

1.9 Definition of terms

1.9.1 Social group work

Social group work is a method of social work which helps individuals to enhance their social functioning through purposeful group experiences and to cope more effectively with their personal, group or community problems (Konopka, 1963, p.34).

More specifically the

treatment group is conceived as a small social system whose influences can be guided in planned ways to modify client behaviour ... (and) ... is both a means and a context for treatment. As a means it constitutes a vehicle through which peer interactions and influences can be used to affect client participants. As a context it affords opportunities for direct worker-client interactions which can contribute to change. (Vinter, 1974c, p.3)

1.9.2 Behaviour modification

refers to 'the planned, systematic application of experimentally established principles of learning to the modification of maladaptive behaviour'. (Fischer and Gochros, 1975, p.xiii)

1.9.3 Premack Principle

'holds that high-probability behaviour can be used as a reinforcer for low probability behaviour' (Fischer and Gochros, 1975, p.63).

1.9.4 Token economy

refers to a complex technique of behaviour modification incorporating a wide range of behaviours into a system of reinforcement contingencies, in which tokens or points are earned or lost for specified behaviours, and those earned are later traded for previously negotiated rewards.

1.9.5 Coloured person

refers to a person defined in terms of the Population Registration Act as one who is neither White nor Bantu. The classification includes subgroups of Cape Coloureds, Malays,

Griquas, Other Coloureds, Chinese, Indians and other Asiatics.
(South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976).

1.9.6 DESB

refers to the Devereaux Elementary School Behaviour Rating Scale (see p.7)

1.9.7 SEI

refers to the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory (also shortened to CSEI) (see p.6)

1.9.8 IQ

refers to intelligence quotient, which is a converted score based on performance on an intelligence test that expresses the individual's mental age in relation to his chronological age.

1.9.9 E group

refers to the experimental group selected by the writer for this study. Also referred to as the research group.

1.9.10 C group

refers to the control group used in this study, which experienced no social work intervention.

1.9.11 Classroom population

refers to the two standard five classes from which the experimental group was selected.

1.9.12 The writer

is used alternately with the term 'the researcher' in this study.

1.9.13 The worker

refers to the social group worker. In the process sections of this study, the writer refers to himself as the worker.

1.10 Use of references

Where the writer refers to the work of an author of a book, article or dissertation, he acknowledges this immediately by presenting the name of such an author, and the date of the work referred to, in brackets. A full bibliography of works in this study is presented on p.276.

PART I - 'TUNING IN'

CHAPTER 2 - THE SCHOOL IN A DEPRIVED ENVIRONMENT: PREPARING FOR INTERVENTION

2.1 A systems model as a framework for 'tuning in' to the school

Traditionally social workers in schools tended to view school malperformance as developing primarily from faulty personality functioning of pupils, and relied on psychosocial studies of individual pupils to try to diagnose the causes of such problems. Costin (1969) has observed that during the sixties school social work literature revealed growing awareness of the school as a social system.

Schwartz (1974) has proposed that at the base of systems theory is the concept of reciprocal relationships where it is felt that objects (people) in a system affect each other in a reciprocal way. This implies that it is not possible to understand one part of the system without taking into account the function, structure and process of the system as a whole. The client therefore becomes the system rather than a part or individual therein. Thus a systems model places emphasis on situational rather than personality factors, viewing problems as arising from the interaction of pupil characteristics and school conditions.

Costin (1975) states that in a school

A problem situation involves a group of pupils similarly situated, who form a dysfunctional unit as their social behaviours interact with conditions in the school and community. Members of the unit are then perceived as lacking competence to deal effectively with the demands and expectations made by the school and the community. A problem complex is a collective whole of problem situations. These exist within a network of personality characteristics that conflict with and are negatively reinforced by practices and deficiencies of school and community. This model emphasises the links and interaction between pupil characteristics and school community conditions and practices.

Within such a framework, social workers respond to identified group patterns of underachievement, truancy, and absenteeism, exclusion from school or other recurring evidence that schools are failing to meet the educational needs of large numbers of pupils. (Costin, 1975, p.136)

Schwartz (1971) states that before a social worker enters such a system he should 'tune in' to likely areas of difficulty in the lives

of those involved in it. In this process he is less interested in drawing diagnostic pictures of what his client is or should be, than in sensitising himself to receive coded messages and disguised meanings through which clients communicate with each other and with him. He seeks to create in himself a state of 'preliminary empathy', trying to make prior knowledge of the class or personality of clients operational by sensitising himself to the likely framework of perceptions and feelings he is about to enter.

