talk about it. A really racist black or white may end up finding places where you meet up in the end!'"
- "...Sitting down and talking and being open with teachers....The reason we don't trust and have walls is we left in the dark."

Working as a team towards a common goal/interests

- "The 'Let's play campaign'-working towards a common goal. When we play, get everyone to play sport. Immediately everyone is equal. You want to win a game."
- "You share a common love of soccer or cricket. Immediately you connect. There's no longer the judgmental aspect. Immediately you just 12 guys playing soccer...it's good fun..."
- "That's why sport was compulsory in grade 8 and 9, not anymore. It's easier to make friends that way. It really doesn't matter what colour you are".
• "You have a common interest, it's easy to connect. The common interest is what we need. You need everyone to come and watch...appreciate what the guys can do, it benefits the whole team."

• "To build respect we need everyone to come together."

• "We all work towards a common goal, we won't go against each other 'cos we want to win the game."

• "You need to involve yourself more. There's no 'I' in team. You will have to compromise, it can't always be your way....you have to tolerate."

• "If you have guys going in different directions you far away from the goal. You have to strive for the goal and use each others strengths and tolerate weaknesses."

• "Everyone must be brought together on the basis of interests. Start interest groups. Don't fill the 'box' with 'race' but with common interests. You won't have to hang out with someone because you have to, but because of common interests."

• "The more you exposed to students and more interests, the more commonalities....the more you get to know each other. Hey I like that! you say."

• "You make extramurals compulsory..."

• "We don't realize we share common goals....we all want to make money, we all want to make money, satisfy our hierarchy of needs...."

• "You can't bring somebody down, 'cos its gonna affect the whole team so you support and encourage one another."

Need for more contact

• "We need more contact with each other, so you need to get involved in things with each other instead of just....I think your school life becomes a bigger picture as well."
• “You need to get involved with your school because this is where it all changes, this is where it changes. I mean if I go home everyday straight after school at 2 o’ clock I’m never going to get to know everyone, whereas if you get involved in sport, cultural activities, things like that, suddenly you start to meet new people, suddenly you start to connect on a higher level...you get to know them on a social level.....where you just see things from a neutral perspective.”

• “....then when you actually come into contact with them you say, hold on! Was that true? And suddenly you just find things that were all just rumours.”

• “And suddenly you start to realize that hey! No! This is actually a load of bull you know. They are actually exactly the same as me, you know...”

• “Exactly, similarities are important, if you don’t establish similarities then you will never get to know anyone new, and this is important.”

• “I agree with ****, coming into contact, I mean we spend 6 hours at school and 1 hour of sport after school. We should be more in contact....”

• “We need more interaction with each other 'cos we don’t know each other. It’s all about spending time. It is the biggest influence.”

Contact outside school

• “We need to learn about each other. Not in a school environment.”

• “....at school in uniform, you have a boring routine......no-one gets to see the 'real' you...”

• “I agree completely. school’s not where you can express yourself....When taken out of the school environment (where you cannot express yourself or show all your interests or every side....)”
• “If we want to solve respect. It starts here. We need time with each other, not in school environment. That’s not time! Look at **** in a school uniform. I don’t know what he wears on week-ends. It’s a form of expression. I want to see them express themselves.”

• “…more interaction, it’s a big influence.”

Ways to facilitate contact

Trips/ outings

• “Suddenly when you taken out of the school environment, on a school trip you suddenly realize, ‘hey! **** is just like me, let’s go do something together. We are so much alike and we didn’t realize it. Purely because we don’t even give each other a second look (because of the colour thing, seriously, we don’t give each other a second look.)”

• “…all could see another part of us, we can’t see in school because there we were not school kids…we were all together not following school rules.”

• “On the Business Economics trip we sat together on the bus for three hours…in the traffic for two hours…we all sat together.”

• “We spent so much time with each other on the trip. We got to know each other; we got to understand each other…”

• “Time was important….also no other alternative or influences…”

• “Change in scenery. O.K. here in KZN there’s segregation, black, white but there all the KZN people now in Jo’burg. we stick together”
• “Us **** kids changed so much. Every kid picked up papers with him. I didn’t expect it. We all felt his pain....it happened automatically.”

• “We all were together, all happy....”

• “Going to Jo’burg, 50 of us...together, huddled together, we think the same things, and everyone wants to have fun...”

• “**** chased me (a black girl) in Gold Reef City, the waiters watched. He chased me all the way down. ‘I want you to buy me KFC pops.’”

• “We need tours together. I want to go on a tour with ****, go to the beach and have fun. We need more interaction with each other.”

• “On the Business Economics trip (not all Indians, whites, blacks do B.E), whether we liked it or not we were thrown together with these mixed groups. You had to integrate or you’d be alone at Monte Casino, or alone at Gold Reef City.”

• “We were in Jo’burg......we had only 50 of us to lean on. to rely on and fall back on. Human nature is such we are social creatures, not one to isolate ourselves. You make do with what we have.”

• “If we had a camp at school-all the grade elevens together. We wake up on a Monday morning together-see the most beautiful thing, get connected. spend time. and get to know one another. See I’m not all Indian/ black.”

• “**** and I planned a singing competition. He was a white guy that came up to me. I didn’t expect it.”

• “When we come back here. we go back to our separate ways. ‘cos we in school.”

• “On the trip all were together. everyone clinging to everyone. There was something different.”

• “....because you not judged anymore by your own. you out of your comfort zone.”
Orientation Day

- "Do you remember Orientation day for grade eight. They got us into teams. We spent 2 days together as a grade. We were mixed together; therefore we are so strong as a grade."
- "We are the only grade that tolerates each other."
- "We all got to know each other. We all had to spend time together. You couldn’t choose our groups. You were put into groups with races mixed together, and we just got along."
- "We literally 1 Indian in the group. We were thrown together. We had no choice and you didn’t want to isolate yourself. You’re in grade eight and there are the matrics! You got to get along."
- "We need more orientation for new grade eights. Start them from the beginning. Because we became united, bonds broke. We were all thrown in and became friends."
- "...Mix people up, you tend to find once together, the whole thing turns around. I get to see the real side of me...."
- "During orientation, when you in a mixed group **** (coloured girl) will pick me up. **** (black girl) will pick me up. My Indian friends are in the other group."
- "Orientation day works..."
- "Bring orientation back."
Exchange Programmes

- “On a practical level, we should have an exchange programme. One person starts the change.”
- “...In grade eleven fifty kids go at a time over four weeks. They come back—have a conference. Sit in a circle, not rows so you can’t hide away, you end up talking.”
- “Ask them, ‘What did you guys see. One starts talking then others talk. Communication is triggered—and everyone is talking.”
- “If you take a bunch, choose a rep. from each school to report back to the school, grade or headmaster. ...children talking to children...not an adult....what they’ve learnt and transmit it.”

Language

- “About language, it’s plain down respect (black learner). I know **** (Indian learner) can’t speak isiZulu. so why am I speaking isiZulu in front of her? Straightaway if I speak isiZulu and laugh, we might be saying a joke....why in front of her? Why not speak English, so everyone can understand me?”
- “This is an English school. Respect a common language. If I’m among non-isiZulus...I shouldn’t speak isiZulu, it’s uncalled for.”
- “I must respect and accept that I’m in a white school. so why push things that shouldn’t be done....can’t say. I’m black so I should speak isiZulu.”
- “**** Primary School. has a black principal. His policy is if you black and speak isiZulu or Indian and speak Hindi, you will get detention. You in an English school, you speak English.”
Relevant Education

• "We need a new form of education, drastic measures!"

• "...learning stuff that is totally irrelevant. We must learn how to think in a realistic way about the future."

• "This is a 1960s blazer but we hold on to it in 2006, hanging on-generation after generation changes but the education system is the same."

• "When taught History, don’t tell us all apartheid did was segregate, some died for the struggle. They didn’t fight to get whites off the land, but for equality. We don’t get that. Now we want to be better than whites. We tend to hear what we want to hear."

• "There are always two sides to a story, they don’t tell us that. They saw a future here, to prosper us."

• "Change the style of thinking, it must change."

• "Let the government give us a syllabus. In History talk about Jan van Riebeeck etc in their own way, cos the teachers are limited.....everything in a box."

• "It’s important to learn about South African history, but not the same way."

• "In History we learn about the Treaty of Versailles, in grade nine...in grade eleven they broaden it....come on! It’s irrelevant. you going no where!"

• "Our syllabus should be changed to learn how to deal with racism now... Teach us how to deal with racism."

• "Teach us how to cope. but don’t give us what we want to hear or what we expect to hear. Say it as it is."

• "Tell us exactly what happened and why it happened. Tell us the truth-not just white people were bad."
• "When we did CTAs in grade nine, we did South African culture, isiZulu culture. We learnt more about each other then than we ever did. The CTAs were based on South African races. The government forced us to learn about each others culture, it made me understand and accept more."

• "Even if its films with racism or culture it breaks down cultural barriers e.g. Tsotsi."

• "We had no choice but to watch ‘Tsotsi’. First everyone complained about the subtitles, they did not understand the language. By the end everyone was wow! The subtitles were immaterial."

• "We learnt how people in Soweto have to deal with life. Previously we would think Soweto is dodgy. We saw how they live every single day. It’s really not their fault. Their environment and circumstances make them who they are”

• "If we could see that with everything else....If they could show us the other side.”

• "What I hate is the fact that our past is not just about black people. Show us the other side too.”

• "Cater for all the different races.”

• "I always ask teachers why this happened. They can’t tell us why it happened. They NEVER tell us why. We want to try to understand what went through their brains.”

• "When it comes to world history we get ‘why’ answered, but South African history ....the ‘why’ we don’t know.”

• “But we’ve moved on.....I don’t want to learn about Jan van Riebeeck....but about the 1990s.”
Forced integration

• “The reason why apartheid was so successful was that it was compulsory. If you had apartheid compulsory but you left integration optional.....left it to us. It should be forced. If you don’t.....then detention”

• “In a school situation (I saw this on a movie) a black school and a white school had just integrated. The coach took a black kid and a white kid and paired them and forced them to find out 5 things about each race group. If they did not they were punished....He forced them to learn. No-one likes to be punished. Pairing across the race groups....like team building.