With these points in mind the writer searched for a model that would provide a framework to 'tune in' to the nature of the specific school in the specific community in which he was to work. The model selected by the writer was that of Wassenich (1972) who, in analysing the school as a complex organisation, asserts that the social work practitioner can achieve greater effectiveness in the setting if he understands its structure, what influences it, what its goals are and how he fits into the total scheme. She relates the characteristics of complex organisations to the school (Figure 1, p.17), before presenting an analytical model of the school system (Figure 2, p.17) upon which she then expands to elucidate modes of social work intervention.

Wassenich (1972) covers the following in her analysis:

1. the desired output of the school (enabling goal formulation for the worker)
2. the determiners of the school system (giving information as to restraints in intervention)
3. the component inputs to the system (giving direction to areas of intervention)
4. the component subsystems of the school (determining the social worker's relation to the total system).

The social worker's role in the school is perceived as being one of assisting it to achieve its output (the education and socialisation of pupils), and in working to this end he may be one of the input components and intervene in one or more of the throughput areas of school functioning. (see Figure 4, p.34)

Characteristics of complex organisations	The school as a complex organisation
1. Stable patterns of interaction 2. among coalitions of groups having a collective identity 3. pursuing interests and accomplishing given tasks 4. co-ordinated by power and authority structures.	1. The primary pattern of interaction is the daily meeting 2. in the classroom between students and teachers who form the main coalitions of groups 3. who pursue educational and socialisation goals 4. who are co-ordinated by the principal, the administrative officers, the school board and the community as a whole.

Figure 1: Diagrammatic presentation of the school as a complex organisation

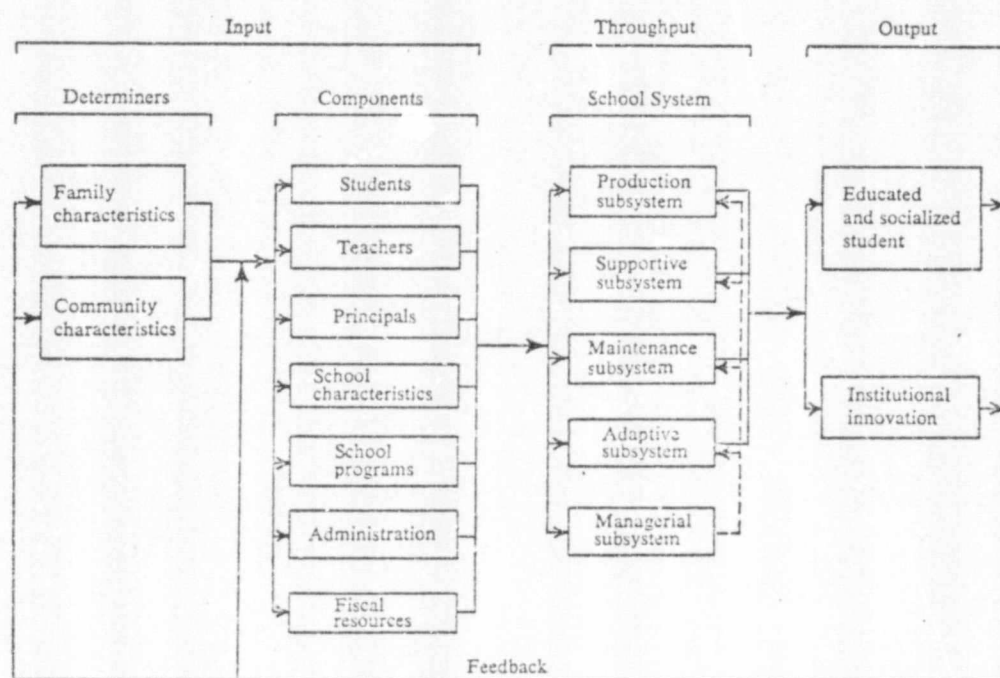


Figure 2: Wassenich's (1972) analytical model of the school system

2.2 Input

The school interacts with other elements in the community such as its social agencies, families and political structure. The system is energised by other people, institutions or the environment. The nature of the community and family from which the child emanates, the politico-economic factors affecting that community, the pupil, the teachers, principals, education policies and finances may be broadly described as the input elements of the school system. These elements influence the school and its goal achievements and may be divided into two types - determiners and components. Determiners are often beyond the control of the school system despite exerting influence on it, and include political, economic and family characteristics of a society. Components on the other hand are more directly subject to reorganisation within the school system, including school programs, pupils, teachers, principals and administrators.

Knowledge of inputs provides the school social worker with insight into what constrains or limits the school system. Programs focusing on determiners are usually of a community work nature as well as having long term goals.

2.3 Input: determiners

2.3.1 The Coloured population of South Africa - a broad picture

Brindley (1976) states that the Coloured people have their origins in the miscegenation of early white settlers, Hottentot slaves and the African inhabitants of South Africa. Fitzgerald (1978) in an historical review of the origins of this section of the South African population points out that the earliest form of discrimination in the Cape was on the basis of religion rather than colour.

In the seventeenth century Cape, a non-White, on being baptised, gained immediate acceptance as a member of the Christian community and his freedom, if a slave. In addition to conferring legal status, baptism also conferred social status in terms of which marriage between White men and non-White women was permitted. This resulted in many regular 'mixed' unions which had full social approval and religious sanction. Today's Coloured people originated from these marriages and from the inevitable illicit relationships which occurred in a community which experienced a shortage of White women. (Fitzgerald, 1978, p.5)

Fitzgerald (1978) goes on to trace the emergence of discrimination on the basis of colour rather than religion to the early part of the eighteenth century, from which time it became progressively more difficult for a slave to become emancipated and 'where the possession of a dark skin came to be associated with an inferior or servile status in the community' (Fitzgerald, 1978, p.7). These attitudes increased to the point where they form the basis of the present system of apartheid in South Africa.

Since 1948 the South African government has pursued a policy of separate development, with the ideological stance that this prevents domination of any one racial group by another. To entrench this policy there exists a system of laws and regulations which have far reaching consequences for individuals 'including marriage and carnal relations, work opportunities and settlement of labour disputes, wages and taxes, residential and property rights, education, the administration of justice, punishable offences, public facilities and political competence'. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976, p.7)

To ensure the separation of its race groups the South African government promulgated the Population Registration Act (1950) which laid down provisions for the classification of persons in terms of race groups, and the Group Areas Act (1950) which provided for separate areas for the differentiated race groups, and regulated their rights and responsibilities within their own and other areas. In terms of the Population Registration Act (1950) a "Coloured Person" is defined as one who is neither White nor Bantu, the classification including subgroups of Cape Coloureds, Malays, Griquas, Other Coloureds, Chinese, Indians and other Asiatics.

Reflecting the negative, "in-between" status of the Coloured population (neither Bantu nor White) has been their exclusion from the policies relating to "homelands" (separate areas) for Blacks, and government resistance to their integration with the white population. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976, p.100)

Enjoying the franchise in the Cape in 1853 and Natal in 1856, the Coloured people have experienced the diminishment of their political status since the turn of the century. The South Africa Act (1910) prohibited Coloured men from standing as electoral candidates for Parliament or Provincial Councils, although they

retained the vote; Coloured women failed to receive the franchise as their white counterparts did in 1930; and after a period of White parliamentary representation from 1958, the Coloured people lost all representation in 1970 on promulgation of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act. In 1969 the Coloured Persons Representative Council comprising forty elected members and twenty nominated by the State President, replaced the Union Council for Coloured Affairs which had a majority of State nominated members. However the legislative competency of this body remains uncertain, having jurisdiction over a group of persons who also fall under the jurisdiction of central government, and provincial and local authorities.

The Coloured population group in South Africa is characterised by a high population growth rate, associated with a high (but declining) rate of infant mortality, and a high rate of illegitimacy. The group comprises approximately three million people of whom 45 percent are below the age of fifteen years, making for a high dependency rate (91,9) on the economically active age group (15-64 years). In addition Coloured people have a poor life expectancy, and despite a growth in the number of families between 1960 and 1970, experience a high proportion of single parent households and less formalised relationships.

The Coloured people are concentrated in the Cape Province and are becoming increasingly urbanised. They experience widespread poverty, per capita income in 1974/5 being 19,6 percent of that of Whites, and 19,2 percent of persons living below the minimum subsistence level. (Lever, 1978, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976)

Figure 3, p.22, illustrates these facts with data extracted from the Theron Commission: A summary, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations (1976).

2.3.2 Education and the Coloured people - a background

The first school in the Cape was established for the entire community in 1663, comprising twelve white, four slave and one hottentot pupil.

The segregation of white and coloured pupils occurred gradually in the Cape, some public schools admitting coloured and white pupils

as late as 1916. From the 1950's politicians and government spokesmen campaigned for the separation of the control and administration of education for coloureds and whites. In 1963, despite opposition from coloured teaching associations, some churches and public opinion, the Coloured Persons' Education Act (47/63) was passed, providing for the education of coloured persons to fall directly under the State. In 1964 control was transferred from provincial administrations to the Department of Administration of Coloured Affairs. Prior to 1964 the coloured people's share in the control and administration of their own schools had been minimal, school boards, clerical posts and higher educational posts being held by white officials. The Administration of Coloured Affairs has gradually introduced its own curricula, syllabi and examinations as well as taking control of Colleges for Technical Education. However, although 1976 saw the appointment of the first coloured Chief Inspector of Education, at the end of 1975, of the one hundred and ninety-two inspectorate posts, one hundred and seventeen were filled by whites, and thirty-nine by coloureds, with thirty-six unfilled. By March, 1979, the number stood at thirty-four Inspectors of Education and thirty-two Assistant Inspectors (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1979).