Teachers and authority figures

• “There’s one of them and thirty you. You overrule the teachers easily! You overrule the teachers easily! If he or she does not agree on a racist issue you be like oh! No-ways bro! We all agree with each other. It’s all about you.”

• “We just students...the teachers are here, they have some higher power.....We are the majority...900 plus and only about 40 teachers. It’s up to us as students if the teachers don’t change.”

• The war is not with each other it’s with the teachers. They are still the adults but are caught up in this ‘little thing’. They the minority...not there forever.”

• “Things are changing, we must accept it and grow with it. We’re the next generation of adults. Their time is out.”

• “How much respect you give Mrs **** (teacher) or Mrs **** (principal)? She (teacher) doesn’t respect us.”
• "We feel more respect for the principal than the teachers. If there is something important racially, e.g. severe punishment, the principal should come personally and talk to us in front of everyone, not the teachers!"

• "If Mrs **** (principal) says it's an English school, no-one must feel segregated...but the teacher is still racist/boer and digs everyone...if the teacher doesn't mean it and feel it we won't listen."

• "The principal enforces it to the teachers and the teachers enforce it to the kids, if the foundation is not working the whole house collapses."

• "In the black school even if an old man is the principal and he says you can't come late, or have untidy uniforms because there are consequences, they know the principal will give ten shots on the hands if you late. That's why black kids shoes shine and they prim and proper."

• "The teachers are here to guide us, they are responsible partly. They are with you seven hours every day. Put rules in place and seriously if you have a firm rule, who will not adhere to it?"

• "We've lost discipline. The majority of children don't listen...they have attitude. Teachers need to work on that. If there is a racial dispute, the teacher doesn't solve it"

Learners' initiatives

• "Who's in charge of newsletters? Why can't we do it? We write what we want. Students should have input."

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• "The senior staff always gets preference over us. To solve it take it upon yourself. Come up with your own school magazine where we recognize each other. Staff always acknowledge all the time."

• "Student-teacher relationships are blurred here...not a firm boundary in place."

• "We trying to get a debating team together, but the teachers won't help us. We can solve it by compromise, take money from sport and share it."

• "We wanted to host a variety concert, they said, 'no'."

• "They can’t take away someone’s right to try e.g. the debating team and variety concert."

• "Allow the students to do it e.g. TADA ...the students do everything. We’ll do it ourselves."

Accept differences

• "Understand where I am coming from and don’t change me."

• "You must know and be proud of being black or Indian.....don’t be racist. we have no right!"

• "We don’t have to change anyone to live our lives, but accept each other within our boundaries. I don’t think everyone understands that."

• "We don’t want to change each other but understand each other; we want to continue on our own paths."
Mentorship programmes

- “Mentors should be attached to you from grade 8. How many have a mentor from a different race mentor. Whites with whites, Indians with Indians, blacks with blacks. It doesn’t help in any way.”
- “If your mentor is from a different race, that’s cool. The mentor should be stuck with us, not just for 5 minutes a day. That will help to get rid of racial boundaries from grade 8.”
- “…we take care of the respect thing which ultimately makes us closer, no assumptions; no stereotypes...we know each other personally.”
- “At the onset of high school, mentorship should happen across the grades...the mentor owns the mentee...I have seen it work at ****.”

Group work/projects

- “Do group work and force people together.”
- “projects at school......teachers ask. ‘Shall I choose your partners or do you guys want to......We want to choose someone we know or associate with. They should choose and mix us up.”

More life orientation lessons

- “These lessons should be made compulsory for all grades. We all contribute, it’s very productive recently. When you make a serious issue a little fun, people tend to contribute more.”
• “...All discuss together in a circle and report back to the class. Everyone wants to give their three cents worth and it turns into a joke and we learn more.”

Communication with parents and parent involvement

• “You need to talk to parents about racism. Bring it up! Ultimately they are your biggest influence. They really are...get enlightened on their views and decide to accept it or not.”
• “Parents don’t integrate, after a soccer match they come fetch their child and don’t talk to others and go home. Invite them to a braai afterwards. If they think we can’t play soccer they see we can play soccer.”
• “They can integrate themselves if they invited to something else.”
• “Every time there is a big match or big events like market day have a braai.”
• “Have a cocktail party for new parents.”
• “While children integrate, integrate the parents. Then you ultimately solve everything. They have a positive outlook on all the changes of integration and it’s immediately perfect. You have your own opinion and parents accept it.”
• “If ****’s dad sees that ****’s dad is a nice dad he’ll let **** and **** be friends.”
• “My dad used to be like that, he changed when I went to **** school (integrated).”

Let go of racism

• “In the whole racist issue...7 of us here have no right to be racist. We were not there so why should I be racist? What the hell am I racist for? We didn’t go through the struggle. If we want to see change, change starts with us. Let me say where I stand.”
• “I'm not gonna be racist. Let my mum, dad and grandmother be racist, but I don’t care! Me **** ‘cos I know where I want to be.”
• “Kids must make up their own minds....”

4.2.4 Observation

Observation sessions of half-an-hour each were conducted on four days, during breaks and in the morning. The researcher attempted to remain as unobtrusive as possible. The observations were as follows:

• “Racial pockets” were clearly evident on the fields, with Indian, white and black learners remaining in their own groups.
• Coloured learners tended to join the Indian groups.
• Black learners were inclined to gravitate to the periphery of the field, away from the centre, where most white and Indian learners congregated.
• In the corridors, Indian and black learners starkly clung to their own groups.
• Very few white learners were found in groups of colour.
• Noise levels on the corridors and stairways were extremely high and emanated from large groups of black learners.
4.3 Discussion of results

A discussion of the themes that emerged in respect of guidelines for racial integration (solutions to difficulties with integration) constitutes this section. It was noted that a large number of responses that emerged in the focus group interviews correlated with the themes extracted in the vignettes written by learners. There were some common themes reflected in the teachers’ responses as well.

The researcher used the phenomenological framework to analyse the responses from the vignettes, questionnaires and focus group interviews. This process resulted in a qualitative description of learners’ and teachers’ experiences of integration, as well as guidelines for positive integration in secondary schools. Following this, the researcher extracted the natural meaning units in accordance with the purpose of the research, which was to explore learners and teachers’ experiences of integration and to generate guidelines for successful integration. The natural meaning units were then transformed into psychological themes as advised by Kruger (1988).

In order to fulfil the objective of providing descriptions of experiences of integration and suggestions to improve integration, the researcher identified recurring themes among participants and arranged them into focal themes. These themes constitute the basis of the discussion that follows.

Having established the difficulties respondents experienced with integration the researcher endeavoured to ascertain what possible solutions/guidelines they perceived would contribute to a more positive outcome in respect of integrated schooling.
4.3.1 Guidelines for multicultural education

The purpose of this study is to generate guidelines for multicultural education as a corrective for interracial and intercultural conflict in integrated high schools in South Africa. The basis underpinning the intervention strategies is the contact hypothesis, which purports that contact, under specific conditions, leads to positive interracial contact. There was considerable consistency between the principles of Contact theory and the results that emerged from the study. The conditions for contact, as stipulated by the Contact Hypothesis, that are prerequisites for successful contact clearly emerged inter alia, as part of the solutions to the difficulties experienced with the integration process. Participants believed strongly that there should be equal status between groups, common goals to foster intergroup cooperation, sanction for contact by the school principal and teachers to improve interracial relationships, team work and cooperation and specific 'quality' activities rather than competition in order to promote positive integration. These results were consistent, inter alia, with a study conducted on an international education ship called Ship for World Youth (SWY) to test the underlying assumptions of the contact hypothesis (Suzuki, 2003). The overall results indicated that certain conditions did enhance the reduction of inter-group bias. In addition, the results of the study showed that there are specific activities that should be implemented to foster integration. Some of these strategies were consistent with those encountered in the literature reviewing multicultural interventions.

According to Foster (2005), separation of spaces is not good for our being, in relation to others. Participants in the study were emphatic that learners needed more contact both inside and outside the school environment. Such contact, they believed, would expose similarities between them that they would otherwise not have realised existed, as expressed by one
"And suddenly you realize that hey! No! This is a whole load of bull, you know. They are actually exactly the same as me, you know...." Another learner expressed himself as follows: "....then when you actually come into contact with them you say, hold on! Was that true? And suddenly you find things that were all rumours." Yet another learner said, "Exactly! Similarities are important. If you don't establish similarities, then you will never get to know anyone anew, and this is important."

The above sentiments expressed by the participants, in fact, reiterate the principles of the Contact Hypothesis, which is based on the premise that bringing together people who are in conflict, will result in the conflict subsiding as they get to understand one another. The more one gets to know personally, individual members of a group, the less likely one is to be prejudiced against that group. The underlying principle is that more contact between people belonging to diverse, antagonistic social groups (defined by culture, language, beliefs, skin colour etc), tends to undermine the negative stereotypes they have of each other, and to reduce the mutual antipathies, thus improving intergroup relations, by making people willing to deal with each other as equals. If people mix together, they will eventually see how similar they are, how misleading stereotypes are and how much they can benefit from peaceful exchange (Forbes, 1998). This view is consistent with Sigelman and Welch’s view (1993), which explains that direct contact produces more positive attitudes because, in the absence of such contact, people generalise and stereotype. With contact, however, myths and stereotypes can be combated and new views formed. Theorists such as Allport (1954) and Brewer and Miller (1984) have argued in support of the above views. They suggest that fairly close contact is more likely to create positive feelings than more distant contact, since high 'acquaintance potential' increases the opportunity for individuals to discover that they have similar interests, attitudes and the like. Hence, in recent years, there has been an
emphasis on creating the ideal contact situation that will improve interracial attitudes (Hewstone and Brown, 1986).