In an attempt to raise standards of education and reduce drop out rates from standard four a progressive system of compulsory schooling was introduced in 1974 for coloured pupils. By 1980 education will be compulsory for children from seven to thirteen years old, but the Theron Commission suggested the scheme would have to be reassessed at that stage as the introduction of compulsory schooling for children would result in an enormous increase of pupils at that level. A shortage of classroom accommodation has become a major concern in the coloured educational system, double shift classes¹ rising from two hundred and sixty-nine in 1964 to 2,505 in 1977, involving seven hundred and seventeen schools, 79,762 pupils and 2,505 teachers. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976, 1979) The Minister of Coloured Relations estimated

¹ Owing to an inability by primary schools to accommodate all coloured children of schoolgoing age a double shift of classes exists whereby one group of pupils receives morning tuition, and another afternoon tuition. Double shift classes were noted by the Theron Commission to be substantially shorter than ordinary sessions, standards one and two receiving only twenty as opposed to twenty-seven hours of teaching each week. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976)

SOME FINDINGS OF THE THERON COMMISSION: From: The Theron Commission -
A Summary, S. A. Inst. Race Relations 1976)

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
COLOURED POPULATION IN S.A.

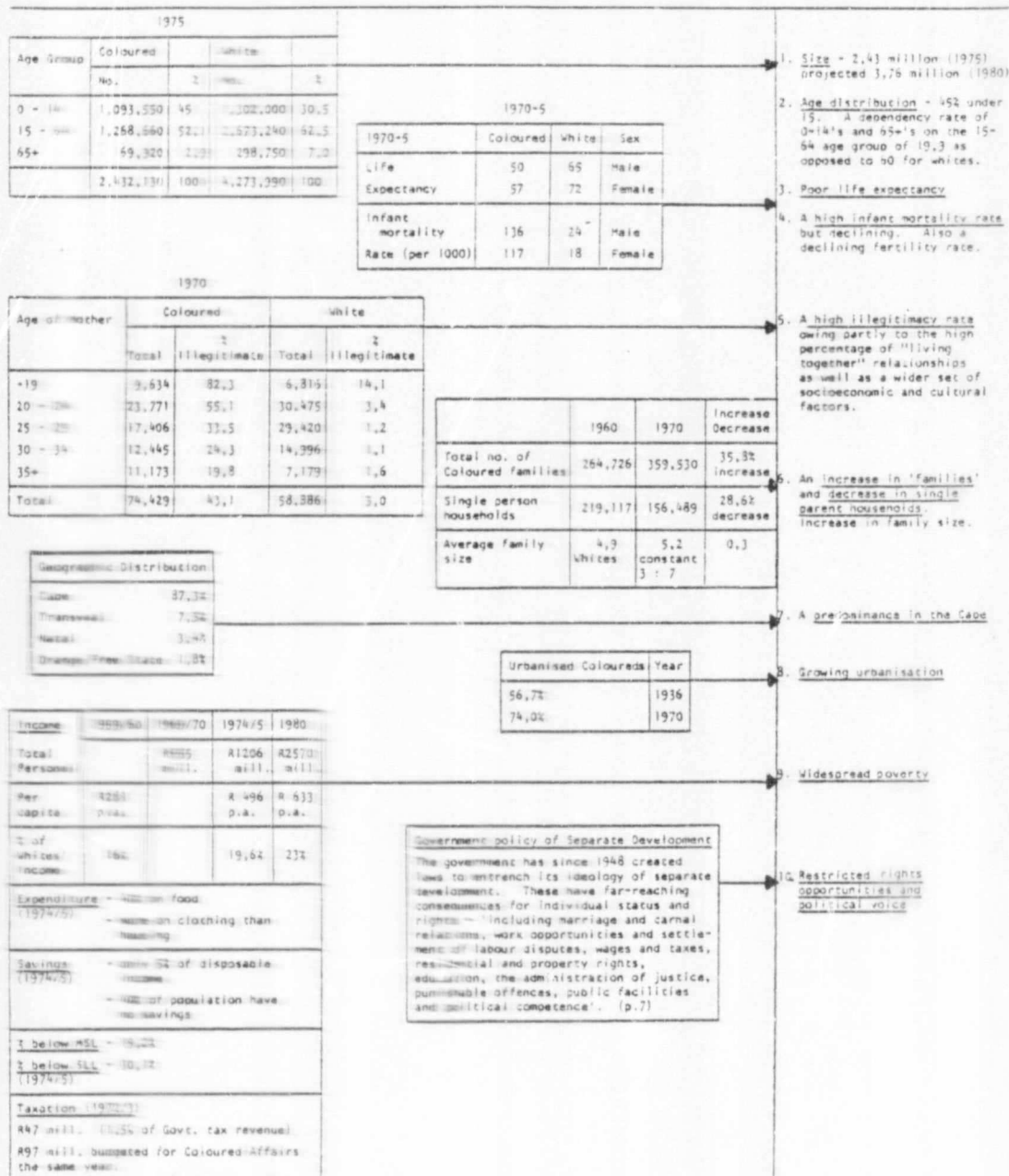


Figure 3: A summary of relevant findings from the Theron Commission

that as at 15th February, 1978, there was a shortage of 2,389 classrooms for coloured children and the cost of eliminating this would be R26 million. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1979)

2.4 Input: components

2.4.1 The pupil in a socioeconomically deprived environment

The greatest task in growing up consists of coming to terms with oneself, of learning to know who one is, and what one can do, and how one stands in relation to others. (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p.194)

Tuning in to the world of the deprived child demands both some understanding of his developmental processes and some awareness of his psychosocial potentialities in terms of his environmental circumstances.

2.4.1.1 The question of potential: the nature/nurture controversy

In Western society it has been estimated that heredity accounts for 80 percent of variation in intelligence, and environmental influences 20 percent. (Gold Fein 1974, Wolff 1973, Eysenck 1975)

Gold Fein (1974) reports Jensen as finding that the IQ distributions of American Negroes were consistently one standard deviation below those of the white population (85 as opposed to 100), and that Negro children tended to perform worse on abstraction ability tasks than their white peers, while being better on verbal than non-verbal tests. They performed comparably with white children on learning tasks involving memory spans. Jensen, in arguing for the significance of heredity rather than environmental factors in determining intelligence, asserted that not enough emphasis is placed on prenatal factors (such as nutrition of the mother) as critical variables in intelligence. He asserted that the Head Start programs failed in part owing to the lack of awareness that intellectual capacities, being genetically determined, are not modifiable. He believed these programs were based on two untenable theories - "the average child concept" perceiving the child as a tabula rasa and hypothesising that all children have the same potential for learning if exposed to the same

environment, and the "social deprivation concept" which perceives deprived children as poor school achievers because they begin school lacking critical experiences essential to school learning. Gold Fein (1974) criticises Jensen's use of Downe's syndrome and Turner's syndrome as examples of genetic limitations on learning, perceiving genetic factors as accounting satisfactorily for intellectual disabilities but not for the potential of the 'normal' child. She sees the IQ test as a simplistic approach to a complex problem, seeing the concepts it defines as not only culturally biased but also inadequate in defining the complexity of cognitive processes. Protagonists of the genetic school propose a differential education system stressing intellectual strengths and circumventing weaknesses to maximise the 20 percent of intellectual development which they conceive as modifiable. However, Gold Fein asserts that taking into account the effects of cultural deprivation, more than this hypothetical 20 percent may be modifiable.

2.4.1.2 The developing child in a socioeconomically deprived environment: psychosocial aspects

The average coloured child grows up in a world of racial discrimination, poverty, unequal opportunities and illegitimacy associated with an unstable family structure.

Simpson and Yinger (1972, p.168) observe

The great weight of prejudice and discrimination often cramps and distorts the personality development of the minority group member.

The individual acquires basic attitudes toward himself, and the norms of groups and society as a whole through his interpersonal experiences and inherited conditions. Through these conditions he may come to adopt certain roles, a unity of social and personal expectations occurring as he grows older.

Wolff (1973) notes that educational and social failure may provide a trigger for aggressive and delinquent behaviour stating,

This occurs especially at adolescence when childhood, with its ostensibly limitless potentialities ends, and the individual is forced to recognise and accept his now forever restricted adult roles. (Wolff, 1973, p.160)

It is notable that early adolescence is the period when an

80 percent drop out of pupils occurs in coloured schools.

Wolff's (1973) observations are compatible with the goals/means theory of social deviance advanced by Merton, which proposes that while lower and upper class children may share life goals, the lower class child eventually realises that he does not have the same means as his upper class peer, to pursue them. This dissonance in goals and means may elicit responses of withdrawal, aggression or apathy in the lower class child. Simpson and Yinger (1972) propose an added dimension to this argument - that of the ability to perceive opportunities:

... low opportunity leads to low motivation and skill which when widely shared, leads to values adapted to poverty that prevent recognition or pursuit of available opportunities. (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p.176)

Despite a desire for achievement and improvement, such hopes are not always accompanied by values, norms and goals related to achievement, or by the expectation of success.