4.3.1.1 Equal status

Learners advanced the suggestion that there should be equal status between groups, in order to combat hatred and dissension between races. They indicated that teachers should treat all learners equally in respect of meting out discipline and detention. Often, learners across the race groups felt that black learners were ‘targets’ of punishment and were openly discriminated against. This resulted in antagonism against non-black learners. One learner (Indian) articulated her experiences as follows: “Some teachers plainly attack....because of racial groups. Like you find there’s a whole classroom.....there’ll be white people and black people and everyone is talking...., but they go straight to the black people. They always start with the black people, they start separating them and then when the white people talk they say, ‘keep quiet’ or ‘do something’ but nothing else happens.” Another learner expressed the problem as, “But I think somehow we need to sort it out with teachers....think about it....if you see a white teacher treat a black person badly, what do you think you treat them like? Just as badly because a teacher is a role model......She’s white, she’s allowed to do that, I’m white I’m allowed to do that.” The need for equal treatment of black learners was reiterated by other participants: “Teachers must be fair. If we say to them they are being unfair they say, ‘it’s an unfair world, darling!’ What are they there for, if teachers can’t make things fair? ‘When you teach or look at me, don’t look at me as a black. Use merit.”

A very distressing event for learners was selection for the Matric Dance Committee. It was clear that they believed that different race groups were not equally represented. Out of 40
members, 37 were white. The sentiments were that there should be equal treatment of learners of colour in the selection. The consequence was a split among the grade elevens who were described as previously been 'tight' and the 'closest', 'most tolerant' grade. A similar approach existed with selection of acting prefects. Learners believed that it was not worth their while even applying for prefectship, as the white learners would be selected in large numbers, to the exclusion of learners of colour. Even in respect of selection of acting prefects, there was racial animosity as expressed by the participants, "Because of the acting prefect thing, my friends are not talking to me now!" Another learner expressed the following sentiments. "The black kids never queried the acting prefects' thing. They're waiting for us to come, we not going to come and argue, we not gonna. They not gonna make us acting prefects or prefects anyway. If we felt we were gonna be prefects we would have gone. "New criteria should be looked at for everything."

According to Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001), the group's composition plays a key role in conflict in terms of its size and proportional representation. If one is creating a group for a project, one should try to provide equal numbers of all cultural/ethnic groups involved. For example, if a teacher has a limited number of students from ethnic minority groups, it may be better to pair them up and place them in a group with a pair of students from the ethnic majority group. The grouping helps to maintain a positive social identity for the group members and thus increase the likelihood of cooperation. In addition the group needs to be relatively small, in order to provide maximum opportunities for all members to communicate with each other, develop relationships, and learn to deal with and respect differences (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel, 2001).
Amir (1998) used an experimental approach to study inter-group contact. The study researched the effect of personal contact on attitudes and relationships of persons from disliked groups. Initial data showed that successful contact needed to be on an equal basis with initial cooperation towards a joint goal. Amir (1998) concluded that participants' attitudes towards one another do undergo some change as a result of contact. However, the contact conditions largely determine whether the change is positive.

In light of the demographics of the school, (majority white,) equal representation of race groups, rather than proportional representation should be encouraged, in order to facilitate positive feelings among learners. This principle should be applied when selecting prefects, committee members, teams e.g. debating teams etc. It is imperative that the school policies in respect of selection procedures be revisited, to take into account the racial hatred that seems to be triggered by proportional representation.

4.3.1.2 Common goals and interests

Learners believed that working towards a common goal or sharing common interests was certainly a solution to intergroup conflict. With regards to common interests, some learners' responses were, "You share a common love of soccer, or cricket, immediately you connect!". "The more you are exposed to common interests, the more commonalities you see, the more you get to know each other. Hey! I like that, you say." Teachers also felt that all stakeholders should work together towards the future of the country, and do their best for themselves and others.
Several additional advantages were advanced by the participants. Common goals create a team spirit and interdependence among group members. In addition, the focus moves away from the racial composition of the group to achieving a purpose for the group. Further, participants indicated that, whilst striving towards common goals, everyone assumes equal status, there is an immediate connection, judgemental attitudes dissipate, respect is built, there is compromise by virtue of the need to win, greater tolerance is exercised, they are exposed to more commonalities, and there is greater support and encouragement of one another. A learner articulated her sentiments as follows, “You can’t bring somebody down, ‘cos it’s gonna affect the whole team....so you support and encourage on another”. Yet another said, “If you have guys going in different directions, you’re far away from the goal. You have to strive for the goal and use each others’ strengths and tolerate weaknesses”. Seeking superordinate goals i.e. goals that are common to both parties, and transcend the immediate goals of the situation, is an effective way to improve conflict management in culturally diverse groups (Toomey-Ting and Oetzel, 2001).

4.3.1.3 Cooperation rather than competition

Team work, as opposed to competition was a solution provided by participants. Learners articulated their feelings strongly in the following comment, “There’s no ‘I’ in TEAM, you will have to compromise, it can’t always be your way.” As opposed to winning individually, they emphasised winning for the team, “We won’t go against each other, ‘cos we want to win the game.” In respect of getting into, for example, the English forum discussions, learners felt that a competitive environment was created by selecting members from the ‘A’ and ‘B’ classes mainly, thus excluding the rest of the grade. Learners felt that such selectiveness results in the exclusion of other learners and breeds hostility. The consensus was that
competition of such sorts does not improve interracial relations. Instead, it creates unpleasantness and feelings of inferiority. Such competition also engenders individualistic pressure to win rather than cooperation and team spirit. The conclusion was that team organisation provides students with a cooperative, equal status environment which fosters interracial relationships.

The most widely used team formation is that of heterogeneous teams, containing a mix of gender and ethnic diversity that reflect the classroom population. The rationale for heterogeneous groups is that they produce the greatest opportunities for peer tutoring and support as well as improving cross-race integration. Providing students with an incentive to help each other to put forward maximum effort, increases the likelihood that all group members will be involved, and mix together.

Damico et al (1981) investigated the effects of school organizational structure on interracial friendships in middle schools. They found that Caucasian children in team organised schools had significantly more interracial friendships than those in traditionally organised schools. The conclusion was that team organization provides students with a cooperative, equal status learning environment which fosters interracial relationships. Researchers set up cooperative interdependence by arranging racially mixed learning teams in English Literature in Denver (Cook, 1985). Exercises were changed from the usually individual-based, to team based. Results indicated lower racial dissension among students who were in learning teams versus others. Eleven out of thirteen similar studies showed that co-operative interdependence improved racial acceptance.
Cooperative learning has been found to enhance social interaction, which is essential to meeting the needs of minority group students (Slavin, Karweit & Madden, 1989; Johnson, 1998). Cooperative learning is a recommended teaching arrangement that refers to small, heterogeneous groups of students working together to achieve a common goal (Kagan, 1994, cited in Dotson, 2001). Students work together to learn, and are responsible for their team mates' learning, as well as their own. The basic elements are positive interdependence, which occurs when gains of individuals or teams are positively correlated, equal participation which occurs when each member of the group is afforded equal shares of responsibility and input, individual accountability which occurs when all students in a group are held accountable for doing a share of the work and for mastery of the material to be learned, and simultaneous interaction which occurs when class time is designed to allow many students' interactions during the period. The rationale for heterogeneous groups is that they produced the greatest opportunities for peer tutoring and support as well as improving cross-race integration. Providing students with an incentive to help each other to put forward maximum effort, increases the likelihood that all group members will be involved, and mix together. Cooperative learning has been found to enhance social interaction, which is essential to meet the needs of minority group students (Slavin, Karweit & Madden1989; Johnson, 1998).

Within the framework of co-operative learning groups, learners learn how to interact with their peers and increase involvement with the school community. Positive interaction may not always occur naturally, therefore social skills instruction must precede and concur with co-operative learning strategies. Social skills include communicating, building and maintaining trust, providing leadership and managing conflicts. The developmental characteristics of secondary school students make co-operative learning a good fit of strategies for the social needs in an integrated school, as well as the academic needs. Young
adolescents need to socialise, be part of a group, share feelings, receive emotional support and learn to see things from other perspectives. Cooperative learning groups do not separate learners on the basis of race, class or ethnicity. It is thus a peer-centred pedagogy that promotes and builds positive intergroup relationships.

4.3.1.4 Authority sanction for integration

Learners expressed concern that not all teachers appeared to embrace integration positively. There was an emphatic ‘demand’ by the group for learners to bypass racist teachers’ attitudes, comments and behaviours and take it upon themselves to persist in their endeavours towards positive interracial relations. There was a call for them to stand together against the racist practices of some teachers and ensure that changes occur. Furthermore, learners felt that the principal was respected far more than the teachers were, therefore all matters relating to racial disputes should be dealt with by her in the strictest manner. Learners did not believe that teachers were objective, nor were they respected. Some learner responses were: “There’s one of them and thirty you. You overrule the teachers easily! You overrule the teachers easily! If he or she does not agree on a racist issue you be like ‘oh! No-ways bro! We all agree with each other. It’s all about you.’ “We just students...the teachers are here, they have some higher power.....We are the majority...900 plus and only about 40 teachers. It’s up to us as students if the teachers don’t change.” “The war is not with each other it’s with the teachers. They are still the adults but are caught up in this ‘little thing’. They are the minority...not there forever.” “Things are changing; we must accept it and grow with it. We’re the next generation of adults. Their time is out.” “We feel more respect for the principal than the teachers. If there is something important racially, e.g. severe punishment, the principal should come personally and talk to us in front of everyone, not the teachers!”
“The principal enforces it to the teachers and the teachers enforce it to the kids, if the foundation is not working the whole house collapses.”

With respect to cultural sensitivity of professionals, Sue, et al (1992) highlights the need for training of professionals in awareness, knowledge and skills. Awareness refers to examining their own values, myths, stereotypes and world views. Knowledge refers to the development of non-stereotyping, flexible understanding of cultural, social and family dynamics of diverse groups, together with understanding of the critical socio-political, historical and economic contexts in which learners from diverse multicultural groups are embedded. Skills entail culturally sensitive assessment and treatment strategies. Relevant to the diverse learner in schools, these issues must be integrated into a specialised intervention programme offered to children.

In order for responsible decision making to occur in educational institutions, which reflect cultural pluralism, educational leaders should be keenly aware of the strong influence of culture in shaping their own, as well as students’ behaviours, attitudes and values. This awareness will augur well for educators to liberate themselves from “the tyranny of their own cultures, and free children from the damaging effects of premature, inaccurate and prejudiced interpretations of their culturally induced behaviour (Spindler, 1987a).