Thus, in the first place although the deprived child may desire the life style and overt achievements of the successful professional or businessman, he lacks the educational and employment opportunities to achieve such goals. Secondly, as a result of social conditioning processes the deprived child tends to develop low personal expectations in concurrence with those of society. When opportunities for achievement are presented they may not be readily perceived, and the child may not have experienced the necessary socialisation, or social training, to be able to capitalise on them. In short a lack of parental interest in, or reinforcement of school achievement, or modeling of work skills for the attainment of specific goals does not prepare the deprived child in terms of necessary work motivation, skills or expectations to attain such a goal.

The "social context of ambition" is as important as opportunity. Coleman (in Simpson and Yinger) has proposed that individuals tend to be sensitive to environmental cues only when they believe they can have some effect on it, that those who have higher expectations of control over their lives are likely to perceive opportunities and learn more than those with a fatalistic philosophy.

The processes of discrimination and means/goals dissonance, affect not only the nature and number of opportunities available to the minority group member, but also his abilities to perceive and make use of them. The individual's self-concept is directly related to these processes.

Asher and Allen (in Simpson and Yinger, 1972) propose a "social comparison theory", whereby it is thought that as the minority group member advances he becomes increasingly aware of differences with other groups and develops greater feelings of inferiority. Thus initial changes in opportunity may result in feelings of inferiority and reactions of a fight (aggression) or flight (withdrawal) nature. Coleman observed that Negro children had a higher academic self-concept in segregated than integrated schools despite higher achievements in the latter, but assessed that these initial reactions would be replaced in the longer term by ones based on actual competence rather than perceived abilities in the now more competitive environment.

In addition to his experiences of discrimination, the developing individual learns to evaluate his own status by the teachings of his own minority group as well. Clark (in Simpson and Yinger, 1972) noted that individuals in minority groups experience an ambivalence towards themselves. In an effort to avoid self-devaluation minority groups often express prejudices against other groups - a form of reciprocal prejudice. In the writer's limited experience coloured individuals often expressed prejudices not only against whites and blacks (reflecting their marginal status in South African society) but also against fellow coloured persons (feelings of ambivalence being evident).

The effects of discrimination on the developing child in a minority group may therefore be far reaching. He experiences not only actual limited opportunities, but may have his capacity and willingness to perceive and use opportunities stunted. Most models are often characterised by racial prejudices and ambivalent attitudes toward themselves, further lowering the chances of developing a positive self-image.

Simpson and Yinger (1972) suggest two possible remedies to the "crushing effects" of discrimination - a secure family experience and successful minority group movements, such as the Black movement in the United States of America, which enable the minority group

member to make positive identifications with his own group and allows for children growing up in an environment less devaluating in terms of societal attitudes. The Coloured population in South Africa appears to experience neither of these conditions, having rather a high proportion of unstable family situations, and experiencing the devaluating situation of restricted rights and political and legislative power.

Citizenship rights as reflected by voting rights, have been curtailed in the national, provincial and municipal spheres and compare unfavourably with those of whites (p.8) ... existing provisions for voting rights and for participation in decision-making bodies are felt to be inadequate and make them subordinate to the whites ... separate facilities have been unequal and detrimental to the coloured people. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976, p.9)

Lornell (1963) asserts that children who grow up in poverty stricken environments often have unmet dependency needs, are often hostile and have poor impulse control. Seller and Taylor (1965) in concurring with this observe that early needs for tenderness in such children are often rebuffed and, feeling exposed and vulnerable, the child begins to see the world as hostile. To avoid the pain of this realisation, he learns to attack first, whenever his needs for tenderness being highest, malevolence coming to the fore - the child undergoes 'a malevolent transformation'. The child's deviant behaviour elicits a negative reaction from the environment, reinforcing his need to defensively 'attack first'. In states of psychological and socioeconomic deprivation, the authors of this theory propose such feelings of anger and hopelessness are projected onto children perpetuating a never-ending cycle of behaviour.

Child-rearing patterns differ between working and middle class mothers, the former tending to be more indulgent during the infancy of their children, but becoming less demonstratively affectionate, more overtly rejecting and stricter about sexual behaviour, manners and orderliness by the time their children reach five years of age. Working class mothers tolerate aggression but use punishment rather than 'love withdrawal' means of control, resulting in more dependent but aggressive children. These child rearing patterns are partially determined by material conditions, working class mothers tending to have more children in quick succession with the result that toddlers are prematurely required to be independent and

socially competent. Overcrowded conditions demand stricter rules over sexual behaviour. The deprived child's attitudes and behaviours originate in these conditions, being learnt and reinforced to become 'part of the self' to be transmitted to later generations.