Culturally responsible pedagogy involves providing the best possible education for children that preserves their own cultural heritage, prepares them for meaningful relationships with other people, and living productive lives in the present society without sacrificing their own cultural perspectives. There are a number of perspectives and competencies that teachers can employ, to assist in the creation of a socially sensitive classroom. These include community
in the classroom, structure in the classroom, involving outside community, grouping, understanding diversity, understanding the self, assessing acculturation, building dialogue and providing empathy (Hollins et al, 1994).

Teachers who participated in this study recognised and emphasised the urgent need for training in multicultural education and cultural differences. In addition, they expressed a need for teaching skills to cater for learners from diverse cultural groups. One teacher articulated the view as follows, “…effective learning and teaching skills to incorporate all cultural groups.” “Educate teachers on differences in the different cultures.” There was strong sentiment expressed by a teacher who believed that teachers must understand the culture of the learners they teach, “An educator should understand the culture of his/her pupils. Most of the educators feel that pupils of different cultures don’t respect them. A culture is a very sensitive issue. If an educator steps over the line, obedience is unlikely to be earned by that educator. Therefore, educators need to be workshopped and sensitised about cultures. This is an aspect that integrated schools have overlooked. Maybe, research essays should be directed at addressing the issue of cultural differences in integrated schools. I am sure academics and researchers will be startled on what their research might find.”

4.3.1.5 Quality activities for positive contact

Learners had much to offer in the way of specific activities (quality activities) that were aimed at meaningful integration. The following suggestions emerged:
• Trips and outings

Participants agreed that one way of stimulating positive interracial interaction was by arranging trips and outings. It was abundantly clear that learners wanted to spend time out of the school environment. Time, to them, was paramount in forging positive relationships. Among other things, spending time away allowed the opportunity to discover similarities, understand one another, work together and express themselves fully. Of immense significance was the Business Economics trip, in which learners of all race groups had to get along, but in the process forged ‘unbelievably close’ relationships. The following were some of the comments that illustrate the above sentiments: “Suddenly when you taken out of the school environment, on a school trip you suddenly realize, ‘hey! **** is just like me, let’s go do something together. We are so much alike and we didn’t realise it. Purely because we don’t even give each other a second look (because of the colour thing, seriously, we don’t give each other a second look.” “We spent so much time with each other on the trip. We got to know each other; we got to understand each other....” “Time was important....also no other alternative or influences...” “We need tours together. I want to go on a tour with ****. go to the beach and have fun. We need more interaction with each other.” “On the Business Economics trip (not all Indians, whites, blacks do B.E), whether we liked it or not we were thrown together with these mixed groups. You had to integrate or you’d be alone at Monte Casino, or alone at Gold Reef City.”

• Orientation programmes

There was strong lobbying for orientation day to be brought back. The point the learners conveyed was that if children spent time together in the first week of high school, doing
common tasks in mixed groups, there would be a strong bond created at the outset. They attributed the relative closeness of their grade to their own experiences during their Orientation Programme. Some participants had the following to say, “Do you remember Orientation day for grade eights (three years ago)? They got us into teams. We spent two days together as a grade. We were mixed together; therefore we are so strong as a grade”.

“We all got to know each other. We all had to spend time together. You couldn’t choose your groups. You were put into groups with races mixed together, and we just got along.”

“We need more orientation, for new grade eights. Start them from the beginning. Because we became united, bonds broke. We were all thrown in and became friends.” “...Mix people up, you tend to find once together, the whole thing turns around. I get to see the real side of me....” “During orientation, when you in a mixed group **** (coloured girl) will pick me up. **** (black girl) will pick me up. My Indian friends are in the other group.”

- Exchange programmes

A suggestion advanced by learners was an exchange programme between the school and schools of colour. The rationale was to create greater understanding and opportunities for interaction across the colour divide. “On a practical level, we should have an exchange programme. One person starts the change.” “....In grade eleven fifty kids go at a time over four weeks. They come back-have a conference. Sit in a circle, not row, so you can’t hide away, you end up talking.” “Ask them, ‘What did you guys see?’ One starts talking then others talk. Communication is triggered-and everyone is talking.” “If you take a bunch, choose a rep. from each school to report back to the school, grade or headmaster. ...children talking to children...not an adult....what they’ve learnt and transmit it.”
• Mentorship programmes

The participants felt that there should be mentors attached to grade eights, but paired in different race groups. At present having ‘same-race’ mentors were not doing anything to promote racial integration. This programme would contribute to closer interaction; engender respect and greater understanding of other race groups. “...we take care of the respect thing which ultimately makes us closer, no assumptions; no stereotypes....we know each other personally.” “At the onset of high school, mentorship should happen across the grades...the mentor owns the mentee...I have seen it work at **** High School.”

• Group work/projects

Learners were of the view that they should engage in group work and projects that provide them with the opportunity to work together in mixed racial groups. They strongly believed that they should not be allowed to choose their partners when doing projects. The tendency is for them to ‘stick’ to their familiar ‘own-group’ friend. They suggested that teachers should mix learners from different race groups together, so that there is more interaction, which invariably leads to greater cooperation. Learners expressed this idea in the following ways:

“Do group work and force people together.” “During projects at school......teachers ask, ‘Shall I choose your partners, or do you guys want to......?’ We tend to choose someone we know or associate with. They should choose, and mix us up.”

In support of the above, Kagan (2001) cited in Dotson, (2001), advocates structures of cooperative learning. Cooperative learning is a teaching arrangement that refers to small, heterogeneous groups of students working together to achieve a common goal. Students
work together to learn, and are responsible for their team mates learning, as well as their own.

The basic elements are positive interdependence which occurs when gains of individuals or teams are positively correlated, equal participation which occurs when each member of the group is afforded equal shares of responsibility and input, individual accountability which occurs when all students in a group are held accountable for doing a share of the work and for mastery of the material to be learned and simultaneous interaction which occurs when class time is designed to allow many students interactions during the period.

A synthesis of research on cooperative learning has shown that co-operative learning strategies improve interpersonal relationships of students. Positive effects were found at all grade levels in urban, rural and suburban schools. The most widely used team formation is that of heterogeneous teams, containing a mix of gender and ethnic diversity that reflect the classroom population. The rationale for heterogeneous groups argues that this produced the greatest opportunities for peer tutoring and support as well as improving cross-race integration. Providing students with an incentive to help each other to put forward maximum effort increases the likelihood that all group members will be involved, and mix together.

Cooperative learning has been found to enhance social interaction, which is essential to meet the needs of minority group students (Slavin, Karweit & Madden 1989; Johnson, 1998).

Within the framework of co-operative learning groups, learners learn how to interact with their peers and increase involvement with the school community. Positive interaction may not always occur naturally, therefore social skills instruction must precede and concur with co-operative learning strategies. Social skills include communicating, building and maintaining trust, providing leadership and managing conflicts. The developmental characteristics of secondary school students make co-operative learning a good fit of
strategies for the social needs in an integrated school as well as the academic needs. Young adolescents need to socialize, be part of a group, share feelings, receive emotional support and learn to see things from other perspectives. Cooperative learning groups do not separate learners on the basis of race, class or ethnicity. It is thus a peer-centred pedagogy that promotes and builds positive intergroup relationships.

- More Life Orientation lessons

There is a need for more life orientation lessons in which issues pertaining to racism and ways to deal with racial problems are explored. It was also suggested that cultures be more thoroughly exposed. Learners felt that the less serious atmosphere that these lessons take on can be effectively utilised to promote racial understanding. "These lessons should be made compulsory for all grades. We all contribute; it's very productive. recently! When you make a serious issue a little fun, people tend to contribute more." "...All discuss together in a circle and report back to the class. Everyone wants to give their three-cent-s-worth and it turns into a joke and we learn more." "When we did CTAs in grade nine, we did South African culture, isiZulu culture. We learnt more about each other then than we ever did. The CTAs were based on South African races. The government forced us to learn about each others culture, it made me understand and accept more."

In support of learners' needs as expressed above, Gay (1994) advocates, among a number of goals of multicultural education, that learners must be provided with information about the history and contributions of ethnic groups who have been traditionally excluded from instructional materials and curricula. Distorted and bias images of those groups that were depicted in the curricula must be replaced with more accurate and significant information.
Many learners know very little about the history, heritage, culture and contributions of minority groups (of colour). The information about and images of ethnic groups portrayed in the media are often distorted, superficial, one-dimensional and incomplete. For example, if students are exposed to racist portrayals of blacks as only violent, their perceptions become clouded. The persistence of these types of caricatures about ethnic groups, together with limited inter-ethnic interaction, reinforces the need for learners to be educated with accurate information to ethnic groups' contributors to the history, life and culture of South Africa. Consequently, a major goal of multicultural education is to learn about the historical backgrounds, languages, cultural practices, contributions, critical events, significant individuals, and social, political and economic conditions of various majority and minority groups. The information should be analytical, comparative and include similarities and differences within and among groups.

- **Pairing**

There was a general feeling that learners should be paired across the race groups, in a conscious way. A learner volunteered the idea that the group concurred with. In a school situation, the teacher should pair learners of different race groups and ask them to find out as many things about the other person as they can. They then discuss similarities as well as differences, and how to accept each other as they are. They felt they don’t need to change each other, just understand each other better. A learner articulated the intention, “we don’t want to change, but understand. We want to continue on our own paths.....live our own lives, but accept each other within our boundaries....I don’t think everyone understands that.” Pairing should also occur when attempting projects. As one learner expressed, “Teachers ask, ‘shall I choose your partners or do you guys want to.’ We want to choose the one we
know or associate with. If we are forced, we will have to work with each other.” Pairing was also suggested in class tasks and homework activities.

Some examples of cooperative learning structures advocated by Kagan, 1994, cited in Dotson (2001), which meet the need for interactive learning, are:

- **Think-Pair-Share** in which the teacher poses the question to the class and learners think about their response. The learners pair with a partner to talk over the ideas. Finally, students share their ideas with the class.

- **Rallytable** in which learners work in pairs within a team. They then take turns to write on one piece of paper or to complete a task.