It has been observed that families in deprived communities seldom discuss people or roles in society, resulting in children entering the world with a lack of common knowledge as to the roles they or others occupy in society.

Children growing up in such conditions tend often to be dependent, physically aggressive, reactors rather than actors, to have stereotypes of the world, to be seekers of tangible rewards responding to punishment while not being plagued by conscience, to be present rather than future oriented, to have poor senses of time, space and causation and to lack family support, and be resistant to assistance. The development of these traits equip them to live in conditions imposed on them by society, including a lack of privacy, a dependence on employees and the State, short term payment and little long term security. (Wolff 1973, King 1966, Nurstein 1965). Bandura (1969) confirms the general nature of this developmental process, highlighting the differences in middle and working class persons in their perception of control over their environment. The middle class individual experiencing opportunities, norms and values allowing him to make better use of educational and vocational choices tends to become progressively self-determining, the working class individual experiencing the opposite.

The minority group member is in the invidious position of being "expected to conform to the standards of the dominant culture but at the same time (being) denied participation in that culture". (Simmons, 1968, p.29) The life style of the developing child in such circumstances tends to equip him more to perpetuate his insecure poverty stricken mode of life, rather than prepare him for the perception or use of opportunities which would serve to make him a more self-determining human being.

2.4.1.3 The deprived child in school

Lack of education and poverty are clearly related. Amongst the coloured population only 6 percent of family heads in urban areas with a standard six education or higher live below the minimum subsistence level, while 69 percent of those with a standard four

level or below fall below this level.

Present trends indicate, however, that there is a high drop out from the standard four level of schooling, with 80 percent of coloured pupils being in that standard or below. (S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1976). Working class children have been observed to discontinue schooling earlier than their middle class peers. Wolff (1973) in reviewing the findings of Douglas in the United Kingdom, reports a drop out of 50 percent of lower working class children with high ability before the age of sixteen-and-a-half years as opposed to a corresponding figure of 10 percent of middle class children.

This trend can only serve to perpetuate the problems of a socioeconomically deprived community - an undereducated population cannot be considered equipped to cope with its problems of poverty nor aspire to attaining a competent political status. White (1971) has emphasised that in a world characterised by rapid technological advancement the underprivileged child "cannot be permitted the luxury of failure" (White, 1971, p.186).

The pre-school child's environment in a deprived urban community usually lacks space, toys and books. In addition he often experiences little parental interest in his achievements - parental interest often focusing on his health and happiness but seldom on his development of abilities.

Intellectual and stimulus deprivation ... with low socioeconomic status ... leads to poor concept development and poor verbal skills; these in turn lead to inadequate school performance, alienation from school, and barriers to environmental stimuli, and these lead to poor test performance.
(Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p.203)

The non-verbal, status oriented (rather than person oriented) modes of control that working class mothers tend to use often results in language retardation in their children, impairing concept formation, reducing tools for reasoning and becoming a major cause of poor achievement at school. (Nurstein 1965, Wolff 1973)

Bruner (1975) concludes that differences in language between the classes lie not so much in 'amount', but in 'use' of it in a variety of situations, and the manner in which home and subculture affects such usage. He asserts that the lower class child can produce the analytic complex language of his middle class peer if

the situation he has to describe is personal and egocentrically organised. However he is less able to achieve decentration, or analyse things from a perspective other than from his own personal or local one. 'Lower class language ... is more affective and metaphoric than formal or analytic in its use, more given to narrative than to causal or generic form'. (Bruner 1975, p.41)

In a review of studies, Bruner (1975) observes middle class children to be more achievement motivated than working class children, and points out that children with a high achievement motivation tend to become brighter as they grow older, those with a more passive outlook tending to fall behind in their developmental potential. He perceives the poor mother as becoming trapped with her children, more interested in keeping the peace than explaining ideas or encouraging adventure. She then tends to elicit the very behaviour she rates as low in her children (poor understanding, receptivity to learning and dependability) by her responses to him. Middle class mothers tend to respond more to a child's successful efforts than his errors, reinforcing rather than extinguishing verbal interaction in the manner of the lower class mother's status oriented control methods.