- **Numbered Heads Together** in which learners work within a team of from one to four. A question is posed by the teacher and the learners put their heads together to discuss the answer. The teacher randomly calls out a number, and from each team the learner with that number writes the answer on the team response board.

- **Showdown** in which each learner writes his or her answer on an individual response board. When everyone in the group is ready, the leader shouts, “Showdown” and members compare and discuss their answers.

- **Team-mates Consult** in which learners all have their own copy of the same worksheet. A large cup is placed in the centre of each team and learners begin by placing their pencils in the cup. With pencils still in the cup, they discuss their answers to the first question. When all the team members are ready, they remove their pencils from the cup and write their answers. The process is repeated with remaining questions.
• **Brainstorming** in which each student in the group has a role to play viz: Speed Captain (promotes more ideas), Super Supporter (encourages and recognizes all ideas), Synergy Guru (encourages members to build upon one another’s ideas), and Recorder (writes ideas). Members carry out their respective roles while the team generates a variety of responses.

The views put forward by learners in the above discussion, clearly articulate with the prerequisites for positive contact embodied in the conditions for positive contact as presented by Allport (1954). He purports that if the conditions for contact are met, then interracial contact will lead to positive outcomes.

In addition to the above, learners viewed other factors as solutions to interracial conflict, as illustrated by the discussion that follows.

**4.3.1.6 Language**

There was a strong view held by learners in respect of language, as this was seen as a major obstacle to building trust among learners. Many respondents felt that since the school is an English first language environment, no other language should be spoken by learners, unless in the presence of their own group. If other languages are used it meant nothing but disrespect for other individuals. The rationale behind the argument was that learners who did not understand isiZulu felt intimidated when it was spoken in their presence. The strongest argument was put forward by a black learner who said, “About language, it’s plain down respect. I know **** (Indian learner) can’t speak isiZulu, so why am I speaking isiZulu in front of her? Straightaway if I speak isiZulu and laugh, we might be saying a joke....why in
front of her? Why not speak English, so everyone can understand me?” Another isiZulu-speaking participant supported the view as follows: “This is an English school. Respect a common language. If I’m among non-isiZulus...I shouldn’t speak isiZulu, it’s uncalled for. I must respect and accept that I’m in a white school, so why push things that shouldn’t be done....can’t say, I’m black, so I should speak isiZulu.” “**** Primary School, has a black principal. His policy is, if you black and speak isiZulu or Indian and speak Hindi, you will get detention. You in an English school, you speak English.”

Teachers were of the view that language was probably one of the biggest obstacles to integration and a possible solution was for them to learn isiZulu.

4.3.1.7 Relevant education

It was made clear that the education programme, as well as the curriculum, needs to be relooked at. Participants were of the view that the syllabi being currently taught were irrelevant, and were certainly not equipping them to deal with racism, integration and positive interaction with diverse cultural groups. The focus of change as envisaged by learners was thinking styles, core content of subjects, openness and transparency of information, especially in respect of South African history, multicultural knowledge and clear answers to questions posed by them to teachers. Sentiments expressed were: “We need a new form of education, drastic measures!” “...learning stuff that is totally irrelevant. We must learn how to think in a realistic way about the future.” “This is a 1960s blazer (pointing to his blazer) but we hold on to it in 2006, hanging on....generation after generation changes, but the education system is the same.” “There are always two sides to a story, they don’t tell us that.” “Change the style of thinking, it must change.” “It’s important to learn about South African history, but
not the same way.” “In History we learn about the Treaty of Versailles, in grade nine...in grade eleven they broaden it....come on! It's irrelevant, you going no where!” “Our syllabus should be changed to learn how to deal with racism now... Teach us how to deal with racism.” “When we did CTAs in grade nine, we did South African culture, isiZulu culture. We learnt more about each other then, than we ever did. The CTAs were based on South African races. The government forced us to learn about each others’ culture, it made me understand and accept more.” Teachers also agreed that the curriculum should be modified to include histories, cultures and traditions as reflected in the following comment, “History, cultures and tradition are entities that cannot be divorced from education. If our curriculum doesn’t address those, I’m afraid we are trying to put a plaster over the cracks.”

According to Gay (1994) one of the main reasons for shifting towards multicultural education is to correct what is referred to as “sins of omission and commission”. Gay (1994) advocates a number of goals of multicultural education. Learners must be provided with information about the history and contributions of ethnic groups who have been traditionally excluded from instructional materials and curricula. Distorted and bias images of those groups that were depicted in the curricula must be replaced with more accurate and significant information. Many learners know very little about the history, heritage, culture and contributions of minority groups (of colour). The information about, and images of, ethnic groups portrayed in the media are often distorted, superficial, one-dimensional and incomplete. For example, if students are exposed to racist portrayals of blacks as only violent, their perceptions become clouded. The persistence of these types of caricatures about ethnic groups, together with limited inter-ethnic interaction, reinforces the need for learners to be educated with accurate information about ethnic groups’ contributors to the history, life and culture of South Africa. Consequently, a major goal of multicultural
education is to learn about the historical backgrounds, languages, cultural practices, contributions, critical events, significant individuals, and social, political and economic conditions of various majority and minority groups. The information should be analytical, comparative and include similarities and differences within and among groups.

Williams (1995) draws attention to the need for a complete transformation of the curriculum that incorporates critical issues of diversity and multiculturalism into all aspects of learners’ academic achievements. Children should be provided with opportunities to address matters of cultural and racial diversity. Kallen (1970, p.184-185) has the following view in this regard, “When schooling processes operate on a single cultural model to the exclusion of all others, or when children who are culturally different are expected to set aside all their cultural habits in order to succeed at school, deeply ingrained cultural socialisation becomes problematic in children’s education. Such demands on children are not only unreasonable, but virtually impossible to meet. Should children not try to comply with such pressure, the results may be marginality, alienation and isolation, which are not conducive to maximum school success or well.” “The incompatibilities or discontinuities between the culture of the school and those of different ethnic groups, need to be major issues of analysis in making decisions about educational programmes and practices that reflect and promote cultural diversity” (Spindler, 1987a).

Most approaches used to integrate multiracial and ethnic material into curricula to reduce racial bias in children are typical of what Banks (1995) refers to as “contributions” and “additive” approaches; in which multicultural heroes, holidays, concepts, themes and other elements are added via books, videotapes, songs etc. to a standard, traditional curriculum. The fundamental aim of these programmes is to expose children to minority groups using
symbolic models, with the goal of reducing racial bias that is assumed to result from ignorance about other ethnic and racial groups.

Other programmes of a similar nature use multicultural materials to incorporate information about racial and ethnic groups with specific focus on counterstereotypic information about groups (Bishop, 1992; Litcher & Johnson & Ryan, 1973 as cited in Bigler, 1999). A growing number of writers have more recently appealed for the inclusion of explicit lessons on stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination within curriculum-based interventions (e.g. Anderson & Love, 1973; Dermon-Sparks & A.B.C. Task Fore, 1989: Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993; Short & Carrington, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1987; M.S. Spencer, 1998; Walker, 1989; Wardle, 1996 as cited in Bigler, (1999). These types of interventions sometimes referred to as antiracist programmes; assist children to focus on recognising and confronting racism. Examples of antiracist activities in such programmes include learning to define concepts such as prejudice and tolerance, analysing differences in power and economic status, and using role playing to solve problems around discrimination (Spencer, 1998 as cited in Bigler, 1999).

4.3.1.8 Learners' initiatives

In respect of learners’ perspectives that not enough support was forthcoming from the teachers to create interest groups and to ensure equal opportunities for efforts of all race groups to be recognized the following suggestions were forwarded: "Who's in charge of newsletters? Why can't we do it? We write what we want. Students should have input."

"The senior staff always gets preference over us. To solve it take it upon yourself. Come up with your own school magazine where we recognise each other. Staff always acknowledge
some learners all the time." “Allow the students to do it e.g. TADA ...the students do everything. We’ll do it ourselves.” There was consensus that not all initiatives should be from the teachers, but that learners should become proactive to ensure that interracial interest groups were established and achievements were acknowledged.

4.3.1.9 Forced integration

Many of the participants emphasised the need to ‘force’ learners into contact situations. The argument was that if apartheid was forced and resulted in successful implementation, then integration would also succeed under ‘forced’ conditions. One learner articulated his belief as follows, “The reason why apartheid was so successful was that it was compulsory.....you had apartheid that was compulsory, but you left integration optional! It should be forced.” This strong reaction from learners is contrary to the perspective provided by Miller (1981). He argues that close personal contact should not be forced, as this would be counterproductive. On the other hand, Allport (1954) presented the idea that forcing blacks and whites to get together would presumably lead to better social relations. He propagated the idea that the more one knows about a person, the less likely one is to feel hostility towards that person. In Allport’s words, “those who know more about other races and people tend to have favourable attitudes toward them” (Allport, 1954).

4.3.1.10 Parent involvement

Learners viewed parents as exerting a strong influence on their racial attitudes and behaviours. Therefore, they believe that there is a need for open communication about racism and changes in integrated schools, if integration is to be promoted and assisted by
parents. Some of the comments made were, “You need to talk to parents about racism. Bring it up! Ultimately they are your biggest influence.” This concern is not unfounded, as it is consistent with the tenets of the Social Learning Theory, which highlights the fact that children are not equipped with inborn repertoires of behaviour and must therefore learn them. One of the most impacting sources of attitude formation in children is parents. This occurs through a process of social learning. The theory emphasises the view that the majority of children express social views highly similar to that of their parents and families. They often adopt negative racial attitudes and behaviours from their parents, if parents display such behaviours.

Allport (1954) draws attention to the notion that when barriers to communication are insurmountable, ignorance tends to make a person easy prey to suspicions, stereotypes and rumours. Thus, the learners' suggestion alluded to above, for open communication between them and their parents, appears to be well founded.

As indicated above, suggestions were made for open communication with parents regarding racism. There were also suggestions made for integration of parents by way of social events e.g. cocktail parties, braais etc. The thinking was that if parents also got to know one another, stereotypes would be broken down, prejudices diminished and paradigms shifted. That would, in the eyes of learners, ultimately result in cooperation with their children when they socialized with children from other race groups. This view was articulated as follows: “You need to talk to parents about racism. Bring it up! Ultimately they are your biggest influence. They really are... get enlightened on their views and decide to accept it or not.” “Parents don’t integrate, after a soccer match they come fetch their child and don’t talk to others and go home. Invite them to a braai afterwards. If they think we can’t play soccer, they see we
can play soccer.” “They can integrate themselves if they invited to something else.” “Every
time there is a big match or big events like market day, have a braai.” “While children
integrate, integrate the parents. Then you ultimately solve everything. They have a positive
outlook on all the changes of integration and it’s immediately perfect. You have your own
opinion and parents accept it.” “If ****’s dad sees that ****’s dad is a nice dad he’ll let ****
and **** be friends.” “My dad used to be like that, he changed when I went to **** school
(integrated).”

Learners emphasised that as much as children have to learn to integrate, parents also need to
integrate. They felt that parents often restrict their (learners) interracial interactions by the
views they held. Therefore, by them interacting interracially, they believed their stereotypes
would be altered and invariably it would “solve everything. They have a positive outlook on
all the changes of integration and it’s immediately perfect.” Some learners reported changed
perceptions and behaviours about other races when their parents interacted with parents from
other race groups. Teachers also believed that parents should help learners become more
positive about the future.

Learners’ desperate concerns for parent involvement are articulated by Atkinson and
Juntunen (1994 p.108) “....School personnel must function as school-home-community
liaison.... School staff need to fulfil their advocacy role by increasing parent
participation........among parents of diverse learners in an increasingly multicultural
environment.” A vital aspect in working with diverse learners is that of establishing
“authentic” relationships with and among parents. This is a crucial aspect of any endeavour to
enhance multicultural understanding, awareness of diversity and creating a truly pluralistic
school and community environment. Workshops held to assist parents of minority groups
who may be unfamiliar with the school system, is vital if one hopes to elicit their active involvement in the school. Such workshops can cover aspects such as the school structure, school rules, services, rights and responsibilities of parents and learners, and the role of parents in respect of promoting multicultural awareness and acceptance.

4.3.1.11 Accepting differences

There was consensus among learners that there has to be a concerted effort by school authorities to promote acknowledgement of differences and acceptance thereof. The idea was not to change individuals from different race groups, but to celebrate differences. As much as there are similarities, differences do exist and must not be disdained. Learners expressed this view clearly, “Understand where I am coming from and don’t change me.”

“You must know and be proud of being black or Indian.....don’t be racist, we have no right!”

“We don’t have to change anyone to live our lives, but accept each other within our boundaries. I don’t think everyone understands that.” “We don’t want to change each other but understand each other; we want to continue on our own paths.”

Today, perhaps more than ever, social science has an important role to play in examining the impact of cultural differences, and fostering a climate of mutual tolerance and understanding. In an effort to assist the process of multicultural education, balancing unity with diversity, assisting schools to grow and change to accommodate the broader ethnic range of today’s school populations, improving the quality of interaction among the many racial and ethnic groups in the American society, the Russell Sage Foundation established its Cultural Contact Programme in 1992. An environment was fostered in which differences were welcome, not just ignored, as this may mitigate the long standing effects of racism and distrust. Children’s
racial and ethnic perceptions may be altered by exposing them to tasks that encourage them to focus on differences among individuals within racial and ethnic groups and similarities among individuals of different races or ethnicities. Consistent with this notion, Katz et al (1973, 1978 as cited in Bigler, 1999) discovered that training children to focus on individuating characteristics of outgroup members, results in reduction of racial stereotyping. A recent study by Aboud and Fenwick, as cited in Bigler (1999) investigated the effects of a school programme that required participants to focus on similarities and differences among a sample of multiracial and multiethnic children. Consistent with intergroup theory, the programme succeeded in reducing racial stereotyping among children.

A growing number of writers have more recently appealed for the inclusion of explicit lessons on stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination within curriculum-based interventions (e.g. Anderson & Love, 1973; Dermon-Sparks & A.B.C. Task Fore, 1989; Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993; Short & Carrington, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Spencer, 1998; Walker, 1989; Wardle, 1996 as cited in Bigler, 1999). These types of interventions sometimes referred to as antiracist programmes: assist children to focus on recognising and confronting racism. Examples of antiracist activities in such programmes include learning to define concepts such as prejudice and tolerance, analysing differences in power and economic status, and using role playing to solve problems around discrimination (Spencer, 1998 as cited in Bigler, 1999).

4.3.1.12 Promoting cultural awareness

Educators emphasised the need to consciously promote cultural awareness at schools through cultural activities. They felt that the Life Orientation lessons provided the perfect opportunity
to create exposure to diversity and the appreciation and celebration thereof. Some of the arguments were, “Some of the schools have already started promoting cultural festivals. These festivals help in promoting cultural awareness, and are enforcing cultural pride within the previously marginalized communities.” “Arts and Culture is a new learning area in grade R to grade 9. It is a very informative learning area that arouses cultural awareness, and I think it should be extended to grades 10, 11 and 12 and universities as well.”

According to Gay, (1994) is not possible to divorce ones humanity from ones culture or ethnicity. It therefore follows, that to acknowledge and respect one another, to be fully human, requires mutual understanding and appreciation based on cultural understanding.

4.3.1.13 Open communication

Participants also felt that the school should be open in respect of incidents that occur (of a serious nature). They did not necessarily feel that all or confidential information should be shared. The issue was that, in the absence of vital information, assumptions and generalisations are made, often in respect of specific race groups. This can lead to interracial conflict. Sentiments expressed were: “The school keeps us in the dark. We then make an assumption which adds to the fear. They need to be more open. When something bad happens, tell us exactly what happened....” “Because we did not know what happened to **** I thought, ‘all coloured people are psycho. they try to kill themselves and all library monitors are freaks who look at child porn, because that is what **** did. That’s what the rumour is now! There is stereotyping.”
Learners strongly suggested that open group discussions focused on racism and race issues be implemented for perhaps once a week for a month, or so. The feeling was that the topic of racism is avoided. Open discussions provide a more relaxed atmosphere where learners felt they could be open and honest. However, they felt they needed an adult to guide the discussions so that there is focus and direction and the discussion is sustained. A passionate learner expressed his feelings in the following words, “Everything is sugar-coated. We never tell it straight. We need to stop beating about the bush, put it straight. We have common problems with racism, let’s talk about it. A really racist black or white may end up finding places where you meet up in the end.” A further comment made was, “Sitting down and talking and being open, with teachers……the reason we don’t trust and have walls is we left in the dark……” A similar view is subscribed to by Ponterotto and Pederson (1993), in respect of strategies to promote multicultural education. According to the authors, there is a critical need to confront issues of racism and prejudice. The need for direct discussion and explanation of these issues within schools needs to be conceptualised as another critical element of work done by those involved with diverse learners within multicultural settings. Bhavnani et al (2005), suggests that in working with diverse learners, interventions that enable discussion to take place across differing perspectives are pertinent. Talking about racism openly, without fear of ‘political correctness’ and with a genuine aim of articulating confusion, thoughts and views is a vital prerequisite to developing positive interracial relationships. “Organisations cannot afford to put a gloss over racism, it is an issue which must be addressed, however uncomfortable this process may be” (Steyn and Motshabi, 1996).

Schools should take active leadership in addressing racism or inter-cultural disparities. Often, school managers are afraid to “open a can of worms” by directly dealing with intercultural conflict. However, the alternative i.e. keeping the “can of worms sealed” has
even more pernicious effects. Each school should take responsibility and leadership by doing everything it can, to counteract cultural inequality and promote celebration of diversity. This can be done by directly confronting every issue of inequality and guaranteeing that every learner will be provided the best opportunity to flourish and succeed in the environment.

When the leadership and stakeholders in a school are willing and open to acknowledge and actively address the dynamics of institutional inequality, real change becomes possible.

At the end of the focus group interviews learners articulated their own experiences of having had open discussions around issues of racism: “We look at things differently now. We all speak the way we think. Someone says one word and that influences me. We got ideas from each other. I realise I’ve got something in common with others. You see it’s again this time thing! “We’ve grown so much…. We look beyond. We are more open-minded and broad. If there’s an issue, let’s not make a bigger issue of it. Whenever anyone becomes racist towards me, I’ll look beyond. Before this, I’ll be racist. back. I’m better than that now; I’ll not be racist back!” Another learner’s response was, “For me I came here in grade 9, the people thought less of me ‘cos I’m coloured. I now realise that you get genuine guys……after this……now…..it’s been 2 years. You do get real people. I only realized it after this, now!” “You see, it’s not about how long it is, but how much time you spend”. Yet another participant had this to say, “How much we’ve learnt in this short space of time! We’ve been at school for 4 years and not known it. But now, suddenly we’ve learnt so much from what we’ve discussed in this time.” A learner who had attended the school for the past 3 years said, “I’ve wasted my 3 years in ***** High School and done nothing! How much I could have changed. I was so caught up in my own world, busy feeling sorry for me. I forgot about the people around me.…I am a person because of another person.” “When we first came
here everyone was angry, we wanted to write, write write....Now we calmed down and can actively speak. We didn’t look at ourselves....now we can ask ourselves, ‘what have I done wrong?’ now that we’ve spoken, it’s not a racial problem but a problem for all of us.”

4.3.1.14 Tolerance

Although learners did not refer specifically to tolerance as a solution to interracial and intercultural conflict, their desperate plea for respect of other ethnic groups, cultures, religions, traditions, beliefs, traditions, customs and differences is embodied in the description of tolerance. “Tolerance is the appreciation of diversity and the ability to live and let others live. It is the ability to exercise a fair and objective attitude towards those whose race, ethnic group, practices, culture and religion differ from his own (Peterson, 2003). Being tolerant remains key to easing hostile tensions between groups and helping communities move past intractable conflict and hostility. This is because tolerance is integral to different groups relating to one another in a respectful and understanding way. In societies, like the South African one, where conflict and hostility has been deeply entrenched, being tolerant helps the affected groups to endure the pain of the past and resolve their differences.