In school the underprivileged child often proves disappointing to himself and his teachers, resulting in poor school performance and diminishing self-esteem. Wolff (1973) observes

Failure in school for whatever reason is one of the major stresses in childhood which can set the stage for lifelong feelings of insecurity. The experience of school failure is particularly damaging for the developing child because it often lasts throughout the whole of his school career. The psychological defences he must use to cope with the chronic anxieties aroused by this situation only add to his difficulties. Mostly the child who fails appears not to care at all about his shortcomings. His teachers find him poorly motivated, disinterested in his work, restless and distractable, and some children become aggressive and delinquent. His coping mechanisms serve only to make his position in the class more untenable. (p.167)

Frustration and boredom may result in unmanageable behaviour and culminate in the label "lazy" or "poor prospect" - and the child finds himself battling not only against his deprived background, and an inadequate school system, but his own reputation as well.

Lornell (1963) warns that slum area schools may expect poor

attendance, lack of punctuality and acting out and aggression from their pupils.

These are action based, culturally deprived children who need a controlled, structured, supportive school experience to counteract the chaotic and disorganised homes and communities that spawned them. (p.91)

2.4.2 The teacher

Coloured teachers in South Africa are generally poorly qualified, over 60 percent having only standard eight followed by two or three years professional training.

Table 1: Qualifications of Coloured Teachers in South Africa

Qualifications	No.	Percentage of all teachers
Junior Certificate (Standard 8) only	1,549	6,0%
Junior Certificate plus teaching diploma	15,957	62,5%
Matriculation only	706	2,8%
Matriculation plus teaching diploma	6,007	23,6%
University degree only	97	0,4%
University degree plus teaching diploma	962	3,8%
Other (technical/vocational) only	155	0,6%
Technical/vocational plus teaching diploma	68	0,3%
Total	25,501	100%

(Based on information from a Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1979)

Coloured teachers are paid 85 percent of the salary paid to White colleagues with the same qualifications. (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1979)

Traditional methods of teaching are frequently ineffective in educating deprived children, and in trying to employ these methods teachers are often left feeling overwhelmed and frustrated (Lornell, 1963).

2.4.3 The school

In the school in which this study took place classes are large, varying from thirty to forty male and female pupils. The standard five classes from which the writer selected his experimental group comprised pupils varying in age from twelve to nineteen years.

The school has no electricity, resulting in poor lighting on overcast days and the use of paraffin heaters in winter. In addition the buildings are in poor repair, and there are no playing fields and few organised extra-mural activities.

2.4.4. The parents

Research done by the Plowden Committee in the United Kingdom revealed a child's performance at school to be more closely related to parental attitudes to education than material circumstances in his home.

In addition to the lack of interest in their children's school performance, lower class parents in view of their own poor educational attainment, feel inferior and are often afraid to communicate with the school. A lack of home/school communications is detrimental to the child's achievements at school as well. (Wolff, 1973)

2.5 Output

The school's paramount product is the pupil, its programs generally being aimed at educating and socialising him.

An educated student may further be described as one who demonstrates some skills in reasoning, judgement and creativity; who has completed or will complete a certain level of schooling; and who has the skills required for further education or employment ... who accepts society's norms and values, who has some skill in social relationships, and who maintains adequate physical and mental health. (Wassenich, 1973, p.201)

It is important that the school social worker understand exactly the actual output of the school prior to his intervention, to evaluate his program, and that he have knowledge of the input variables in the system which influence and limit its goal attainment. Within the school the social worker's aim is to help it achieve its goals, though he may have his own goals as well - such as a program to assist

potential drop outs.

The output of the coloured schooling system cannot be regarded as satisfactory.

Table 2: Educational Standards in the Coloured Population

Year	Percentage of all :	Coloured	White
1970	persons over 6 years with no schooling	23%	2,3%
	persons in possession of senior certificates	1,2%	26,1%
1972	pupils in standards 8, 9 and 10	3,4%	18,2%
1978	pupils in standards 8, 9 and 10	5,7%	19,8%
1974	pupils in standards 4 and below	80%	
1978	pupils in standards 5 and below	83,5%	63,5%
1978	pupils in standards 6 to 10	16,5%	36,6%

From: South African Institute of Race Relations publications:
The Theron Commission: A summary, 1976; A survey of race
relations in South Africa, 1979.

Statistics in Table 2 reveal a predominance of Coloured pupils in standards five and below, with a small percentage in public examination classes (standards eight, nine and ten). This poor distribution of pupils is highlighted in a comparison of similar figures for white education, where a higher proportion of the pupil population is in secondary schools and in public examination classes.

2.6 Throughput

The throughput process is one wherein inputs are converted into outputs and includes the work of teachers, social workers, principals and school administrators. Wassenich analyses five subsystems for possible social work intervention in the school, and while noting that a social worker may not be able to intervene at all levels, a knowledge of them enables intervention to be carried out in relation to the system as a whole. Selection of a subsystem for intervention depends on the social worker's

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