Individuals in schools should be taught and reminded to consciously and continually focus on exercising tolerance of other cultural groups. This requires a day-to-day, conscious challenging stereotypes and assumptions that they typically encounter in making decisions about others and or working with others in a schooling environment. Educators are instrumental in promoting tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Schools that create a tolerant
environment, help learners to respect diversity in the school and to understand and respect
different cultures.

4.4 Conclusion

Multicultural strategies suggested to promote racial integration do work. However, it requires the efforts of all significant role players to ensure success. This means that parents, teachers, learners, principals and the community need to pool resources to actively engage in the process of creating the most functional climate for positive interracial contact. Expecting each other to deliver on the process will lead to 'no work being done'. Shifting the responsibility is a very tempting alternative. Unless all significant others' in children's lives take up the cudgels, we may find ourselves in very much the same situation in respect of school integration in the years to come. On the contrary, immediate, swift action will most certainly augur well for improved interracial relations in schools, in the community and ultimately in South Africa.

The following chapter focuses on the Guidelines for Multicultural Education and the conclusion of the study.
CHAPTER FIVE

Guidelines for Multicultural Education

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to present the guidelines for multicultural education in order to promote positive racial integration in secondary schools. The purpose is to provide recommendations for principals and teachers to deal with the complexities of racial integration, more specifically to enhance their cultural competencies. The guidelines that will be presented are based on the suggestions and solutions provided by learners and teachers who participated in the study. The themes that emerged in respect of solutions to the difficulties with racial integration formed the basis for generating multicultural education guidelines.

Irrespective of what the education authorities, educators, learners and parents' positions are, it is their responsibility to adjust to and cater for the demands of the integration process. It is incumbent upon them all to recognise and celebrate diversity, whilst simultaneously acknowledging individual dynamics within different cultures. In so doing, they serve the greater rainbow community and meet the requirements of a truly diverse South African society.
5.2 Guidelines for multicultural education in integrated schools in South Africa

Preamble

The risk of interracial and intercultural conflict in integrated schools is abundantly clear in South Africa, as indicated by media coverage and the subjective experiences of teachers and learners in this study. Teachers and learners have not been adequately prepared for the complexities that inherently exist when learners who have been segregated for many years are suddenly brought together in an integrated setting. It is virtually impossible for these individuals to know and understand all cultures, racial uniqueness and languages. Nevertheless, training in cultural awareness, competence and practice can contribute to a new understanding among cultural groups and a broadening of perspectives.

Multicultural education encourages openness, acceptance, tolerance, cooperation and flexibility of thinking around other racial and cultural groups. It creates avenues for exploration of cultures, recognising and accepting difference and identifying with similarities between cultures, which ultimately can result in harmony among the diverse racial and cultural groups in South Africa.

The guidelines that follow are representative of overarching principles of multicultural education that are designed to assist teachers and learners within an ethnic, linguistic, racial and culturally diverse environment.
Equal status between groups

- There should be equal treatment of all learners irrespective of their race or culture on all levels pertaining to school activities, scholastic tasks and any school-related endeavours.
- Learners should not be discriminated against on any level.
- Equal representation of racial groups, rather than proportionate representation must be seriously considered on committees, forums etc., as such an approach create a feeling of fairness among minority groups.
- School selection policies and criteria for selection pertaining to e.g. prefects, dance committees etc. should be revisited to ensure that all race and cultural groups are adequately catered for when selections are made. Every effort must be made to prevent exclusionary clauses.
- Discipline should be meted out fairly and consistently, and without prejudice, irrespective of race, colour or ethnicity. This should be executed within the framework of a discipline policy that reflects equality.

Common goals

- Opportunities for learners to share common interests must be planned with input and enthusiasm from the teachers and management staff.
- The “Let’s play campaign” is an initiative to encourage the pursuing of common goals among learners. Learners commit themselves to a period when those with similar interests play together.
• Compulsory sports are vital to provide opportunities that engender racial and cultural cooperation and participation. Allowing sports to be optional may result in non-involvement and disinterest, thus denying the opportunity for cross-cultural mixing in a non-scholastic environment. Activities germane to specific cultures must be encouraged.

• Extracurricular activities must be planned to include diverse learners so that they get to know one another at a deeper level.

• Interest groups e.g. chess, weaving, batik etc. should be established to foster cross cultural interests and exploration. It is vital that staff provide full support and involvement so that the impetus is maintained.

Authority sanction for integration

• Principals and teachers must sanction integration and make learners clearly aware of their stance.

• Positive racial messages must emanate from the behaviours and attitudes of authority figures in all contexts of school.

• Authority figures and teachers must be proactive in respect of promoting integration. One cannot hold a neutral stance and expect the integration process to progress positively. Authority figures and teachers must take responsibility for contributing to positive racial integration in schools.

• Specifically, teachers and management staff must consciously promote of racial acceptance among learners.
• School staff must be good role models for racial tolerance and accepting difference for through a process of modelling, learners adopt similar attitudes to their authority figures.

• The celebration of ethnic and cultural difference must be observable in the manner in which authority figures conduct themselves.

Cooperation not competition

• Cooperative rather than competitive activities should be encouraged among learners through:
  Team work
  Projects
  Peer tutoring
  Heterogeneous groups
  Cooperative learning
  Compromise not competition
  Pairing
  Group work

Specific cooperative learning strategies incorporating the above that should be included are:

• **Think-Pair-Share** in which the teacher poses the question to the class and learners think about their response. The learners pair with a partner to talk over the ideas. Finally, students share their ideas with the class.
• **Rallytable** in which learners work in pairs within a team. They then take turns to write on one piece of paper or to complete a task.

• **Numbered Heads Together** in which learners work within a team of from one to four. A question is posed by the teacher and the learners put their heads together to discuss the answer. The teacher randomly calls out a number, and from each team the learner with that number writes the answer on the team response board.

• **Showdown** in which each learner writes his or her answer on an individual response board. When everyone in the group is ready, the leader shouts, “Showdown” and members compare and discuss their answers.

• **Team-mates Consult** in which learners all have their own copy of the same worksheet. A large cup is placed in the centre of each team and learners begin by placing their pencils in the cup. With pencils still in the cup, they discuss their answers to the first question. When all the team members are ready, they remove their pencils from the cup and write their answers. The process is repeated with remaining questions.

• **Brainstorming** in which each student in the group has a role to play viz: Speed Captain (promotes more ideas), Super Supporter (encourages and recognizes all ideas), Synergy Guru (encourages members to build upon one another’s ideas), and Recorder (writes ideas). Members carry out their respective roles while the team generates a variety of responses.
• **Group work/projects**

Learners should engage in group work and projects that provide them with the opportunity to work together in mixed racial groups. They should not be allowed to choose their partners when doing projects as the tendency is for them to ‘stick’ to their familiar ‘own-group’ friend. Teachers should mix learners from different race groups together, so that there is more interaction, which invariably leads to greater cooperation.

• **Mentorship programmes**

Mentors should be attached to grade eight learners on entry into secondary school, but paired in different race groups. Having ‘same-race’ mentors does not do anything to promote racial integration. Mentors serve the purpose of providing the opportunity for close exposure to another race group. Similarities and differences are discovered and negotiated. This programme would contribute to closer interaction and engender respect and greater understanding of other race groups.

• **Exchange programmes**

Exchange programmes between schools across racial and cultural divides should be encouraged. The rationale is to create greater understanding and opportunities for interaction across the colour divide. Report back sessions should be conducted with classes when students return.
Language

• Although it is not feasible to speak all languages in schools, there should be an attempt on the part of teachers and management staff to learn the languages prevalent in their specific school setting. The predominant language of instruction may be one specific language (English), but opportunities to speak to learners in their own language do present themselves outside the instructional setting. These opportunities should be exploited to create a sense of identification with different cultures.

• The medium of instruction should be the most common language of communication in the school, to obviate clashes among learners.

• Learners should adhere to the chosen common language when in the company of learners who do not speak a second language. However, when among learners who can understand the second language, freedom to engage in such communication should prevail.

• Second languages should be taught to teachers and learners to encourage greater cultural understanding.

Relevant curriculum

• There needs to be a transformation of the curriculum to ensure relevance, post democracy.

• Lessons on how to deal with racism must be included in the syllabus as learners do not know how to adapt in a racially integrated environment. In addition, lessons on how to deal with cultural diversity should be taught to learners.
• Training sessions should be included to teach learners how to develop open
mindedness and thinking styles that accept diversity.

• Multicultural content must be extended in the curriculum.

• Teachers must be in a position to provide clear answers to questions on racism,
culture and history. Learners must not be dissuaded from asking such questions.

• Transparency of information regarding South African history must be promoted with
honesty.

• Increase content in respect of South African history, as learners feel that too much of
international history is taught yet they know very little about South African history.

• More information about cultural differences must be included in the curriculum.
Discussions about cultural differences as well as similarities should be encouraged
rather than "hushed up".

• Include information of the history and contributions of ethnic groups who were
previously excluded in instructional materials

• Distorted and bias images of those groups that were depicted in the curriculum must
be replaced by more accurate and significant information

• Include the historical backgrounds, language, cultural practices, contributions, critical
events, significant individuals, political and economic conditions of the various
majority and minority groups

• Information must be analytical, comparative and include similarities and differences.

• Include multicultural heroes, holidays, concepts, themes and other elements

• Promote multicultural diversity by including videotapes, books, songs, poems, plays
etc. in the curriculum.

• Define concepts such as tolerance, cooperation, acceptance, diversity and encourage
practical sessions demonstrating these qualities.
• Include explicit lessons on stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination as well as antiracist programmes

• Foster a climate of mutual tolerance and understanding by making the curriculum culturally rich.

• The learning environment should welcome difference and deal with intolerance loud and clearly.

• Awareness programmes- for example, over a 6 week period (library books featuring various racial and ethnic groups are incorporated into the classroom) must be planned.

• Include counterstereotypic information in books, videos, cartoons, movies, tapes and CDs.

• Include books, art, drama and other materials that depict black, Indian, coloured, white, Chinese men and women in a positive light

**Discipline regarding racist acts**

• Principals should deal severely with racist acts immediately they occur. Delaying punitive action may send messages of unfairness and racism.

• Teachers also need to act immediately when racism is displayed. Such behaviour cannot be condoned or justified in any way.

• Disciplinary measures must be effective in eradicating such behaviours. or else learners lose trust in authority figures as promoters of a racially integrated society.

• Disciplinary measures should be meted out fairly and without discrimination
Training of culturally sensitive teachers

- Training in awareness, knowledge and skills associated with racial and cultural diversity is imperative for successful interaction with learners.
- Insight into teachers' own biases is vital.
- Teaching skills to deal with difference must be included in training teachers, as well as in-service training.
- Racial conflict resolution skills must be pointedly taught to teachers.
- Cultural diversity training and workshops on addressing racism must be included.
- Competencies in language of learners should be encouraged to aid positive interracial and inter-cultural relationships.
- Culture fair testing and assessments are imperative in a culturally diverse school.
- Diversity competencies which focus on assisting all learners with specific reference to diversity of race, gender, culture and ethnicity should be given attention.

Proactiveness by learners

- Cross cultural learner initiatives to input interracial activities must be promoted by authority figures and teachers.
- Creation of interest groups by learners provides the climate for intergroup interaction. If not enforced by authority figures this option may remain untapped.
- Newsletters written by learners which include cross cultural activities, news, achievements etc. provides exposure of group capacities, which can work against stereotypes.
- Publication of achievements of learners of all race groups is to be encouraged.
Parent involvement

- Parent workshops should be scheduled at least twice a year in which the following issues should be reiterated:
  - Open communication about racism
  - Communication about changes occurring in integrated schools
  - Discuss barriers to integration
  - Interracial activities and events for parent integration
- More home-school communication on effective liaisons to promote integration should be created with liaison officers in charge.
- School authorities should outline the role of parents in aiding the integration process as per a policy on parental involvement.

Accepting differences

- School authorities need to actively promote acceptance of differences among learners and attach consequences for non-compliance among learners.
- Fostering of tolerance and understanding among diverse learners should be encouraged in a focused, pointed manner as determined by the school staff. This should not be relegated to an ad-hoc situation.
- There should be a balance of unity with diversity, in order to allow for learners' uniqueness to develop and grow.
- Similarities must be acknowledged and seen as part of being human, thus promoting a sense of commonality that can be developed.
• Tasks that focus on difference must also be incorporated within the school day. This awareness should be used to foster acceptance and celebration of diversity.

Promoting cultural awareness

This should be undertaken in the following ways:

Life orientation lessons
Cultural festivals
Arts and culture lessons
Ethnic food fairs
Cultural dressing-up day
Ethnic practices
Auspicious days
Religious and cultural rituals and celebrations
Trips and outings to places and events of cultural interest e.g. temples, mosques, weddings etc.

Open communication in school

Open group discussions focused on race, discrimination, prejudice, stereotyping, racism, and culture, which are often avoided, should be conducted in class. These should be implemented for perhaps once a week for a month, or so (over an extended period). Open discussions provide a more relaxed atmosphere where learners can feel that they could be open and honest. They also allow learners to get past the barrier of ‘avoidance’ of such
topics, which tend to make learners uncomfortable. However, an adult needs to guide the discussions so that there is focus, direction and control, and that the discussion is sustained.

- Review sessions should be conducted at the end of group discussion periods.
- Openness of communication on the part of school authorities in respect of critical racial incidents must be engaged in so that learners feel included in the on goings of the school. Not all or confidential information should be shared. The issue is that, in the absence of vital information, assumptions and generalisations are made, often in respect of specific race groups. This can lead to interracial conflict. The prompt dealing with such incidents (which is made common knowledge) will augur well for fairness and equality.

Workshops

- Learner-implemented workshops addressing issues of interpersonal relationships, cultural differences and prejudice
- Anti-racist workshops should be run over a specific period of time e.g two week-ends.
- Teacher-learner workshops to discuss racism and how to deal with racist acts, attitudes and behaviour.
- Cross-cultural workshops showcasing different cultures in respect of food, customs, beliefs, practices, dress, religion etc.
- Parent workshops to enlighten them on problems with integration and explore solutions
Orientation programmes

These programmes should be held at the beginning of the grade eight year for a period of at least four to five days. Learners should be grouped heterogeneously for the entire period. During this time they work together at all activities and tasks. Orientation for parents specifically in respect of integrated schooling is imperative. The school policy on integration, tolerance, acceptance, non-racism, equality etc. must be outlined.

The focus of these guidelines is the promotion of interracial and intercultural relationships to foster a true “rainbow nation” that would bring together skills, expertise, resources, talent, abilities and spirit of all South Africans. This utopian dream can begin to be realised if it begins with our learners who are the next generation of this “rainbow nation”.

5.3 Conclusions

The focus of the study was to generate multicultural education guidelines for learners in integrated secondary schools.

The Contact Hypothesis was used as a theoretical underpinning for generating guidelines for multicultural education. The conditions for contact as purported by the Contact Hypothesis viz: equal status between groups, common goals, authority sanction for integration and cooperation rather than competition emerged as prerequisites for successful contact in the responses of participants. In addition, guidelines were suggested in respect of language, relevant curricula, discipline in respect of racist acts, training of culturally sensitive teachers.
proactiveness of learners, parent involvement, handling differences, cultural awareness, open communication, and specific activities aimed at promoting integration.

5.4 Limitations of the study

A limiting factor in this study, which compromises the generalisability of the findings, is the small number of participants. Nevertheless, the study was able to fulfil its purpose, which was to develop guidelines for multicultural education in secondary schools. A further limitation was the unavailability of a male coloured learner, as there was no such participant in the grade. There was also no Chinese male participant. A specific difficulty encountered was the absence of one participant in the final focus group interview. This may have resulted in loss of some potential suggestions for positive integration.

With respect to the teachers’ responses, there appears to exist a certain amount of apathy in respect of utilising an opportunity to input the integration process at the school. Only seven teachers responded to the questionnaire. This is perhaps in some ways a reflection of the attitudes that prevail in respect of racial integration. There were more female responses than male. This calls for workshopping aimed at sensitising teachers to the area of racial integration, the specific problems learners are encountering and the need to embark on a multicultural education programme.

Unlike quantitative research, in which validity is ensured by confidence in the measuring instrument, the validity of this study is primarily determined by the power of this presentation to convince the reader of its accuracy.
To some extent, the transformation of the raw data into themes does introduce subjectivity, as the selection does depend on the researcher's subjectivity. In addition it is possible that other researchers interpreting the same data may arrive at different themes. In view of this reality, the researcher consulted with other researchers to verify the meanings and themes that were extracted. Nevertheless, subjectivity is inherent to this type of research. There was a concerted effort by the researcher to minimize errors, as far as possible when transcribing the recorded responses.

Despite the above limitations, this study may be acknowledged for the richness of the details of participants' experiences and solutions in respect of racial integration. This has, hopefully contributed to guidelines for positive racial integration in schools.

5.5 Recommendations for further research

An area that requires further investigation would be the role of present teacher training institutions, in equipping teachers to deal with issues of racial and cultural diversity in the classrooms.

Teacher training curricula need to be thoroughly examined and revised to cater for the diverse populations of learners in integrated schools.

Investigations into in-service training for school authorities and teachers is needed to establish areas of intervention and change. Research is urgently required into establishing guidelines for parents of learners in integrated schools.
REFERENCES


Nuttall, E.V., Sanchez, W., Borras, L., Nuttall, R. and Varvogli, L. Assessment of the culturally and linguistically different child with emotional problems. In M. Green and J.D. Fielder-Craig (eds.), Behavioural approaches to the assessment of emotionally disturbed youth: A handbook for school-based practitioners. Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.


To: Sharon Enoch  
PO Box 136  
Gillitts  
3603

RE: APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Please be informed that your application to conduct research has been approved with the following terms and conditions:

That as a researcher, you must present a copy of the written permission from the Department to the Head of the Institution concerned before any research may be undertaken at a departmental institution bearing in mind that the institution is not obliged to participate if the research is not a departmental project.

Research should not be conducted during official contact time, as education programmes should not be interrupted, except in exceptional cases with special approval of the KZNDoE.

The research is not to be conducted during the fourth school term, except in cases where the KZNDoE deem it necessary to undertake research at schools during that period.

Should you wish to extend the period of research after approval has been granted, an application for extension must be directed to the Director: Research, Strategy Development and EMIS.

The research will be limited to the schools or institutions for which approval has been granted.

A copy of the completed report, dissertation or thesis must be provided to the RSPDE Directorate.

Lastly, you must sign the attached declaration that, you are aware of the procedures and will abide by the same.

[Signature]

for SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL  
KwaZulu Natal Department of Education
Dear Mr / Mrs ..................

I am currently pursuing a P.HD in Psychology at the University of Zululand.

As part of my work I am conducting research at Kloof High School exploring "Guidelines for positive integration at multi-cultural secondary schools".

Your child has been selected to participate in the study.

All information will remain strictly confidential and anonymity will be maintained.

The information gathered will be used to generate an intervention program for integrated schools.

Your consent for your child's participation will be deeply appreciated.

Many thanks.

SHARON ENOCH
(Educational Psychologist)

TEAR OFF SLIP

I ........................................ hereby give permission for my child ward to participate in the research to be conducted by Sharon Enoch.

SIGNATURE: .................................. DATE: 29/06/06
TEACHER’S QUESTIONNAIRE

DEVELOPING GUIDELINES FOR RACIAL INTEGRATION

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain your assistance to construct/develop guidelines for racial integration in South African schools. Your input as educators will be invaluable in this research. You are assured that confidentiality and anonymity will be strictly adhered to. Feedback on the research results will be available to you on completion of the study, should you require such.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Age: ........................................
Gender: ....................................
Home Language: ...........................
No. of years at the school: .............
Qualifications: ............................
Race: ........................................

NB. Kindly use separate sheets of paper for each question and number the questions accordingly.

1. Please relate your experiences of integration in your school over the last three years.

2. From your experiences as an educator in an ex-Model C school please what you consider to be specific problems in respect of racial integration.

3. Please indicate how you think the above problems may be resolved.

4. What specific competencies do you require to promote racial integration?

Many thanks for your participation.

[Signature]
Sharon Enoch